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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO — VOLUME 1 ***

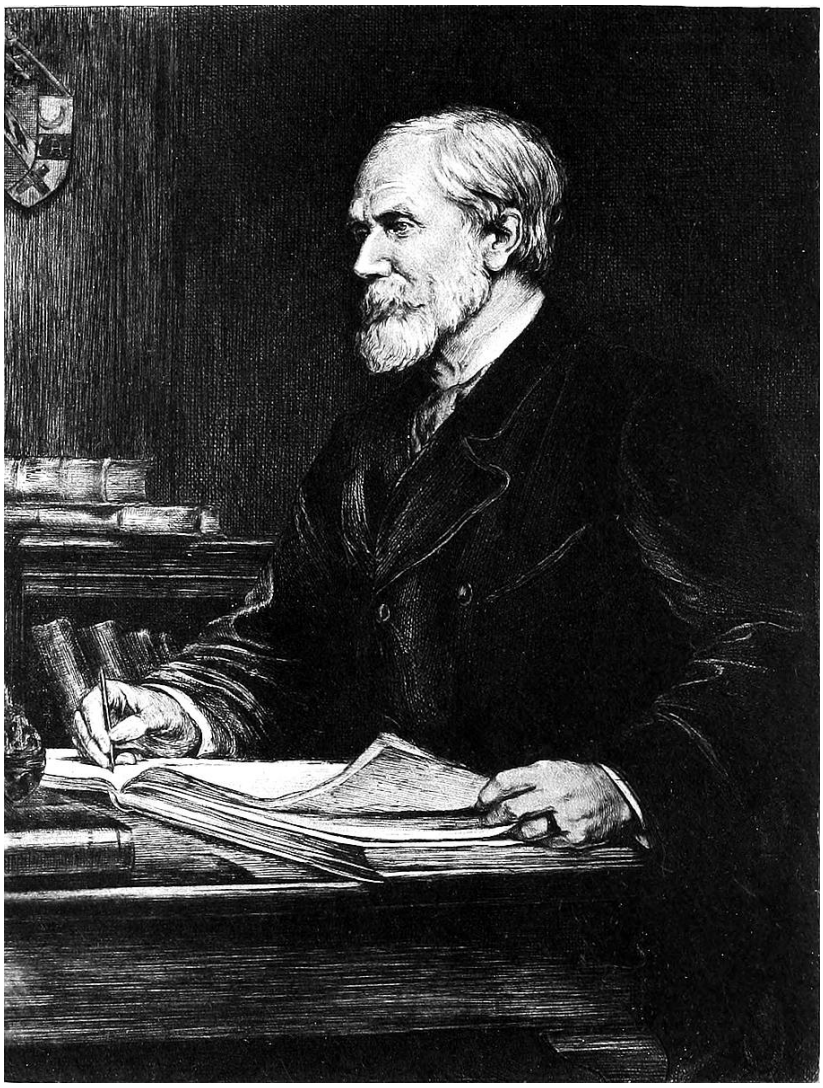
THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO

The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition

With a Total of 198 Illustrations and 32 Maps and Site Plans

Three Volumes Bound as Two

Volume I



T. B. Wirgman, del. et. sc. *Walker & Cockerell, ph. sc.*

THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO

THE COMPLETE YULE-CORDIER EDITION

Including the unabridged third edition (1903) of Henry Yule's annotated translation, as revised by Henri Cordier; together with Cordier's later volume of notes and addenda (1920)

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

Containing the first volume of the 1903 edition

DEDICATION.

TO THE MEMORY OF

SIR RODERICK I. MURCHISON, BART., K.C.B., G.C.ST.A.,

G.C.ST.S.,

ETC.

THE PERFECT FRIEND

WHO FIRST BROUGHT HENRY YULE AND JOHN MURRAY TOGETHER

(HE ENTERED INTO REST, OCTOBER 22ND, 1871,)

AND TO THAT OF HIS MUCH LOVED NIECE,

HARRIET ISABELLA MURCHISON,

WIFE OF KENNETH ROBERT MURCHISON, D.L., J.P.,

(SHE ENTERED INTO REST, AUGUST 9TH, 1902,)

UNDER WHOSE EVER HOSPITABLE ROOF MANY OF THE PROOF

SHEETS OF THIS EDITION WERE READ BY ME,

I DEDICATE THESE VOLUMES FROM

THE OLD MURCHISON HOME,

IN THANKFUL REMEMBRANCE OF ALL I OWE TO

THE ABIDING AFFECTION, SYMPATHY, AND EXAMPLE OF BOTH.

TARADALE,
ROSS-SHIRE,
SCOTLAND.

AMY FRANCES YULE.
SEPTEMBER 11th, 1902.

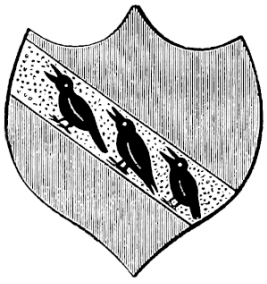
* * * *

Ed è da noi sì strano,
Che quando ne ragiono
I' non trovo nessuno,
Che l'abbia navicato,

* * * *

Le parti del Levante,
Là dove sono tante
Gemme di gran valute
E di molta salute:
E sono in quello giro
Balsamo, e ambra, e tiro,
E lo pepe, e lo legno
Aloe, ch'è sì degno,
E spigo, e cardamomo,
Giengiovo, e cennamomo;
E altre molte spezie,
Ciascuna in sua spezie,
E migliore, e più fina,
E sana in medicina.
Appresso in questo loco
Mise in assetto loco
Li tigri, e li grifoni,
Leofanti, e leoni
Cammelli, e dragomene,
Badalischi, e gene,
E pantere, e castoro,
Le formiche dell'oro,
E tanti altri animali,
Ch'io non so ben dir quali,
Che son sì divisati,
E sì dissomigliati
Di corpo e di fazione,
Di sì fera ragione,
E di sì strana taglia,
Ch'io non credo san faglia,
Ch'alcun uomo vivente
Potesse veramente
Per lingua, o per scritture
Recitar le figure
Delle bestie, e gli uccelli....

—From *Il Tesoretto di Ser Brunetto Latini* (*circa* MDCCLX.).
(*Florence*, 1824, pp. 83 *seqq*.)



Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
Πλάγχθη . . . . . .
Πολλῶν δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

Odyssey, I.

— — — —"I AM BECOME A NAME;
FOR ALWAYS ROAMING WITH A HUNGRY HEART
MUCH HAVE I SEEN AND KNOWN; CITIES OF MEN,
AND MANNERS, CLIMATES, COUNCILS, GOVERNMENTS,
MYSELF NOT LEAST, BUT HONOURED OF THEM ALL."

TENNYSON.

"*A SEDER CI PONEMMO IVI AMBODUI*
VÔLTI A LEVANTE, OND'ERAVAM SALITI;
CHÈ SUOLE A RIGUARDAR GIOVARE ALTRUI."

DANTE, *Purgatory*, IV.

Messer Marco Polo, with Messer Nicolo and Messer Maffeo, returned from xxvi years' sojourn in the Orient, is denied entrance to the Ca' Polo. (See *Int.*p. *4*)

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

NOTE BY MISS YULE.

I DESIRE to take this opportunity of recording my grateful sense of the unsparing labour, learning, and devotion, with which my father's valued friend, Professor Henri Cordier, has performed the difficult and delicate task which I entrusted to his loyal friendship.

Apart from Professor Cordier's very special qualifications for the work, I feel sure that no other Editor could have been more entirely acceptable to my father. I can give him no higher praise than to say that he has laboured in Yule's own spirit.

The slight Memoir which I have contributed (for which I accept all responsibility), attempts no more than a rough sketch of my father's character and career, but it will, I hope, serve to recall pleasantly his remarkable individuality to the few remaining who knew him in his prime, whilst it may also afford some idea of the man, and his work and environment, to those who had not that advantage.

No one can be more conscious than myself of its many shortcomings, which I will not attempt to excuse. I can, however, honestly say that these have not been due to negligence, but are rather the blemishes almost inseparable from the fulfilment under the gloom of bereavement and amidst the pressure of other duties, of a task undertaken in more favourable circumstances.

Nevertheless, in spite of all defects, I believe this sketch to be such a record as my father would himself have approved, and I know also that he would have

chosen my hand to write it.

In conclusion, I may note that the first edition of this work was dedicated to that very noble lady, the Queen (then Crown Princess) Margherita of Italy. In the second edition the Dedication was reproduced within brackets (as also the original preface), but not renewed. That precedent is again followed.

I have, therefore, felt at liberty to associate the present edition of my father's work with the Name MURCHISON, which for more than a generation was the name most generally representative of British Science in Foreign Lands, as of Foreign Science in Britain.

A. F. YULE.

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION.

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LITTLE did I think, some thirty years ago, when I received a copy of the first edition of this grand work, that I should be one day entrusted with the difficult but glorious task of supervising the third edition. When the first edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo* reached "Far Cathay," it created quite a stir in the small circle of the learned foreigners, who then resided there, and became a starting-point for many researches, of which the results have been made use of partly in the second edition, and partly in the present. The Archimandrite PALLADIUS and Dr. E. BRETSCHNEIDER, at Peking, ALEX. WYLIE, at Shang-hai—friends of mine who have, alas! passed away, with the exception of the Right Rev. Bishop G. E. MOULE, of Hang-chau, the only survivor of this little group of hard-working scholars,—were the first to explore the Chinese sources of information which were to yield a rich harvest into their hands.

When I returned home from China in 1876, I was introduced to Colonel HENRY YULE, at the India Office, by our common friend, Dr. REINHOLD ROST, and from that time we met frequently and kept up a correspondence which terminated only with the life of the great geographer, whose friend I had become. A new edition of the travels of Friar Odoric of Pordenone, our "mutual friend," in which Yule had taken the greatest interest, was dedicated by me to his memory. I knew that Yule contemplated a third edition of his *Marco Polo*, and all will regret that time was not allowed to him to complete this labour of love, to see it published. If the duty of bringing out the new edition of *Marco Polo* has fallen on one who considers himself but an unworthy successor of the first illustrious commentator, it is fair to add that the work could not have been entrusted to a more respectful disciple. Many of our tastes were similar; we had the same desire to seek the truth, the same earnest wish to be exact, perhaps the same sense of humour, and, what is necessary when writing on Marco Polo, certainly the same love for Venice and its history. Not only am I, with the late CHARLES SCHEFER, the founder and the editor of the *Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Géographie depuis le XIII^e^ jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e^ siècle*, but I am also the successor, at the École des langues Orientales Vivantes, of G. PAUTHIER, whose book on the Venetian Traveller is still valuable, so the mantle of the last two editors fell upon my shoulders.

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I therefore, gladly and thankfully, accepted Miss AMY FRANCIS YULE'S kind proposal to undertake the editorship of the third edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, and I wish to express here my gratitude to her for the great honour she has thus done me.[1]

Unfortunately for his successor, Sir Henry Yule, evidently trusting to his own good memory, left but few notes. These are contained in an interleaved copy obligingly placed at my disposal by Miss Yule, but I luckily found assistance from various other quarters. The following works have proved of the greatest assistance

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to me:—The articles of General HOUTUM-SCHINDLER in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and the excellent books of Lord CURZON and of Major P. MOLESWORTH SYKES on Persia, M. GRENARD's account of DUTREUIL de RHINS' Mission to Central Asia, BRETSCHNEIDER's and PALLADIUS' remarkable papers on Mediæval Travellers and Geography, and above all, the valuable books of the Hon. W. W. ROCKHILL on Tibet and Rubruck, to which the distinguished diplomatist, traveller, and scholar kindly added a list of notes of the greatest importance to me, for which I offer him my hearty thanks.

My thanks are also due to H.H. Prince ROLAND BONAPARTE, who kindly gave me permission to reproduce some of the plates of his *Recueil de Documents de l'Époque Mongole*, to M. LÉOPOLD DELISLE, the learned Principal Librarian of the Bibliothèque Nationale, who gave me the opportunity to study the inventory made after the death of the Doge Marino Faliero, to the Count de SEMALLÉ, formerly French Chargé d'Affaires at Peking, who gave me for reproduction a number of photographs from his valuable personal collection, and last, not least, my old friend Comm. NICOLÒ BAROZZI, who continued to lend me the assistance which he had formerly rendered to Sir Henry Yule at Venice.

Since the last edition was published, more than twenty-five years ago, Persia has been more thoroughly studied; new routes have been explored in Central Asia, Karakorum has been fully described, and Western and South-Western China have been opened up to our knowledge in many directions. The results of these investigations form the main features of this new edition of *Marco Polo*. I have suppressed hardly any of Sir Henry Yule's notes and altered but few, doing so only when the light of recent information has proved him to be in error, but I have supplemented them by what, I hope, will be found useful, new information.[2]

Before I take leave of the kind reader, I wish to thank sincerely Mr. JOHN MURRAY for the courtesy and the care he has displayed while this edition was going through the press.

HENRI CORDIER.

PARIS, 1*st of October*, 1902.

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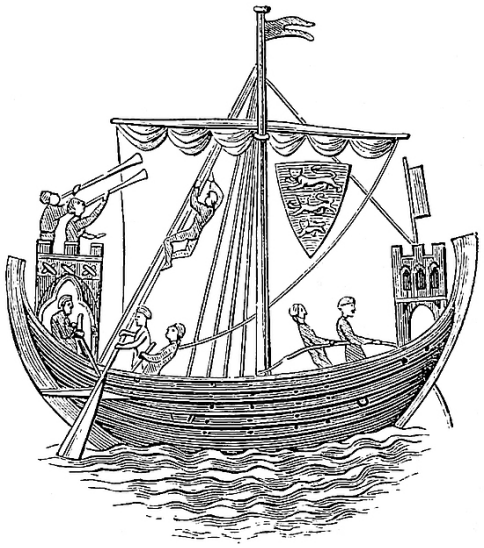
[1] Miss Yule has written the Memoir of her father and the new Dedication.

[2] Paragraphs which have been altered are marked thus ✢; my own additions are placed between brackets [ ].—H. C.



“Now strike your Sailes yee jolly Mariners,
For we be come into a quiet Rode” ...

—THE FAERIE QUEENE, I. xii. 42.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

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THE unexpected amount of favour bestowed on the former edition of this Work has been a great encouragement to the Editor in preparing this second one.

Not a few of the kind friends and correspondents who lent their aid before have continued it to the present revision. The contributions of Mr. A. WYLIE of Shang-hai, whether as regards the amount of labour which they must have cost him, or the value of the result, demand above all others a grateful record here. Nor can I omit to name again with hearty acknowledgment Signor Comm. G. BERCHET of Venice, the Rev. Dr. CALDWELL, Colonel (now Major-General) R. MACLAGAN, R.E., Mr. D. HANBURY, F.R.S., Mr. EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S. (Corresponding Member of the Institute), and Mr. R. H. MAJOR.

But besides these old names, not a few new ones claim my thanks.

The Baron F. VON RICHTHOFEN, now President of the Geographical Society of Berlin, a traveller who not only has trodden many hundreds of miles in the footsteps of our Marco, but has perhaps travelled over more of the Interior of China than Marco ever did, and who carried to that survey high scientific accomplishments of which the Venetian had not even a rudimentary conception, has spontaneously opened his bountiful stores of new knowledge in my behalf. Mr. NEY ELIAS, who in 1872 traversed and mapped a line of upwards of 2000 miles through the almost unknown tracts of Western Mongolia, from the Gate in the Great Wall at Kalghan to the Russian frontier in the Altai, has done likewise.[1] To the Rev. G. MOULE, of the Church Mission at Hang-chau, I owe a mass of interesting matter regarding that once great and splendid city, the KINSAY of our Traveller, which has enabled me, I trust, to effect great improvement both in the Notes and in the Map, which illustrate that subject. And to the Rev. CARSTAIRS DOUGLAS, LL.D., of the English Presbyterian Mission at Amoy, I am scarcely less indebted. The learned Professor BRUUN, of Odessa, whom I never have seen, and have little likelihood of ever seeing in this world, has aided me with zeal and cordiality like that of old friendship. To Mr. ARTHUR BURNELL, Ph.D., of the Madras Civil Service, I am grateful for many valuable notes bearing on these and other geographical studies, and particularly for his generous communication of the drawing and photograph of the ancient Cross at St. Thomas's Mount, long before any publication of that subject was made on his own account. My brother officer, Major OLIVER ST. JOHN, R.E., has favoured me with a variety of interesting remarks regarding the Persian chapters, and has assisted me with new data, very materially correcting the Itinerary Map in Kerman.

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Mr. BLOCHMANN of the Calcutta Madrasa, Sir DOUGLAS FORSYTH, C.B., lately Envoy to Kashgar, M. de MAS LATRIE, the Historian of Cyprus, Mr. ARTHUR

Madame Olga Fedtchenko, the widow of a great traveller too early lost to the world, Colonel Keatinge, V.C., C.S.I., Major-General Keyes, C.B., Dr. George Birdwood, Mr. Burgess, of Bombay, my old and valued friend Colonel W. H. Greathed, C.B., and the Master of Mediæval Geography, M. D'Avezac himself, with others besides, have kindly lent assistance of one kind or another, several of them spontaneously, and the rest in prompt answer to my requests.

Having always attached much importance to the matter of illustrations,[2] I feel greatly indebted to the liberal action of Mr. Murray in enabling me largely to increase their number in this edition. Though many are original, we have also borrowed a good many;[3] a proceeding which seems to me entirely unobjectionable when the engravings are truly illustrative of the text, and not hackneyed.

I regret the augmented bulk of the volumes. There has been some excision, but xiv
the additions visibly and palpably preponderate. The truth is that since the completion of the first edition, just four years ago, large additions have been made to the stock of our knowledge bearing on the subjects of this Book; and how these additions have continued to come in up to the last moment, may be seen in Appendix L,[4] which has had to undergo repeated interpolation after being put in type. Karakorum, for a brief space the seat of the widest empire the world has known, has been visited; the ruins of Shang-tu, the "Xanadu of Cublay Khan," have been explored; Pamir and Tangut have been penetrated from side to side; the famous mountain Road of Shen-si has been traversed and described; the mysterious Caindu has been unveiled; the publication of my lamented friend Lieutenant Garnier's great work on the French Exploration of Indo-China has provided a mass of illustration of that Yun-nan for which but the other day Marco Polo was well-nigh the most recent authority. Nay, the last two years have thrown a promise of light even on what seemed the wildest of Marco's stories, and the bones of a veritable Ruc from New Zealand lie on the table of Professor Owen's Cabinet!

M. Vivien de St. Martin, during the interval of which we have been speaking, has published a History of Geography. In treating of Marco Polo, he alludes to the first edition of this work, most evidently with no intention of disparagement, but speaks of it as merely a revision of Marsden's Book. The last thing I should allow myself to do would be to apply to a Geographer, whose works I hold in so much xv
esteem, the disrespectful definition which the adage quoted in my former Preface[5] gives of the *vir qui docet quod non sapit*; but I feel bound to say that on this occasion M. Vivien de St. Martin has permitted himself to pronounce on a matter with which he had not made himself acquainted; for the perusal of the very first lines of the Preface (I will say nothing of the Book) would have shown him that such a notion was utterly unfounded.

In concluding these "forewords" I am probably taking leave of Marco Polo,[6] the companion of many pleasant and some laborious hours, whilst I have been contemplating with him ("*vôlti a levante*") that Orient in which I also had spent years not a few.

* * * * *

And as the writer lingered over this conclusion, his thoughts wandered back in reverie to those many venerable libraries in which he had formerly made search for mediæval copies of the Traveller's story; and it seemed to him as if he sate in a

recess of one of these with a manuscript before him which had never till then been examined with any care, and which he found with delight to contain passages that appear in no version of the Book hitherto known. It was written in clear Gothic text, and in the Old French tongue of the early 14th century. Was it possible that he had lighted on the long-lost original of Ramusio's Version? No; it proved to be different. Instead of the tedious story of the northern wars, which occupies much of our Fourth Book, there were passages occurring in the later history of Ser Marco, some years after his release from the Genoese captivity. They appeared to contain strange anachronisms certainly; but we have often had occasion to remark on puzzles in the chronology of Marco's story![7] And in some respects they tended to justify our intimated suspicion that he was a man of deeper feelings and wider sympathies than the book of Rusticiano had allowed to appear.[8] Perhaps this time the Traveller had found an amanuensis whose faculties had not been stiffened by fifteen years of Malapaga?[9] One of the most important passages ran thus:— xvi

"*Bien est voirs que, après ce que* Messires Marc Pol *avoit pris fame et si estoit demouré plusours ans de sa vie a* Venysse, *il avint que mourut* Messires Mafés *qui oncles* Monseignour Marc *estoit: (et mourut ausi ses granz chiens mastins qu'avoit amenei dou Catai,*[10] *et qui avoit non* Bayan *pour l'amour au bon chievetain* Bayan Cent-iex*); adonc n'avoit oncques puis* Messires Marc *nullui, fors son esclave* Piere le Tartar, *avecques lequel pouvoit penre soulas à s'entretenir de ses voiages et des choses dou Levant. Car la gent de* Venysse *si avoit de grant piesce moult anuy pris des loncs contes* Monseignour Marc*; et quand ledit* Messires Marc *issoit de l'uys sa meson ou Sain Grisostome, souloient li petit marmot es voies dariere-li courir en cryant* Messer Marco Miliòn! cont'a nu un busiòn! *que veult dire en François 'Messires Marcs des millions di-nous un de vos gros mensonges.' En oultre, la Dame* Donate *fame anuyouse estoit, et de trop estroit esprit, et plainne de convoitise.*[11] *Ansi avint que* Messires Marc *desiroit es voiages rantrer durement.*

"*Si se partist de* Venisse *et chevaucha aux parties d'occident. Et demoura mainz jours es contrées de* Provence *et de* France *et puys fist passaige aux Ysles de la tremontaingne et s'en retourna par* la Magne, *si comme vous orrez cy-après. Et fist-il escripre son voiage atout les devisements les contrées; mes de la France n'y parloit mie grantment pour ce que maintes genz la scevent apertement. Et pour ce en lairons atant, et commencerons d'autres choses, assavoir, de* BRETAINGNE LA GRANT.

Cy devyse dou roiaume de Bretaingne la grant. xvii

"*Et sachiés que quand l'en se part de* Calés, *et l'en nage* XX *ou* XXX *milles à trop grant mesaise, si treuve l'en une grandisme Ysle qui s'appelle* Bretaingne la Grant. *Elle est à une grant royne et n'en fait treuage à nulluy. Et ensevelissent lor mors, et ont monnoye de chartres et d'or et d'argent, et ardent pierres noyres, et vivent de marchandises et d'ars, et ont toutes choses de vivre en grant habondance mais non pas à bon marchié. Et c'est une Ysle de trop grant richesce, et li marinier de celle partie dient que c'est li plus riches royaumes qui soit ou monde, et qu'il y a li mieudre marinier dou monde et li mieudre coursier et li mieudre chevalier (ains ne chevauchent mais lonc com François). Ausi ont-il trop bons homes d'armes et vaillans durement (bien que maint n'y ait), et les dames et damoseles bonnes et loialles, et belles com lys souef florant. Et quoi vous en diroie-je? Il y a citez et chasteau assez, et tant de marchéanz et si riches qui font venir tant d'avoir-de-poiz et de toute espece de marchandise qu'il n'est hons qui la verité en sceust dire. Font venir* d'Ynde *et d'autres parties coton a grant planté, et font venir*

laine et de soye. Encores sachiés que ont vaines d'acier assez, et si en labourent trop soubtivement de tous hernois de chevalier, et de toutes choses besoignables à ost; ce sont espées et glaive et esperon et heaume et haches, et toute espèce d'arteillerie et de coutelerie, et en font grant gaaigne et grant marchandise. Et en font si grant habondance que tout li mondes en y puet avoir et à bon marchié.

Encores cy devise dou dyt roiaume, et de ce qu'en dist Messires Marcs.

"*Et sachiés que tient icelle Royne la seigneurie de l'*Ynde majeure *et de* Mutfili *et de* Bangala, *et d'une moitié de* Mien. *Et moult est saige et noble dame et pourvéans, si que est elle amée de chascun. Et avoit jadis mari; et depuys qu'il mourut bien* XIV *ans avoit; adonc la royne sa fame l'ama tant que oncques puis ne se voult marier a nullui, pour l'amour le prince son baron, ançois moult maine quoye vie. Et tient son royaume ausi bien ou miex que oncques le tindrent li roy si aioul. Mes ores en ce royaume li roy n'ont guieres pooir, ains la poissance commence a trespasser à la menue gent. Et distrent aucun marinier de celes parties à* Monseignour Marc *que hui-et-le jour li royaumes soit auques abastardi come je vous diroy. Car bien est voirs que ci-arrières estoit ciz pueple de* Bretaingne la Grant *bonne et granz et loialle gent qui servoit Diex moult volontiers selonc lor usaige; et tuit li labour qu'il labouroient et portoient a vendre estoient honnestement labouré, et dou greigneur vaillance, et chose pardurable; et se vendoient à jouste pris sanz barguignier. En tant que se aucuns labours portoit l'estanpille* Bretaingne la Grant *c'estoit regardei com pleges de bonne estoffe. Mes orendroit li labours n'est mie tousjourz si bons; et quand l'en achate pour un quintal pesant de toiles de coton, adonc, par trop souvent, si treuve l'en de chascun* C *pois de coton, bien* XXX *ou* XL *pois de plastre de gifs, ou de blanc d'Espaigne, ou de choses semblables. Et se l'en achate de cammeloz ou de tireteinne ou d'autre dras de laine, cist ne durent mie, ains sont plain d'empoise, ou de glu et de balieures.*

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"*Et bien qu'il est voirs que chascuns hons egalement doit de son cors servir son seigneur ou sa commune, pour aler en ost en tens de besoingne; et bien que trestuit li autre royaume d'occident tieingnent ce pour ordenance, ciz pueple de* Bretaingne la Grant *n'en veult nullement, ains si dient: 'Veez-là: n'avons nous pas la* Manche *pour fossé de nostre pourpris, et pourquoy nous penerons-nous pour nous faire homes d'armes, en lessiant nos gaaignes et nos soulaz? Cela lairons aus soudaiers.' Or li preudhome entre eulx moult scevent bien com tiex paroles sont nyaises; mes si ont paour de lour en dire la verité pour ce que cuident desplaire as bourjois et à la menue gent.*

"*Or je vous di sanz faille que, quand* Messires Marcs Pols *sceust ces choses, moult en ot pitié de cestui pueple, et il li vint à remembrance ce que avenu estoit, ou tens* Monseignour Nicolas *et* Monseignour Mafé, *à l'ore quand* Alau, *frère charnel dou Grant Sire* Cublay, *ala en ost seur* Baudas, *et print le* Calife *et sa maistre cité, atout son vaste tresor d'or et d'argent, et l'amère parolle que dist ledit Alau au Calife, com l'a escripte li Maistres Rusticiens ou chief de cestui livre.*[12]

"*Car sachiés tout voirement que* Messires Marc *moult se deleitoit à faire appert combien sont pareilles au font les condicions des diverses regions dou monde, et soloit-il clorre son discours si disant en son language de* Venisse: 'Sto mondo xe fato tondo, *com uzoit dire mes oncles Mafés.'*

"*Ore vous lairons à conter de ceste matière et retournerons à parler de la Loy des genz de* Bretaingne la Grant.

Cy devise des diverses créances de la gent Bretaingne la Grant et de ce qu'en cuidoit Messires Marcs.

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"Il est voirs que li pueples est Crestiens, mes non pour le plus selonc la foy de l'Apostoille Rommain, ains tiennent le en mautalent assez. Seulement il y en a aucun qui sont féoil du dit Apostoille et encore plus forment que li nostre prudhome de Venisse. *Car quand dit li Papes: 'Telle ou telle chose est noyre,' toute ladite gent si en jure: 'Noyre est com poivre.' Et puis se dira li Papes de la dite chose: 'Elle est blanche,' si en jurera toute ladite gent: 'Il est voirs qu'elle est blanche; blanche est com noifs.' Et dist* Messires Marc Pol*: 'Nous n'avons nullement tant de foy à* Venyse, *ne li prudhome de* Florence *non plus, com l'en puet savoir bien apertement dou livre Monseignour* Dantès Aldiguiere, *que j'ay congneu a* Padoe *le meisme an que Messires* Thibault de Cepoy *à* Venisse *estoit*.[13] *Mes c'est joustement ce que j'ay veu autre foiz près le Grant* Bacsi *qui est com li Papes des Ydres.'*

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"Encore y a une autre manière de gent; ce sont de celz qui s'appellent filsoufes;[14] *et si il disent: 'S'il y a Diex n'en scavons nul, mes il est voirs qu'il est une certeinne courance des choses laquex court devers le bien.' Et fist* Messires Marcs*: 'Encore la créance des* Bacsi *qui dysent que n'y a ne Diex Eternel ne Juge des homes, ains il est une certeinne chose laquex s'appelle* Kerma.'[15]

"Une autre foiz avint que disoit un des filsoufes à Monseignour Marc*: 'Diex n'existe mie jeusqu'ores, ainçois il se fait desorendroit.' Et fist encore* Messires Marcs*: 'Veez-là, une autre foiz la créance des ydres, car dient que li seuz Diex est icil hons qui par force de ses vertuz et de son savoir tant pourchace que d'home il se face Diex presentement. Et li Tartar l'appelent* Borcan. *Tiex Diex* Sagamoni Borcan *estoit, dou quel parle li livres Maistre* Rusticien.'[16]

"Encore ont une autre manière de filsoufes, et dient-il: 'Il n'est mie ne Diex ne Kerma *ne courance vers le bien, ne Providence, ne Créerres, ne Sauvours, ne sainteté ne pechiés ne conscience de pechié, ne proyère ne response à proyère, il n'est nulle riens fors que trop minime grain ou paillettes qui ont à nom* atosmes, *et de tiex grains devient chose qui vive, et chose qui vive devient une certeinne creature qui demoure au rivaige de la Mer: et ceste creature devient poissons, et poissons devient lezars, et lezars devient blayriaus, et blayriaus devient gat-maimons, et gat-maimons devient hons sauvaiges qui menjue char d'homes, et hons sauvaiges devient hons crestien.'*

"Et dist Messires Marc*: 'Encore une foiz, biaus sires, li* Bacsi *de* Tebet *et de* Kescemir *et li prestre de* Seilan, *qui si dient que l'arme vivant doie trespasser par tous cez changes de vestemens; si com se treuve escript ou livre* Maistre Rusticien *que* Sagamoni Borcan *mourut* iiij *vint et* iiij *foiz et tousjourz resuscita, et à chascune foiz d'une diverse manière de beste, et à la derreniere foyz mourut hons et devint diex, selonc ce qu'il dient.*'[17] *Et fist encore* Messires Marc*: 'A moy pert-il trop estrange chose se juesques à toutes les créances des ydolastres deust dechéoir ceste grantz et saige nation. Ainsi peuent jouer Misire li filsoufe atout lour propre perte, mes à l'ore quand tiex fantaisies se respanderont es joenes bacheliers et parmy la menue gent, celz averont pour toute Loy* **manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur***; et trop isnellement l'en raccomencera la descente de l'eschiele, et d'home crestien deviendra hons sauvaiges, et d'home sauvaige gat-maimons, et de gat-maimon blayriaus.' Et fist encores* Messires Marc*: 'Maintes contrées et provinces et ysles et citéz je* Marc Pol *ay veues et de maintes genz de maintes manières ay les condicionz congneues, et je croy bien que il est plus assez dedens l'univers que ce que li nostre prestre n'y songent. Et puet bien estre, biaus sires, que li mondes n'a estés creés à tous poinz com nous creiens, ains d'une sorte encore plus merveillouse. Mes cil n'amenuise nullement nostre pensée de Diex et de sa majesté, ains la fait greingnour. Et contrée n'ay veue ou Dame Diex ne manifeste apertement les granz euvres de sa tout-poissante saigesse; gent n'ay congneue esquiex ne se fait sentir li fardels de pechié, et la besoingne de Phisicien des maladies de l'arme*

Quoniam multi pseudo-prophetae exierint*; et uns autres:* **Quod venient in novissimis diebus illusores ... dicentes, Ubi est promissio?** *et encores aus parolles que dist li Signours meismes:* **Vide ergo ne lumen quod in te est tenebrae sint**.

Commant Messires Marcs se partist de l'ysle de Bretaingne et de la proyère que fist.

"Et pourquoy vous en feroie-je lonc conte? Si print nef Messires Marcs *et se partist en nageant vers la terre ferme. Or* Messires Marc Pol *moult ama cel roiaume de* Bretaingne la grant *pour son viex renon et s'ancienne franchise, et pour sa saige et bonne Royne (que Diex gart), et pour les mainz homes de vaillance et bons chaceours et les maintes bonnes et honnestes dames qui y estoient. Et sachiés tout voirement que en estant delez le bort la nef, et en esgardant aus roches blanches que l'en par dariere-li lessoit,* Messires Marc *prieoit Diex, et disoit-il: 'Ha Sires Diex ay merci de cestuy vieix et noble royaume; fay-en pardurable forteresse de liberté et de joustice, et garde-le de tout meschief de dedens et de dehors; donne à sa gent droit esprit pour ne pas Diex guerroyer de ses dons, ne de richesce ne de savoir; et conforte-les fermement en ta foy' ..."*

A loud *Amen* seemed to peal from without, and the awakened reader started to his feet. And lo! it was the thunder of the winter-storm crashing among the many-tinted crags of Monte Pellegrino,—with the wind raging as it knows how to rage here in sight of the Isles of Æolus, and the rain dashing on the glass as ruthlessly as it well could have done, if, instead of Æolic Isles and many-tinted crags, the window had fronted a dearer shore beneath a northern sky, and looked across the grey Firth to the rain-blurred outline of the Lomond Hills.

But I end, saying to Messer Marco's prayer, Amen.

PALERMO, 31*st December*, 1874.

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[1] It would be ingratitude if this Preface contained no acknowledgment of the medals awarded to the writer, mainly for this work, by the Royal Geographical Society, and by the Geographical Society of Italy, the former under the Presidence of Sir Henry Rawlinson, the latter under that of the Commendatore C. Negri. Strongly as I feel the too generous appreciation of these labours implied in such awards, I confess to have been yet more deeply touched and gratified by practical evidence of the approval of the two distinguished Travellers mentioned above; as shown by Baron von Richthofen in his spontaneous proposal to publish a German version of the book under his own immediate supervision (a project in abeyance, owing to circumstances beyond his or my control); by Mr. Ney Elias in the fact of his having carried these ponderous volumes with him on his solitary journey across the Mongolian wilds!

[2] I am grateful to Mr. de Khanikoff for his especial recognition of these in a kindly review of the first edition in the *Academy*.

[3] Especially from Lieutenant Garnier's book, mentioned further on; the only existing source of illustration for many chapters of Polo.

[4] [Merged into the notes of the present edition.—H. C.]

[5] See page xxix.

[6] Writing in Italy, perhaps I ought to write, according to too prevalent modern Italian custom, *Polo Marco*. I have already *seen*, and in the work of a writer of

reputation, the Alexandrian geographer styled *Tolomeo Claudio*! and if this preposterous fashion should continue to spread, we shall in time have *Tasso Torquato*, *Jonson Ben*, Africa explored by *Park Mungo*, Asia conquered by *Lane Tamer*, Copperfield David by *Dickens Charles*, Homer Englished by *Pope Alexander*, and the Roman history done into French from the original of *Live Tite*!

[7] Introduction p. *24*, and *passim* in the notes.

[8] *Ibid*., p. *112*.

[9] See Introduction, pp. *51*, *57*.

[10] See Title of present volumes.

[11] Which quite agrees with the story of the document quoted at p. *77* of Introduction.

[12] Vol. i. p. 64, and p. 67.

[13] *I.e*. 1306; see Introduction, pp. *68–69*.

[14] The form which Marco gives to this word was probably a reminiscence of the Oriental corruption *failsúf*. It recalls to my mind a Hindu who was very fond of the word, and especially of applying it to certain of his fellow-servants. But as he used it, *bara failsúf*,—"great philosopher"—meant exactly the same as the modern slang "*Artful Dodger*"!

[15] See for the explanation of *Karma*, "the power that controls the universe," in the doctrine of atheistic Buddhism, HARDY'S*Eastern Monachism*, p. 5.

[16] Vol. ii. p. 316 (see also i. 348).

[17] Vol. ii. pp. 318–319.

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

xxi

THE amount of appropriate material, and of acquaintance with the mediæval geography of some parts of Asia, which was acquired during the compilation of a work of kindred character for the Hakluyt Society,[1] could hardly fail to suggest as a fresh labour in the same field the preparation of a new English edition of Marco Polo. Indeed one kindly critic (in the *Examiner*) laid it upon the writer as a duty to undertake that task.

Though at least one respectable English edition has appeared since Marsden's,[2] the latter has continued to be the standard edition, and maintains not only its reputation but its market value. It is indeed the work of a sagacious, learned, and right-minded man, which can never be spoken of otherwise than with respect. But since Marsden published his quarto (1818) vast stores of new knowledge have become available in elucidation both of the contents of Marco Polo's book and of its literary history. The works of writers such as Klaproth, Abel Rémusat, D'Avezac, Reinaud, Quatremère, Julien, I. J. Schmidt, Gildemeister, Ritter, Hammer-Purgstall, Erdmann, D'Ohsson, Defrémery, Elliot, Erskine, and many more, which throw light directly or incidentally on Marco Polo, have, for the most part, appeared since then. Nor, as regards the literary history of the book, were any just views possible at a time when what may be called the *Fontal* MSS. (in French) were unpublished and unexamined.

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Besides the works which have thus occasionally or incidentally thrown light upon the Traveller's book, various editions of the book itself have since Marsden's time been published in foreign countries, accompanied by comments of more or less value. All have contributed something to the illustration of the book or its history; the last and most learned of the editors, M. Pauthier, has so contributed in large measure. I had occasion some years ago[3] to speak freely my opinion of the merits and demerits of M. Pauthier's work; and to the latter at least I have no desire to recur here.

Another of his critics, a much more accomplished as well as more favourable one,[4] seems to intimate the opinion that there would scarcely be room in future for new commentaries. Something of the kind was said of Marsden's at the time of its publication. I imagine, however, that whilst our libraries endure the *Iliad* will continue to find new translators, and Marco Polo—though one hopes not so plentifully—new editors.

The justification of the book's existence must however be looked for, and it is hoped may be found, in the book itself, and not in the Preface. The work claims to be judged as a whole, but it may be allowable, in these days of scanty leisure, to indicate below a few instances of what is believed to be new matter in an edition of Marco Polo; by which however it is by no means intended that all such matter is claimed by the editor as his own.[5]

From the commencement of the work it was felt that the task was one which no man, though he were far better equipped and much more conveniently situated than the present writer, could satisfactorily accomplish from his own resources, and help was sought on special points wherever it seemed likely to be found. In scarcely any quarter was the application made in vain. Some who have aided most materially are indeed very old and valued friends; but to many others who have done the same the applicant was unknown; and some of these again, with whom the editor began correspondence on this subject as a stranger, he is happy to think that he may now call friends. xxiii

To none am I more indebted than to the Comm. GUGLIELMO BERCHET, of Venice, for his ample, accurate, and generous assistance in furnishing me with Venetian documents, and in many other ways. Especial thanks are also due to Dr. WILLIAM LOCKHART, who has supplied the materials for some of the most valuable illustrations; to Lieutenant FRANCIS GARNIER, of the French Navy, the gallant and accomplished leader (after the death of Captain Doudart de la Grée) of the memorable expedition up the Mekong to Yun-nan; to the Rev. Dr. CALDWELL, of the S. P. G. Mission in Tinnevelly, for copious and valuable notes on Southern India; to my friends Colonel ROBERT MACLAGAN, R.E., Sir ARTHUR PHAYRE, and Colonel HENRY MAN, for very valuable notes and other aid; to Professor A. SCHIEFNER, of St. Petersburg, for his courteous communication of very interesting illustrations not otherwise accessible; to Major-General ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, of my own corps, for several valuable letters; to my friends Dr. THOMAS OLDHAM, Director of the Geological Survey of India, Mr. DANIEL HANBURY, F.R.S., Mr. EDWARD THOMAS, Mr. JAMES FERGUSSON, F.R.S., Sir BARTLE FRERE, and Dr. HUGH CLEGHORN, for constant interest in the work and readiness to assist its progress; to Mr. A. WYLIE, the learned Agent of the B. and F. Bible Society at Shang-hai, for valuable help; to the Hon. G. P. MARSH, U.S. Minister at the Court of Italy, for untiring kindness in the communication of his ample stores of knowledge, and of books. I have also to express my obligations to Comm. NICOLÒ BAROZZI, Director of the City Museum at Venice, and to Professor A. S. MINOTTO, of the same city; to Professor ARMINIUS VÁMBÉRY, the eminent traveller; to Professor FLÜCKIGER of Bern; to the Rev. H. A. JAESCHKE, of the Moravian Mission in British Tibet; to Colonel LEWIS PELLY, British Resident in the Persian Gulf; to Pandit MANPHUL, C.S.I. (for a most interesting communication on Badakhshan); to my brother officer, Major T. G. MONTGOMERIE, R.E., of the Indian Trigonometrical Survey; to Commendatore NEGRI the indefatigable President of the Italian Geographical Society; to Dr. ZOTENBERG, of the Great Paris Library, and to M. CH. MAUNOIR, Secretary-General of the Société de Géographie; to Professor HENRY GIGLIOLI, at Florence; to my old friend Major-General ALBERT FYTCHE, Chief Commissioner of British Burma; to Dr. ROST and Dr. FORBES-WATSON, of the India Office Library and Museum; to Mr. R. H. MAJOR, and Mr. R. K. DOUGLAS, of the British Museum; to Mr. N. B. DENNYS, of Hong-kong; and to Mr. C. GARDNER, of the Consular Establishment in China. There are not a few others to whom my thanks are equally due; but it is feared that the number of names already mentioned may seem ridiculous, compared with the result, to those who do not appreciate from how xxiv xxv

acknowledgments to the present Earl of DERBY for his courteous permission, when at the head of the Foreign Office, to inspect Mr. Abbott's valuable unpublished Report upon some of the Interior Provinces of Persia; and to Mr. T. T. COOPER, one of the most adventurous travellers of modern times, for leave to quote some passages from his unpublished diary.

PALERMO, 31*st December*, 1870.

[*Original Dedication.*]

TO

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS,

M A R G H E R I T A,

Princess of Piedmont,

THIS ENDEAVOUR TO ILLUSTRATE THE LIFE AND WORK

OF A RENOWNED ITALIAN

IS

BY HER ROYAL HIGHNESS'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION

Dedicated

WITH THE DEEPEST RESPECT

BY

H. YULE.

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[1] *Cathay and The Way Thither, being a Collection of Minor Medieval Notices of China*. London, 1866. The necessities of the case have required the repetition in the present work of the substance of some notes already printed (but hardly published) in the other.

[2] Viz. Mr. Hugh Murray's. I mean no disrespect to Mr. T. Wright's edition, but it is, and professes to be, scarcely other than a reproduction of Marsden's, with abridgment of his notes.

[3] In the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1868.

[4] M. Nicolas Khanikoff.

[5] In the Preliminary Notices will be found new matter on the Personal and Family History of the Traveller, illustrated by Documents; and a more elaborate attempt than I have seen elsewhere to classify and account for the different texts of the work, and to trace their mutual relation.

As regards geographical elucidations, I may point to the explanation of the name *Gheluchelan* (i. p. 58), to the discussion of the route from Kerman to Hormuz, and the identification of the sites of Old Hormuz, of *Cobinan* and *Dogana*, the establishment of the position and continued existence of *Keshm*, the note on *Pein* and *Charchan*, on *Gog* and *Magog*, on the geography of the route from *Sindafu* to *Carajan*, on *Anin* and *Coloman*, on *Mutafili*, *Cail*, and *Ely*.

As regards historical illustrations, I would cite the notes regarding the Queens *Bolgana* and *Cocachin*, on the *Karaunahs*, etc., on the title of King of *Bengal* applied to the K. of Burma, and those bearing upon the Malay and Abyssinian chronologies.

In the interpretation of outlandish phrases, I may refer to the notes on *Ondanique*, *Nono*, *Barguerlac*, *Argon*, *Sensin*, *Keshican*, *Toscaol*, *Bularguchi*, *Gat-paul*, etc.

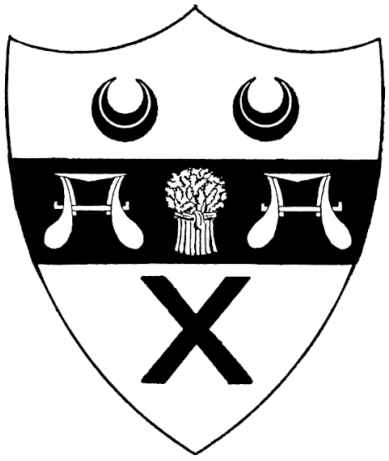
Among miscellaneous elucidations, to the disquisition on the *Arbre Sol* or *Sec* in vol. i., and to that on Mediæval Military Engines in vol. ii.

In a variety of cases it has been necessary to refer to Eastern languages for pertinent elucidations or etymologies. The editor would, however, be sorry to fall under the ban of the mediæval adage:

"*Vir qui docet quod non sapit*
Definitur Bestia!"

and may as well reprint here what was written in the Preface to *Cathay*:

"I am painfully sensible that in regard to many subjects dealt with in the following pages, nothing can make up for the want of genuine Oriental learning. A fair familiarity with Hindustani for many years, and some reminiscences of elementary Persian, have been useful in their degree; but it is probable that they may sometimes also have led me astray, as such slender lights are apt to do."



TO

HENRY YULE.

UNTIL you raised dead monarchs from the mould
And built again the domes of Xanadu,
I lay in evil case, and never knew
The glamour of that ancient story told
By good Ser Marco in his prison-hold.
But now I sit upon a throne and view
The Orient at my feet, and take of you
And Marco tribute from the realms of old.

If I am joyous, deem me not o'er bold;
If I am grateful, deem me not untrue;
For you have given me beauties to behold,
Delight to win, and fancies to pursue,
Fairer than all the jewelry and gold
Of Kublaï on his throne in Cambalu.

E. C. BABER.

20th July, 1884.

MEMOIR OF SIR HENRY YULE.

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HENRY YULE was the youngest son of Major William Yule, by his first wife, Elizabeth Paterson, and was born at Inveresk, in Midlothian, on 1st May, 1820. He was named after an *aunt* who, like Miss Ferrier's immortal heroine, owned a man's name.

On his father's side he came of a hardy agricultural stock,[1] improved by a graft from that highly-cultured tree, Rose of Kilravock.[2] Through his mother, a somewhat prosaic person herself, he inherited strains from Huguenot and Highland ancestry. There were recognisable traces of all these elements in Henry Yule, and as was well said by one of his oldest friends: "He was one of those curious racial compounds one finds on the east side of Scotland, in whom the hard Teutonic grit is sweetened by the artistic spirit of the more genial Celt."[3] His father, an officer of the Bengal army (born 1764, died 1839), was a man of cultivated tastes and enlightened mind, a good Persian and Arabic scholar, and possessed of much miscellaneous Oriental learning. During the latter years of his career in India, he served successively as Assistant Resident at the (then independent) courts of Lucknow[4] and Delhi. In the latter office his chief was the noble Ouchterlony. William Yule, together with his younger brother Udny,[5] returned home in 1806. "A recollection of their voyage was that they hailed an outward bound ship, somewhere off the Cape, through the trumpet: 'What news?' Answer: 'The King's mad, and Humfrey's beat Mendoza' (two celebrated prize-fighters and often matched). 'Nothing more?' 'Yes, Bonaparty's made his *Mother* King of Holland!'

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"Before his retirement, William Yule was offered the Lieut.-Governorship of St. Helena. Two of the detailed privileges of the office were residence at Longwood (afterwards the house of Napoleon), and the use of a certain number of the Company's slaves. Major Yule, who was a strong supporter of the anti-slavery cause till its triumph in 1834, often recalled both of these offers with amusement."[6]

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William Yule was a man of generous chivalrous nature, who took large views of life, apt to be unfairly stigmatised as Radical in the narrow Tory reaction that prevailed in Scotland during the early years of the 19th century.[7] Devoid of literary ambition, he wrote much for his private pleasure, and his knowledge and library (rich in Persian and Arabic MSS.) were always placed freely at the service of his friends and correspondents, some of whom, such as Major C. Stewart and Mr. William Erskine, were more given to publication than himself. He never travelled without a little 8vo MS. of Hafiz, which often lay under his pillow. Major Yule's only printed work was a lithographed edition of the *Apothegms* of 'Ali, the son of Abu Talib, in the Arabic, with an old Persian version and an English translation interpolated by himself. "This was privately issued in 1832, when the Duchesse d'Angoulême was living at Edinburgh, and the little work was inscribed to her, with whom an accident of neighbourhood and her kindness to the Major's youngest child had brought him into relations of goodwill."[8]

Henry Yule's childhood was mainly spent at Inveresk. He used to say that his earliest recollection was sitting with the little cousin, who long after became his wife, on the doorstep of her father's house in George Street, Edinburgh (now the Northern Club), listening to the performance of a passing piper. There was another episode which he recalled with humorous satisfaction. Fired by his father's tales of the jungle, Yule (then about six years old) proceeded to improvise an elephant pit in the back garden, only too successfully, for soon, with mingled terror and delight, he saw his uncle John[9] fall headlong into the snare. He lost his mother before he was eight, and almost his only remembrance of her was the circumstance of her having given him a little lantern to light him home on winter nights from his first school. On Sundays it was the Major's custom to lend his children, as a picture-book, a folio Arabic translation of the Four Gospels, printed at Rome in 1591, which contained excellent illustrations from Italian originals.[10] Of the pictures in this volume Yule seems never to have tired. The last page bore a MS. note in Latin to the effect that the volume had been read in the Chaldæan Desert by *Georgius Strachanus*, *Milnensis*, *Scotus*, who long remained unidentified, not to say mythical, in Yule's mind. But George Strachan never passed from his memory, and having ultimately run him to earth, Yule, sixty years later, published the results in an interesting article.[11]

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Two or three years after his wife's death, Major Yule removed to Edinburgh, and established himself in Regent's Terrace, on the face of the Calton Hill.[12] This continued to be Yule's home until his father's death, shortly before he went to India. "Here he learned to love the wide scenes of sea and land spread out around that hill—a love he never lost, at home or far away. And long years after, with beautiful Sicilian hills before him and a lovely sea, he writes words of fond recollection of the bleak Fife hills, and the grey Firth of Forth."[13]

Yule now followed his elder brother, Robert, to the famous High School, and in the summer holidays the two made expeditions to the West Highlands, the Lakes of Cumberland, and elsewhere. Major Yule chose his boys to have every reasonable indulgence and advantage, and when the British Association, in 1834, held its first Edinburgh meeting, Henry received a member's ticket. So, too, when the passing of the Reform Bill was celebrated in the same year by a great banquet, at which Lord Grey and other prominent politicians were present, Henry was sent to the dinner, probably the youngest guest there.[14]

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At this time the intention was that Henry should go to Cambridge (where his name was, indeed, entered), and after taking his degree study for the Bar. With this view he was, in 1833, sent to Waith, near Ripon, to be coached by the Rev. H. P. Hamilton, author of a well-known treatise, *On Conic Sections*, and afterwards Dean of Salisbury. At his tutor's hospitable rectory Yule met many notabilities of the day. One of them was Professor Sedgwick.

There was rumoured at this time the discovery of the first known (?) fossil monkey, but its tail was missing. "Depend upon it, Daniel O'Conell's got hold of it!" said 'Adam' briskly.[15] Yule was very happy with Mr. Hamilton and his kind wife, but on his tutor's removal to Cambridge other arrangements became necessary, and in 1835 he was transferred to the care of the Rev. James Challis, rector of Papworth St. Everard, a place which "had little to recommend it except a

dulness which made reading almost a necessity."[16] Mr. Challis had at this time two other resident pupils, who both, in most diverse ways, attained distinction in the Church. These were John Mason Neale, the future eminent ecclesiologist and founder of the devoted Anglican Sisterhood of St. Margaret, and Harvey Goodwin, long afterwards the studious and large-minded Bishop of Carlisle. With the latter, Yule remained on terms of cordial friendship to the end of his life. Looking back through more than fifty years to these boyish days, Bishop Goodwin wrote that Yule then "showed much more liking for Greek plays and for German than for mathematics, though he had considerable geometrical ingenuity."[17] On one occasion, having solved a problem that puzzled Goodwin, Yule thus discriminated the attainments of the three pupils: "The difference between you and me is this: You like it and can't do it; I don't like it and can do it. Neale neither likes it nor can do it." Not bad criticism for a boy of fifteen.[18]

xxxii

On Mr. Challis being appointed Plumerian Professor at Cambridge, in the spring of 1836, Yule had to leave him, owing to want of room at the Observatory, and he became for a time, a most dreary time, he said, a student at University College, London.

By this time Yule had made up his mind that not London and the Law, but India and the Army should be his choice, and accordingly in Feb. 1837 he joined the East India Company's Military College at Addiscombe. From Addiscombe he passed out, in December 1838, at the head of the cadets of his term (taking the prize sword[19]), and having been duly appointed to the Bengal Engineers, proceeded early in 1839 to the Headquarters of the Royal Engineers at Chatham, where, according to custom, he was enrolled as a "local and temporary Ensign." For such was then the invidious designation at Chatham of the young Engineer officers of the Indian army, who ranked as full lieutenants in their own Service, from the time of leaving Addiscombe.[20] Yule once audaciously tackled the formidable Pasley on this very grievance. The venerable Director, after a minute's pondering, replied: "Well, I don't remember what the reason was, but I have *no* doubt (*staccato*) it ... was ... a very ... *good* reason."[21]

"When Yule appeared among us at Chatham in 1839," said his friend Collinson, "he at once took a prominent place in our little Society by his slightly advanced age [he was then 18½], but more by his strong character.... His earlier education ... gave him a better classical knowledge than most of us possessed; then he had the reserve and self-possession characteristic of his race; but though he took small part in the games and other recreations of our time, his knowledge, his native humour, and his good comradeship, and especially his strong sense of right and wrong, made him both admired and respected.... Yule was not a scientific engineer, though he had a good general knowledge of the different branches of his profession; his natural capacity lay rather in varied knowledge, combined with a strong understanding and an excellent memory, and also a peculiar power as a draughtsman, which proved of great value in after life.... Those were nearly the last days of the old *régime*, of the orthodox double sap and cylindrical pontoons, when Pasley's genius had been leading to new ideas, and when Lintorn Simmons' power, G. Leach's energy, W. Jervois' skill, and R. Tylden's talent were developing under the wise example of Henry Harness."[22]

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In the Royal Engineer mess of those days (the present anteroom), the portrait of Henry Yule now faces that of his first chief, Sir Henry Harness. General Collinson said that the pictures appeared to eye each other as if the subjects were continuing one of those friendly disputes in which they so often engaged.[23]

It was in this room that Yule, Becher, Collinson, and other young R.E.'s, profiting by the temporary absence of the austere Colonel Pasley, acted some plays, including *Pizarro*. Yule bore the humble part of one of the Peruvian Mob in this performance, of which he has left a droll account.[24]

On the completion of his year at Chatham, Yule prepared to sail for India, but first went to take leave of his relative, General White. An accident prolonged his stay, and before he left he had proposed to and been refused by his cousin Annie. This occurrence, his first check, seems to have cast rather a gloom over his start for India. He went by the then newly-opened Overland Route, visiting Portugal, stopping at Gibraltar to see his cousin, Major (afterwards General) Patrick Yule, R.E.[25] He was under orders "to stop at Aden (then recently acquired), to report on the water supply, and to deliver a set of meteorological and magnetic instruments for starting an observatory there. The overland journey then really meant so; tramping across the desert to Suez with camels and Arabs, a proceeding not conducive to the preservation of delicate instruments; and on arriving at Aden he found that the intended observer was dead, the observatory not commenced, and the instruments all broken. There was thus nothing left for him but to go on at once" to Calcutta,[26] where he arrived at the end of 1840.

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His first service lay in the then wild Khasia Hills, whither he was detached for the purpose of devising means for the transport of the local coal to the plains. In spite of the depressing character of the climate (Cherrapunjee boasts the highest rainfall on record), Yule thoroughly enjoyed himself, and always looked back with special pleasure on the time he spent here. He was unsuccessful in the object of his mission, the obstacles to cheap transport offered by the dense forests and mighty precipices proving insurmountable, but he gathered a wealth of interesting observations on the country and people, a very primitive Mongolian race, which he subsequently embodied in two excellent and most interesting papers (the first he ever published).[27]

In the following year, 1842, Yule was transferred to the irrigation canals of the north-west with head-quarters at Kurnaul. Here he had for chief Captain (afterwards General Sir William) Baker, who became his dearest and most steadfast friend. Early in 1843 Yule had his first experience of field service. The death without heir of the Khytul Rajah, followed by the refusal of his family to surrender the place to the native troops sent to receive it, obliged Government to send a larger force against it, and the canal officers were ordered to join this. Yule was detailed to serve under Captain Robert Napier (afterwards F.-M. Lord Napier of Magdala). Their immediate duty was to mark out the route for a night march of the troops, barring access to all side roads, and neither officer having then had any experience of war, they performed the duty "with all the elaborate care of novices." Suddenly there was an alarm, a light detected, and a night attack awaited, when the danger resolved itself into Clerk Sahib's *khansamah* with welcome hot coffee![28] Their hopes were disappointed, there was no fighting, and the Fort of Khytul was found deserted by the enemy. It "was a strange scene of confusion—all the paraphernalia

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and accumulation of odds and ends of a wealthy native family lying about and inviting loot. I remember one beautiful crutch-stick of ebony with two rams' heads in jade. I took it and sent it in to the political authority, intending to buy it when sold. There was a sale, but my stick never appeared. Somebody had a more developed taste in jade.... Amid the general rummage that was going on, an officer of British Infantry had been put over a part of the palace supposed to contain treasure, and they—officers and all—were helping themselves. Henry Lawrence was one of the politicals under George Clerk. When the news of this affair came to him I was present. It was in a white marble loggia in the palace, where was a white marble chair or throne on a basement. Lawrence was sitting on this throne in great excitement. He wore an Afghan *choga*, a sort of dressing-gown garment, and this, and his thin locks, and thin beard were streaming in the wind. He always dwells in my memory as a sort of pythoness on her tripod under the afflatus."[29]

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During his Indian service, Yule had renewed and continued by letters his suit to Miss White, and persistency prevailing at last, he soon after the conclusion of the Khytul affair applied for leave to go home to be married. He sailed from Bombay in May, 1843, and in September of the same year was married, at Bath, to the gifted and large-hearted woman who, to the end, remained the strongest and happiest influence in his life.[30]

Yule sailed for India with his wife in November 1843. The next two years were employed chiefly in irrigation work, and do not call for special note. They were very happy years, except in the one circumstance that the climate having seriously affected his wife's health, and she having been brought to death's door, partly by illness, but still more by the drastic medical treatment of those days, she was imperatively ordered back to England by the doctors, who forbade her return to India.

Having seen her on board ship, Yule returned to duty on the canals. The close of that year, December, 1845, brought some variety to his work, as the outbreak of the first Sikh War called nearly all the canal officers into the field. "They went up to the front by long marches, passing through no stations, and quite unable to obtain any news of what had occurred, though on the 21st December the guns of Ferozshah were distinctly heard in their camp at Pehoa, at a distance of 115 miles south-east from the field, and some days later they came successively on the fields of Moodkee and of Ferozshah itself, with all the recent traces of battle. When the party of irrigation officers reached head-quarters, the arrangements for attacking the Sikh army in its entrenchments at Sobraon were beginning (though suspended till weeks later for the arrival of the tardy siege guns), and the opposed forces were lying in sight of each other."[31]

Yule's share in this campaign was limited to the sufficiently arduous task of bridging the Sutlej for the advance of the British army. It is characteristic of the man that for this reason he always abstained from wearing his medal for the Sutlej campaign.

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His elder brother, Robert Yule, then in the 16th Lancers, took part in that magnificent charge of his regiment at the battle of Aliwal (Jan. 28, 1846) which the Great Duke is said to have pronounced unsurpassed in history. From particulars gleaned from his brother and others present in the action, Henry Yule prepared a

spirited sketch of the episode, which was afterwards published as a coloured lithograph by M'Lean (Haymarket).

At the close of the war, Yule succeeded his friend Strachey as Executive Engineer of the northern division of the Ganges Canal, with his head-quarters at Roorkee, "the division which, being nearest the hills and crossed by intermittent torrents of great breadth and great volume when in flood, includes the most important and interesting engineering works."[32]

At Roorkee were the extensive engineering workshops connected with the canal. Yule soon became so accustomed to the din as to be undisturbed by the noise, but the unpunctuality and carelessness of the native workmen sorely tried his patience, of which Nature had endowed him with but a small reserve. Vexed with himself for letting temper so often get the better of him, Yule's conscientious mind devised a characteristic remedy. Each time that he lost his temper, he transferred a fine of two rupees (then about five shillings) from his right to his left pocket. When about to leave Roorkee, he devoted this accumulation of self-imposed fines to the erection of a sun-dial, to teach the natives the value of time. The late Sir James Caird, who told this legend of Roorkee as he heard it there in 1880, used to add, with a humorous twinkle of his kindly eyes, "It was a *very* handsome dial."[33]

From September, 1845, to March, 1847, Yule was much occupied intermittently, in addition to his professional work, by service on a Committee appointed by Government "to investigate the causes of the unhealthiness which has existed at Kurnal, and other portions of the country along the line of the Delhi Canal," and further, to report "whether an injurious effect on the health of the people of the Doab is, or is not, likely to be produced by the contemplated Ganges Canal." xxxviii

"A very elaborate investigation was made by the Committee, directed principally to ascertaining what relation subsisted between certain physical conditions of the different districts, and the liability of their inhabitants to miasmatic fevers." The principal conclusion of the Committee was, "that in the extensive epidemic of 1843, when Kurnaul suffered so seriously ... the greater part of the evils observed had not been the necessary and unavoidable results of canal irrigation, but were due to interference with the natural drainage of the country, to the saturation of stiff and retentive soils, and to natural disadvantages of site, enhanced by excess of moisture. As regarded the Ganges Canal, they were of opinion that, with due attention to drainage, improvement rather than injury to the general health might be expected to follow the introduction of canal irrigation."[34] In an unpublished note written about 1889, Yule records his ultimate opinion as follows: "At this day, and after the large experience afforded by the Ganges Canal, I feel sure that a verdict so favourable to the sanitary results of canal irrigation would not be given." Still the fact remains that the Ganges Canal has been the source of unspeakable blessings to an immense population.

The Second Sikh War saw Yule again with the army in the field, and on 13th Jan. 1849, he was present at the dismal 'Victory' of Chillianwallah, of which his most vivid recollection seemed to be the sudden apparition of Henry Lawrence, fresh from London, but still clad in the legendary Afghan cloak.

On the conclusion of the Punjab campaign, Yule, whose health had suffered, took furlough and went home to his wife. For the next three years they resided chiefly in

Scotland, though paying occasional visits to the Continent, and about 1850 Yule bought a house in Edinburgh. There he wrote "The African Squadron vindicated" (a pamphlet which was afterwards re-published in French), translated Schiller's *Kampf mit dem Drachen* into English verse, delivered Lectures on Fortification at the, now long defunct, Scottish Naval and Military Academy, wrote on Tibet for his friend Blackwood's Magazine, attended the 1850 Edinburgh Meeting of the British Association, wrote his excellent lines, "On the Loss of the *Birkenhead*," and commenced his first serious study of Marco Polo (by whose wondrous tale, however, he had already been captivated as a boy in his father's library—in Marsden's edition probably). But the most noteworthy literary result of these happy years was that really fascinating volume, entitled *Fortification for Officers of the Army and Students of Military History*, a work that has remained unique of its kind. This was published by Blackwood in 1851, and seven years later received the honour of (unauthorised) translation into French. Yule also occupied himself a good deal at this time with the practice of photography, a pursuit to which he never after reverted.

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In the spring of 1852, Yule made an interesting little semi-professional tour in company with a brother officer, his accomplished friend, Major R. B. Smith. Beginning with Kelso, "the only one of the Teviotdale Abbeys which I had not as yet seen," they made their way leisurely through the north of England, examining with impartial care abbeys and cathedrals, factories, brick-yards, foundries, timber-yards, docks, and railway works. On this occasion Yule, contrary to his custom, kept a journal, and a few excerpts may be given here, as affording some notion of his casual talk to those who did not know him.

At Berwick-on-Tweed he notes the old ramparts of the town: "These, erected in Elizabeth's time, are interesting as being, I believe, the only existing sample in England of the bastioned system of the 16th century.... The outline of the works seems perfect enough, though both earth and stone work are in great disrepair. The bastions are large with obtuse angles, square orillons, and double flanks originally casemated, and most of them crowned with cavaliers." On the way to Durham, "much amused by the discussions of two passengers, one a smooth-spoken, semi-clerical looking person; the other a brusque well-to-do attorney with a Northumbrian burr. Subject, among others, Protection. The Attorney all for 'cheap bread'— 'You wouldn't rob the poor man of his loaf,' and so forth. 'You must go with the *stgheam*, sir, you must go with the stgheam.' 'I never did, Mr. Thompson, and I never will,' said the other in an oily manner, singularly inconsistent with the sentiment." At Durham they dined with a dignitary of the Church, and Yule was roasted by being placed with his back to an enormous fire. "Coals are cheap at Durham," he notes feelingly, adding, "The party we found as heavy as any Edinburgh one. Smith, indeed, evidently has had little experience of really stupid Edinburgh parties, for he had never met with anything approaching to this before." (Happy Smith!) But thanks to the kindness and hospitality of the astronomer, Mr. Chevalier, and his gifted daughter, they had a delightful visit to beautiful Durham, and came away full of admiration for the (then newly established) University, and its grand *locale*. They went on to stay with an uncle by marriage of Yule's, in Yorkshire. At dinner he was asked by his host to explain Foucault's pendulum experiment. "I endeavoured to explain it somewhat, I hope, to the satisfaction of his doubts, but not at all to that of Mr. G. M., who most resolutely declined to take in

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any elucidation, coming at last to the conclusion that he entirely differed with me as to what North meant, and that it was useless to argue until we could agree about that!" They went next to Leeds, to visit Kirkstall Abbey, "a mediæval fossil, curiously embedded among the squalid brickwork and chimney stalks of a manufacturing suburb. Having established ourselves at the hotel, we went to deliver a letter to Mr. Hope, the official assignee, a very handsome, aristocratic-looking gentleman, who seemed as much out of place at Leeds as the Abbey." At Leeds they visited the flax mills of Messrs. Marshall, "a firm noted for the conscientious care they take of their workpeople.... We mounted on the roof of the building, which is covered with grass, and formerly was actually grazed by a few sheep, until the repeated inconvenience of their tumbling through the glass domes put a stop to this." They next visited some tile and brickworks on land belonging to a friend. "The owner of the tile works, a well-to-do burgher, and the apparent model of a West Riding Radical, received us in rather a dubious way: 'There are a many people has come and brought introductions, and looked at all my works, and then gone and set up for themselves close by. Now des you mean to say that you be really come all the way from Beng*u*l?' 'Yes, indeed we have, and we are going all the way back again, though we didn't exactly come from there to look at your brickworks.' 'Then you're not in the brick-making line, are you?' 'Why we've had xli
a good deal to do with making bricks, and may have again; but we'll engage that if we set up for ourselves, it shall be ten thousand miles from you.' This seemed in some degree to set his mind at rest...."

"A dismal day, with occasional showers, prevented our seeing Sheffield to advantage. On the whole, however, it is more cheerful and has more of a country-town look than Leeds—a place utterly without beauty of aspect. At Leeds you have vast barrack-like factories, with their usual suburbs of squalid rows of brick cottages, and everywhere the tall spiracles of the steam, which seems the pervading power of the place. Everything there is machinery—the machine is the intelligent agent, it would seem, the man its slave, standing by to tend it and pick up a broken thread now and then. At Sheffield ... you might go through most of the streets without knowing anything of the kind was going on. And steam here, instead of being a ruler, is a drudge, turning a grindstone or rolling out a bar of steel, but all the accuracy and skill of hand is the Man's. And consequently there was, we thought, a healthier aspect about the men engaged. None of the Rodgers remain who founded the firm in my father's time. I saw some pairs of his scissors in the show-room still kept under the name of *Persian* scissors."[35]

From Sheffield Yule and his friend proceeded to Boston, "where there is the most exquisite church tower I have ever seen," and thence to Lincoln, Peterborough, and Ely, ending their tour at Cambridge, where Yule spent a few delightful days.

In the autumn the great Duke of Wellington died, and Yule witnessed the historic pageant of his funeral. His furlough was now nearly expired, and early in December he again embarked for India, leaving his wife and only child, of a few xlii
weeks old, behind him. Some verses dated "Christmas Day near the Equator," show how much he felt the separation.

Shortly after his return to Bengal, Yule received orders to proceed to Aracan, and to examine and report upon the passes between Aracan and Burma, as also to improve communications and select suitable sites for fortified posts to hold the

same. These orders came to Yule quite unexpectedly late one Saturday evening, but he completed all preparations and started at daybreak on the following Monday, 24th Jan. 1853.

From Calcutta to Khyook Phyoo, Yule proceeded by steamer, and thence up the river in the *Tickler* gunboat to Krenggyuen. "Our course lay through a wilderness of wooded islands (50 to 200 feet high) and bays, sailing when we could, anchoring when neither wind nor tide served ... slow progress up the river. More and more like the creeks and lagoons of the Niger or a Guiana river rather than anything I looked for in India. The densest tree jungle covers the shore down into the water. For miles no sign of human habitation, but now and then at rare intervals one sees a patch of hillside rudely cleared, with the bare stems of the burnt trees still standing.... Sometimes, too, a dark tunnel-like creek runs back beneath the thick vault of jungle, and from it silently steals out a slim canoe, manned by two or three wild-looking Mugs or Kyens (people of the Hills), driving it rapidly along with their short paddles held vertically, exactly like those of the Red men on the American rivers."

At the military post of Bokhyong, near Krenggyuen, he notes (5th Feb.) that "Captain Munro, the adjutant, can scarcely believe that I was present at the Duke of Wellington's funeral, of which he read but a few days ago in the newspapers, and here am I, one of the spectators, a guest in this wild spot among the mountains—2½ months since I left England."

Yule's journal of his arduous wanderings in these border wilds is full of interest, but want of space forbids further quotation. From a note on the fly-leaf it appears that from the time of quitting the gun-boat at Krenggyuen to his arrival at Toungoop he covered about 240 miles on foot, and that under immense difficulties, even as to food. He commemorated his tribulations in some cheery humorous verse, but ultimately fell seriously ill of the local fever, aided doubtless by previous exposure and privation. His servants successively fell ill, some died and others had to be sent back, food supplies failed, and the route through those dense forests was uncertain; yet under all difficulties he seems never to have grumbled or lost heart. And when things were nearly at the worst, Yule restored the spirits of his local escort by improvising a wappenshaw, with a Sheffield gardener's knife, which he happened to have with him, for prize! When at last Yule emerged from the wilds and on 25th March marched into Prome, he was taken for his own ghost! "Found Fraser (of the Engineers) in a rambling phoongyee house, just under the great gilt pagoda. I went up to him announcing myself, and his astonishment was so great that he would scarcely shake hands!" It was on this occasion at Prome that Yule first met his future chief Captain Phayre—"a very young-looking man—very cordial," a description no less applicable to General Sir Arthur Phayre at the age of seventy!

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After some further wanderings, Yule embarked at Sandong, and returned by water, touching at Kyook Phyoo and Akyab, to Calcutta, which he reached on 1st May—his birthday.

The next four months were spent in hard work at Calcutta. In August, Yule received orders to proceed to Singapore, and embarked on the 29th. His duty was to report on the defences of the Straits Settlements, with a view to their improvement. Yule's recommendations were sanctioned by Government, but his journal bears

witness to the prevalence then, as since, of the penny-wise-pound-foolish system in our administration. On all sides he was met by difficulties in obtaining sites for batteries, etc., for which heavy compensation was demanded, when by the exercise of reasonable foresight, the same might have been secured earlier at a nominal price.

Yule's journal contains a very bright and pleasing picture of Singapore, where he found that the majority of the European population "were evidently, from their tongues, from benorth the Tweed, a circumstance which seems to be true of four-fifths of the Singaporeans. Indeed, if I taught geography, I should be inclined to class Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and Singapore together as the four chief towns of Scotland."

Work on the defences kept Yule in Singapore and its neighbourhood until the end of November, when he embarked for Bengal. On his return to Calcutta, Yule was appointed Deputy Consulting Engineer for Railways at Head-quarters. In this post xliv
he had for chief his old friend Baker, who had in 1851 been appointed by the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, Consulting Engineer for Railways to Government. The office owed its existence to the recently initiated great experiment of railway construction under Government guarantee.

The subject was new to Yule, "and therefore called for hard and anxious labour. He, however, turned his strong sense and unbiased view to the general question of railway communication in India, with the result that he became a vigorous supporter of the idea of narrow gauge and cheap lines in the parts of that country outside of the main trunk lines of traffic."[36]

The influence of Yule, and that of his intimate friends and ultimate successors in office, Colonels R. Strachey and Dickens, led to the adoption of the narrow (metre) gauge over a great part of India. Of this matter more will be said further on; it is sufficient at this stage to note that it was occupying Yule's thoughts, and that he had already taken up the position in this question that he thereafter maintained through life. The office of Consulting Engineer to Government for Railways ultimately developed into the great Department of Public Works.

As related by Yule, whilst Baker "held this appointment, Lord Dalhousie was in the habit of making use of his advice in a great variety of matters connected with Public Works projects and questions, but which had nothing to do with guaranteed railways, there being at that time no officer attached to the Government of India, whose proper duty it was to deal with such questions. In August, 1854, the Government of India sent home to the Court of Directors a despatch and a series of minutes by the Governor-General and his Council, in which the constitution of the Public Works Department as a separate branch of administration, both in the local governments and the government of India itself, was urged on a detailed plan."

In this communication Lord Dalhousie stated his desire to appoint Major Baker to the projected office of Secretary for the Department of Public Works. In the spring of 1855 these recommendations were carried out by the creation of the Department, with Baker as Secretary and Yule as Under Secretary for Public xlv
Works.

Meanwhile Yule's services were called to a very different field, but without his vacating his new appointment, which he was allowed to retain. Not long after the

conclusion of the second Burmese War, the King of Burma sent a friendly mission to the Governor-General, and in 1855 a return Embassy was despatched to the Court of Ava, under Colonel Arthur Phayre, with Henry Yule as Secretary, an appointment the latter owed as much to Lord Dalhousie's personal wish as to Phayre's good-will. The result of this employment was Yule's first geographical book, a large volume entitled *Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855*, originally printed in India, but subsequently re-issued in an embellished form at home (see over leaf). To the end of his life, Yule looked back to this "social progress up the Irawady, with its many quaint and pleasant memories, as to a bright and joyous holiday."[37] It was a delight to him to work under Phayre, whose noble and lovable character he had already learned to appreciate two years before in Pegu. Then, too, Yule has spoken of the intense relief it was to escape from the monotonous scenery and depressing conditions of official life in Bengal (Resort to Simla was the exception, not the rule, in these days!) to the cheerfulness and unconstraint of Burma, with its fine landscapes and merry-hearted population. "It was such a relief to find natives who would laugh at a joke," he once remarked in the writer's presence to the lamented E. C. Baber, who replied that he had experienced exactly the same sense of relief in passing from India to China.

Yule's work on Burma was largely illustrated by his own sketches. One of these represents the King's reception of the Embassy, and another, the King on his throne. The originals were executed by Yule's ready pencil, surreptitiously within his cocked hat, during the audience.

From the latter sketch Yule had a small oil-painting executed under his direction by a German artist, then resident in Calcutta, which he gave to Lord Dalhousie.[38]

The Government of India marked their approval of the Embassy by an unusual concession. Each of the members of the mission received a souvenir of the expedition. To Yule was given a very beautiful and elaborately chased small bowl, of nearly pure gold, bearing the signs of the Zodiac in relief.[39] xlvi

On his return to Calcutta, Yule threw himself heart and soul into the work of his new appointment in the Public Works Department. The nature of his work, the novelty and variety of the projects and problems with which this new branch of the service had to deal, brought Yule into constant, and eventually very intimate association with Lord Dalhousie, whom he accompanied on some of his tours of inspection. The two men thoroughly appreciated each other, and, from first to last, Yule experienced the greatest kindness from Lord Dalhousie. In this intimacy, no doubt the fact of being what French soldiers call *pays* added something to the warmth of their mutual regard: their forefathers came from the same *airt*, and neither was unmindful of the circumstance. It is much to be regretted that Yule preserved no sketch of Lord Dalhousie, nor written record of his intercourse with him, but the following lines show some part of what he thought:

"At this time [1849] there appears upon the scene that vigorous and masterful spirit, whose arrival to take up the government of India had been greeted by events so inauspicious. No doubt from the beginning the Governor-General was desirous to let it be understood that although new to India he was, and meant to be, master; ... Lord Dalhousie was by no means averse to frank dissent, provided *in the manner* it was never forgotten that he was Governor-General. Like his great predecessor Lord Wellesley, he was jealous of all familiarity and resented it.... The general

sentiment of those who worked under that ἄναξ ανδρῶν was one of strong and admiring affection ... and we doubt if a Governor-General ever embarked on the Hoogly amid deeper feeling than attended him who, shattered by sorrow and physical suffering, but erect and undaunted, quitted Calcutta on the 6th March 1856."[40] xlvii

His successor was Lord Canning, whose confidence in Yule and personal regard for him became as marked as his predecessor's.

In the autumn of 1856, Yule took leave and came home. Much of his time while in England was occupied with making arrangements for the production of an improved edition of his book on Burma, which so far had been a mere government report. These were completed to his satisfaction, and on the eve of returning to India, he wrote to his publishers[41] that the correction of the proof sheets and general supervision of the publication had been undertaken by his friend the Rev. W. D. Maclagan, formerly an officer of the Madras army (and now Archbishop of York).

Whilst in England, Yule had renewed his intimacy with his old friend Colonel Robert Napier, then also on furlough, a visitor whose kindly sympathetic presence always brought special pleasure also to Yule's wife and child. One result of this intercourse was that the friends decided to return together to India. Accordingly they sailed from Marseilles towards the end of April, and at Aden were met by the astounding news of the outbreak of the Mutiny.

On his arrival in Calcutta Yule, who retained his appointment of Under Secretary to Government, found his work indefinitely increased. Every available officer was called into the field, and Yule's principal centre of activity was shifted to the great fortress of Allahabad, forming the principal base of operations against the rebels. Not only had he to strengthen or create defences at Allahabad and elsewhere, but on Yule devolved the principal burden of improvising accommodation for the European troops then pouring into India, which ultimately meant providing for an army of 100,000 men. His task was made the more difficult by the long-standing chronic friction, then and long after, existing between the officers of the Queen's and the Company's services. But in a far more important matter he was always fortunate. As he subsequently recorded in a Note for Government: "Through all consciousness of mistakes and shortcomings, I have felt that I had the confidence of those whom I served, a feeling which has lightened many a weight." xlviii

It was at Allahabad that Yule, in the intervals of more serious work, put the last touches to his Burma book. The preface of the English edition is dated, "Fortress of Allahabad, Oct. 3, 1857," and contains a passage instinct with the emotions of the time. After recalling the "joyous holiday" on the Irawady, he goes on: "But for ourselves, standing here on the margin of these rivers, which a few weeks ago were red with the blood of our murdered brothers and sisters, and straining the ear to catch the echo of our avenging artillery, it is difficult to turn the mind to what seem dreams of past days of peace and security; and memory itself grows dim in the attempt to repass the gulf which the last few months has interposed between the present and the time to which this narrative refers."[42]

When he wrote these lines, the first relief had just taken place, and the second defence of Lucknow was beginning. The end of the month saw Sir Colin

Campbell's advance to the second—the real—relief of Lucknow. Of Sir Colin, Yule wrote and spoke with warm regard: "Sir Colin was delightful, and when in a good humour and at his best, always reminded me very much, both in manner and talk, of the General (*i.e.* General White, his wife's father). The voice was just the same and the quiet gentle manner, with its underlying keen dry humour. But then if you did happen to offend Sir Colin, it was like treading on crackers, which was not our General's way." xlix

When Lucknow had been relieved, besieged, reduced, and finally remodelled by the grand Roads and Demolitions Scheme of his friend Napier, the latter came down to Allahabad, and he and Yule sought diversion in playing quoits and skittles, the only occasion on which either of them is known to have evinced any liking for games.

Before this time Yule had succeeded his friend Baker as *de facto* Secretary to Government for Public Works, and on Baker's retirement in 1858, Yule was formally appointed his successor.[43] Baker and Yule had, throughout their association, worked in perfect unison, and the very differences in their characters enhanced the value of their co-operation; the special qualities of each friend mutually strengthened and completed each other. Yule's was by far the more original and creative mind, Baker's the more precise and, at least in a professional sense, the more highly-trained organ. In chivalrous sense of honour, devotion to duty, and natural generosity, the men stood equal; but while Yule was by nature impatient and irritable, and liable, until long past middle age, to occasional sudden bursts of uncontrollable anger, generally followed by periods of black depression and almost absolute silence,[44] Baker was the very reverse. Partly by natural temperament, but also certainly by severe self-discipline, his manner was invincibly placid and his temper imperturbable.[45] Yet none was more tenacious in maintaining whatever he judged right.

Baker, whilst large-minded in great matters, was extremely conventional in small ones, and Yule must sometimes have tried his feelings in this respect. The particulars of one such tragic occurrence have survived. Yule, who was colour-blind,[46] and in early life whimsically obstinate in maintaining his own view of colours, had selected some cloth for trousers undeterred by his tailor's timid remonstrance of "Not *quite* your usual taste, sir." The result was that the Under-Secretary to Government startled official Calcutta by appearing in brilliant claret-coloured raiment. Baker remonstrated: "Claret-colour! Nonsense, my trousers are silver grey," said Yule, and entirely declined to be convinced. "I think I *did* convince him at last," said Baker with some pride, when long after telling the story to the present writer. "And *then* he gave them up?" "Oh, no," said Sir William ruefully, "he wore those claret-coloured trousers to the very end." That episode probably belonged to the Dalhousie period. l

When Yule resumed work in the Secretariat at Calcutta at the close of the Mutiny, the inevitable arrears of work were enormous. This may be the proper place to notice more fully his action with respect to the choice of gauge for Indian railways already adverted to in brief. As we have seen, his own convictions led to the adoption of the metre gauge over a great part of India. This policy had great disadvantages not at first foreseen, and has since been greatly modified. In justice to Yule, however, it should be remembered that the conditions and requirements of

India have largely altered, alike through the extraordinary growth of the Indian export, especially the grain, trade, and the development of new necessities for Imperial defence. These new features, however, did but accentuate defects inherent in the system, but which only prolonged practical experience made fully apparent.

At the outset the supporters of the narrow gauge seemed to have the stronger position, as they were able to show that the cost was much less, the rails employed being only about ⅔rds the weight of those required by the broad gauge, and many other subsidiary expenses also proportionally less. On the other hand, as time li
passed and practical experience was gained, its opponents were able to make an even stronger case against the narrow gauge. The initial expenses were undoubtedly less, but the durability was also less. Thus much of the original saving was lost in the greater cost of maintenance, whilst the small carrying capacity of the rolling stock and loss of time and labour in shifting goods at every break of gauge, were further serious causes of waste, which the internal commercial development of India daily made more apparent. Strategic needs also were clamant against the dangers of the narrow gauge in any general scheme of Indian defence. Yule's connection with the Public Works Department had long ceased ere the question of the gauges reached its most acute stage, but his interest and indirect participation in the conflict survived. In this matter a certain parental tenderness for a scheme which he had helped to originate, combined with his warm friendship for some of the principal supporters of the narrow gauge, seem to have influenced his views more than he himself was aware. Certainly his judgment in this matter was not impartial, although, as always in his case, it was absolutely sincere and not consciously biased.

In reference to Yule's services in the period following the Mutiny, Lord Canning's subsequent Minute of 1862 may here be fitly quoted. In this the Governor-General writes: "I have long ago recorded my opinion of the value of his services in 1858 and 1859, when with a crippled and overtaxed staff of Engineer officers, many of them young and inexperienced, the G.-G. had to provide rapidly for the accommodation of a vast English army, often in districts hitherto little known, and in which the authority of the Government was barely established, and always under circumstances of difficulty and urgency. I desire to repeat that the Queen's army in India was then greatly indebted to Lieut.-Colonel Yule's judgment, earnestness, and ability; and this to an extent very imperfectly understood by many of the officers who held commands in that army.

"Of the manner in which the more usual duties of his office have been discharged it is unnecessary for me to speak. It is, I believe, known and appreciated as well by the Home Government as by the Governor-General in Council."

In the spring of 1859 Yule felt the urgent need of a rest, and took the, at that time, lii
most unusual step of coming home on three months' leave, which as the voyage then occupied a month each way, left him only one month at home. He was accompanied by his elder brother George, who had not been out of India for thirty years. The visit home of the two brothers was as bright and pleasant as it was brief, but does not call for further notice.

In 1860, Yule's health having again suffered, he took short leave to Java. His journal of this tour is very interesting, but space does not admit of quotation here.

He embodied some of the results of his observations in a lecture he delivered on his return to Calcutta.

During these latter years of his service in India, Yule owed much happiness to the appreciative friendship of Lord Canning and the ready sympathy of Lady Canning. If he shared their tours in an official capacity, the intercourse was much more than official. The noble character of Lady Canning won from Yule such wholehearted chivalrous devotion as, probably, he felt for no other friend save, perhaps in after days, Sir Bartle Frere. And when her health failed, it was to Yule's special care that Lord Canning entrusted his wife during a tour in the Hills. Lady Canning was known to be very homesick, and one day as the party came in sight of some ilexes (the evergreen oak), Yule sought to cheer her by calling out pleasantly: "Look, Lady Canning! There are *oaks*!" "No, no, Yule, *not* oaks," cried Sir C. B. "They are (solemnly) IBEXES." "No, *not* Ibexes, Sir C., you mean SILEXES," cried Capt. ——, the A.D.C.; Lady Canning and Yule the while almost choking with laughter.

On another and later occasion, when the Governor-General's camp was peculiarly dull and stagnant, every one yawning and grumbling, Yule effected a temporary diversion by pretending to tap the telegraph wires, and circulating through camp, what purported to be, the usual telegraphic abstract of news brought to Bombay by the latest English mail. The news was of the most astounding character, with just enough air of probability, in minor details, to pass muster with a dull reader. The effect was all he could wish—or rather more—and there was a general flutter in the camp. Of course the Governor-General and one or two others were in the secret, and mightily relished the diversion. But this pleasant and cheering intercourse was drawing to its mournful close. On her way back from Darjeeling, in November, 1861, Lady Canning (not then in Yule's care) was unavoidably exposed to the malaria of a specially unhealthy season. A few days' illness followed, and on 18th November, 1861, she passed calmly to

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"That remaining rest where night and tears are o'er."[47]

It was to Yule that Lord Canning turned in the first anguish of his loss, and on this faithful friend devolved the sad privilege of preparing her last resting-place. This may be told in the touching words of Lord Canning's letter to his only sister, written on the day of Lady Canning's burial, in the private garden at Barrackpoor[48]:—

"The funeral is over, and my own darling lies buried in a spot which I am sure she would have chosen of all others.... From the grave can be seen the embanked walk leading from the house to the river's edge, which she made as a landing-place three years ago, and from within 3 or 4 paces of the grave there is a glimpse of the terrace-garden and its balustrades, which she made near the house, and of the part of the grounds with which she most occupied herself.... I left Calcutta yesterday ... and on arriving here, went to look at the precise spot chosen for the grave. I could see by the clear full moon ... that it was exactly right. Yule was there superintending the workmen, and before daylight this morning a solid masonry vault had been completely finished.

"Bowie [Military Secretary] and Yule have done all this for me. It has all been settled since my poor darling died. She liked Yule. They used to discuss together

her projects of improvement for this place, architecture, gardening, the Cawnpore monument, etc., and they generally agreed. He knew her tastes well...."

The coffin, brought on a gun-carriage from Calcutta, "was carried by twelve soldiers of the 6th Regiment (Queen's), the A.D.C.'s bearing the pall. There were no hired men or ordinary funeral attendants of any kind at any part of the ceremony, and no lookers-on.... Yule was the only person not of the household staff. Had others who had asked" to attend "been allowed to do so, the numbers would have been far too large. liv

"On coming near the end of the terrace walk I saw that the turf between the walk and the grave, and for several yards all round the grave, was strewed thick with palm branches and bright fresh-gathered flowers—quite a thick carpet. It was a little matter, but so exactly what she would have thought of."[49]

And, therefore, Yule thought of this for her! He also recorded the scene two days later in some graceful and touching lines, privately printed, from which the following may be quoted:

"When night lowered black, and the circling shroud
Of storm rolled near, and stout hearts learned dismay;
Not Hers! To her tried Lord a Light and Stay
Even in the Earthquake and the palpable cloud
Of those dark months; and when a fickle crowd
Panted for blood and pelted wrath and scorn
On him she loved, her courage never stooped:
But when the clouds were driven, and the day
Poured Hope and glorious Sunshine, she who had borne,
The night with such strong Heart, withered and drooped,
Our queenly lily, and smiling passed away.
Now! let no fouling touch profane her clay,
Nor odious pomps and funeral tinsels mar
Our grief. But from our England's cannon car
Let England's soldiers bear her to the tomb
Prepared by loving hands. Before her bier
Scatter victorious palms; let Rose's bloom
Carpet its passage...."

Yule's deep sympathy in this time of sorrow strengthened the friendship Lord Canning had long felt for him, and when the time approached for the Governor-General to vacate his high office, he invited Yule, who was very weary of India, to accompany him home, where his influence would secure Yule congenial employment. Yule's weariness of India at this time was extreme. Moreover, after serving under such leaders as Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning, and winning their full confidence and friendship, it was almost repugnant to him to begin afresh with new men and probably new measures, with which he might not be in accord. lv Indeed, some little clouds were already visible on the horizon. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that Yule, under an impulse of lassitude and impatience, when accepting Lord Canning's offer, also 'burnt his boats' by sending in his resignation of the service. This decision Yule took against the earnest advice of his anxious and devoted wife, and for a time the results justified all her misgivings. She knew well, from past experience, how soon Yule wearied in the absence of compulsory employment. And in the event of the life in England not suiting him, for even Lord Canning's good-will might not secure perfectly

congenial employment for his talents, she knew well that his health and spirits would be seriously affected. She, therefore, with affectionate solicitude, urged that he should adopt the course previously followed by his friend Baker, that is, come home on furlough, and only send in his resignation after he saw clearly what his prospects of home employment were, and what he himself wished in the matter.

Lord Canning and Yule left Calcutta late in March, 1862; at Malta they parted never to meet again in this world. Lord Canning proceeded to England, and Yule joined his wife and child in Rome. Only a few weeks later, at Florence, came as a thunderclap the announcement of Lord Canning's unexpected death in London, on 17th June. Well does the present writer remember the day that fatal news came, and Yule's deep anguish, not assuredly for the loss of his prospects, but for the loss of a most noble and magnanimous friend, a statesman whose true greatness was, both then and since, most imperfectly realised by the country for which he had worn himself out.[50] Shortly after Yule went to England,[51] where he was cordially received by Lord Canning's representatives, who gave him a touching remembrance of his lost friend, in the shape of the silver travelling candlesticks, lvi
which had habitually stood on Lord Canning's writing-table.[52] But his offer to write Lord Canning's *Life* had no result, as the relatives, following the then recent example of the Hastings family, in the case of another great Governor-General, refused to revive discussion by the publication of any Memoir.

Nor did Yule find any suitable opening for employment in England, so after two or three months spent in visiting old friends, he rejoined his family in the Black Forest, where he sought occupation in renewing his knowledge of German. But it must be confessed that his mood both then and for long after was neither happy nor wholesome. The winter of 1862 was spent somewhat listlessly, partly in Germany and partly at the Hôtel des Bergues, Geneva, where his old acquaintance Colonel Tronchin was hospitably ready to open all doors. The picturesque figure of John Ruskin also flits across the scene at this time. But Yule was unoccupied and restless, and could neither enjoy Mr. Ruskin's criticism of his sketches nor the kindly hospitality of his Genevan hosts. Early in 1863 he made another fruitless visit to London, where he remained four or five months, but found no opening. Though unproductive of work, this year brought Yule official recognition of his services in the shape of the C.B., for which Lord Canning had long before recommended him.[53]

On rejoining his wife and child at Mornex in Savoy, Yule found the health of the former seriously impaired. During his absence, the kind and able English Doctor at Geneva had felt obliged to inform Mrs. Yule that she was suffering from disease of the heart, and that her life might end suddenly at any moment. Unwilling to add to Yule's anxieties, she made all necessary arrangements, but did not communicate this intelligence until he had done all he wished and returned, when she broke it to him very gently. Up to this year Mrs. Yule, though not strong and often ailing, had not allowed herself to be considered an invalid, but from this date doctor's orders lvii
left her no choice in the matter.[54]

About this time, Yule took in hand the first of his studies of mediæval travellers. His translation of the *Travels of Friar Jordanus* was probably commenced earlier; it was completed during the leisurely journey by carriage between Chambéry and Turin, and the Dedication to Sir Bartle Frere written during a brief halt at Genoa,

from which place it is dated. Travelling slowly and pleasantly by *vetturino* along the Riviera di Levante, the family came to Spezzia, then little more than a quiet village. A chance encounter with agreeable residents disposed Yule favourably towards the place, and a few days later he opened negotiations for land to build a house! Most fortunately for himself and all concerned these fell through, and the family continued their journey to Tuscany, and settled for the winter in a long rambling house, with pleasant garden, at Pisa, where Yule was able to continue with advantage his researches into mediæval travel in the East. He paid frequent visits to Florence, where he had many pleasant acquaintances, not least among them Charles Lever ("Harry Lorrequer"), with whom acquaintance ripened into warm and enduring friendship. At Florence he also made the acquaintance of the celebrated Marchese Gino Capponi, and of many other Italian men of letters. To this winter of 1863–64 belongs also the commencement of a lasting friendship with the illustrious Italian historian, Villari, at that time holding an appointment at Pisa. Another agreeable acquaintance, though less intimate, was formed with John Ball, the well-known President of the Alpine Club, then resident at Pisa, and with many others, among whom the name of a very cultivated German scholar, H. Meyer, specially recurs to memory.

In the spring of 1864, Yule took a spacious and delightful old villa, situated in the highest part of the Bagni di Lucca,[55] and commanding lovely views over the surrounding chestnut-clad hills and winding river. lviii

Here he wrote much of what ultimately took form in *Cathay and the Way Thither*. It was this summer, too, that Yule commenced his investigations among the Venetian archives, and also visited the province of Friuli in pursuit of materials for the history of one of his old travellers, the *Beato Odorico*. At Verona—then still Austrian—he had the amusing experience of being arrested for sketching too near the fortifications. However, his captors had all the usual Austrian *bonhomie* and courtesy, and Yule experienced no real inconvenience. He was much more disturbed when, a day or two later, the old mother of one of his Venetian acquaintances insisted on embracing him on account of his supposed likeness to Garibaldi!

As winter approached, a warmer climate became necessary for Mrs. Yule, and the family proceeded to Sicily, landing at Messina in October, 1864. From this point, Yule made a very interesting excursion to the then little known group of the Lipari Islands, in the company of that eminent geologist, the late Robert Mallet, F.R.S., a most agreeable companion.

On Martinmas Day, the Yules reached the beautiful capital of Sicily, Palermo, which, though they knew it not, was to be their home—a very happy one—for nearly eleven years.

During the ensuing winter and spring, Yule continued the preparation of *Cathay*, but his appetite for work not being satisfied by this, he, when in London in 1865, volunteered to make an Index to the third decade of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, in exchange for a set of such volumes as he did not possess. That was long before any Index Society existed; but Yule had special and very strong views of his own as to what an Index should be, and he spared no labour to realise his ideal.[56] This proved a heavier task than he had anticipated, and he got very weary before the Index was completed.

In the spring of 1866, *Cathay and the Way Thither* appeared, and at once took the high place which it has ever since retained. In the autumn of the same year Yule's attention was momentarily turned in a very different direction by a local insurrection, followed by severe reprisals, and the bombardment of Palermo by the Italian Fleet. His sick wife was for some time under rifle as well as shell fire; but cheerfully remarking that "every bullet has its billet," she remained perfectly serene and undisturbed. It was the year of the last war with Austria, and also of the suppression of the Monastic Orders in Sicily; two events which probably helped to produce the outbreak, of which Yule contributed an account to *The Times*, and subsequently a more detailed one to the *Quarterly Review*.[57] lix

Yule had no more predilection for the Monastic Orders than most of his countrymen, but his sense of justice was shocked by the cruel incidence of the measure in many cases, and also by the harshness with which both it and the punishment of suspected insurgents was carried out. Cholera was prevalent in Italy that year, but Sicily, which had maintained stringent quarantine, entirely escaped until large bodies of troops were landed to quell the insurrection, when a devastating epidemic immediately ensued, and re-appeared in 1867. In after years, when serving on the Army Sanitary Committee at the India Office, Yule more than once quoted this experience as indicating that quarantine restrictions may, in some cases, have more value than British medical authority is usually willing to admit.

In 1867, on his return from London, Yule commenced systematic work on his long projected new edition of the *Travels of Marco Polo*. It was apparently in this year that the scheme first took definite form, but it had long been latent in his mind. The Public Libraries of Palermo afforded him much good material, whilst occasional visits to the Libraries of Venice, Florence, Paris, and London, opened other sources. But his most important channel of supply came from his very extensive private correspondence, extending to nearly all parts of Europe and many centres in Asia. His work brought him many new and valued friends, indeed too many to mention, but amongst whom, as belonging specially to this period, three honoured names must be recalled here: Commendatore (afterwards Baron) Cristoforo Negri, the large-hearted Founder and First President of the Geographical Society of Italy, from whom Yule received his first public recognition as a geographer, Commendatore Guglielmo Berchet (affectionately nicknamed *il Bello e Buono*), ever generous in learned help, who became a most dear and honoured friend, and the Hon. George P. Marsh, U.S. Envoy to the Court of Italy, a man, both as scholar and friend, unequalled in his nation, perhaps almost unique anywhere. lx

Those who only knew Yule in later years, may like some account of his daily life at this time. It was his custom to rise fairly early; in summer he sometimes went to bathe in the sea,[58] or for a walk before breakfast; more usually he would write until breakfast, which he preferred to have alone. After breakfast he looked through his notebooks, and before ten o'clock was usually walking rapidly to the library where his work lay. He would work there until two or three o'clock, when he returned home, read the *Times*, answered letters, received or paid visits, and then resumed work on his book, which he often continued long after the rest of the household were sleeping. Of course his family saw but little of him under these circumstances, but when he had got a chapter of *Marco* into shape, or struck out

some new discovery of interest, he would carry it to his wife to read. She always took great interest in his work, and he had great faith in her literary instinct as a sound as well as sympathetic critic.

The first fruits of Yule's Polo studies took the form of a review of Pauthier's edition of *Marco Polo*, contributed to the *Quarterly Review* in 1868.

In 1870 the great work itself appeared, and received prompt generous recognition by the grant of the very beautiful gold medal of the Geographical Society of Italy, [59] followed in 1872 by the award of the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, while the Geographical and Asiatic Societies of Paris, the Geographical Societies of Italy and Berlin, the Academy of Bologna, and other learned bodies, enrolled him as an Honorary Member.

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Reverting to 1869, we may note that Yule, when passing through Paris early in the spring, became acquainted, through his friend M. Charles Maunoir, with the admirable work of exploration lately performed by Lieut. Francis Garnier of the French Navy. It was a time of much political excitement in France, the eve of the famous *Plébiscite*, and the importance of Garnier's work was not then recognised by his countrymen. Yule saw its value, and on arrival in London went straight to Sir Roderick Murchison, laid the facts before him, and suggested that no other traveller of the year had so good a claim to one of the two gold medals of the R.G.S. as this French naval Lieutenant. Sir Roderick was propitious, and accordingly in May the Patron's medal was assigned to Garnier, who was touchingly grateful to Yule; whilst the French Minister of Marine marked his appreciation of Yule's good offices by presenting him with the magnificent volumes commemorating the expedition.[60]

Yule was in Paris in 1871, immediately after the suppression of the Commune, and his letters gave interesting accounts of the extraordinary state of affairs then prevailing. In August, he served as President of the Geographical Section of the British Association at its Edinburgh meeting.

On his return to Palermo, he devoted himself specially to the geography of the Oxus region, and the result appeared next year in his introduction and notes to Wood's *Journey*. Soon after his return to Palermo, he became greatly interested in the plans, about which he was consulted, of an English church, the gift to the English community of two of its oldest members, Messrs Ingham and Whitaker. Yule's share in the enterprise gradually expanded, until he became a sort of volunteer clerk of the works, to the great benefit of his health, as this occupation during the next three years, whilst adding to his interests, also kept him longer in the open air than would otherwise have been the case. It was a real misfortune to Yule (and one of which he was himself at times conscious) that he had no taste for any out-of-door pursuits, neither for any form of natural science, nor for gardening, nor for any kind of sport nor games. Nor did he willingly ride.[61] He was always restless away from his books. There can be no doubt that want of sufficient air and exercise, reacting on an impaired liver, had much to do with Yule's unsatisfactory state of health and frequent extreme depression. There was no lack of agreeable and intelligent society at Palermo (society that the present writer recalls with cordial regard), to which every winter brought pleasant temporary additions, both English and foreign, the best of whom generally sought Yule's acquaintance. Old friends too were not wanting; many found their way to Palermo, and when such came, he

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was willing to show them hospitality and to take them excursions, and occasionally enjoyed these. But though the beautiful city and surrounding country were full of charm and interest, Yule was too much pre-occupied by his own special engrossing pursuits ever really to get the good of his surroundings, of which indeed he often seemed only half conscious.

By this time Yule had obtained, without ever having sought it, a distinct and, in some respects, quite unique position in geographical science. Although his *Essay on the Geography of the Oxus Region* (1872) received comparatively little public attention at home, it had yet made its mark once for all,[62] and from this time, if not earlier, Yule's high authority in all questions of Central Asian geography was generally recognised. He had long ere this, almost unconsciously, laid the broad foundations of that "Yule method," of which Baron von Richthofen has written so eloquently, declaring that not only in his own land, "but also in the literatures of France, Italy, Germany, and other countries, the powerful stimulating influence of the Yule method is visible."[63] More than one writer has indeed boldly compared Central Asia before Yule to Central Africa before Livingstone! lxiii

Yule had wrought from sheer love of the work and without expectation of public recognition, and it was therefore a great surprise as well as gratification to him, to find that the demand for his *Marco Polo* was such as to justify the appearance of a second edition only a few years after the first. The preparation of this enlarged edition, with much other miscellaneous work (see subjoined bibliography), and the superintendence of the building of the church already named, kept him fully occupied for the next three years.

Amongst the parerga and miscellaneous occupations of Yule's leisure hours in the period 1869–74, may be mentioned an interesting correspondence with Professor W. W. Skeat on the subject of *William of Palerne* and Sicilian examples of the Werwolf; the skilful analysis and exposure of Klaproth's false geography;[64] the purchase and despatch of Sicilian seeds and young trees for use in the Punjab, at the request of the Indian Forestry Department; translations (prepared for friends) of tracts on the cultivation of Sumach and the collection of Manna as practised in Sicily; also a number of small services rendered to the South Kensington Museum, at the request of the late Sir Henry Cole. These latter included obtaining Italian and Sicilian bibliographic contributions to the Science and Art Department's *Catalogue of Books on Art*, selecting architectural subjects to be photographed;[65] negotiating the purchase of the original drawings illustrative of Padre B. Gravina's great work on the Cathedral of Monreale; and superintending the execution of a copy in mosaic of the large mosaic picture (in the Norman Palatine Chapel, Palermo,) of the Entry of our Lord into Jerusalem.

In the spring of 1875, just after the publication of the second edition of *Marco Polo*, Yule had to mourn the loss of his noble wife. He was absent from Sicily at the time, but returned a few hours after her death on 30th April. She had suffered for many years from a severe form of heart disease, but her end was perfect peace. She was laid to rest, amid touching tokens of both public and private sympathy, in the beautiful camposanto on Monte Pellegrino. What her loss was to Yule only his oldest and closest friends were in a position to realise. Long years of suffering had impaired neither the soundness of her judgment nor the sweetness, and even gaiety, of her happy, unselfish disposition. And in spirit, as even in appearance, she lxiv

retained to the very last much of the radiance of her youth. Nor were her intellectual gifts less remarkable. Few who had once conversed with her ever forgot her, and certainly no one who had once known her intimately ever ceased to love her.[66]

Shortly after this calamity, Yule removed to London, and on the retirement of his old friend, Sir William Baker, from the India Council early that autumn, Lord Salisbury at once selected him for the vacant seat. Nothing would ever have made him a party-man, but he always followed Lord Salisbury with conviction, and worked under him with steady confidence.

In 1877 Yule married, as his second wife, the daughter of an old friend,[67] a very amiable woman twenty years his junior, who made him very happy until her untimely death in 1881. From the time of his joining the India Council, his duties at the India Office of course occupied a great part of his time, but he also continued to do an immense amount of miscellaneous literary work, as may be seen by reference to the subjoined bibliography, (itself probably incomplete). In Council he invariably lxv
"showed his strong determination to endeavour to deal with questions on their own merits and not only by custom and precedent."[68] Amongst subjects in which he took a strong line of his own in the discussions of the Council, may be specially instanced his action in the matter of the cotton duties (in which he defended native Indian manufactures as against hostile Manchester interests); the Vernacular Press Act, the necessity for which he fully recognised; and the retention of Kandahar, for which he recorded his vote in a strong minute. In all these three cases, which are typical of many others, his opinion was overruled, but having been carefully and deliberately formed, it remained unaffected by defeat.

In all matters connected with Central Asian affairs, Yule's opinion always carried great weight; some of his most competent colleagues indeed preferred his authority in this field to that of even Sir Henry Rawlinson, possibly for the reason given by Sir M. Grant Duff, who has epigrammatically described the latter as good in Council but dangerous in counsel.[69]

Yule's courageous independence and habit of looking at all public questions by the simple light of what appeared to him right, yet without fads or doctrinairism, earned for him the respect of the successive Secretaries of State under whom he served, and the warm regard and confidence of his other colleagues. The value attached to his services in Council was sufficiently shown by the fact that when the period of ten years (for which members are usually appointed), was about to expire, Lord Hartington (now Duke of Devonshire), caused Yule's appointment to be renewed for life, under a special Act of Parliament passed for this purpose in 1885.

His work as a member of the Army Sanitary Committee, brought him into communication with Miss Florence Nightingale, a privilege which he greatly valued and enjoyed, though he used to say: "She is worse than a Royal Commission to answer, and, in the most gracious charming manner possible, immediately finds out all I don't know!" Indeed his devotion to the "Lady-in-Chief" was scarcely less complete than Kinglake's.

In 1880, Yule was appointed to the Board of Visitors of the Government Indian lxvi
Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, a post which added to his sphere of interests without materially increasing his work. In 1882, he was much gratified by being

named an Honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, more especially as it was to fill one of the two vacancies created by the deaths of Thomas Carlyle and Dean Stanley.

Yule had been President of the Hakluyt Society from 1877, and in 1885 was elected President also of the Royal Asiatic Society. He would probably also have been President of the Royal Geographical Society, but for an untoward incident. Mention has already been made of his constant determination to judge all questions by the simple touchstone of what he believed to be right, irrespective of personal considerations. It was in pursuance of these principles that, at the cost of great pain to himself and some misrepresentation, he in 1878 sundered his long connection with the Royal Geographical Society, by resigning his seat on their Council, solely in consequence of their adoption of what he considered a wrong policy. This severance occurred just when it was intended to propose him as President. Some years later, at the personal request of the late Lord Aberdare, a President in all respects worthy of the best traditions of that great Society, Yule consented to rejoin the Council, which he re-entered as a Vice-President.

In 1883, the University of Edinburgh celebrated its Tercentenary, when Yule was selected as one of the recipients of the honorary degree of LL.D. His letters from Edinburgh, on this occasion, give a very pleasant and amusing account of the festivity and of the celebrities he met. Nor did he omit to chronicle the envious glances cast, as he alleged, by some British men of science on the splendours of foreign Academic attire, on the yellow robes of the Sorbonne, and the Palms of the Institute of France! Pasteur was, he wrote, the one most enthusiastically acclaimed of all who received degrees.

I think it was about the same time that M. Renan was in England, and called upon Sir Henry Maine, Yule, and others at the India Office. On meeting just after, the colleagues compared notes as to their distinguished but unwieldy visitor. "It seems that *le style n'est pas l'homme même* in *this* instance," quoth "Ancient Law" to "Marco Polo." And here it may be remarked that Yule so completely identified himself with his favourite traveller that he frequently signed contributions to the public press as MARCUS PAULUS VENETUS or M.P.V. His more intimate friends also gave him the same *sobriquet*, and once, when calling on his old friend, Dr. John Brown (the beloved chronicler of *Rab and his Friends*), he was introduced by Dr. John to some lion-hunting American visitors as "our Marco Polo." The visitors evidently took the statement in a literal sense, and scrutinised Yule closely.[70] lxvii

In 1886 Yule published his delightful *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, with the whimsical but felicitous sub-title of *Hobson-Jobson* (the name given by the rank and file of the British Army in India to the religious festival in celebration of Hassan and Husaïn).

This *Glossary* was an abiding interest to both Yule and the present writer. Contributions of illustrative quotations came from most diverse and unexpected sources, and the arrival of each new word or happy quotation was quite an event, and gave such pleasure to the recipients as can only be fully understood by those who have shared in such pursuits. The volume was dedicated in affecting terms to his elder brother, Sir George Yule, who, unhappily, did not survive to see it completed.

In July 1885, the two brothers had taken the last of many happy journeys together, proceeding to Cornwall and the Scilly Isles. A few months later, on 13th January 1886, the end came suddenly to the elder, from the effects of an accident at his own door.[71]

It may be doubted if Yule ever really got over the shock of this loss, though he went on with his work as usual, and served that year as a Royal Commissioner on the occasion of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886.

From 1878, when an accidental chill laid the foundations of an exhausting, though happily quite painless, malady, Yule's strength had gradually failed, although for several years longer his general health and energies still appeared unimpaired to a casual observer. The condition of public affairs also, in some lxviii
degree, affected his health injuriously. The general trend of political events from 1880 to 1886 caused him deep anxiety and distress, and his righteous wrath at what he considered the betrayal of his country's honour in the cases of Frere, of Gordon, and of Ireland, found strong, and, in a noble sense, passionate expression in both prose and verse. He was never in any sense a party man, but he often called himself "one of Mr. Gladstone's converts," *i.e.* one whom Gladstonian methods had compelled to break with liberal tradition and prepossessions.

Nothing better expresses Yule's feeling in the period referred to than the following letter, written in reference to the R. E. Gordon Memorial,[72] but of much wider application: "Will you allow me an inch or two of space to say to my brother officers, 'Have nothing to do with the proposed Gordon Memorial.'

"That glorious memory is in no danger of perishing and needs no memorial. Sackcloth and silence are what it suggests to those who have guided the action of England; and Englishmen must bear the responsibility for that action and share its shame. It is too early for atoning memorials; nor is it possible for those who take part in them to dissociate themselves from a repulsive hypocrisy.

"Let every one who would fain bestow something in honour of the great victim, do, in silence, some act of help to our soldiers or their families, or to others who are poor and suffering.

"In later days our survivors or successors may look back with softened sorrow and pride to the part which men of our corps have played in these passing events, and Charles Gordon far in the front of all; and then they may set up our little tablets, or what not—not to preserve the memory of our heroes, but to maintain the integrity of our own record of the illustrious dead."

Happily Yule lived to see the beginning of better times for his country. One of the first indications of that national awakening was the right spirit in which the public, for the most part, received Lord Wolseley's stirring appeal at the close of 1888, and Yule was so much struck by the parallelism between Lord Wolseley's warning and some words of his own contained in the pseudo-Polo fragment (see lxix
above, end of Preface), that he sent Lord Wolseley the very last copy of the 1875 edition of *Marco Polo*, with a vigorous expression of his sentiments.

That was probably Yule's last utterance on a public question. The sands of life were now running low, and in the spring of 1889, he felt it right to resign his seat on the India Council, to which he had been appointed for life. On this occasion

Lord Cross, then Secretary of State for India, successfully urged his acceptance of the K.C.S.I., which Yule had refused several years before.

In the House of Lords, Viscount Cross subsequently referred to his resignation in the following terms. He said: "A vacancy on the Council had unfortunately occurred through the resignation from ill-health of Sir Henry Yule, whose presence on the Council had been of enormous advantage to the natives of the country. A man of more kindly disposition, thorough intelligence, high-minded, upright, honourable character, he believed did not exist; and he would like to bear testimony to the estimation in which he was held, and to the services which he had rendered in the office he had so long filled."[73]

This year the Hakluyt Society published the concluding volume of Yule's last work of importance, the *Diary of Sir William Hedges*. He had for several years been collecting materials for a full memoir of his great predecessor in the domain of historical geography, the illustrious Rennell.[74] This work was well advanced as to preliminaries, but was not sufficiently developed for early publication at the time of Yule's death, and ere it could be completed its place had been taken by a later enterprise.

During the summer of 1889, Yule occupied much of his leisure by collecting and revising for re-issue many of his miscellaneous writings. Although not able to do much at a time, this desultory work kept him occupied and interested, and gave him much pleasure during many months. It was, however, never completed. Yule went to the seaside for a few weeks in the early summer, and subsequently many pleasant lxx
days were spent by him among the Surrey hills, as the guest of his old friends Sir Joseph and Lady Hooker. Of their constant and unwearied kindness, he always spoke with most affectionate gratitude. That autumn he took a great dislike to the English climate; he hankered after sunshine, and formed many plans, eager though indefinite, for wintering at Cintra, a place whose perfect beauty had fascinated him in early youth. But increasing weakness made a journey to Portugal, or even the South of France, an alternative of which he also spoke, very inexpedient, if not absolutely impracticable. Moreover, he would certainly have missed abroad the many friends and multifarious interests which still surrounded him at home. He continued to take drives, and occasionally called on friends, up to the end of November, and it was not until the middle of December that increasing weakness obliged him to take to his bed. He was still, however, able to enjoy seeing his friends—some to the very end, and he had a constant stream of visitors, mostly old friends, but also a few newer ones, who were scarcely less welcome. He also kept up his correspondence to the last, three attached brother R.E.'s, General Collinson, General Maclagan, and Major W. Broadfoot, taking it in turn with the present writer to act as his amanuensis.

On Friday, 27th December, Yule received a telegram from Paris, announcing his nomination that day as Corresponding Member of the Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions), one of the few distinctions of any kind of which it can still be said that it has at no time lost any of its exalted dignity.

An honour of a different kind that came about the same time, and was scarcely less prized by him, was a very beautiful letter of farewell and benediction from Miss Florence Nightingale,[75] which he kept under his pillow and read many times. On the 28th, he dictated to the present writer his acknowledgment, also by

telegraph, of the great honour done him by the Institute. The message was in the following words: "Reddo gratias, Illustrissimi Domini, ob honores tanto nimios quanto immeritos! Mihi robora deficiunt, vita collabitur, accipiatis voluntatem pro facto. Cum corde pleno et gratissimo moriturus vos, Illustrissimi Domini, saluto. lxxi

Sunday, 29th December, was a day of the most dense black fog, and he felt its oppression, but was much cheered by a visit from his ever faithful friend, Collinson, who, with his usual unselfishness, came to him that day at very great personal inconvenience. YULE."

On Monday, 30th December, the day was clearer, and Henry Yule awoke much refreshed, and in a peculiarly happy and even cheerful frame of mind. He said he felt so comfortable. He spoke of his intended book, and bade his daughter write about the inevitable delay to his publisher: "Go and write to John Murray," were indeed his last words to her. During the morning he saw some friends and relations, but as noon approached his strength flagged, and after a period of unconsciousness, he passed peacefully away in the presence of his daughter and of an old friend, who had come from Edinburgh to see him, but arrived too late for recognition. Almost at the same time that Yule fell asleep, his "stately message,"[76] was being read under the great Dome in Paris. Some two hours after Yule had passed away, F.-M. Lord Napier of Magdala, called on an errand of friendship, and at his desire was admitted to see the last of his early friend. When Lord Napier came out, he said to the present writer, in his own reflective way: "He looks as if he had just settled to some great work." With these suggestive words of the great soldier, who was so soon, alas, to follow his old friend to the work of another world, this sketch may fitly close.

The following excellent verses (of unknown authorship) on Yule's death, subsequently appeared in the *Academy*:[77]

"'Moriturus vos saluto'
Breathes his last the dying scholar—
Tireless student, brilliant writer;
He 'salutes his age' and journeys
To the Undiscovered Country.
There await him with warm welcome lxxii
All the heroes of old Story—
The Venetians, the Cà Polo,
Marco, Nicolo, Maffeo,
Odoric of Pordenone,
Ibn Batuta, Marignolli,
Benedict de Goës—'Seeking
Lost Cathay and finding Heaven.'
Many more whose lives he cherished
With the piety of learning;
Fading records, buried pages,
Failing lights and fires forgotten,
By his energy recovered,
By his eloquence re-kindled.
'Moriturus vos saluto'
Breathes his last the dying scholar,
And the far off ages answer:
Immortales te salutant. D. M."

The same idea had been previously embodied, in very felicitous language, by the late General Sir William Lockhart, in a letter which that noble soldier addressed to the present writer a few days after Yule's death. And Yule himself would have taken pleasure in the idea of those meetings with his old travellers, which seemed so certain to his surviving friends.[78]

He rests in the old cemetery at Tunbridge Wells, with his second wife, as he had directed. A great gathering of friends attended the first part of the burial service which was held in London on 3rd January, 1890. Amongst those present were witnesses of every stage of his career, from his boyish days at the High School of Edinburgh downwards. His daughter, of course, was there, led by the faithful, peerless friend who was so soon to follow him into the Undiscovered Country.[79] She and his youngest nephew, with two cousins and a few old friends, followed his remains over the snow to the graveside. The epitaph subsequently inscribed on the tomb was penned by Yule himself, but is by no means representative of his powers in a kind of composition in which he had so often excelled in the service of others. As a composer of epitaphs and other monumental inscriptions few of our time have surpassed, if any have equalled him, in his best efforts.

SIR GEORGE UDNY YULE, C.B., K.C.S.I.[80] lxxiii

GEORGE UDNY YULE, born at Inveresk in 1813, passed through Haileybury into the Bengal Civil Service, which he entered at the age of 18 years. For twenty-five years his work lay in Eastern Bengal. He gradually became known to the Government for his activity and good sense, but won a far wider reputation as a mighty hunter, alike with hog-spear and double barrel. By 1856 the roll of his slain tigers exceeded four hundred, some of them of special fame; after that he continued slaying his tigers, but ceased to count them. For some years he and a few friends used annually to visit the plains of the Brahmaputra, near the Garrow Hills—an entirely virgin country then, and swarming with

large game. Yule used to describe his once seeing seven rhinoceroses at once on the great plain, besides herds of wild buffalo and deer of several kinds. One of the party started the theory that Noah's Ark had been shipwrecked there! In those days George Yule was the only man to whom the Maharajah of Nepaul, Sir Jung Bahadur, conceded leave to shoot within his frontier.

Yule was first called from his useful obscurity in 1856. The year before, the Sonthals in insurrection disturbed the long unbroken peace of the Delta. These were a numerous non-Aryan, uncivilised, but industrious race, driven wild by local mismanagement, and the oppressions of Hindoo usurers acting through the regulation courts. After the suppression of their rising, Yule was selected by Sir F. Halliday, who knew his man, to be Commissioner of the Bhagulpoor Division, containing some six million souls, and embracing the hill country of the Sonthals. He obtained sanction to a code for the latter, which removed these people entirely from the Court system, and its tribe of leeches, and abolished all intermediaries between the Sahib and the Sonthal peasant. Through these measures, and his personal influence, aided by picked assistants, he was able to effect, with extraordinary rapidity, not only their entire pacification, but such a beneficial change in their material condition, that they have risen from a state of barbarous penury to comparative prosperity and comfort.

George Yule was thus engaged when the Mutiny broke out, and it soon made itself felt in the districts under him. To its suppression within his limits, he addressed himself with characteristic vigour. Thoroughly trusted by every class—by his Government, by those under him, by planters and by Zemindars—he organised a little force, comprising a small detachment of the 5th Regiment, a party of British sailors, mounted volunteers from the districts, etc., and of this he became practically the captain. Elephants were collected from all quarters to spare the legs of his infantry and sailors; while dog-carts were turned into limbers for the small three-pounders of the seamen. And with this little army George Yule scoured the Trans-Gangetic districts, leading it against bodies of the Mutineers, routing them upon more than one occasion, and out-manœuvring them by his astonishing marches, till he succeeded in driving them across the Nepaul frontier. No part of Bengal was at any time in such danger, and nowhere was the danger more speedily and completely averted.

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After this Yule served for two or three years as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, where in 1862 he married Miss Pemberton, the daughter of a very able father, and the niece of Sir Donald MacLeod, of honoured and beloved memory. Then for four or five years he was Resident at Hyderabad, where he won the enduring friendship of Sir Salar Jung. "Everywhere he showed the same characteristic firm but benignant justice. Everywhere he gained the lasting attachment of all with whom he had intimate dealings—except tigers and scoundrels."

Many years later, indignant at the then apparently supine attitude of the British Government in the matter of the Abyssinian captives, George Yule wrote a letter (necessarily published without his name, as he was then on the Governor-General's Council), to the editor of an influential Indian paper, proposing a private expedition should be organised for their delivery from King Theodore, and inviting the editor (Dr. George Smith) to open a list of subscriptions in his paper for this purpose, to which Yule offered to contribute £2000 by way of beginning. Although impracticable in itself, it is probable that, as in other cases, the existence of such a project may have helped to force the Government into action. The particulars of the above incident were printed by Dr. Smith in his *Memoir of the Rev. John Wilson*, but are given here from memory.

From Hyderabad he was promoted in 1867 to the Governor-General's Council, but his health broke down under the sedentary life, and he retired and came home in 1869.

George Birdwood to establish the celebration of Primrose Day (for he also was "one of Mr. Gladstone's converts"). Sir George Yule never sought 'London Society' or public employment, but in 1877 he was offered and refused the post of Financial Adviser to the Khedive under the Dual control. When his feelings were stirred he made useful contributions to the public press, which, after his escape from official trammels, were always signed. The very last of these (*St. James Gazette*, 24th February 1885) was a spirited protest against the snub administered by the late Lord Derby, as Secretary of State, to the Colonies, when they had generously offered assistance in the Soudan campaign. He lived a quiet, happy, and useful life in London, where he was the friend and unwearied helper of all who needed help. He found his chief interests in books and flowers, and in giving others pleasure. Of rare unselfishness and sweet nature, single in mind and motive, fearing God and knowing no other fear, he was regarded by a large number of people with admiring affection. He met his death by a fall on the frosty pavement at his door, in the very act of doing a kindness. An interesting sketch of Sir George Yule's Indian career, by one who knew him thoroughly, is to be found in Sir Edward Braddon's *Thirty Years of Shikar*. An account of his share in the origin of Primrose Day appeared in the *St. James' Gazette* during 1891.

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[1] There is a vague tradition that these Yules descend from the same stock as the Scandinavian family of the same name, which gave Denmark several men of note, including the great naval hero Niels Juel. The portraits of these old Danes offer a certain resemblance of type to those of their Scots namesakes, and Henry Yule liked to play with the idea, much in the same way that he took humorous pleasure in his reputed descent from Michael Scott, the Wizard! (This tradition was more historical, however, and stood thus: Yule's great grandmother was a Scott of Ancrum, and the Scotts of Ancrum had established their descent from Sir Michael Scott of Balwearie, reputed to be the Wizard.) Be their origin what it may, Yule's forefathers had been already settled on the Border hills for many generations, when in the time of James VI. they migrated to the lower lands of East Lothian, where in the following reign they held the old fortalice of Fentoun Tower of Nisbet of Dirleton. When Charles II. empowered his Lord Lyon to issue certificates of arms (in place of the Lyon records removed and lost at sea by the Cromwellian Government), these Yules were among those who took out confirmation of arms, and the original document is still in the possession of the head of the family.

Though Yules of sorts are still to be found in Scotland, the present writer is the only member of the Fentoun Tower family now left in the country, and of the few remaining out of it most are to be found in the Army List.

[2] The literary taste which marked William Yule probably came to him from his grandfather, the Rev. James Rose, Episcopal Minister of Udny, in Aberdeenshire. James Rose, a non-jurant (*i.e.* one who refused to acknowledge allegiance to the Hanoverian King), was a man of devout, large, and tolerant mind, as shown by writings still extant. His father, John Rose, was the younger son of the 14th Hugh of Kilravock. He married Margaret Udny of Udny, and was induced by her to sell his pleasant Ross-shire property and invest the proceeds in her own bleak Buchan. When George Yule (about 1759) brought home Elizabeth Rose as his wife, the popular feeling against the Episcopal Church was so strong and bitter in Lothian, that all the men of the family—themselves Presbyterians—accompanied Mrs. Yule as a bodyguard on the occasion of her first attendance at the Episcopal place of worship. Years after, when dissensions had arisen in the Church of Scotland,

[13] General Collinson in *Royal Engineers' Journal*, 1st Feb. 1890. The gifted author of this excellent sketch himself passed away on 22nd April 1902.

[4] The grave thoughtful face of William Yule was conspicuous in the picture of a Durbar (by an Italian artist, but *not* Zoffany), which long hung on the walls of the Nawab's palace at Lucknow. This picture disappeared during the Mutiny of 1857.

[5] Colonel Udny Yule, C.B. "When he joined, his usual *nomen* and *cognomen* puzzled the staff-sergeant at Fort-William, and after much boggling on the cadet parade, the name was called out *Whirly Wheel*, which produced no reply, till some one at a venture shouted, 'sick in hospital.'" (*Athenæum*, 24th Sept. 1881.) The ship which took Udny Yule to India was burnt at sea. After keeping himself afloat for several hours in the water, he was rescued by a passing ship and taken back to the Mauritius, whence, having lost everything but his cadetship, he made a fresh start for India, where he and William for many years had a common purse. Colonel Udny Yule commanded a brigade at the Siege of Cornelis (1811), which gave us Java, and afterwards acted as Resident under Sir Stamford Raffles. Forty-five years after the retrocession of Java, Henry Yule found the memory of his uncle still cherished there.

[6] Article on the Oriental Section of the British Museum Library in *Athenæum*, 24th Sept. 1881. Major Yule's Oriental Library was presented by his sons to the British Museum a few years after his death.

[7] It may be amusing to note that he was considered an almost dangerous person because he read the *Scotsman* newspaper!

[8] *Athenæum*, 24th Sept. 1881. A gold chain given by the last Dauphiness is in the writer's possession.

[9] Dr. John Yule (b. 176–, d. 1827), a kindly old *savant*. He was one of the earliest corresponding members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the author of some botanical tracts.

[10] According to Brunet, by Lucas Pennis after Antonio Tempesta.

[11] *Concerning some little-known Travellers in the East*. ASIATIC QUARTERLY, vol. v. (1888).

[12] William Yule died in 1839, and rests with his parents, brothers, and many others of his kindred, in the ruined chancel of the ancient Norman Church of St. Andrew, at Gulane, which had been granted to the Yule family as a place of burial by the Nisbets of Dirleton, in remembrance of the old kindly feeling subsisting for generations between them and their tacksmen in Fentoun Tower. Though few know its history, a fragrant memorial of this wise and kindly scholar is still conspicuous in Edinburgh. The magnificent wall-flower that has, for seventy summers, been a glory of the Castle rock, was originally all sown by the patient hand of Major Yule, the self-sowing of each subsequent year, of course, increasing the extent of bloom. Lest the extraordinarily severe spring of 1895 should have killed off much of the old stock, another (but much more limited) sowing on the northern face of the rock was in that year made by his grand-daughter, the present writer, with the sanction and active personal help of the lamented General (then Colonel) Andrew Wauchope of Niddrie Marischal. In Scotland, where the memory of this noble soldier is so greatly revered, some may like to know this little fact. May the wall-flower of the Castle rock long flourish a fragrant memorial of two faithful soldiers and true-hearted Scots.

[13] Obituary notice of Yule, by Gen. R. Maclagan, R.E. *Proceedings, R. G. S.* 1890.

[33] [15] Probably the specimen from South America, of which an account was published in 1833.

[16] Rawnsley, *Memoir of Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle*.

[17] Biog. Sketch of Yule, by C. Trotter, *Proceedings, R.S.E.* vol. xvii.

[18] Biog. Sketch of Yule, by C. Trotter, *Proceedings, R.S.E.* vol. xvii.

[19] After leaving the army, Yule always used this sword when wearing uniform.

[20] The Engineer cadets remained at Addiscombe a term (= 6 months) longer than the Artillery cadets, and as the latter were ordinarily gazetted full lieutenants six months after passing out, unfair seniority was obviated by the Engineers receiving the same rank on passing out of Addiscombe.

[21] Yule, in *Memoir of General Becher*.

[22] Collinson's *Memoir of Yule* in *R. E. Journal*.

[23] The picture was subscribed for by his brother officers in the corps, and painted in 1880 by T. B. Wirgman. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1881. A reproduction of the artist's etching from it forms the frontispiece of this volume.

[24] In *Memoir of Gen. John Becher*.

[25] General Patrick Yule (b. 1795, d. 1873) was a thorough soldier, with the repute of being a rigid disciplinarian. He was a man of distinguished presence, and great charm of manner to those whom he liked, which were by no means all. The present writer holds him in affectionate remembrance, and owes to early correspondence with him much of the information embodied in preceding notes. He served on the Canadian Boundary Commission of 1817, and on the Commission of National Defence of 1859, was prominent in the Ordnance Survey, and successively Commanding R.E. in Malta and Scotland. He was Engineer to Sir C. Fellows' Expedition, which gave the nation the Lycian Marbles, and while Commanding R.E. in Edinburgh, was largely instrumental in rescuing St. Margaret's Chapel in the Castle from desecration and oblivion. He was a thorough Scot, and never willingly tolerated the designation N.B. on even a letter. He had cultivated tastes, and under a somewhat austere exterior he had a most tender heart. When already past sixty, he made a singularly happy marriage to a truly good woman, who thoroughly appreciated him. He was the author of several Memoirs on professional subjects. He rests in St. Andrew's, Gulane.

[26] Collinson's *Memoir of Yule*.

[27] Notes on the Iron of the Khasia Hills and Notes on the Khasia Hills and People, both in Journal of the R. Asiatic Society of Bengal, vols. xi. and xiii.

[28] Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Clerk, Political Officer with the expedition. Was twice Governor of Bombay and once Governor of the Cape: "A diplomatist of the true English stamp—undaunted in difficulties and resolute to maintain the honour of his country." (Sir H. B. Edwardes, *Life of Henry Lawrence*, i. 267). He died in 1889.

[29] Note by Yule, communicated by him to Mr. R. B. Smith and printed by the latter in *Life of Lord Lawrence*.

[30] And when nearing his own end, it was to her that his thoughts turned most constantly.

[31] Yule and Maclagan's *Memoir of Sir W. Baker*.

[32] Maclagan's *Memoir of Yule, P.R.G.S.*, Feb. 1890.

[34] Yule and Maclagan's *Memoir of Baker*.

[35] It would appear that Major Yule had presented the Rodgers with some specimens of Indian scissors, probably as suggestions in developing that field of export. Scissors of elaborate design, usually damascened or gilt, used to form a most important item in every set of Oriental writing implements. Even long after adhesive envelopes had become common in European Turkey, their use was considered over familiar, if not actually disrespectful, for formal letters, and there was a particular traditional knack in cutting and folding the special envelope for each missive, which was included in the instruction given by every competent *Khoja* as the present writer well remembers in the quiet years that ended with the disasters of 1877.

[36] Collinson's *Memoir of Yule, Royal Engineer Journal*.

[37] Extract from Preface to *Ava*, edition of 1858.

[38] The present whereabouts of this picture is unknown to the writer. It was lent to Yule in 1889 by Lord Dalhousie's surviving daughter (for whom he had strong regard and much sympathy), and was returned to her early in 1890, but is not named in the catalogue of Lady Susan's effects, sold at Edinburgh in 1898 after her death. At that sale the present writer had the satisfaction of securing for reverent preservation the watch used throughout his career by the great Marquess.

[39] Now in the writer's possession. It was for many years on exhibition in the Edinburgh and South Kensington Museums.

[40] Article by Yule on Lord Lawrence, *Quarterly Review* for April, 1883.

[41] Messrs. Smith & Elder.

[42] Preface to *Narrative of a Mission to the Court of Ava*. Before these words were written, Yule had had the sorrow of losing his elder brother Robert, who had fallen in action before Delhi (19th June, 1857), whilst in command of his regiment, the 9th Lancers. Robert Abercromby Yule (born 1817) was a very noble character and a fine soldier. He had served with distinction in the campaigns in Afghanistan and the Sikh Wars, and was the author of an excellent brief treatise on Cavalry Tactics. He had a ready pencil and a happy turn for graceful verse. In prose his charming little allegorical tale for children, entitled *The White Rhododendron*, is as pure and graceful as the flower whose name it bears. Like both his brothers, he was at once chivalrous and devout, modest, impulsive, and impetuous. No officer was more beloved by his men than Robert Yule, and when some one met them carrying back his covered body from the field and enquired of the sergeant: "Who have you got there?" the reply was: "Colonel Yule, and better have lost half the regiment, sir." It was in the chivalrous effort to extricate some exposed guns that he fell. Some one told afterwards that when asked to go to the rescue, he turned in the saddle, looked back wistfully on his regiment, well knowing the cost of such an enterprise, then gave the order to advance and charge. "No stone marks the spot where Yule went down, but no stone is needed to commemorate his valour" (Archibald Forbes, in *Daily News*, 8th Feb. 1876). At the time of his death Colonel R. A. Yule had been recommended for the C.B. His eldest son, Colonel J. H. Yule, C.B., distinguished himself in several recent campaigns (on the Burma-Chinese frontier, in Tirah, and South Africa).

[43] Baker went home in November, 1857, but did not retire until the following year.

[44] Nothing was more worthy of respect in Yule's fine character than the energy and success with which he mastered his natural temperament in the last ten years of his life, when few would have guessed his original fiery disposition.

[55] [46] Yule's colour-blindness was one of the cases in which Dalton, the original investigator of this optical defect, took special interest. At a later date (1859) he sent Yule, through Professor Wilson, skeins of coloured silks to name. Yule's elder brother Robert had the same peculiarity of sight, and it was also present in two earlier and two later generations of their mother's family—making five generations in all. But in no case did it pass from parent to child, always passing in these examples, by a sort of Knight's move, from uncle to nephew. Another peculiarity of Yule's more difficult to describe was the instinctive association of certain architectural forms or images with the days of the week. He once, and once only (in 1843), met another person, a lady who was a perfect stranger, with the same peculiarity. About 1878–79 he contributed some notes on this obscure subject to one of the newspapers, in connection with the researches of Mr. Francis Galton, on Visualisation, but the particulars are not now accessible.

[47] From Yule's verses on her grave.

[48] Lord Canning to Lady Clanricarde: Letter dated Barrackpoor, 19th Nov. 1861, 7 A.M., printed in *Two Noble Lives*, by A. J. C. Hare, and here reproduced by Mr. Hare's permission.

[49] Lord Canning's letter to Lady Clanricarde. He gave to Yule Lady Canning's own silver drinking-cup, which she had constantly used. It is carefully treasured, with other Canning and Dalhousie relics, by the present writer.

[50] Many years later Yule wrote of Lord Canning as follows: "He had his defects, no doubt. He had not at first that entire grasp of the situation that was wanted at such a time of crisis. But there is a virtue which in these days seems unknown to Parliamentary statesmen in England—Magnanimity. Lord Canning was an English statesman, and he was surpassingly magnanimous. There is another virtue which in Holy Writ is taken as the type and sum of all righteousness—Justice—and he was eminently just. The misuse of special powers granted early in the Mutiny called for Lord Canning's interference, and the consequence was a flood of savage abuse; the violence and bitterness of which it is now hard to realise." (*Quarterly Review*, April, 1883, p. 306.)

[51] During the next ten years Yule continued to visit London annually for two or three months in the spring or early summer.

[52] Now in the writer's possession. They appear in the well-known portrait of Lord Canning reading a despatch.

[53] Lord Canning's recommendation had been mislaid, and the India Office was disposed to ignore it. It was Lord Canning's old friend and Eton chum, Lord Granville, who obtained this tardy justice for Yule, instigated thereto by that most faithful friend, Sir Roderick Murchison.

[54] I cannot let the mention of this time of lonely sickness and trial pass without recording here my deep gratitude to our dear and honoured friend, John Ruskin. As my dear mother stood on the threshold between life and death at Mornex that sad spring, he was untiring in all kindly offices of friendship. It was her old friend, Principal A. J. Scott (then eminent, now forgotten), who sent him to call. He came to see us daily when possible, sometimes bringing MSS. of Rossetti and others to read aloud (and who could equal his reading?), and when she was too ill for this, or himself absent, he would send not only books and flowers to brighten the bare rooms of the hillside inn (then very primitive), but his own best treasures of Turner and W. Hunt, drawings and illuminated missals. It was an anxious solace; and though most gratefully enjoyed, these treasures were never long retained.

[56] He also at all times spared no pains to enforce that ideal on other index-makers, who were not always grateful for his sound doctrine!

[57] He saw a good deal of the outbreak when taking small comforts to a friend, the Commandant of the Military School, who was captured and imprisoned by the insurgents.

[58] After 1869 he discontinued sea-bathing.

[59] This was Yule's first geographical honour, but he had been elected into the Athenæum Club, under "Rule II.," in January, 1867.

[60] Garnier took a distinguished part in the Defence of Paris in 1870–71, after which he resumed his naval service in the East, where he was killed in action. His last letter to Yule contained the simple announcement "*J'ai pris Hanoi*" a modest terseness of statement worthy of the best naval traditions.

[61] One year the present writer, at her mother's desire, induced him to take walks of 10 to 12 miles with her, but interesting and lovely as the scenery was, he soon wearied for his writing-table (even bringing his work with him), and thus little permanent good was effected. And it was just the same afterwards in Scotland, where an old Highland gillie, describing his experience of the Yule brothers, said: "I was liking to take out Sir George, for *he* takes the time to enjoy the hills, but (plaintively), the Kornel is no good, for he's just as restless as a water-wagtail!" If there be any *mal de l'écritoire* corresponding to *mal du pays*, Yule certainly had it.

[62] The Russian Government in 1873 paid the same work the very practical compliment of circulating it largely amongst their officers in Central Asia.

[63] "Auch in den Literaturen von Frankreich, Italien, Deutschland und andere Ländern ist der mächtig treibende Einfluss der Yuleschen Methode, welche wissenschaftliche Grundlichkeit mit anmuthender Form verbindet, bemerkbar." (*Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, Band XVII. No. 2.)

[64] This subject is too lengthy for more than cursory allusion here, but the patient analytic skill and keen venatic instinct with which Yule not only proved the forgery of the alleged *Travels of Georg Ludwig von ——* (that had been already established by Lord Strangford, whose last effort it was, and Sir Henry Rawlinson), but step by step traced it home to the arch-culprit Klaproth, was nothing less than masterly.

[65] This is probably the origin of the odd misstatement as to Yule occupying himself at Palermo with photography, made in the delightful *Reminiscences* of the late Colonel Balcarres Ramsay. Yule never attempted photography after 1852.

[66] She was a woman of fine intellect and wide reading; a skilful musician, who also sang well, and a good amateur artist in the style of Aug. Delacroix (of whom she was a favourite pupil). Of French and Italian she had a thorough and literary mastery, and how well she knew her own language is shown by the sound and pure English of a story she published in early life, under the pseudonym of Max Lyle (*Fair Oaks, or The Experiences of Arnold Osborne, M.D.*, 2 vols., 1856). My mother was partly of Highland descent on both sides, and many of her fine qualities were very characteristic of that race. Before her marriage she took an active part in many good works, and herself originated the useful School for the Blind at Bath, in a room which she hired with her pocket-money, where she and her friend Miss Elwin taught such of the blind poor as they could gather together.

In the tablet which he erected to her memory in the family burial-place of St. Andrew's, Gulane, her husband described her thus:—"A woman singular in

[67] Mary Wilhelmina, daughter of F. Skipwith, Esq., B.C.S.

[68] Collinson's *Memoir of Yule*.

[69] See *Notes from a Diary*, 1888–91.

[70] The identification was not limited to Yule, for when travelling in Russia many years ago, the present writer was introduced by an absent-minded Russian *savant* to his colleagues as *Mademoiselle Marco Paulovna*!

[71] See Note on Sir George Yule's career at the end of this Memoir.

[72] Addressed to the Editor, *Royal Engineers' Journal*, who did not, however, publish it.

[73] Debate of 27th August, 1889, as reported in *The Times* of 28th August.

[74] Yule had published a brief but very interesting Memoir of Major Rennell in the *R. E. Journal* in 1881. He was extremely proud of the circumstance that Rennell's surviving grand-daughter presented to him a beautiful wax medallion portrait of the great geographer. This wonderfully life-like presentment was bequeathed by Yule to his friend Sir Joseph Hooker, who presented it to the Royal Society.

[75] Knowing his veneration for that noble lady, I had written to tell her of his condition, and to ask her to give him this last pleasure of a few words. The response was such as few but herself could write. This letter was not to be found after my father's death, and I can only conjecture that it must either have been given away by himself (which is most improbable), or was appropriated by some unauthorised outsider.

[76] So Sir M. E. Grant Duff well calls it.

[77] *Academy*, 19th March, 1890.

[78] He was much pleased, I remember, by a letter he once received from a kindly Franciscan friar, who wrote: "You may rest assured that the Beato Odorico will not forget all you have done for him."

[79] F.-M. Lord Napier of Magdala, died 14th January, 1890.

[80] This notice includes the greater part of an article written by my father, and published in the *St. James' Gazette* of 18th January, 1886, but I have added other details from personal recollection and other sources.—A. F. Y.

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1903 Memoir of Colonel Sir Henry Yule, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I., Corr. Inst. France, by his daughter, Amy Frances Yule, L.A. Soc. Ant. Scot., etc. Written for third edition of Yule's Marco Polo. Reprinted for private circulation only.

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[1] This list is based on the excellent preliminary List compiled by E. Delmar Morgan, published in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. vi., pp. 97–98, but the present compilers have much more than doubled the number of entries. It is, however, known to be still incomplete, and any one able to add to the list, will greatly oblige the compilers by sending additions to the Publisher.—A. F. Y.

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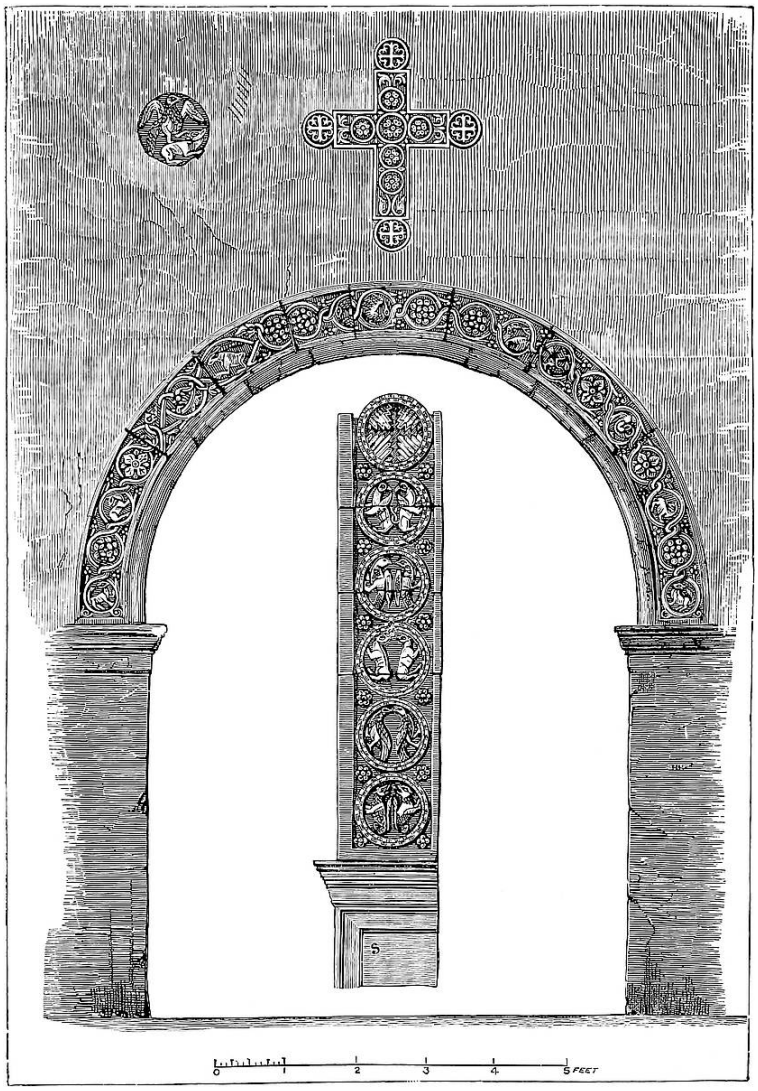


Doorway of the House of Marco Polo in the Corte Sabbionera, at Venice.

MARCO POLO AND HIS BOOK.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

I. Obscurities in the History of his Life and Book. Ramusio's Statements.

1. With all the intrinsic interest of Marco Polo's Book it may perhaps be doubted if it would have continued to exercise such fascination on many minds through successive generations were it not for the difficult questions which it suggests. It is a great book of puzzles, whilst our confidence in the man's veracity is such that we feel certain every puzzle has a solution.

Obscurities of Polo's Book, and personal History.

And such difficulties have not attached merely to the identification of places, the interpretation of outlandish terms, or the illustration of obscure customs; for strange entanglements have perplexed also the chief circumstances of the Traveller's life and authorship. The time of the dictation of his Book and of the execution of his Last Will have been almost the only undisputed epochs in his biography. The year of his birth has been contested, and the date of his death has not been recorded; the critical occasion of his capture by the Genoese, to which we seem to owe the happy fact that he did not go down mute to the tomb of his fathers, has been made the subject of chronological difficulties; there are in the various texts of his story variations hard to account for; the very tongue in which it was written down has furnished a question, solved only in our own age, and in a most unexpected manner.

2. The first person who attempted to gather and string the facts of Marco Polo's personal history was his countryman, the celebrated John Baptist Ramusio. His essay abounds in what we now know to be errors of detail, but, prepared as it was when traditions of the Traveller were still rife in Venice, a genuine thread runs through it which could never have been spun in later days, and its presentation seems to me an essential element in any full discourse upon the subject.

Ramusio, his earliest biographer. His account of Polo.

Ramusio's preface to the Book of Marco Polo, which opens the second volume of his famous Collection of Voyages and Travels, and is addressed to his learned friend Jerome Fracastoro, after referring to some of the most noted geographers of antiquity, proceeds:[1]—

"Of all that I have named, Ptolemy, as the latest, possessed the greatest extent of knowledge. Thus, towards the North, his knowledge carries him beyond the Caspian, and he is aware of its being shut in all round like a lake,—a fact which was unknown in the days of Strabo and Pliny, though the Romans were already lords of the world. But though his knowledge extends so far, a tract of 15 degrees beyond that sea he can describe only as Terra Incognita; and towards the South he is fain to apply the same character to all beyond the Equinoxial. In these unknown regions, as regards the South, the first to make discoveries have been the Portuguese captains of our own age; but as regards the North and North-East the discoverer was the Magnifico Messer Marco Polo, an honoured nobleman of Venice, nearly 300 years since, as may be read more fully in his own Book. And in truth it makes one marvel to consider the immense extent of the journeys made, first by the Father and Uncle of the said Messer Marco, when they proceeded continually towards the East-North-East, all the way to the Court of the Great Can and the Emperor of the Tartars; and afterwards again by the three of them when, on their return homeward, they traversed the Eastern and Indian Seas. Nor is that all, for one marvels also how the aforesaid gentleman was able to give such an orderly description of all that he had seen; seeing that such an accomplishment was possessed by very few in his day, and he had had a large part of his nurture among those uncultivated Tartars, without any regular training in the art of composition. His Book indeed, owing to the endless errors and inaccuracies that had crept into it, had come for many years to be regarded as fabulous; and the opinion prevailed that the names of cities and provinces contained therein were all fictitious and imaginary, without any ground in fact, or were (I might rather say) mere dreams.

3. "Howbeit, during the last hundred years, persons acquainted with Persia have begun to recognise the existence of Cathay. The voyages of the Portuguese also towards the North-East, beyond the Golden Chersonese, have brought to knowledge many cities and provinces of India, and many islands likewise, with those very names which our Author applies to them; and again, on reaching the Land of China, they have ascertained from the people of that region (as we are told by Sign. John de Barros, a Portuguese gentleman, in his Geography) that Canton, one of the chief cities of that kingdom, is in 30⅔° of latitude, with the coast running N.E. and S.W.; that after a distance of 275 leagues the said coast turns towards the N.W.; and that there are three provinces along the sea-board, Mangi, Zanton, and Quinzai, the last of which is the principal city and the King's Residence, standing in 46° of latitude. And proceeding yet further the coast attains to 50°.[2] Seeing then how many particulars are in our day becoming known of that part of the world concerning which Messer Marco has written, I have deemed it reasonable to publish his book, with the aid of several copies written (as I judge) more than 200 years ago, in a perfectly accurate form, and one vastly more faithful than that in which it has been heretofore read. And thus the world shall not lose the fruit that may be gathered from so much diligence and industry expended upon so honourable a branch of knowledge." 3

Ramusio vindicates Polo's Geography.

4. Ramusio, then, after a brief apologetic parallel of the marvels related by Polo with those related by the Ancients and by the modern discoverers in the West, such as Columbus and Cortes, proceeds:—

"And often in my own mind, comparing the land explorations of these our Venetian gentlemen with the sea explorations of the aforesaid Signor Don Christopher, I have asked myself which of the two were really the more marvellous. And if patriotic prejudice delude me not, methinks good reason might be adduced for setting the land journey above the sea voyage. Consider

Ramusio compares Polo with Columbus.

whereon it was sometimes necessary to carry food for the supply of man and beast, not for days only but for months together. Columbus, on the other hand, going by sea, readily carried with him all necessary provision; and after a voyage of some 30 or 40 days was conveyed by the wind whither he desired to go, whilst the Venetians again took a whole year's time to pass all those great deserts and mighty rivers. Indeed that the difficulty of travelling to Cathay was so much greater than that of reaching the New World, and the route so much longer and more perilous, may be gathered from the fact that, since those gentlemen twice made this journey, no one from Europe has dared to repeat it,[3] whereas in the very year following the discovery of the Western Indies many ships immediately retraced the voyage thither, and up to the present day continue to do so, habitually and in countless numbers. Indeed those regions are now so well known, and so thronged by commerce, that the traffic between Italy, Spain, and England is not greater." 4

5. Ramusio goes on to explain the light regarding the first part or prologue of Marco Polo's book that he had derived from a recent piece of luck which had made him partially acquainted with the geography of Abulfeda, and to make a running commentary on the whole of the preliminary narrative until the final return of the travellers to Venice:—

Recounts a tradition of the travellers' return to Venice.

"And when they got thither the same fate befel them as befel Ulysses, who, when he returned, after his twenty years' wanderings, to his native Ithaca, was recognized by nobody. Thus also those three gentlemen who had been so many years absent from their native city were recognized by none of their kinsfolk, who were under the firm belief that they had all been dead for many a year past, as indeed had been reported. Through the long duration and the hardships of their journeys, and through the many worries and anxieties that they had undergone, they were quite changed in aspect, and had got a certain indescribable smack of the Tartar both in air and accent, having indeed all but forgotten their Venetian tongue. Their clothes too were coarse and shabby, and of a Tartar cut. They proceeded on their arrival to their house in this city in the confine of St. John Chrysostom, where you may see it to this day. The house, which was in those days a very lofty and handsome palazzo, is now known by the name of the *Corte del Millioni* for a reason that I will tell you presently. Going thither they found it occupied by some of their relatives, and they had the greatest difficulty in making the latter understand who they should be. For these good people, seeing them to be in countenance so unlike what they used to be, and in dress so shabby, flatly refused to believe that they were those very gentlemen of the Ca' Polo whom they had been looking upon for ever so many years as among the dead.[4] So these three gentlemen,—this is a story I have often heard when I was a youngster from the illustrious Messer GASPARO MALPIERO, a gentleman of very great age, and a Senator of eminent virtue and integrity, whose house was on the Canal of Santa Marina, exactly at the corner over the mouth of the Rio di S. Giovanni Chrisostomo, and just midway among the buildings of the aforesaid Corte del Millioni, and he said he had heard the story from his own father and grandfather, and from other old men among the neighbours,—the three gentlemen, I say, devised a scheme by which they should at once bring about their recognition by their relatives, and secure the honourable notice of the whole city; and this was it:— 5

"They invited a number of their kindred to an entertainment, which they took care to have prepared with great state and splendour in that house of theirs; and when the hour arrived for sitting down to table they came forth of their chamber all three clothed in crimson satin, fashioned in long robes reaching to the ground such as people in those days wore within doors. And when water for the hands had been served, and the guests were set, they took off those robes and put on others of crimson damask, whilst the first

when they had again taken their seats, the second suits were divided as before. When dinner was over they did the like with the robes of velvet, after they had put on dresses of the ordinary fashion worn by the rest of the company.[5] These proceedings caused much wonder and amazement among the guests. But when the cloth had been drawn, and all the servants had been ordered to retire from the dining hall, Messer Marco, as the youngest of the three, rose from table, and, going into another chamber, brought forth the three shabby dresses of coarse stuff which they had worn when they first arrived. Straightway they took sharp knives and began to rip up some of the seams and welts, and to take out of them jewels of the greatest value in vast quantities, such as rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, diamonds and emeralds, which had all been stitched up in those dresses in so artful a fashion that nobody could have suspected the fact. For when they took leave of the Great Can they had changed all the wealth that he had bestowed upon them into this mass of rubies, emeralds, and other jewels, being well aware of the impossibility of carrying with them so great an amount in gold over a journey of such extreme length and difficulty. Now this exhibition of such a huge treasure of jewels and precious stones, all tumbled out upon the table, threw the guests into fresh amazement, insomuch that they seemed quite bewildered and dumbfounded. And now they recognized that in spite of all former doubts these were in truth those honoured and worthy gentlemen of the Ca' Polo that they claimed to be; and so all paid them the greatest honour and reverence. And when the story got wind in Venice, straightway the whole city, gentle and simple, flocked to the house to embrace them, and to make much of them, with every conceivable demonstration of affection and respect. On Messer Maffio, who was the eldest, they conferred the honours of an office that was of great dignity in those days; whilst the young men came daily to visit and converse with the ever polite and gracious Messer Marco, and to ask him questions about Cathay and the Great Can, all which he answered with such kindly courtesy that every man felt himself in a manner his debtor. And as it happened that in the story, which he was constantly called on to repeat, of the magnificence of the Great Can, he would speak of his revenues as amounting to ten or fifteen *millions* of gold; and in like manner, when recounting other instances of great wealth in those parts, would always make use of the term *millions*, so they gave him the nickname of MESSER MARCO MILLIONI: a thing which I have noted also in the Public Books of this Republic where mention is made of him.[6] The Court of his House, too, at S. Giovanni Chrisostomo, has always from that time been popularly known as the Court of the Millioni.

6

6. "Not many months after the arrival of the travellers at Venice, news came that LAMPA DORIA, Captain of the Genoese Fleet, had advanced with 70 galleys to the Island of Curzola, upon which orders were issued by the Prince of the Most Illustrious Signory for the arming of 90 galleys with all the expedition possible, and Messer Marco Polo for his valour was put in charge of one of these. So he with the others, under the command of the Most Illustrious MESSER ANDREA DANDOLO, Procurator of St. Mark's, as Captain General, a very brave and worthy gentleman, set out in search of the Genoese Fleet. They fought on the September feast of Our Lady, and, as is the common hazard of war, our fleet was beaten, and Polo was made prisoner. For, having pressed on in the vanguard of the attack, and fighting with high and worthy courage in defence of his country and his kindred, he did not receive due support, and being wounded, he was taken, along with Dandolo, and immediately put in irons and sent to Genoa.

Recounts Marco's capture by the Genoese.

"When his rare qualities and marvellous travels became known there, the whole city gathered to see him and to speak with him, and he was no longer entreated as a prisoner but as a dear friend and honoured gentleman. Indeed they showed him such honour and affection that at all hours of the day he was visited by the noblest gentlemen of the city,

and the Great Can, which indeed compelled him daily to repeat his story till he was weary, was advised to put the matter in writing. So having found means to get a letter written to his father here at Venice, in which he desired the latter to send the notes and memoranda which he had brought home with him, after the receipt of these, and assisted by a Genoese gentleman, who was a great friend of his, and who took great delight in learning about the various regions of the world, and used on that account to spend many hours daily in the prison with him, he wrote this present book (to please him) in the Latin tongue.

"To this day the Genoese for the most part write what they have to write in that language, for there is no possibility of expressing their natural dialect with the pen.[7] Thus then it came to pass that the Book was put forth at first by Messer Marco in Latin; but as many copies were taken, and as it was rendered into our vulgar tongue, all Italy became filled with it, so much was this story desired and run after.

7. "The captivity of Messer Marco greatly disturbed the minds of Messer Maffio and his father Messer Nicolo. They had decided, whilst still on their travels, that Marco should marry as soon as they should get to Venice; but now they found themselves in this unlucky pass, with so much wealth and nobody to inherit it. Fearing that Marco's imprisonment might endure for many years, or, worse still, that he might not live to quit it (for many assured them that numbers of Venetian prisoners had been kept in Genoa a score of years before obtaining liberty); seeing too no prospect of being able to ransom him,—a thing which they had attempted often and by various channels,—they took counsel together, and came to the conclusion that Messer Nicolo, who, old as he was, was still hale and vigorous, should take to himself a new wife. This he did; and at the end of four years he found himself the father of three sons, Stefano, Maffio, and Giovanni. Not many years after, Messer Marco aforesaid, through the great favour that he had acquired in the eyes of the first gentlemen of Genoa, and indeed of the whole city, was discharged from prison and set free. Returning home he found that his father had in the meantime had those three other sons. Instead of taking this amiss, wise and discreet man that he was, he agreed also to take a wife of his own. He did so accordingly, but he never had any son, only two girls, one called Moreta and the other Fantina. 7

Ramusio's account of Marco's liberation and marriage.

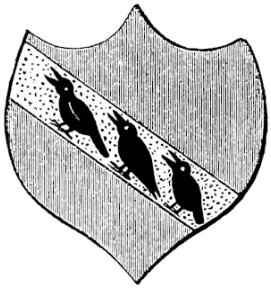
"When at a later date his father died, like a good and dutiful son he caused to be erected for him a tomb of very honourable kind for those days, being a great sarcophagus cut from the solid stone, which to this day may be seen under the portico before the Church of S. Lorenzo in this city, on the right hand as you enter, with an inscription denoting it to be the tomb of Messer Nicolo Polo of the contrada of S. Gio. Chrisostomo. The arms of his family consist of a *Bend* with three birds on it, and the colours, according to certain books of old histories in which you see all the coats of the gentlemen of this city emblazoned, are the field *azure*, the bend *argent*, and the three birds *sable*. These last are birds of that kind vulgarly termed *Pole*,[8] or, as the Latins call them, *Gracculi*.

8. "As regards the after duration of this noble and worthy family, I find that Messer Andrea Polo of San Felice had three sons, the first of whom was Messer Marco, the second Maffio, the third Nicolo. The two last were those who went to Constantinople first, and afterwards to Cathay, as has been seen. Messer Marco the elder being dead, the wife of Messer Nicolo who had been left at home with child, gave birth to a son, to whom she gave the name of Marco in memory of the deceased, and this is the Author of our Book. Of the brothers who were born from his father's second marriage, viz. Stephen, John, and Matthew, I do not find that any of them had children, except Matthew. He had five sons and one daughter called Maria; and she, after the death of her 8

Ramusio's account of the Family Polo and its termination.

Stazio in this city, and from her sprung the fortunate and honoured stock of the Illustrious Messer DOMENICO TREVISANO, Procurator of St. Mark's, and valorous Captain General of the Sea Forces of the Republic, whose virtue and singular good qualities are represented with augmentation in the person of the Most Illustrious Prince Ser MARC'ANTONIO TREVISANO, his son.[9]

"Such has been the history of this noble family of the Ca' Polo, which lasted as we see till the year of our Redemption 1417, in which year died childless Marco Polo, the last of the five sons of Maffeo, and so it came to an end. Such be the chances and changes of human affairs!"



Arms of the Ca' Polo.

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[1] The Preface is dated Venice, 7th July, 1553. Fracastorius died in the same year, and Ramusio erected a statue of him at Padua. Ramusio himself died in July, 1557.

[2] The Geography of De Barros, from which this is quoted, has never been printed. I can find nothing corresponding to this passage in the Decades.

[3] A grievous error of Ramusio's.

[4] See the decorated title-page of this volume for an attempt to realise the scene.

[5] At first sight this fantastic tradition seems to have little verisimilitude; but when we regard it in the light of genuine Mongol custom, such as is quoted from Rubruquis, at p. 389 of this volume, we shall be disposed to look on the whole story with respect.

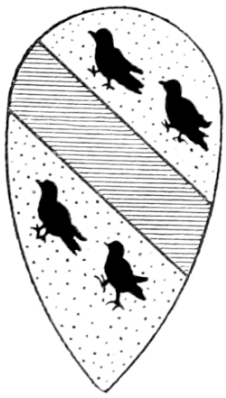
[6] This curious statement is confirmed by a passage in the records of the Great Council, which, on a late visit to Venice, I was enabled to extract, through an obliging communication from Professor Minotto. (See below, p. 67.)

[7] This rather preposterous skit at the Genoese dialect naturally excites a remonstrance from the Abate Spotorno. (*Storia Letteraria della Liguria*, II. 217.)

[8] *Jackdaws*, I believe, in spite of some doubt from the imbecility of ordinary dictionaries in such matters.

They are under this name made the object of a similitude by Dante (surely a most unhappy one) in reference to the resplendent spirits flitting on the celestial stairs in the sphere of Saturn:—

"E come per lo natural costume
Le Pole insieme, al cominciar del giorno,
Si muovono a scaldar le fredde piume:
Poi altre vanno via senza ritorno,
Altre rivolgon sè, onde son mosse,
Ed altre roteando fan soggiorno."—*Parad*. XXI. 34.



Arms of the Polo[A]

There is some difference among authorities as to the details of the Polo blazon. According to a MS. concerning the genealogies

of Venetian families written by Marco Barbaro in 1566, and of which there is a copy in the Museo Civico, the field is *gules*, the bend *or*. And this I have followed in the cut. But a note by S. Stefani of Venice, with which I have been favoured since the cut was made, informs me that a fine 15th-century MS. in his possession gives the field as *argent*, with no *bend*, and the three birds *sable* with beaks *gules*, disposed thus •:•.

[9] Marco Antonio Trevisano was elected Doge, 4th June, 1553, but died on the 31st of May following. We do not here notice Ramusio's numerous errors, which will be corrected in the sequel. [See p. 78.]

[A] [This coat of arms is reproduced from the Genealogies of Priuli, Archivio di Stato, Venice.—H. C.]

II. Sketch of the State of the East at the time of the Journeys of the Polo Family.

9. The story of the travels of the Polo family opens in 1260.

9

State of the Levant.

Christendom had recovered from the alarm into which it had been thrown some 18 years before when the Tartar cataclysm had threatened to engulph it. The Tartars themselves were already becoming an object of curiosity rather than of fear, and soon became an object of hope, as a possible help against the old Mahomedan foe. The frail Latin throne in Constantinople was still standing, but tottering to its fall. The successors of the Crusaders still held the Coast of Syria from Antioch to Jaffa, though a deadlier brood of enemies than they had yet encountered was now coming to maturity in the Dynasty of the Mamelukes, which had one foot firmly planted in Cairo, the other in Damascus. The jealousies of the commercial republics of Italy were daily waxing greater. The position of Genoese trade on the coasts of the Aegean was greatly depressed, through the predominance which Venice had acquired there by her part in the expulsion of the Greek Emperors, and which won for the Doge the lofty style of Lord of Three-Eighths of the Empire of Romania. But Genoa was biding her time for an early revenge, and year by year her naval strength and skill were increasing. Both these republics held possessions and establishments in the ports of Syria, which were often the scene of sanguinary conflicts between their citizens. Alexandria was still largely frequented in the intervals of war as the great emporium of Indian wares, but the facilities afforded by the Mongol conquerors who now held the whole tract from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Caspian and of the Black Sea, or nearly so, were beginning to give a great advantage to the caravan routes which debouched at the ports of Cilician Armenia in the Mediterranean and at Trebizond on the Euxine. Tana (or Azov) had not as yet become the outlet of a similar traffic; the Venetians had apparently frequented to some extent the coast of the Crimea for local trade, but their rivals appear to have been in great measure excluded from this commerce, and the Genoese

establishments which so long flourished on that coast, are first heard of some years after a Greek dynasty was again in possession of Constantinople.[1]

10. In Asia and Eastern Europe scarcely a dog might bark without Mongol leave, from the borders of Poland and the Gulf of Scanderoon to the Amur and the Yellow Sea. The vast empire which Chinghiz had conquered still owned a nominally supreme head in the Great Kaan,[2] but practically it was splitting up into several great monarchies under the descendants of the four sons of Chinghiz, Juji, Chaghatai, Okkodai, and Tuli; and wars on a vast scale were already brewing between them. Hulaku, third son of Tuli, and brother of two Great Kaans, Mangku and Kúblái, had become practically independent as ruler of Persia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, though he and his sons, and his sons' sons, continued to stamp the name of the Great Kaan upon their coins, and to use the Chinese seals of state which he bestowed upon them. The Seljukian Sultans of Iconium, whose dominion bore the proud title of Rúm (Rome), were now but the struggling bondsmen of the Ilkhans. The Armenian Hayton in his Cilician Kingdom had pledged a more frank allegiance to the Tartar, the enemy of his Moslem enemies. *10* *11*

The various Mongol Sovereignties in Asia and Eastern Europe.

Barka, son of Juji, the first ruling prince of the House of Chinghiz to turn Mahomedan, reigned on the steppes of the Volga, where a standing camp, which eventually became a great city under the name of Sarai, had been established by his brother and predecessor Batu.

The House of Chaghatai had settled upon the pastures of the Ili and the valley of the Jaxartes, and ruled the wealthy cities of Sogdiana.

Kaidu, the grandson of Okkodai who had been the successor of Chinghiz in the Kaanship, refused to acknowledge the transfer of the supreme authority to the House of Tuli, and was through the long life of Kúblái a thorn in his side, perpetually keeping his north-western frontier in alarm. His immediate authority was exercised over some part of what we should now call Eastern Turkestan and Southern Central Siberia; whilst his hordes of horsemen, force of character, and close neighbourhood brought the Khans of Chaghatai under his influence, and they generally acted in concert with him.

The chief throne of the Mongol Empire had just been ascended by Kúblái, the most able of its occupants after the Founder. Before the death of his brother and predecessor Mangku, who died in 1259 before an obscure fortress of Western China, it had been intended to remove the seat of government from Kara Korum on the northern verge of the Mongolian Desert to the more populous regions that had been conquered in the further East, and this step, which in the end converted the Mongol Kaan into a Chinese Emperor,[3] was carried out by Kúblái.

11. For about three centuries the Northern provinces of China had been detached from native rule, and subject to foreign dynasties; first to the *Khitan*, a people from the basin of the Sungari River, and supposed (but doubtfully) to have been akin to the Tunguses, whose rule subsisted for 200 years, and originated the name of KHITAI, Khata, or CATHAY, by which for nearly 1000 years China has been known to the nations of Inner Asia, and to those whose acquaintance with it was got by that channel.[4] The Khitan, whose dynasty is known in Chinese history as the *Liao* or "Iron," had been displaced in 1123 by the *12*

China.

Chúrchés or Niu-chen, another race of Eastern Tartary, of the same blood as the modern Manchus, whose Emperors in their brief period of prosperity were known by the Chinese name of Tai-*Kin*, by the Mongol name of the *Altun* Kaans, both signifying "Golden." Already in the lifetime of Chinghiz himself the northern Provinces of China Proper, including their capital, known as Chung-tu or Yen-King, now Peking, had been wrenched from them, and the conquest of the dynasty was completed by Chinghiz's successor Okkodai in 1234.

Southern China still remained in the hands of the native dynasty of the Sung, who had their capital at the great city now well known as Hang-chau fu. Their dominion was still substantially untouched, but its subjugation was a task to which Kúblái before many years turned his attention, and which became the most prominent event of his reign.

India, and Indo-China.

12. In India the most powerful sovereign was the Sultan of Delhi, Nassir-uddin Mahmud of the Turki House of Iltitmish;[5] but, though both Sind and Bengal acknowledged his supremacy, no part of Peninsular India had yet been invaded, and throughout the long period of our Traveller's residence in the East the Kings of Delhi had their hands too full, owing to the incessant incursions of the Mongols across the Indus, to venture on extensive campaigning in the south. Hence the Dravidian Kingdoms of Southern India were as yet untouched by foreign conquest, and the accumulated gold of ages lay in their temples and treasuries, an easy prey for the coming invader.

In the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the Eastern Islands a variety of kingdoms and dynasties were expanding and contracting, of which we have at best but dim and shifting glimpses. That they were advanced in wealth and art, far beyond what the present state of those regions would suggest, is attested by vast and magnificent remains of Architecture, nearly all dating, so far as dates can be ascertained, from the 12th to the 14th centuries (that epoch during which an architectural afflatus seems to have descended on the human race), and which are found at intervals over both the Indo-Chinese continent and the Islands, as at Pagán in Burma, at Ayuthia in Siam, at Angkor in Kamboja, at Borobodor and Brambánan in Java. All these remains are deeply marked by Hindu influence, and, at the same time, by strong peculiarities, both generic and individual. 13

Autograph of Hayton, King of Armenia, *circa* A.D. 1243.
"... e por so qui cestes lettres soient fermes e establis ci avuns escrit l'escrit de notre main vermoil e sayelé de notre ceau pendant...."

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[1] See Heyd, *Le Colonie Commerciali degli Italiani*, etc., passim.

[2] We endeavour to preserve throughout the book the distinction that was made in the age of the Mongol Empire between *Khán* and *Ḳaán* (خان and قاآن, as written by Arabic and Persian authors). The former may be rendered *Lord*, and was applied generally to Tartar chiefs whether sovereign or not; it has since become in Persia,

and especially in Afghanistan, a sort of "Esq.," and in India is now a common affix in the names of (Musulman) Hindustanis of all classes; in Turkey alone it has been reserved for the Sultan. *Ḳaán*, again, appears to be a form of *Kháḳán*, the Χαγάνος of the Byzantine historians, and was the peculiar title of the supreme sovereign of the Mongols; the Mongol princes of Persia, Chaghatai, etc., were entitled only to the former affix (Khán), though *Ḳaán* and *Ḳhaḳán* are sometimes applied to them in adulation. Polo always writes *Kaan* as applied to the Great Khan, and does not, I think, use *Khan* in any form, styling the subordinate princes by their name only, as *Argon*, *Alau*, etc. *Ilkhan* was a special title assumed by Huláku and his successors in Persia; it is said to be compounded from a word *Il*, signifying tribe or nation. The relation between *Khán* and *Khaḳán* seems to be probably that the latter signifies "*Khán of Kháns*," Lord of Lords. Chinghiz, it is said, did not take the higher title; it was first assumed by his son Okkodai. But there are doubts about this. (See *Quatremère's Rashid*, pp. 10 *seqq*. and *Pavet de Courteille, Dict. Turk-Oriental*.) The tendency of swelling titles is always to degenerate, and when the value of Khan had sunk, a new form, *Khán-khánán*, was devised at the Court of Delhi, and applied to one of the high officers of state.

[Mr. Rockhill writes (*Rubruck*, p. 108, note): "The title *Khan*, though of very great antiquity, was only used by the Turks after A.D. 560, at which time the use of the word *Khatun* came in use for the wives of the Khan, who himself was termed *Ilkhan*. The older title of *Shan-yü* did not, however, completely disappear among them, for Albiruni says that in his time the chief of the Ghuz Turks, or Turkomans, still bore the title of *Jenuyeh*, which Sir Henry Rawlinson (*Proc. R. G. S.*, v. 15) takes to be the same word as that transcribed *Shan-yü* by the Chinese (see *Ch'ien Han shu*, Bk. 94, and *Chou shu*, Bk. 50, 2). Although the word *Khakhan* occurs in Menander's account of the embassy of Zemarchus, the earliest mention I have found of it in a Western writer is in the *Chronicon* of Albericus Trium Fontium, where (571), under the year 1239, he uses it in the form *Cacanus*"—Cf. *Terrien de Lacouperie, Khan, Khakan, and other Tartar Titles*. Lond., Dec. 1888.—H. C.]

[3] "China is a sea that salts all the rivers that flow into it."—*P. Parrenin* in *Lett. Édif.* XXIV. 58.

[4] *E.g.* the Russians still call it Khitai. The pair of names, *Khitai* and *Machin*, or Cathay and China, is analogous to the other pair, *Seres* and *Sinae*. *Seres* was the name of the great nation in the far East as known by land, *Sinae* as known by sea; and they were often supposed to be diverse, just as Cathay and China were afterwards.

[5] There has been much doubt about the true form of this name. *Iltitmish* is that sanctioned by Mr. Blochmann (see *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, p. 181).

III. The Polo Family. Personal History of the Travellers down to their final Return from the East.

13. In days when History and Genealogy were allowed to draw largely on the imagination for the *origines* of states and families, it was set down by one Venetian Antiquary that among the companions of King Venetus, or of Prince Antenor of Troy, when they settled on the northern shores of the Adriatic, there was one Lucius Polus, who became the

Alleged origin of the Polos.

progenitor of our Traveller's Family;[1] whilst another deduces it from PAOLO the first Doge[2] (Paulus Lucas Anafestus of Heraclea, A.D. 696).

More trustworthy traditions, recorded among the Family Histories of Venice, but still no more it is believed than traditions, represent the Family of Polo as having come from Sebenico in Dalmatia, in the 11th century.[3] Before the end of the century they had taken seats in the Great Council of the Republic; for the name of Domenico Polo is said to be subscribed to a grant of 1094, that of Pietro Polo to an act of the time of the Doge Domenico Michiele in 1122, and that of a Domenico Polo to an acquittance granted by the Doge Domenico Morosini and his Council in 1153.[4] *14*

The ascertained genealogy of the Traveller, however, begins only with his grandfather, who lived in the early part of the 13th century.

Two branches of the Polo Family were then recognized, distinguished by the *confini* or Parishes in which they lived, as Polo of S. Geremia, and Polo of S. Felice. ANDREA POLO of S. Felice was the father of three sons, MARCO, NICOLO, and MAFFEO. And Nicolo was the Father of our Marco.

Claims to be styled noble.

14. Till quite recently it had never been precisely ascertained whether the immediate family of our Traveller belonged to the *Nobles* of Venice properly so called, who had seats in the Great Council and were enrolled in the Libro d'Oro. Ramusio indeed styles our Marco *Nobile* and *Magnifico*, and Rusticiano, the actual scribe of the Traveller's recollections, calls him "*sajes et noble citaiens de Venece*," but Ramusio's accuracy and Rusticiano's precision were scarcely to be depended on. Very recently, however, since the subject has been discussed with accomplished students of the Venice Archives, proofs have been found establishing Marco's personal claim to nobility, inasmuch as both in judicial decisions and in official resolutions of the Great Council, he is designated *Nobilis Vir*, a formula which would never have been used in such documents (I am assured) had he not been technically noble.[5]

Marco the Elder. *15*

15. Of the three sons of Andrea Polo of S. Felice, Marco seems to have been the eldest, and Maffeo the youngest.[6] They were all engaged in commerce, and apparently in a partnership, which to some extent held good even when the two younger had been many years absent in the Far East.[7] Marco seems to have been established for a time at Constantinople,[8] and also to have had a house (no doubt of business) at Soldaia, in the Crimea, where his son and daughter, Nicolo and Maroca by name, were living in 1280. This year is the date of the Elder Marco's Will, executed at Venice, and when he was "weighed down by bodily ailment." Whether he survived for any length of time we do not know.

Nicolo and Maffeo commence their travels.

16. Nicolo Polo, the second of the Brothers, had two legitimate sons, MARCO, the Author of our Book, born in 1254,[9] and MAFFEO, of whose place in the family we shall have a few words to say presently. The story opens, as we have said, in 1260, when we find the two brothers, Nicolo and Maffeo the Elder, at Constantinople. How long they had been absent from Venice we are not distinctly told. Nicolo had left his wife there behind him; Maffeo apparently was a bachelor. In the year named they started on a trading venture to the Crimea, whence a succession of

openings and chances, recounted in the Introductory chapters of Marco's work, carried them far north along the Volga, and thence first to Bokhara, and then to the Court of the Great Kaan Kúblái in the Far East, on or within the borders of CATHAY. That a great and civilized country so called existed in the extremity of Asia had already been reported in Europe by the Friars Plano Carpini (1246) and William Rubruquis (1253), who had not indeed reached its frontiers, but had met with its people at the Court of the Great Kaan in Mongolia; whilst the latter of the two with characteristic acumen had seen that they were identical with the Seres of classic fame. 16

17. Kúblái had never before fallen in with European gentlemen. He was delighted with these Venetians, listened with strong interest to all that they had to tell him of the Latin world, and determined to send them back as his ambassadors to the Pope, accompanied by an officer of his own Court. His letters to the Pope, as the Polos represent them, were mainly to desire the despatch of a large body of educated missionaries to convert his people to Christianity. It is not likely that religious motives influenced Kúblái in this, but he probably desired religious aid in softening and civilizing his rude kinsmen of the Steppes, and judged, from what he saw in the Venetians and heard from them, that Europe could afford such aid of a higher quality than the degenerate Oriental Christians with whom he was familiar, or the Tibetan Lamas on whom his patronage eventually devolved when Rome so deplorably failed to meet his advances.

Their intercourse with Kúblái Kaan.

18. The Brothers arrived at Acre in April,[10] 1269, and found that no Pope existed, for Clement IV. was dead the year before, and no new election had taken place. So they went home to Venice to see how things stood there after their absence of so many years.

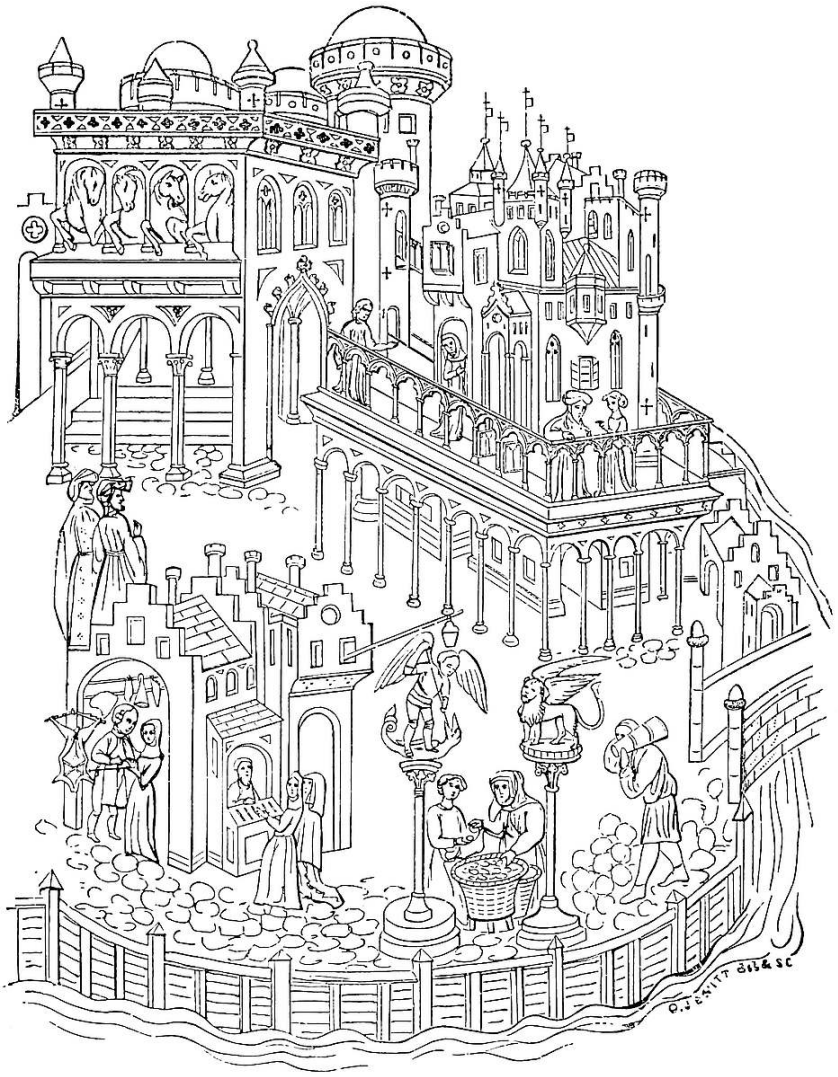
The wife of Nicolo was no longer among the living, but he found his son Marco a fine lad of fifteen.

Their return home, and Marco's appearance on the scene.

The best and most authentic MSS. tell us no more than this. But one class of copies, consisting of the Latin version made by our Traveller's contemporary, Francesco Pipino, and of the numerous editions based indirectly upon it, represents that Nicolo had left Venice when Marco was as yet unborn, and consequently had never seen him till his return from the East in 1269.[11]

We have mentioned that Nicolo Polo had another legitimate son, by name Maffeo, and him we infer to have been younger than Marco, because he is named last (*Marcus et Matheus*) in the Testament of their uncle Marco the Elder. We do not know if they were by the same mother. They could not have been so if we are right in supposing Maffeo to have been the younger, and if Pipino's version of the history be genuine. If however we reject the latter, as I incline to do, no ground remains for supposing that Nicolo went to the East much before we find him there viz., in 1260, and Maffeo may have been born of the same mother during the interval between 1254 and 1260. If on the other hand Pipino's version be held to, we must suppose that Maffeo (who is named by his uncle in 1280, during his father's second absence in the East) was born of a marriage contracted during Nicolo's residence at home after his first journey, a residence which lasted from 1269 to 1271.[12] 17

18



The Piazzetta at Venice. (From the Bodleian MS. of Polo.)

19. The Papal interregnum was the longest known, at least since the dark ages. Those two years passed, and yet the Cardinals at Viterbo had come to no agreement. The brothers were unwilling to let the Great Kaan think them faithless, and perhaps they hankered after the virgin field of speculation that they had discovered; so they started again for the East, taking young Mark with them. At Acre they took counsel with an eminent churchman, TEDALDO (or Tebaldo) VISCONTI, Archdeacon of Liège, whom the Book represents to have been Legate in Syria, and who in any case was a personage of much gravity and influence. From him they got letters to authenticate the causes of the miscarriage of their mission, and started for the further East. But they were still at the port of Ayas on the Gulf of Scanderoon, which was then becoming one of the chief points of arrival and departure for the inland trade of Asia, when they were overtaken by the news that a Pope was at last elected, and that the choice had fallen upon their friend Archdeacon Tedaldo. They immediately returned to Acre, and at last were able to execute the Kaan's commission, and to obtain a reply. But instead of the hundred able teachers of science and religion whom Kúblái is said to have asked for, the

Second Journey of the Polo Brothers, accompanied by Marco.

19

new Pope, Gregory X., could supply but two Dominicans; and these lost heart and drew back when they had barely taken the first step of the journey.

Judging from certain indications we conceive it probable that the three Venetians, whose second start from Acre took place about November 1271, proceeded by Ayas and Sivas, and then by Mardin, Mosul, and Baghdad, to Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, with the view of going on by sea, but that some obstacle arose which compelled them to abandon this project and turn north again from Hormuz. [13] They then traversed successively Kerman and Khorasan, Balkh and Badakhshan, whence they ascended the Panja or upper Oxus to the Plateau of Pamir, a route not known to have been since followed by any European traveller except Benedict Goës, till the spirited expedition of Lieutenant John Wood of the Indian Navy in 1838.[14] Crossing the Pamir highlands the travellers descended upon Kashgar, whence they proceeded by Yarkand and Khotan, and the vicinity of Lake Lob, and eventually across the Great Gobi Desert to Tangut, the name then applied by Mongols and Persians to territory at the extreme North-west of China, both within and without the Wall. Skirting the northern frontier of China they at last reached the presence of the Kaan, who was at his usual summer retreat at Kai-ping fu, near the base of the Khingan Mountains, and nearly 100 miles north of the Great Wall at Kalgan. If there be no mistake in the time (three years and a half) ascribed to this journey in all the existing texts, the travellers did not reach the Court till about May of 1275.[15]

20

21

20. Kúblái received the Venetians with great cordiality, and took kindly to young Mark, who must have been by this time one-and-twenty. The *Joenne Bacheler*, as the story calls him, applied himself to the acquisition of the languages and written characters in chief use among the multifarious nationalities included in the Kaan's Court and administration; and Kúblái after a time, seeing his discretion and ability, began to employ him in the public service. M. Pauthier has found a record in the Chinese Annals of the Mongol Dynasty, which states that in the year 1277, a certain POLO was nominated a second-class commissioner or agent attached to the Privy Council, a passage which we are happy to believe to refer to our young traveller.[16]

Marco's employment by Kúblái Kaan; and his journeys.

His first mission apparently was that which carried him through the provinces of Shan-si, Shen-si, and Sze-ch'wan, and the wild country on the East of Tibet, to the remote province of Yun-nan, called by the Mongols Karájàng, and which had been partially conquered by an army under Kúblái himself in 1253, before his accession to the throne.[17] Mark, during his stay at court, had observed the Kaan's delight in hearing of strange countries, their marvels, manners, and oddities, and had heard his Majesty's frank expressions of disgust at the stupidity of his commissioners when they could speak of nothing but the official business on which they had been sent. Profiting by these observations, he took care to store his memory or his note-books with all curious facts that were likely to interest Kúblái, and related them with vivacity on his return to Court. This first journey, which led him through a region which is still very nearly a *terra incognita*, and in which there existed and still exists, among the deep valleys of the Great Rivers flowing down from Eastern Tibet, and in the rugged mountain ranges bordering Yun-nan and Kwei-chau, a vast Ethnological Garden, as it were, of tribes of various race and in every stage of

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uncivilisation, afforded him an acquaintance with many strange products and eccentric traits of manners, wherewith to delight the Emperor.

Mark rose rapidly in favour, and often served Kúblái again on distant missions, as well as in domestic administration, but we gather few details as to his employments. At one time we know that he held for three years the government of the great city of Yang-chau, though we need not try to magnify this office, as some commentators have done, into the viceroyalty of one of the great provinces of the Empire; on another occasion we find him with his uncle Maffeo, passing a year at Kan-chau in Tangut; again, it would appear, visiting Kara Korum, the old capital of the Kaans in Mongolia; on another occasion in Champa or Southern Cochin China; and again, or perhaps as a part of the last expedition, on a mission to the Indian Seas, when he appears to have visited several of the southern states of India. We are not informed whether his father and uncle shared in such employments;[18] and the story of their services rendered to the Kaan in promoting the capture of the city of Siang-yang, by the construction of powerful engines of attack, is too much perplexed by difficulties of chronology to be cited with confidence. Anyhow they were gathering wealth, and after years of exile they began to dread what might follow old Kúblái's death, and longed to carry their gear and their own grey heads safe home to the Lagoons. The aged Emperor growled refusal to all their hints, and but for a happy chance we should have lost our mediæval Herodotus. 23

Circumstances of the Departure of the Polos from the Kaan's Court.

21. Arghún Khan of Persia, Kúblái's great-nephew, had in 1286 lost his favourite wife the Khatun Bulughán; and, mourning her sorely, took steps to fulfil her dying injunction that her place should be filled only by a lady of her own kin, the Mongol Tribe of Bayaut. Ambassadors were despatched to the Court of Kaan-baligh to seek such a bride. The message was courteously received, and the choice fell on the lady Kokáchin, a maiden of 17, "*moult bele dame et avenant*." The overland road from Peking to Tabriz was not only of portentous length for such a tender charge, but was imperilled by war, so the envoys desired to return by sea. Tartars in general were strangers to all navigation; and the envoys, much taken with the Venetians, and eager to profit by their experience, especially as Marco had just then returned from his Indian mission, begged the Kaan as a favour to send the three *Firinghis* in their company. He consented with reluctance, but, having done so, fitted the party out nobly for the voyage, charging the Polos with friendly messages for the potentates of Europe, including the King of England. They appear to have sailed from the port of Zayton (as the Westerns called T'swan-chau or Chin-cheu in Fo-kien) in the beginning of 1292. It was an ill-starred voyage, involving long detentions on the coast of Sumatra, and in the South of India, to which, however, we are indebted for some of the best chapters in the book; and two years or upwards passed before they arrived at their destination in Persia.[19] The three hardy Venetians survived all perils, and so did the lady, who had come to look on them with filial regard; but two of the three envoys, and a vast proportion of the suite, had perished by the way.[20] Arghún Khan too had been dead even before they quitted China;[21] his brother Kaikhátú reigned in his stead; and his son Gházán succeeded to the lady's hand. We are told by one who knew both the princes well that Arghún was one of the handsomest men of his time, whilst Gházán was, among all his host, one of the most insignificant in appearance. But in other respects the lady's change was for the better. Gházán had some of the highest qualities of a 24

soldier, a legislator and a king, adorned by many and varied accomplishments; though his reign was too short for the full development of his fame.[8]

22. The princess, whose enjoyment of her royalty was brief, wept as she took leave of the kindly and noble Venetians. They went on to Tabriz, and after a long halt there proceeded homewards, reaching Venice, according to all the texts some time in 1295.[22]

They pass by Persia to Venice. Their relations there.

We have related Ramusio's interesting tradition, like a bit out of the Arabian Nights, of the reception that the Travellers met with from their relations, and of the means that they took to establish their position with those relations, and with Venetian society.[23] Of the relations, Marco the Elder had probably been long dead;[24] Maffeo the brother of our Marco was alive, and we hear also of a cousin (*consanguineus*) Felice Polo, and his wife Fiordelisa, without being able to fix their precise position in the family. We know also that Nicolo, who died before the end of the century, left behind him two illegitimate sons, Stefano and Zannino. It is not unlikely that these were born from some connection entered into during the long residence of the Polos in Cathay, though naturally their presence in the travelling company is not commemorated in Marco's Prologue.[25]

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[1] *Zurla*, I. 42, quoting a MS. entitled *Petrus Ciera S. R. E. Card, de Origine Venetorum et de Civitate Venetiarum*. Cicogna says he could not find this MS. as it had been carried to England; and then breaks into a diatribe against foreigners who purchase and carry away such treasures, "not to make a serious study of them, but for mere vain-glory ... or in order to write books contradicting the very MSS. that they have bought, and with that dishonesty and untruth which are so notorious!" (IV. 227.)

[2] *Campidoglio Veneto* of Cappellari (MS. in St. Mark's Lib.), quoting "the Venetian Annals of Giulio Faroldi."

[3] The *Genealogies* of Marco Barbaro specify 1033 as the year of the migration to Venice; on what authority does not appear (MS. copy in *Museo Civico* at Venice).

[4] *Cappellari*, u.s., and *Barbaro*. In the same century we find (1125, 1195) indications of Polos at Torcello, and of others (1160) at Equileo, and (1179, 1206) Lido Maggiore; in 1154 a Marco Polo of Rialto. Contemporary with these is a family of Polos (1139, 1183, 1193, 1201) at Chioggia (*Documents and Lists of Documents from various Archives at* Venice).

[5] See Appendix C, Nos. 4, 5, and 16. It was supposed that an autograph of Marco as member of the Great Council had been discovered, but this proves to be a mistake, as will be explained further on (see p. 74, note). In those days the demarcation between Patrician and non-Patrician at Venice, where all classes shared in commerce, all were (generally speaking) of one race, and where there were neither castles, domains, nor trains of horsemen, formed no wide gulf. Still it is interesting to establish the verity of the old tradition of Marco's technical nobility.

[6] Marco's seniority rests only on the assertion of Ramusio, who also calls Maffeo older than Nicolo. But in Marco the Elder's Will these two are always (3 times) specified as "*Nicolaus et Matheus*."

[7] This seems implied in the Elder Marco's Will (1280): "*Item de bonis quæ me habere contingunt* de fraternâ Compagniâ *a suprascriptis Nicolao et Matheo Paulo*," etc.

[9] There is no real ground for doubt as to this. All the extant MSS. agree in making Marco fifteen years old when his father returned to Venice in 1269.

[10] Baldelli and Lazari say that the Bern MS. specifies 30th April; but this is a mistake.

[11] Pipino's version runs: "Invenit Dominus Nicolaus Paulus uxorem suam esse defunctam, quae in recessu suo fuit praegnans. Invenitque filium, Marcum nomine, qui jam annos xv. habebat aetatis, qui post discessum ipsius de Venetiis natus fuerat de uxore sua praefatâ." To this Ramusio adds the further particular that the mother died in giving birth to Mark.

The interpolation is older even than Pipino's version, for we find in the rude Latin published by the Société de Géographie "quam cum Venetiis primo recessit praegnantem dimiserat." But the statement is certainly an *interpolation*, for it does not exist in any of the older texts; nor have we any good reason for believing that it was an *authorised* interpolation. I suspect it to have been introduced to harmonise with an erroneous date for the commencement of the travels of the two brothers.

Lazari prints: "Messer Nicolò trovò che la sua donna era morta, e n'era rimasto un fanciullo di *dodici* anni per nome Marco, *che il padre non avea veduto mai, perchè non era ancor nato quando egli partì*." These words have no equivalent in the French Texts, but are taken from one of the Italian MSS. in the Magliabecchian Library, and are I suspect also interpolated. The *dodici* is pure error (see p. 21 *infra*).

[12] The last view is in substance, I find, suggested by Cicogna (ii. 389).

The matter is of some interest, because in the Will of the younger Maffeo, which is extant, he makes a bequest to his uncle (*Avunculus*) Jordan Trevisan. This seems an indication that his mother's name may have been Trevisan. The same Maffeo had a daughter *Fiordelisa*. And Marco the Elder, in his Will (1280), appoints as his executors, during the absence of his brothers, the same Jordan Trevisan and his own sister-in-law *Fiordelisa* ("Jordanum Trivisanum de confinio S. Antonini: et Flordelisam cognatam meam"). Hence I conjecture that this *cognata Fiordelisa* (Trevisan?) was the wife of the absent Nicolo, and the mother of Maffeo. In that case of course Maffeo and Marco were the sons of different mothers. With reference to the above suggestion of Nicolo's second marriage in 1269 there is a curious variation in a fragmentary Venetian Polo in the Barberini Library at Rome. It runs, in the passage corresponding to the latter part of ch. ix. of Prologue: "i qual do fratelli steteno do anni in Veniezia aspettando la elletion de nuovo Papa, *nel qual tempo Mess. Nicolo si tolse moier et si la lasò graveda*." I believe, however, that it is only a careless misrendering of Pipino's statement about Marco's birth.

[13] [Major Sykes, in his remarkable book on *Persia*, ch. xxiii. pp. 262–263, does not share Sir Henry Yule's opinion regarding this itinerary, and he writes:

"To return to our travellers, who started on their second great journey in 1271, Sir Henry Yule, in his introduction,[A] makes them travel *viâ* Sivas to Mosul and Baghdád, and thence by sea to Hormuz, and this is the itinerary shown on his sketch map. This view I am unwilling to accept for more than one reason. In the first place, if, with Colonel Yule, we suppose that Ser Marco visited Baghdád, is it not unlikely that he should term the River Volga the Tigris,[B] and yet leave the river of Baghdád nameless? It may be urged that Marco believed the legend of the reappearance of the Volga in Kurdistán, but yet, if the text be read with care and

"Again, he gives no description of the striking buildings of Baudas, as he terms it, but this is nothing to the inaccuracy of his supposed onward journey. To quote the text, 'A very great river flows through the city, ... and merchants descend some eighteen days from Baudas, and then come to a certain city called Kisi,[C] where they enter the Sea of India.' Surely Marco, had he travelled down the Persian Gulf, would never have given this description of the route, which is so untrue as to point to the conclusion that it was vague information given by some merchant whom he met in the course of his wanderings.

"Finally, apart from the fact that Baghdád, since its fall, was rather off the main caravan route, Marco so evidently travels east from Yezd and thence south to Hormuz, that unless his journey be described backwards, which is highly improbable, it is only possible to arrive at one conclusion, namely, that the Venetians entered Persia near Tabriz, and travelled to Sultania, Kashán, and Yezd. Thence they proceeded to Kermán and Hormuz, where, probably fearing the sea voyage, owing to the manifest unseaworthiness of the ships, which he describes as 'wretched affairs,' the Khorasán route was finally adopted. Hormuz, in this case, was not visited again until the return from China, when it seems probable that the same route was retraced to Tabriz, where their charge, the Lady Kokachin, 'moult bele dame et avenant,' was married to Gházan Khán, the son of her fiancé Arghun. It remains to add that Sir Henry Yule may have finally accepted this view in part, as in the plate showing *Probable View of Marco Polo's own Geography*,[D] the itinerary is not shown as running to Baghdád."

I may be allowed to answer that when Marco Polo *started* for the East, Baghdád was not rather off the main caravan route. The fall of Baghdád was not immediately followed by its decay, and we have proof of its prosperity at the beginning of the 14th century. Tauris had not yet the importance it had reached when the Polos visited it on their *return* journey. We have the will of the Venetian Pietro Viglioni, dated from Tauris, 10th December, 1264 (*Archiv. Veneto*, xxvi. 161–165), which shows that he was but a pioneer. It was only under Arghún Khan (1284–1291) that Tauris became the great market for foreign, especially Genoese, merchants, as Marco Polo remarks on his return journey; with Gházán and the new city built by that prince, Tauris reached a very high degree of prosperity, and was then really the chief emporium on the route from Europe to Persia and the far East. Sir Henry Yule had not changed his views, and if in the plate showing *Probable View of Marco Polo's own Geography*, the itinerary is not shown as running to Baghdád, it is mere neglect on the part of the draughtsman.—H. C.]

[14] It is stated by Neumann that this most estimable traveller once intended to have devoted a special work to the elucidation of Marco's chapters on the Oxus Provinces, and it is much to be regretted that this intention was never fulfilled. Pamir has been explored more extensively and deliberately, whilst this book was going through the press, by Colonel Gordon, and other officers, detached from Sir Douglas Forsyth's Mission. [We have made use of the information given by these officers and by more recent travellers.—H. C.]

[15] Half a year earlier, if we suppose the three years and a half to count from Venice rather than Acre. But at that season (November) Kúblái would not have been at Kai-ping fu (otherwise Shang-tu).

[16] *Pauthier*, p. ix., and p. 361.

[17] That this was Marco's first mission is positively stated in the Ramusian edition; and though this may be only an editor's gloss it seems well-founded. The French texts say only that the Great Kaan, "l'envoia en un message en une terre ou bien

might well be reckoned six months in round estimate. And we are enabled by various circumstances to fix the date of the Yun-nan journey between 1277 and 1280. The former limit is determined by Polo's account of the battle with the Burmese, near Vochan, which took place according to the Chinese Annals in 1277. The latter is fixed by his mention of Kúblái's son, Mangalai, as governing at Kenjanfu (Si-ngan fu), a prince who died in 1280. (See vol. ii. pp. 24, 31, also 64, 80.)

[18] Excepting in the doubtful case of Kan-chau, where one reading says that the three Polos were there on business of their own not necessary to mention, and another, that only Maffeo and Marco were there, "*en légation*."

[19] Persian history seems to fix the arrival of the lady Kokáchin in the North of Persia to the winter of 1293–1294. The voyage to Sumatra occupied three months (vol. i. p. 34); they were five months detained there (ii. 292); and the remainder of the voyage extended to eighteen more (i. 35),—twenty-six months in all.

The data are too slight for unexceptional precision, but the following adjustment will fairly meet the facts. Say that they sailed from Fo-kien in January 1292. In April they would be in Sumatra, and find the S.W. Monsoon too near to admit of their crossing the Bay of Bengal. They remain in port till September (five months), and then proceed, touching (perhaps) at Ceylon, at Kayal, and at several ports of Western India. In one of these, *e.g.* Kayal or Tana, they pass the S.W. Monsoon of 1293, and then proceed to the Gulf. They reach Hormuz in the winter, and the camp of the Persian Prince Gházán, the son of Arghún, in March, twenty-six months from their departure.

I have been unable to trace Hammer's authority (not Wassáf I find), which perhaps gives the precise date of the Lady's arrival in Persia (see *infra*, p. 38). From his narrative, however (*Gesch. der Ilchane*, ii. 20), March 1294 is perhaps too late a date. But the five months' stoppage in Sumatra *must* have been in the S.W. Monsoon; and if the arrival in Persia is put earlier, Polo's numbers can scarcely be held to. Or, the eighteen months mentioned at vol. i. p. 35, must *include* the five months' stoppage. We may then suppose that they reached Hormuz about November 1293, and Gházán's camp a month or two later.

[20] The French text which forms the *basis* of my translation says that, excluding mariners, there were 600 souls, out of whom only 8 survived. The older MS. which I quote as G. T., makes the number 18, a fact that I had overlooked till the sheets were printed off.

[21] Died 12th March, 1291.

[22] All dates are found so corrupt that even in this one I do not feel absolute confidence. Marco in dictating the book is aware that Gházán had attained the throne of Persia (see vol. i. p. 36, and ii. pp. 50 and 477), an event which did not occur till October, 1295. The date assigned to it, however, by Marco (ii. 477) is 1294, or the year *before* that assigned to the return home.

The travellers may have stopped some time at Constantinople on their way, or even may have visited the northern shores of the Black Sea; otherwise, indeed, how did Marco acquire his knowledge of that Sea (ii. 486–488) and of events in Kipchak (ii. 496 *seqq.*)? If 1296 was the date of return, moreover, the six-and-twenty years assigned in the preamble as the period of Marco's absence (p. 2) would be nearer accuracy. For he left Venice in the spring or summer of 1271.

[23] Marco Barbaro, in his account of the Polo family, tells what seems to be the same tradition in a different and more mythical version:—

manner, insomuch that the wife of one of them gave away to a beggar that came to the door one of those garments of his, all torn, patched, and dirty as it was. The next day he asked his wife for that mantle of his, in order to put away the jewels that were sewn up in it; but she told him she had given it away to a poor man, whom she did not know. Now, the stratagem he employed to recover it was this. He went to the Bridge of Rialto, and stood there turning a wheel, to no apparent purpose, but as if he were a madman, and to all those who crowded round to see what prank was this, and asked him why he did it, he answered: 'He'll come if God pleases.' So after two or three days he recognised his old coat on the back of one of those who came to stare at his mad proceedings, and got it back again. Then, indeed, he was judged to be quite the reverse of a madman! And from those jewels he built in the contrada of S. Giovanni Grisostomo a very fine palace for those days; and the family got among the vulgar the name of the *Ca' Million*, because the report was that they had jewels to the value of a million of ducats; and the palace has kept that name to the present day—*viz*., 1566." (*Genealogies*, MS. copy in *Museo Civico*; quoted also by *Baldelli Boni, Vita*, p. xxxi.)

[24] The Will of the Elder Marco, to which we have several times referred, is dated at Rialto 5th August, 1280.

The testator describes himself as formerly of Constantinople, but now dwelling in the confine of S. Severo.

His brothers *Nicolo* and *Maffeo*, if at Venice, are to be his sole trustees and executors, but in case of their continued absence he nominates *Jordano Trevisano*, and his sister-in-law *Fiordelisa* of the confine of S. Severo.

The proper tithe to be paid. All his clothes and furniture to be sold, and from the proceeds his funeral to be defrayed, and the balance to purchase masses for his soul at the discretion of his trustees.

Particulars of money due to him from his partnership with Donato Grasso, now of Justinople (Capo d'Istria), 1200 *lire* in all. (Fifty-two lire due by said partnership to Angelo di Tumba of S. Severo.)

The above money bequeathed to his son *Nicolo*, living at *Soldachia*, or failing him, to his beloved brothers *Nicolo* and *Maffeo*. Failing them, to the sons of his said brothers (*sic*) *Marco* and *Maffeo*. Failing them, to be spent for the good of his soul at the discretion of his trustees.

To his son Nicolo he bequeaths a silver-wrought girdle of vermilion silk, two silver spoons, a silver cup without cover (or saucer? *sine cembalo*), his desk, two pairs of sheets, a velvet quilt, a counterpane, a feather-bed—all on the same conditions as above, and to remain with the trustees till his son returns to Venice.

Meanwhile the trustees are to invest the money at his son's risk and benefit, but only here in Venice (*investiant seu investire, faciant*).

From the proceeds to come in from his partnership with his brothers Nicolo and Maffeo, he bequeaths 200 lire to his daughter Maroca.

From same source 100 lire to his natural son Antony.

Has in his desk (*capsella*) two hyperperae (Byzantine gold coins), and three golden florins, which he bequeaths to the sister-in-law *Fiordelisa*.

Gives freedom to all his slaves and handmaidens.

Leaves his house in Soldachia to the Minor Friars of that place, reserving life-occupancy to his son Nicolo and daughter Maroca.

[25] The terms in which the younger Maffeo mentions these half-brothers in his Will (1300) seem to indicate that they were still young.

[A] Page *19*.

[B] *Vide Yule*, vol. i. p. 5. It is noticeable that John of Pian de Carpine, who travelled 1245 to 1247, names it correctly.

[C] The modern name is Keis, an island lying off Linga.

[D] Vol. i. p. *110* (Introduction).

IV. Digression concerning the Mansion of the Polo Family at Venice.

23. We have seen that Ramusio places the scene of the story recently alluded to at the mansion in the parish of S. Giovanni Grisostomo, the court of which was known in his time as the Corte del Millioni; and indeed he speaks of the Travellers as at once on their arrival resorting to that mansion as their family residence. Ramusio's details have so often proved erroneous that I should not be surprised if this also should be a mistake. At least we find (so far as I can learn) no previous intimation that the family were connected with that locality. The grandfather Andrea is styled of *San Felice*. The will of Maffeo Polo the younger, made in 1300, which we shall give hereafter in abstract, appears to be the first document that connects the family with S. Giovanni Grisostomo. It indeed styles the testator's father "the late Nicolo Paulo of the confine of St. John Chrysostom," but that only shows what is not disputed, that the Travellers after their return from the East settled in this locality. And the same will appears to indicate a surviving connexion with S. Felice, for the priests and clerks who drew it up and witness it are all of the church of S. Felice, and it is to the parson of S. Felice and his successor that Maffeo bequeaths an annuity to procure their prayers for the souls of his father, his mother, and himself, though after the successor the annuity is to pass on the same condition to the senior priest of S. Giovanni Grisostomo. Marco Polo the Elder is in his will described as of *S. Severo*, as is also his sister-in-law Fiordelisa, and the document contains no reference to S. Giovanni. On the whole therefore it seems probable that the Palazzo in the latter parish was purchased by the Travellers after their return from the East.[1]

Probable period of their establishment at S. Giovanni Grisostomo.

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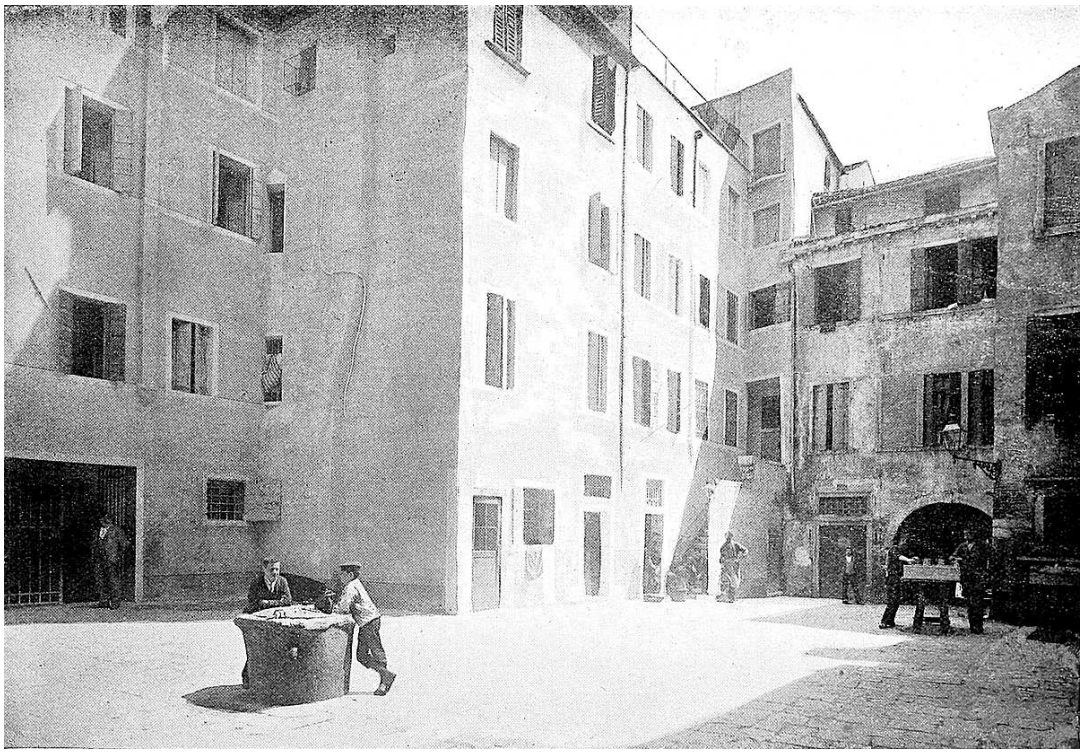

Corte del Milione, Venice.

24. The Court which was known in the 16th century as the Corte del Millioni has been generally understood to be that now known as the Corte Sabbionera, and here is still pointed out a relic of Marco Polo's mansion. [Indeed it is called now (1899) *Corte del Milione*; see p. *30*.—H. C.]

Relic of the Casa Polo in the Corte Sabbionera.

M. Pauthier's edition is embellished with a good engraving which purports to represent the House of Marco Polo. But he has been misled. His engraving in fact exhibits, at least as the prominent feature, an embellished representation of a small house which exists on the *west side* of the Sabbionera, and which had at one time perhaps that pointed style of architecture which his engraving shows, though its present decoration is paltry and unreal. But it is on the *north side* of the Court, and on the foundations now occupied by the Malibran theatre, that Venetian tradition and the investigations of Venetian antiquaries concur in indicating the site of the Casa Polo. At the end of the 16th century a great fire destroyed the Palazzo,[2] and under the description of "an old mansion ruined from the foundation" it passed into the hands of one Stefano Vecchia, who sold it in 1678 to Giovanni Carlo Grimani. He built on the site of the ruins a theatre which was in its day one of the largest in Italy, and was called the Theatre of S. Giovanni Grisostomo; afterwards the *Teatro Emeronitio*. When modernized in our own day the proprietors gave it the name of Malibran, in honour of that famous singer, and this it still bears.[3]

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[In 1881, the year of the Venice International Geographical Congress, a Tablet was put up on the Theatre with the following inscription:—

QVI FURONO LE CASE

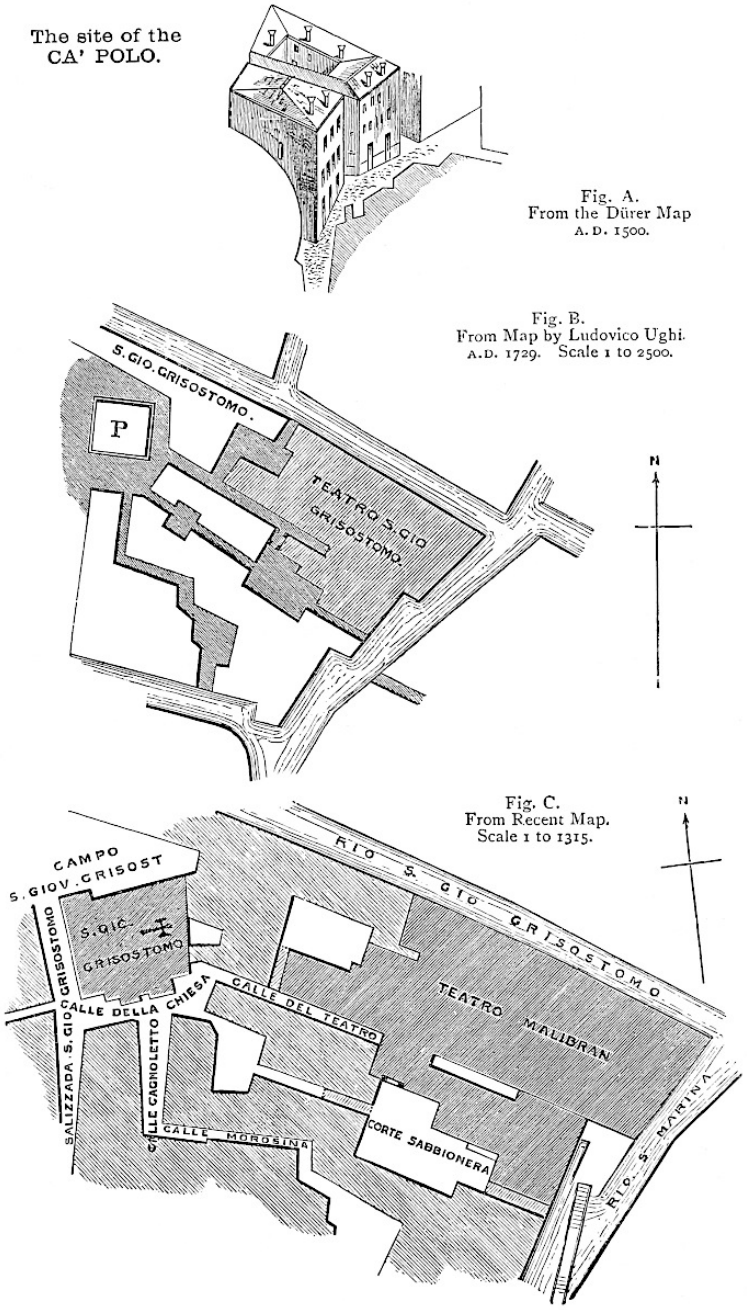
DI

MARCO POLO
CHE VIAGGIÒ LE PIÙ LONTANE REGIONI DELL'ASIA
E LE DESCRISSE

PER DECRETO DEL COMUNE
MDCCCLXXXI].

There is still to be seen on the north side of the Court an arched doorway in Italo-Byzantine style, richly sculptured with scrolls, disks, and symbolical animals, and on the wall above the doorway is a cross similarly ornamented.[4] The style and the decorations are those which were usual in Venice in the 13th century. The arch opens into a passage from which a similar doorway at the other end, also retaining some scantier relics of decoration, leads to the entrance of the Malibran Theatre. Over the archway in the Corte Sabbionera the building rises into a kind of tower. This, as well as the sculptured arches and cross, Signor Casoni, who gave a good deal of consideration to the subject, believed to be a relic of the old Polo House. But the tower (which Pauthier's view does show) is now entirely modernized.[5]

Malibran Theatre, Venice.



The site of the CA' POLO.
Fig. A. From the Dürer Map. A.D. 1500.
Fig. B. From Map by Ludovico Ughi. A.D. 1729 Scale 1 to 2500.
Fig. C. From Recent Map. Scale 1 to 1315.

Other remains of Byzantine sculpture, which are probably fragments of the decoration of the same mansion, are found imbedded in the walls of neighbouring houses.[6] It is impossible to determine anything further as to the form or extent of the house of the time of the Polos, but some slight idea of its appearance about the year 1500 may be seen in the extract (fig. A) which we give from the famous pictorial map of Venice attributed erroneously to Albert Dürer. The state of the buildings in the last century is shown in (fig. B) an extract from the fine Map of

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[Coming from the Church of S. G. Grisostomo to enter the calle del Teatro on the left and the passage (*Sottoportico*) leading to the *Corte del Milione*, one has in front of him a building with a door of the epoch of the Renaissance; it was the office of the *provveditori* of silk; on the architrave are engraved the words:

PROVISORES SERICI

and below, above the door, is the Tablet which] in the year 1827 the Abate Zenier caused to be put up with this inscription:—

AEDES PROXIMA THALIAE CVLTVI MODO ADDICTA
MARCI POLO P. V. ITINERVM FAMA PRAECLARI
JAM HABITATIO FVIT.

24*a*. I believe that of late years some doubts have been thrown on the tradition of the site indicated as that of the Casa Polo, though I am not aware of the grounds of such doubts. But a document recently discovered at Venice by Comm. Barozzi, one of a series relating to the testamentary estate of Marco Polo, goes far to confirm the tradition. This is the copy of a technical definition of two pieces of house property adjoining the property of Marco Polo and his brother Stephen, which were sold to Marco Polo by his wife Donata[7] in June 1321. Though the definition is not decisive, from the rarity of topographical references and absence of points of the compass, the description of Donata's tenements as standing on the Rio (presumably that of S. Giovanni Grisostomo) on one side, opening by certain porticoes and stairs on the other to the Court and common alley leading to the Church of S. Giovanni Grisostomo, and abutting in two places on the CA' POLO, the property of her husband and Stefano, will apply perfectly to a building occupying the western portion of the area on which now stands the Theatre, and perhaps forming the western side of a Court of which Casa Polo formed the other three sides.[8]

Recent corroboration as to the traditional site of the Casa Polo.

31

[2]

Entrance to the Corte del Milione, Venice.

We know nothing more of Polo till we find him appearing a year or two later in rapid succession as the Captain of a Venetian Galley, as a prisoner of war, and as an author.

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[1] Marco Barbaro's story related at p. 25 speaks of the Ca' Million as *built* by the travellers.

From a list of parchments existing in the archives of the *Casa di Ricovero*, or Great Poor House, at Venice, Comm. Berchet obtained the following indication:—

"*No. 94. Marco Galetti invests* Marco Polo *S. of* Nicolo *with the ownership of his possessions* (beni) *in* S. Giovanni Grisostomo; *10 September, 1319; drawn up by the Notary Nicolo, priest of S. Canciano*."

This document would perhaps have thrown light on the matter, but unfortunately recent search by several parties has failed to trace it. [The document has been discovered since: see vol. ii., *Calendar*, No. 6.—H. C.]

Venetiana, Ven. 1598, pp. 161–162.)

"1596. 7 *Nov. Senato* (Arsenal ... ix c. 159 t).

"Essendo conveniente usar qualche ricognizione a quelli della maestranza dell'Arsenal nostro, che prontamente sono concorsi all'incendio occorso ultimamente a S. Zuane Grizostomo nelli stabeli detti di Ca' Milion dove per la relazion fatta nell collegio nostro dalli patroni di esso Arsenal hanno nell'estinguere il foco prestato ogni buon servitio...."—(Comm. by Cav. Cecchetti through Comm. Berchet.)

[3] See a paper by G. C. (the Engineer Giovanni Casoni) in *Teatro Emeronitio Almanacco per l'Anno 1835*.

[4] This Cross is engraved by Mr. Ruskin in vol. ii. of the *Stones of Venice*: see p. 139, and Pl. xi. Fig. 4.

[5] Casoni's only doubt was whether the *Corte del Millioni* was what is now the Sabbionera, or the interior area of the theatre. The latter seems most probable.

One Illustration of this volume, p. 1, shows the archway in the Corte Sabbionera, and also the decorations of the soffit.

[6] See *Ruskin*, iii. 320.

[7] Comm. Barozzi writes: "Among us, contracts between husband and wife are and were very common, and recognized by law. The wife sells to the husband property not included in dowry, or that she may have inherited, just as any third person might."

[8] See Appendix C, No. 16.

V. Digression concerning the War-Galleys of the Mediterranean States in the Middle Ages.

25. And before entering on this new phase of the Traveller's biography it may not be without interest that we say something regarding the equipment of those galleys which are so prominent in the mediæval history of the Mediterranean.[1]

Arrangement of the Rowers in Mediæval Galleys: a separate oar to every man.

Eschewing that "Serbonian Bog, where armies whole have sunk" of Books and Commentators, the theory of the classification of the Biremes and Triremes of the Ancients, we can at least assert on secure grounds that in *mediæval* armament, up to the middle of the 16th century or thereabouts, the characteristic distinction of galleys of different calibres, so far as such differences existed, was based *on the number of rowers that sat on one bench pulling each his separate oar, but through one* portella *or rowlock-port*.[2] And to the classes of galleys so distinguished the Italians, of the later Middle Age at least, did certainly apply, rightly or wrongly, the classical terms of *Bireme*, *Trireme*, and *Quinquereme*, in the sense of galleys having two men and two oars to a bench, three men and three oars to a bench, and five men and five oars to a bench.[3]

32

Previous to 1290, Sanudo tells us, almost all the galleys that went to the Levant had but two oars and men to a bench; but as it had been found that three oars and men to a bench could be employed with great advantage, after that date nearly all galleys adopted this arrangement, which was called *ai Terzaruoli*.[4]

Moreover experiments made by the Venetians in 1316 had shown that four rowers to a bench could be employed still more advantageously. And where the galleys could be used on inland waters, and could be made more bulky, Sanudo would even recommend five to a bench, or have gangs of rowers on two decks with either three or four men to the bench on each deck.

Change of System in the 16th century.

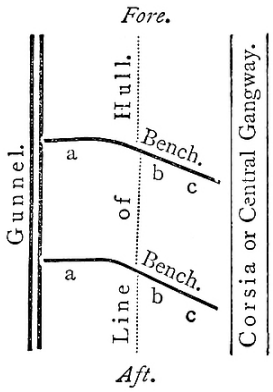
26. This system of grouping the oars, and putting only one man to an oar, continued down to the 16th century, during the first half of which came in the more modern system of using great oars, equally spaced, and requiring from four to seven men each to ply them, in the manner which endured till late in the last century, when galleys became altogether obsolete. Captain Pantero Pantera, the author of a work on Naval Tactics (1616), says he had heard, from veterans who had commanded galleys equipped in the antiquated fashion, that *three* men to a bench, with separate oars, answered better than three men to one great oar, but four men to one great oar (he says) were certainly more efficient than four men with separate oars. The new-fashioned great oars, he tells us, were styled *Remi di Scaloccio*, the old grouped oars *Remi a Zenzile*,—terms the etymology of which I cannot explain.[5] 33

It may be doubted whether the four-banked and five-banked galleys, of which Marino Sanudo speaks, really then came into practical use. A great five-banked galley on this system, built in 1529 in the Venice Arsenal by Vettor Fausto, was the subject of so much talk and excitement, that it must evidently have been something quite new and unheard of.[6] So late as 1567 indeed the King of Spain built at Barcelona a galley of thirty-six benches to the side, and seven men to the bench, with a separate oar to each in the old fashion. But it proved a failure.[7]

Down to the introduction of the great oars the usual system appears to have been three oars to a bench for the larger galleys, and two oars for lighter ones. The *fuste* or lighter galleys of the Venetians, even to about the middle of the 16th century, had their oars in pairs from the stern to the mast, and single oars only from the mast forward.[8]

Some details of the 13th century Galleys.

27. Returning then to the three-banked and two-banked galleys of the latter part of the 13th century, the number of benches on each side seems to have run from twenty-five to twenty-eight, at least as I interpret Sanudo's calculations. The 100-oared vessels often mentioned (*e.g.* by *Muntaner*, p. 419) were probably two-banked vessels with twenty-five benches to a side.



34

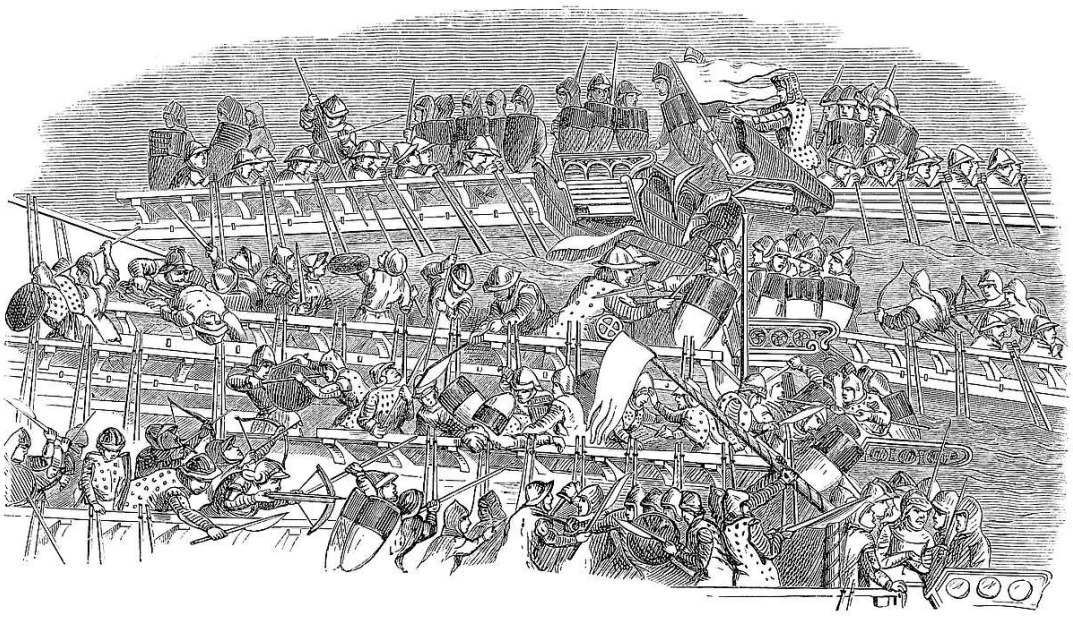
The galleys were very narrow, only 15½ feet in beam.[9] But to give room for the play of the oars and the passage of the fighting-men, &c., this width was largely augmented by an *opera-morta*, or outrigger deck, projecting much beyond the ship's sides and supported by timber brackets.[10] I do not find it stated how great this projection was in the mediæval galleys, but in those of the 17th century it was *on each side* as much as ⅔ths of the true beam. And if it was as great in the 13th-century galleys the total width between the false gunnels would be about 22¼ feet.

In the centre line of the deck ran, the whole length of the vessel, a raised gangway called the *corsia*, for passage clear of the oars.

The benches were arranged as in this diagram. The part of the bench next the gunnel was at right angles to it, but the other two-thirds of the bench were thrown forward obliquely. *a*, *b*, *c*, indicate the position of the three rowers. The shortest oar *a* was called *Terlicchio*, the middle one *b Posticcio*, the long oar *c Piamero*.[11]

I do not find any information as to how the oars worked on the gunnels. The Siena fresco (see p. *35*) appears to show them attached by loops and pins, which is the usual practice in boats of the Mediterranean now. In the cut from D. Tintoretto (p. *37*) the groups of oars protrude through regular ports in the bulwarks, but this probably represents the use of a later day. In any case the oars of each bench must have worked in very close proximity. Sanudo states the length of the galleys of his time (1300–1320) as 117 feet. This was doubtless length of *keel*, for that is specified ("*da ruoda a ruoda*") in other Venetian measurements, but the whole oar space could scarcely have been so much, and with twenty-eight benches to a side there could not have been more than 4 feet gunnel-space to each bench. And as one of the objects of the grouping of the oars was to allow room between the benches for the action of cross-bowmen, &c., it is plain that the rowlock space for the three oars must have been very much compressed.[12]

35

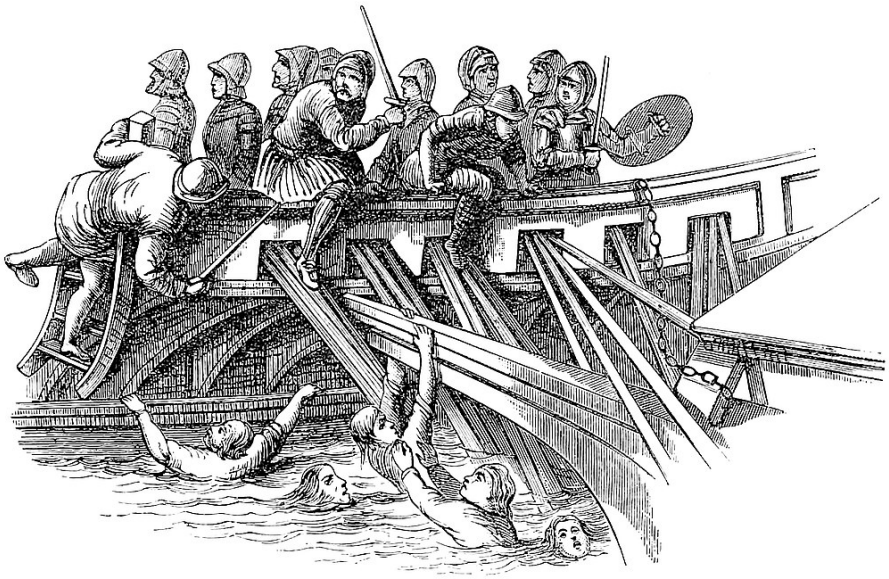


Galley-Fight, from a Mediæval Fresco at Siena. (See p. *36*.)

The rowers were divided into three classes, with graduated pay. The highest class, who pulled the poop or stroke oars, were called *Portolati*; those at the bow, called *Prodieri*, formed the second class.[13] *36*

Some elucidation of the arrangements that we have tried to describe will be found in our cuts. That at p. *35* is from a drawing, by the aid of a very imperfect photograph, of part of one of the frescoes of Spinello Aretini in the Municipal Palace at Siena, representing a victory of the Venetians over the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's fleet, commanded by his son Otho, in 1176; but no doubt the galleys, &c., are of the artist's own age, the middle of the 14th century.[14] In this we see plainly the projecting *opera-morta*, and the rowers sitting two to a bench, each with his oar, for these are two-banked. We can also discern the Latin rudder on the quarter. (See this volume, p. 118.) In a picture in the Uffizj, at Florence, of about the same date, by Pietro Laurato (it is in the corridor near the entrance), may be seen a small figure of a galley with the oars also very distinctly coupled.[15] Casoni has engraved, after Cristoforo Canale, a pictorial plan of a Venetian trireme of the 16th century, which shows the arrangement of the oars in *triplets* very plainly. *37*

The following cut has been sketched from an engraving of a picture by Domenico Tintoretto in the Doge's palace, representing, I believe, the same action (real or imaginary) as Spinello's fresco, but with the costume and construction of a later date. It shows, however, very plainly, the projecting *opera-morta* and the arrangement of the oars in fours, issuing through row-ports in high bulwarks.



Part of a Sea Fight, after Dom. Tintoretto.

28. Midships in the mediæval galley a castle was erected, of the width of the ship, and some 20 feet in length; its platform being elevated sufficiently to allow of free passage under it and over the benches. At the bow was the battery, consisting of mangonels (see vol. ii. p. 161 *seqq*.) and great cross-bows with winding gear,[16] whilst there were shot-ports[17] for smaller cross-bows along the gunnels in the intervals between the benches. Some of the larger galleys had openings to admit horses at the stern, which were closed and caulked for the voyage, being under water when the vessel was at sea.[18] *38*

Fighting Arrangements.

It seems to have been a very usual piece of tactics, in attacking as well as in awaiting attack, to connect a large number of galleys by hawsers, and sometimes also to link the oars together, so as to render it difficult for the enemy to break the line or run aboard. We find this practised by the Genoese on the defensive at the battle of Ayas (*infra*, p. *43*), and it is constantly resorted to by the Catalans in the battles described by Ramon de Muntaner.[19]

Sanudo says the toil of rowing in the galleys was excessive, almost unendurable. Yet it seems to have been performed by freely-enlisted men, and therefore it was probably less severe than that of the great-oared galleys of more recent times, which it was found impracticable to work by free enlistment, or otherwise than by slaves under the most cruel driving.[20] I am not well enough read to say that war-galleys were never rowed by slaves in the Middle Ages, but the only doubtful allusion to such a class that I have met with is in one passage of Muntaner, where he says, describing the Neapolitan and Catalan fleets drawing together for action, that the gangs of the galleys had to toil *like* "forçats" (p. 313). Indeed, as regards Venice at least, convict rowers are stated to have been first introduced in 1549, previous to which the gangs were of *galeotti assoldati*.[21] *39*

29. We have already mentioned that Sanudo requires for his three-banked galley a ship's company of 250 men. They are distributed as follows:—

Crew of a Galley and Staff of a Fleet.

Comito or Master	1
Quartermasters	8
Carpenters	2
Caulkers	2
In charge of stores and arms	4
Orderlies	2
Cook	1
Arblasteers	50
Rowers	180
	— —
	250[22]

This does not include the *Sopracomito*, or Gentleman-Commander, who was expected to be *valens homo et probus*, a soldier and a gentleman, fit to be consulted on occasion by the captain-general. In the Venetian fleet he was generally a noble.[23]

The aggregate pay of such a crew, not including the sopracomito, amounted monthly to 60 *lire de' grossi*, or 600 florins, equivalent to 280*l*. at modern gold value; and the cost for a year to nearly 3160*l*., exclusive of the victualling of the vessel and the pay of the gentleman-commander. The build or purchase of a galley complete is estimated by the same author at 15,000 florins, or 7012*l*.

We see that war cost a good deal in money even then.

Besides the ship's own complement Sanudo gives an estimate for the general staff of a fleet of 60 galleys. This consists of a captain-general, two (vice) admirals, and the following:—

40

6 *Probi homines*, or gentlemen of character, forming a council to the Captain-General;
4 Commissaries of Stores;
2 Commissaries over the Arms;
3 Physicians;
3 Surgeons;
5 Master Engineers and Carpenters;
15 Master Smiths;
12 Master Fletchers;
5 Cuirass men and Helmet-makers;
15 Oar-makers and Shaft-makers;
10 Stone cutters for stone shot;
10 Master Arblast-makers;
20 Musicians;
20 Orderlies, &c.

30. The musicians formed an important part of the equipment. Sanudo says that in going into action every vessel should make the greatest possible display of colours; gonfalons and broad banners should float from stem to stern, and gay pennons all along the bulwarks; whilst it was

Music; and other particulars.

impossible to have too much of noisy music, of pipes, trumpets, kettle-drums, and what not, to put heart into the crew and strike fear into the enemy.[24]

So Joinville, in a glorious passage, describes the galley of his kinsman, the Count of Jaffa, at the landing of St. Lewis in Egypt:—

> "That galley made the most gallant figure of them all, for it was painted all over, above water and below, with scutcheons of the count's arms, the field of which was *or* with a cross *patée gules*.[25] He had a good 300 rowers in his galley, and every man of them had a target blazoned with his arms in beaten gold. And, as they came on, the galley looked to be some flying creature, with such spirit did the rowers spin it along;—or rather, with the rustle of its flags, and the roar of its nacaires and drums and Saracen horns, you might have taken it for a rushing bolt of heaven."[26]

The galleys, which were very low in the water,[27] could not keep the sea in rough weather, and in winter they never willingly kept the sea at night, however fair the weather might be. Yet Sanudo mentions that he had been with armed galleys to Sluys in Flanders. *41*

I will mention two more particulars before concluding this digression. When captured galleys were towed into port it was stern foremost, and with their colours dragging on the surface of the sea.[28] And the custom of saluting at sunset (probably by music) was in vogue on board the galleys of the 13th century.[29]

We shall now sketch the circumstances that led to the appearance of our Traveller in the command of a war-galley.

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[1] I regret not to have had access to Jal's learned memoirs (*Archéologie Navale*, Paris, 1839) whilst writing this section, nor since, except for a hasty look at his Essay on the difficult subject of the oar arrangements. I see that he rejects so great a number of oars as I deduce from the statements of Sanudo and others, and that he regards a large number of the rowers as supplementary.

[2] It seems the more desirable to elucidate this, because writers on mediæval subjects so accomplished as Buchon and Capmany have (it would seem) entirely misconceived the matter, assuming that all the men on one bench pulled at one oar.

[3] See *Coronelli, Atlante Veneto*, I. 139, 140. Marino Sanudo the Elder, though not using the term *trireme*, says it was well understood from ancient authors that the Romans employed their rowers *three to a bench* (p. 59).

[4] "*Ad terzarolos*" (*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, p. 57). The Catalan Worthy, Ramon de Muntaner, indeed constantly denounces the practice of manning *all* the galleys with *terzaruoli*, or *tersols*, as his term is. But his reason is that these thirds-men were taken from the oar when crossbowmen were wanted, to act in that capacity, and as such they were good for nothing; the crossbowmen, he insists, should be men specially enlisted for that service and kept to that. He would have some 10 or 20 per cent. only of the fleet built very light and manned in threes. He does not seem to have contemplated oars three-banked, and crossbowmen *besides*, as Sanudo does. (See below; and *Muntaner*, pp. 288, 323, 525, etc.)

In Sanudo we have a glimpse worth noting of the word *soldiers* advancing towards the modern sense; he expresses a strong preference for *soldati* (viz. *paid* soldiers) over *crusaders* (viz. volunteers), p. 74.

[5] *L'Armata Navale*, Roma, 1616, pp. 150–151.

[14] [6] See a work to which I am indebted for a good deal of light and information, the Engineer Giovanni Casoni's Essay: "*Dei Navigli Poliremi usati nella Marina dagli Antichi Veneziani*," in "*Esercitazioni dell'Ateneo Veneto*," vol. ii. p. 338. This great *Quinquereme*, as it was styled, is stated to have been struck by a fire-arrow, and blown up, in January 1570.

[7] *Pantera*, p. 22.

[8] *Lazarus Bayfius de Re Navali Veterum*, in *Gronovii Thesaurus*, Ven. 1737, vol. xi. p. 581. This writer also speaks of the Quinquereme mentioned above (p. 577).

[9] *Marinus Sanutius*, p. 65.

[10] See the woodcuts opposite and at p. 37; also *Pantera*, p. 46 (who is here, however, speaking of the great-oared galleys), and *Coronelli*, i. 140.

[11] *Casoni*, p. 324. He obtains these particulars from a manuscript work of the 16th century by Cristoforo Canale.

[12] Signor Casoni (p. 324) expresses his belief that no galley of the 14th century had more than 100 oars. I differ from him with hesitation, and still more as I find M. Jal agrees in this view. I will state the grounds on which I came to a different conclusion. (1) Marino Sanudo assigns 180 rowers for a galley equipped *ai Terzaruoli* (p. 75). This seemed to imply something near 180 oars, for I do not find any allusion to reliefs being provided. In the French galleys of the 18th century there were no reliefs except in this way, that in long runs without urgency only half the oars were pulled. (See *Mém. d'un Protestant condamné aux Galères*, etc., Réimprimés, Paris, 1865, p. 447.) If four men to a bench were to be employed, then Sanudo seems to calculate for his smaller galleys 220 men actually rowing (see pp. 75–78). This seems to assume 55 benches, *i.e.*, 28 on one side and 27 on the other, which with 3-banked oars would give 165 rowers. (2) Casoni himself refers to Pietro Martire d'Anghieria's account of a Great Galley of Venice in which he was sent ambassador to Egypt from the Spanish Court in 1503. The crew amounted to 200, of whom 150 were for working the sails and oars, *that being the number of oars in each galley*, one man to each oar and three to each bench. Casoni assumes that this vessel must have been much larger than the galleys of the 14th century; but, however that may have been, Sanudo to his galley assigns the larger crew of 250, of whom almost exactly the same proportion (180) were rowers. And in the *galeazza* described by Pietro Martire the oars were used only as an occasional auxiliary. (See his *Legationis Babylonicæ Libri Tres*, appended to his 3 Decads concerning the New World; *Basil*. 1533, f. 77 *ver.*) (3) The galleys of the 18th century, with their great oars 50 feet long pulled by six or seven men each, had 25 benches to the side, and only 4′ 6″ (French) gunnel-space to each oar. (See *Mém. d'un Protest.*, p. 434.) I imagine that a smaller space would suffice for the 3 light oars of the mediæval system, so that this need scarcely be a difficulty in the face of the preceding evidence. Note also the *three hundred rowers* in Joinville's description quoted at p. *40*. The great galleys of the Malay Sultan of Achin in 1621 had, according to Beaulieu, from 700 to 800 rowers, but I do not know on what system.

[13] *Marinus Sanutius*, p. 78. These titles occur also in the *Documenti d' Amore* of Fr. Barberino referred to at p. 117 of this volume:—

> "Convienti qui manieri
> *Portolatti e prodieri*
> E presti galeotti
> Aver, e forti e dotti."

probably be of about the same period. Of the battle represented I can find no record.

[15] Engraved in Jal, i. 330; with other mediæval illustrations of the same points.

[16] To these Casoni adds *Sifoni* for discharging Greek fire; but this he seems to take from the Greek treatise of the Emperor Leo. Though I have introduced Greek fire in the cut at p. *49*, I doubt if there is evidence of its use by the Italians in the thirteenth century. Joinville describes it like something strange and new.

In after days the artillery occupied the same position, at the bow of the galley.

Great beams, hung like battering rams, are mentioned by Sanudo, as well as iron crow's-feet with fire attached, to shoot among the rigging, and jars of quick-lime and soft soap to fling in the eyes of the enemy. The lime is said to have been used by Doria against the Venetians at Curzola (*infra*, p. *48*), and seems to have been a usual provision. Francesco Barberini specifies among the stores for his galley: "*Calcina*, con lancioni, Pece, pietre, e ronconi" (p. 259). And Christine de Pisan, in her *Faiz du Sage Roy Charles* (V. of France), explains also the use of the soap: "*Item*, on doit avoir pluseurs vaisseaulx legiers à rompre, comme *poz plains de chauls* ou pouldre, et gecter dedens; et, par ce, seront comme avuglez, au brisier des poz. *Item*, on doit avoir autres *poz de mol savon* et gecter es nefzs des adversaires, et quant les vaisseaulx brisent, le savon est glissant, si ne se peuent en piez soustenir et chiéent en l'eaue" (pt. ii. ch. 38).

[17] *Balistariæ*, whence no doubt *Balistrada* and our *Balustrade*. Wedgwood's etymology is far-fetched. And in his new edition (1872), though he has shifted his ground, he has not got nearer the truth.

[18] *Sanutius*, p. 53; *Joinville*, p. 40; *Muntaner*, 316, 403.

[19] See pp. 270, 288, 324, and especially 346.

[20] See the *Protestant*, cited above, p. 441, *et seqq*.

[21] *Venezia e le sue Lagune*, ii. 52.

[22] *Mar. Sanut*. p. 75.

[23] *Mar. Sanut*., p. 30.

[24] The Catalan Admiral Roger de Loria, advancing at daybreak to attack the Provençal Fleet of Charles of Naples (1283) in the harbour of Malta, "did a thing which should be reckoned to him rather as an act of madness," says Muntaner, "than of reason. He said, 'God forbid that I should attack them, all asleep as they are! Let the trumpets and nacaires sound to awaken them, and I will tarry till they be ready for action. No man shall have it to say, if I beat them, that it was by catching them asleep.'" (*Munt*. p. 287.) It is what Nelson might have done!

The Turkish admiral Sidi 'Ali, about to engage a Portuguese squadron in the Straits of Hormuz, in 1553, describes the Franks as "dressing their vessels with flags and coming on." (*J. As*. ix. 70.)

[25] A cross *patée*, is one with the extremities broadened out into *feet* as it were.

[26] Page 50.

[27] The galley at p. *49* is somewhat too high; and I believe it should have had no *shrouds*.

[28] See *Muntaner*, passim, *e.g*. 271, 286, 315, 349.

[29] *Ibid*. 346.

VI. The Jealousies and Naval Wars of Venice and Genoa. Lamba Doria's Expedition to the Adriatic; Battle of Curzola; and Imprisonment of Marco Polo by the Genoese.

31. Jealousies, too characteristic of the Italian communities, were, in the case of the three great trading republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, aggravated by commercial rivalries, whilst, between the two first of those states, and also between the two last, the bitterness of such feelings had been augmenting during the whole course of the 13th century.[1]

Growing jealousies and outbreaks between the Republics.

The brilliant part played by Venice in the conquest of Constantinople (1204), and the preponderance she thus acquired on the Greek shores, stimulated her arrogance and the resentment of her rivals. The three states no longer stood on a level as bidders for the shifting favour of the Emperor of the East. By treaty, not only was Venice established as the most important ally of the empire and as mistress of a large fraction of its territory, but all members of nations at war with her were prohibited from entering its limits. Though the Genoese colonies continued to exist, they stood at a great disadvantage, where their rivals were so predominant and enjoyed exemption from duties, to which the Genoese remained subject. Hence jealousies and resentments reached a climax in the Levantine settlements, and this colonial exacerbation reacted on the mother States. 42

A dispute which broke out at Acre in 1255 came to a head in a war which lasted for years, and was felt all over Syria. It began in a quarrel about a very old church called St. Sabba's, which stood on the common boundary of the Venetian and Genoese estates in Acre,[2] and this flame was blown by other unlucky occurrences. Acre suffered grievously.[3] Venice at this time generally kept the upper hand, beating Genoa by land and sea, and driving her from Acre altogether.✢ Four ancient porphyry figures from St. Sabba's were sent in triumph to Venice, and with their strange devices still stand at the exterior corner of St. Mark's, towards the Ducal Palace.[4]

But no number of defeats could extinguish the spirit of Genoa, and the tables were turned when in her wrath she allied herself with Michael Palaeologus to upset the feeble and tottering Latin Dynasty, and with it the preponderance of Venice on the Bosphorus. The new emperor handed over to his allies the castle of their foes, which they tore down with jubilations, and now it was their turn to send its stones as trophies to Genoa. Mutual hate waxed fiercer than ever; no merchant fleet of either state could go to sea without convoy, and wherever their ships met they fought.[5] It was something like the state of things between Spain and England in the days of Drake.

Figures from St. Sabba's, sent to Venice.

The energy and capacity of the Genoese seemed to rise with their success, and both in seamanship and in splendour they began almost to surpass their old rivals. The fall of Acre (1291), and the total expulsion of the Franks from Syria, in great measure barred the southern routes of Indian trade, whilst the predominance of Genoa in the Euxine more or less obstructed the free access of her rival to the northern routes by Trebizond and Tana. *43*

32. Truces were made and renewed, but the old fire still smouldered. In the spring of 1294 it broke into flame, in consequence of the seizure in the Grecian seas of three Genoese vessels by a Venetian fleet. This led to an action with a Genoese convoy which sought redress. The fight took place off Ayas in the Gulf of Scanderoon,[6] and though the Genoese were inferior in strength by one-third they gained a signal victory, capturing all but three of the Venetian galleys, with rich cargoes, including that of Marco Basilio (or Basegio), the commodore.

Battle in Bay of Ayas in 1294.

This victory over their haughty foe was in its completeness evidently a surprise to the Genoese, as well as a source of immense exultation, which is vigorously

expressed in a ballad of the day, written in a stirring salt-water rhythm.[7] It represents the Venetians, as they enter the bay, in arrogant mirth reviling the Genoese with very unsavoury epithets as having deserted their ships to skulk on shore. They are described as saying:—

"'Off they've slunk! and left us nothing;
We shall get nor prize nor praise;
Nothing save those crazy timbers
Only fit to make a blaze.'"

So they advance carelessly—

"On they come! But lo their blunder!
When our lads start up anon,
Breaking out like unchained lions,
With a roar, 'Fall on! Fall on!'"[8]

After relating the battle and the thoroughness of the victory, ending in the conflagration of five-and-twenty captured galleys, the poet concludes by an admonition to the enemy to moderate his pride and curb his arrogant tongue, harping on the obnoxious epithet *porci leproxi*, which seems to have galled the Genoese.[9] He concludes:— 44

"Nor can I at all remember
Ever to have heard the story
Of a fight wherein the Victors
Reaped so rich a meed of glory!"[10]

The community of Genoa decreed that the victory should be commemorated by the annual presentation of a golden pall to the monastery of St. German's, the saint on whose feast (28th May) it had been won.[11]

The startling news was received at Venice with wrath and grief, for the flower of their navy had perished, and all energies were bent at once to raise an overwhelming force.[12] The Pope (Boniface VIII.) interfered as arbiter, calling for plenipotentiaries from both sides. But spirits were too much inflamed, and this mediation came to nought.

Further outrages on both sides occurred in 1296. The Genoese residences at Pera were fired, their great alum works on the coast of Anatolia were devastated, and Caffa was stormed and sacked; whilst on the other hand a number of the Venetians at Constantinople were massacred by the Genoese, and Marco Bembo, their Bailo, was flung from a house-top. Amid such events the fire of enmity between the cities waxed hotter and hotter. 45

33. In 1298 the Genoese made elaborate preparations for a great blow at the enemy, and fitted out a powerful fleet which they placed under the command of LAMBA DORIA, a younger brother of Uberto of that illustrious house, under whom he had served fourteen years before in the great rout of the Pisans at Meloria.

Lamba Doria's Expedition to the Adriatic.

The rendezvous of the fleet was in the Gulf of Spezia, as we learn from the same pithy Genoese poet who celebrated Ayas. This time the Genoese were bent on

bearding St. Mark's Lion in his own den; and after touching at Messina they steered straight for the Adriatic:—

"Now, as astern Otranto bears,
Pull with a will! and, please the Lord,
Let them who bragged, with fire and sword,
To waste our homesteads, look to theirs!"[13]

On their entering the gulf a great storm dispersed the fleet. The admiral with twenty of his galleys got into port at Antivari on the Albanian coast, and next day was rejoined by fifty-eight more, with which he scoured the Dalmatian shore, plundering all Venetian property. Some sixteen of his galleys were still missing when he reached the island of Curzola, or Scurzola as the more popular name seems to have been, the Black Corcyra of the Ancients—the chief town of which, a rich and flourishing place, the Genoese took and burned.[14] Thus they were engaged when word came that the Venetian fleet was in sight. 46

Venice, on first hearing of the Genoese armament, sent Andrea Dandolo with a large force to join and supersede Maffeo Quirini, who was already cruising with a squadron in the Ionian sea; and, on receiving further information of the strength of the hostile expedition, the Signory hastily equipped thirty-two more galleys in Chioggia and the ports of Dalmatia, and despatched them to join Dandolo, making the whole number under his command up to something like ninety-five. Recent drafts had apparently told heavily upon the Venetian sources of enlistment, and it is stated that many of the complements were made up of rustics swept in haste from the Euganean hills. To this the Genoese poet seems to allude, alleging that the Venetians, in spite of their haughty language, had to go begging for men and money up and down Lombardy. "Did *we* do like that, think you?" he adds:—

"Beat up for aliens? *We* indeed?
When lacked we homeborn Genoese?
Search all the seas, no salts like these,
For Courage, Seacraft, Wit at need."[15]

Of one of the Venetian galleys, probably in the fleet which sailed under Dandolo's immediate command, went Marco Polo as *Sopracomito* or Gentleman-Commander.[16]

34. It was on the afternoon of Saturday the 6th September that the Genoese saw the Venetian fleet approaching, but, as sunset was not far off, both sides tacitly agreed to defer the engagement.[17] 47

The Fleets come in sight of each other at Curzola.

The Genoese would appear to have occupied a position near the eastern end of the Island of Curzola, with the Peninsula of Sabbioncello behind them, and Meleda on their left, whilst the Venetians advanced along the south side of Curzola. (See map on p. *50*).

According to Venetian accounts the Genoese were staggered at the sight of the Venetian armaments, and sent more than once to seek terms, offering finally to surrender galleys and munitions of war, if the crews were allowed to depart. This is an improbable story, and that of the Genoese ballad seems more like truth. Doria, it says, held a council of his captains in the evening at which they all voted for attack, whilst the Venetians, with that overweening sense of superiority which at this time

is reflected in their own annals as distinctly as in those of their enemies, kept scout-vessels out to watch that the Genoese fleet, which they looked on as already their own, did not steal away in the darkness. A vain imagination, says the poet:—

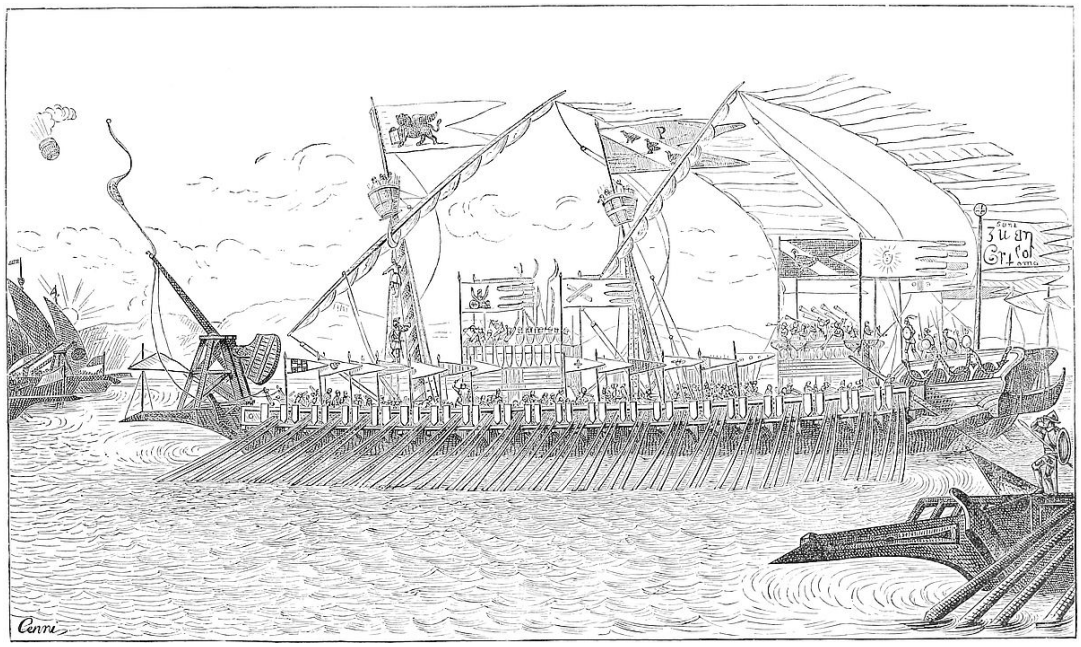
"Blind error of vainglorious men
To dream that we should seek to flee
After those weary leagues of sea
Crossed, but to hunt them in their den!"[18]

48

35. The battle began early on Sunday and lasted till the afternoon. The Venetians had the wind in their favour, but the morning sun in their eyes. They made the attack, and with great impetuosity, capturing ten Genoese galleys; but they pressed on too wildly, and some of their vessels ran aground. One of their galleys too, being taken, was cleared of her crew and turned against the Venetians. These incidents caused confusion among the assailants; the Genoese, who had begun to give way, took fresh heart, formed a close column, and advanced boldly through the Venetian line, already in disorder. The sun had begun to decline when there appeared on the Venetian flank the fifteen or sixteen missing galleys of Doria's fleet, and fell upon it with fresh force. This decided the action. The Genoese gained a complete victory, capturing all but a few of the Venetian galleys, and including the flagship with Dandolo. The Genoese themselves lost heavily, especially in the early part of the action, and Lamba Doria's eldest son Octavian is said to have fallen on board his father's vessel.[19] The number of prisoners taken was over 7000, and among these was Marco Polo.[20]

The Venetians defeated, and Marco Polo a prisoner.

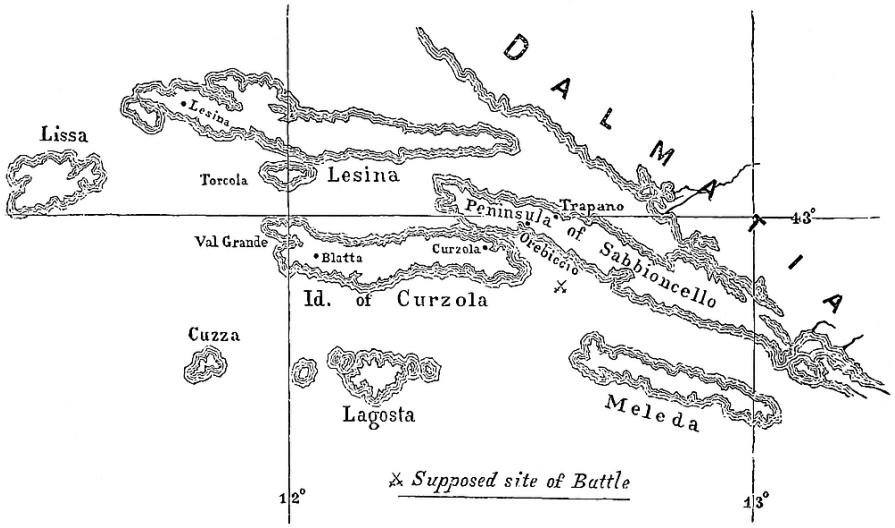
49



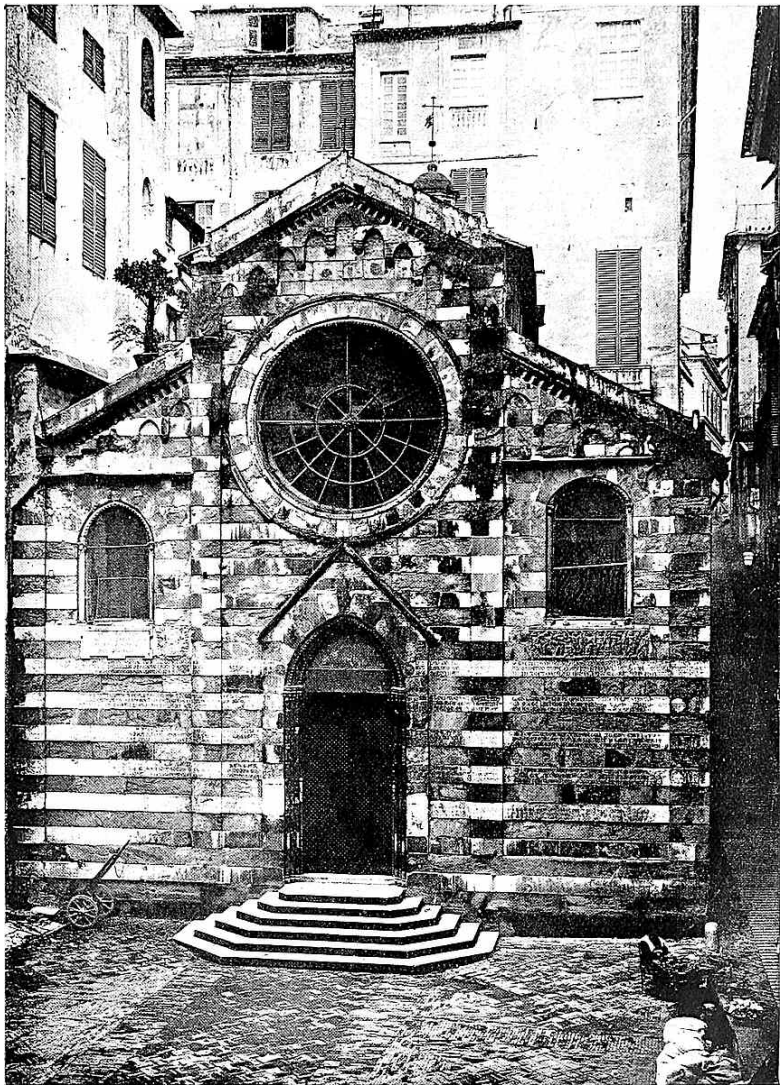
Marco Polo's Galley going into action at Curzola.
... "il sembloit que la galie volast, par les nageurs qui la contreingnoient aux avirons, et sembloit que foudre cheist des ciex, au bruit que les pennonciaus menoient; et que les nacaires les tabours et les cors sarrazinnois menoient, qui estoient en sa galie."
(*Joinville*, vide *ante*, p. 40.)

The prisoners, even of the highest rank, appear to have been chained. Dandolo, in despair at his defeat, and at the prospect of being carried captive into Genoa,

refused food, and ended by dashing his head against a bench.[21] A Genoese account asserts that a noble funeral was given him after the arrival of the fleet at Genoa, which took place on the evening of the 16th October.[22] It was received with great rejoicing, and the City voted the annual presentation of a pallium of gold brocade to the altar of the Virgin in the Church of St. Matthew, on every 8th of September, the Madonna's day, on the eve of which the Battle had been won. To the admiral himself a Palace was decreed. It still stands, opposite the Church of St. Matthew, though it has passed from the possession of the Family. On the striped marble façades, both of the Church and of the Palace, inscriptions of that age, in excellent preservation, still commemorate Lamba's achievement.[23] Malik al Mansúr, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, as an enemy of Venice, sent a complimentary letter to Doria accompanied by costly presents.[24]



Scene of the Battle of Curzola.



Church of San Matteo, Genoa.

The latter died at Savona 17th October, 1323, a few months before the most illustrious of his prisoners, and his bones were laid in a sarcophagus which may still be seen forming the sill of one of the windows of S. Matteo (on the right as you enter). Over this sarcophagus stood the Bust of Lamba till 1797, when the mob of Genoa, in idiotic imitation of the French proceedings of that age, threw it down. All of Lamba's six sons had fought with him at Meloria. In 1291 one of them, Tedisio, went forth into the Atlantic in company with Ugolino Vivaldi on a voyage of discovery, and never returned. Through Cæsar, the youngest, this branch of the Family still survives, bearing the distinctive surname of *Lamba-Doria*.[25] 51

As to the treatment of the prisoners, accounts differ; a thing usual in such cases. The Genoese Poet asserts that the hearts of his countrymen were touched, and that the captives were treated with compassionate courtesy. Navagiero the Venetian, on the other hand, declares that most of them died of hunger.[26]

36. Howsoever they may have been treated, here was Marco Polo one of those many thousand prisoners in Genoa; 52

Marco Polo in prison dictates

his book to Rusticiano of Pisa. Release of Venetian prisoners.

and here, before long, he appears to have made acquaintance with a man of literary propensities, whose destiny had brought him into the like plight, by name RUSTICIANO or RUSTICHELLO of Pisa. It was this person perhaps who persuaded the Traveller to defer no longer the reduction to writing of his notable experiences; but in any case it was he who wrote down those experiences at Marco's dictation; it is he therefore to whom we owe the preservation of this record, and possibly even that of the Traveller's very memory. This makes the Genoese imprisonment so important an episode in Polo's biography.

To Rusticiano we shall presently recur. But let us first bring to a conclusion what may be gathered as to the duration of Polo's imprisonment.

It does not appear whether Pope Boniface made any new effort for accommodation between the Republics; but other Italian princes did interpose, and Matteo Visconti, Captain-General of Milan, styling himself Vicar-General of the Holy Roman Empire in Lombardy, was accepted as Mediator, along with the community of Milan. Ambassadors from both States presented themselves at that city, and on the 25th May, 1299, they signed the terms of a Peace.

These terms were perfectly honourable to Venice, being absolutely equal and reciprocal; from which one is apt to conclude that the damage to the City of the Sea was rather to her pride than to her power; the success of Genoa, in fact, having been followed up by no systematic attack upon Venetian commerce.[27] Among the terms was the mutual release of prisoners on a day to be fixed by Visconti after the completion of all formalities. This day is not recorded, but as the Treaty was ratified by the Doge of Venice on the 1st July, and the latest extant document connected with the formalities appears to be dated 18th July, we may believe that before the end of August Marco Polo was restored to the family mansion in S. Giovanni Grisostomo. *53*

Grounds on which the story of Marco Polo's capture at Curzola rests.

37. Something further requires to be said before quitting this event in our Traveller's life. For we confess that a critical reader may have some justification in asking what evidence there is that Marco Polo ever fought at Curzola, and ever was carried a prisoner to Genoa from that unfortunate action?

A learned Frenchman, whom we shall have to quote freely in the immediately ensuing pages, does not venture to be more precise in reference to the meeting of Polo and Rusticiano than to say of the latter: "In 1298, being in durance in the Prison of Genoa, he there became acquainted with Marco Polo, whom the Genoese had deprived of his liberty *from motives equally unknown*."[28]

To those who have no relish for biographies that round the meagre skeleton of authentic facts with a plump padding of what *might have been*, this sentence of Paulin Paris is quite refreshing in its stern limitation to positive knowledge. And certainly no contemporary authority has yet been found for the capture of our Traveller at Curzola. Still I think that the fact is beyond reasonable doubt.

Ramusio's biographical notices certainly contain many errors of detail; and some, such as the many years' interval which he sets between the Battle of Curzola and Marco's return, are errors which a very little trouble would have enabled him to

eschew. But still it does seem reasonable to believe that the main fact of Marco's command of a galley at Curzola, and capture there, was derived from a genuine tradition, if not from documents.

Let us then turn to the words which close Rusticiano's preamble (see *post*, p. 2): —"Lequel (Messire Marc) puis demorant en le charthre de Jene, fist retraire toutes cestes chouses a Messire Rustacians de Pise que en celle meissme charthre estoit, au tens qu'il avoit 1298 anz que Jezu eut vesqui." These words are at least thoroughly consistent with Marco's capture at Curzola, as regards both the position in which they present him, and the year in which he is thus presented.

There is however another piece of evidence, though it is curiously indirect.

54 The Dominican Friar Jacopo of Acqui was a contemporary of Polo's, and was the author of a somewhat obscure Chronicle called *Imago Mundi*.[29] Now this Chronicle does contain mention of Marco's capture in action by the Genoese, but attributes it to a different action from Curzola, and one fought at a time when Polo could not have been present. The passage runs as follows in a manuscript of the Ambrosian Library, according to an extract given by Baldelli Boni:—

> "In the year of Christ MCCLXXXXVI, in the time of Pope Boniface VI., of whom we have spoken above, a battle was fought in Arminia, at the place called Layaz, between xv. galleys of Genoese merchants and xxv. of Venetian merchants; and after a great fight the galleys of the Venetians were beaten, and (the crews) all slain or taken; and among them was taken Messer Marco the Venetian, who was in company with those merchants, and who was called *Milono*, which is as much as to say 'a thousand thousand pounds,' for so goes the phrase in Venice. So this Messer Marco Milono the Venetian, with the other Venetian prisoners, is carried off to the prison of Genoa, and there kept for a long time. This Messer Marco was a long time with his father and uncle in Tartary, and he there saw many things, and made much wealth, and also learned many things, for he was a man of ability. And so, being in prison at Genoa, he made a Book concerning the great wonders of the World, *i.e.*, concerning such of them as he had seen. And what he told in the Book was not as much as he had really seen, because of the tongues of detractors, who, being ready to impose their own lies on others, are over hasty to set down as lies what they in their perversity disbelieve, or do not understand. And because there are many great and strange things in that Book, which are reckoned past all credence, he was asked by his friends on his death-bed to correct the Book by removing everything that went beyond the facts. To which his reply was that he had not told *one-half* of what he had really seen!"[30]

This statement regarding the capture of Marco *at the Battle of Ayas* is one which cannot be true, for we know that he did not reach Venice till 1295, travelling from Persia by way of Trebizond and the Bosphorus, whilst the Battle of Ayas of which we have purposely given some detail, was fought in May, 1294. The date 55 MCCLXXXXVI assigned to it in the preceding extract has given rise to some unprofitable discussion. Could that date be accepted, no doubt it would enable us also to accept this, the sole statement from the Traveller's own age of the circumstances which brought him into a Genoese prison; it would enable us to place that imprisonment within a few months of his return from the East, and to extend its duration to three years, points which would thus accord better with the general tenor of Ramusio's tradition than the capture of Curzola. But the matter is not open to such a solution. The date of the Battle of Ayas is not more doubtful than that of the Battle of the Nile. It is clearly stated by several independent chroniclers,

and is carefully established in the Ballad that we have quoted above.[31] We shall see repeatedly in the course of this Book how uncertain are the transcriptions of dates in Roman numerals, and in the present case the LXXXXVI is as certainly a mistake for LXXXXIV as is Boniface VI. in the same quotation a mistake for Boniface VIII.

But though we cannot accept the statement that Polo was taken prisoner at *Ayas, in the spring of 1294*, we may accept the passage as evidence from a contemporary source that he was *taken prisoner in some sea-fight with the Genoese*, and thus admit it in corroboration of the Ramusian Tradition of his capture in a sea-fight at Curzola in 1298, which is perfectly consistent with all other facts in our possession.

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[1] In this part of these notices I am repeatedly indebted to *Heyd*. (See *supra*, p. 9.)

[2] On or close to the Hill called *Monjoie*; see the plan from Marino Sanudo at p. 18.

[3] "Throughout that year there were not less than 40 machines all at work upon the city of Acre, battering its houses and its towers, and smashing and overthrowing everything within their range. There were at least ten of those engines that shot stones so big and heavy that they weighed a good 1500 lbs. by the weight of Champagne; insomuch that nearly all the towers and forts of Acre were destroyed, and only the religious houses were left. And there were slain in this same war good 20,000 men on the two sides, but chiefly of Genoese and Spaniards." (*Lettre de Jean Pierre Sarrasin*, in *Michel's Joinville*, p. 308.)

[4] The origin of these columns is, however, somewhat uncertain. [See *Cicogna*, I. p. 379.]

[5] In 1262, when a Venetian squadron was taken by the Greek fleet in alliance with the Genoese, the whole of the survivors of the captive crews were *blinded* by order of Palaeologus. (*Roman*. ii. 272.)

[6] See pp. 16, 41, and Plan of Ayas at beginning of Bk. I.

[7] See *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Appendice, tom. iv.

[8] *Niente ne resta a prender*
Se no li corpi de li legni:
Preixi som senza difender;
De bruxar som tute degni!
* * * *
Como li fom aproximai
Queli si levan lantor
Como leon descaenai
Tuti criando "Alor! Alor!"

This *Alor! Alor!* ("Up, Boys, and at 'em"), or something similar, appears to have been the usual war-cry of both parties. So a trumpet-like poem of the Troubadour warrior Bertram de Born, whom Dante found in such evil plight below (xxviii. 118 *seqq*.), in which he sings with extraordinary spirit the joys of war:—

"Ie us dic que tan no m'a sabor
Manjars, ni beure, ni dormir,
Cum a quant aug cridar, ALOR!
D'ambas la partz; et aug agnir
Cavals voits per l'ombratge...."

"I tell you a zest far before
Aught of slumber, or drink, or of food,
I snatch when the shouts of ALOR
Ring from both sides: and out of the wood
Comes the neighing of steeds dimly seen...."

In a galley fight at Tyre in 1258, according to a Latin narrative, the Genoese shout "Ad arma, ad arma! *ad ipsos, ad ipsos!*" The cry of the Venetians before engaging the Greeks is represented by Martino da Canale, in his old French, as "*or à yaus! or à yaus!*" that of the Genoese on another occasion as *Aur! Aur!* and this last is the shout of the Catalans also in Ramon de Muntaner. (*Villemain, Litt. du Moyen Age*, i. 99; *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* viii. 364, 506; *Pertz, Script.* xviii. 239; *Muntaner*, 269, 287.) Recently in a Sicilian newspaper, narrating an act of gallant and successful reprisal (only too rare) by country folk on a body of the brigands who are such a scourge to parts of the island, I read that the honest men in charging the villains raised a shout of "*Ad iddi! Ad iddi!*"

[9] A phrase curiously identical, with a similar sequence, is attributed to an Austrian General at the battle of Skalitz in 1866. (*Stoffel's Letters*.)

[10]

E no me posso aregordar
Dalcuno romanzo vertadê
Donde oyse uncha cointar
Alcun triumfo si sobré!

[11] *Stella* in *Muratori*, xvii. 984.

[12] *Dandulo*, Ibid. xii. 404–405.

[13]

Or entram con gran vigor,
En De sperando aver triumpho,
Queli zerchando inter lo Gorfo
Chi menazeram zercha lor!

And in the next verse note the pure Scotch use of the word *bra*:—

Sichè da Otranto se partim
Quella bra compagnia,
Per assar in Ihavonia,
D'Avosto a vinte nove dì.

[14] The island of Curzola now counts about 4000 inhabitants; the town half the number. It was probably reckoned a dependency of Venice at this time. The King of Hungary had renounced his claims on the Dalmatian coasts by treaty in 1244. (*Romanin*, ii. 235.) The gallant defence of the place against the Algerines in 1571 won for Curzola from the Venetian Senate the honourable title in all documents of *fedelissima*. (*Paton's Adriatic*, I. 47.)

[15]

Ma sé si gran colmo avea
Perchè andava mendigando

Per terra de Lombardia
Peccunia, gente a sodi?
Pone mente tu che l'odi
Se noi tegnamo questa via?

No, ma' più! ajamo omi nostrar
Destri, valenti, e avisti,
Che mai par de lor n'o visti
In tuti officj de mar.

[16] In July 1294, a Council of Thirty decreed that galleys should be equipped by the richest families in proportion to their wealth. Among the families held to equip one galley each, or one galley among two or more, in this list, is the CA' POLO. But this was before the return of the travellers from the East, and just after the battle of Ayas. (*Romanin*, ii. 332; this author misdates Ayas, however.) When a levy was required in Venice for any expedition the heads of each *contrada* divided the male inhabitants, between the ages of twenty and sixty, into groups of twelve each, called *duodene*. The dice were thrown to decide who should go first on service. He who went received five *lire* a month from the State, and one *lira* from each of his colleagues in the *duodena*. Hence his pay was sixteen *lire* a month, about 2*s*. a day in silver value, if these were *lire ai grossi*, or 1*s*. 4*d*. if *lire dei piccoli*. (See *Romanin*, ii. 393–394.)

Money on such occasions was frequently raised by what was called an *Estimo* or *Facion*, which was a force loan levied on the citizens in proportion to their estimated wealth; and for which they were entitled to interest from the State.

[17] Several of the Italian chroniclers, as Ferreto of Vicenza and Navagiero, whom Muratori has followed in his "Annals," say the battle was fought on the 8th September, the so-called Birthday of the Madonna. But the inscription on the Church of St. Matthew at Genoa, cited further on, says the 7th, and with this agree both Stella and the Genoese poet. For the latter, though not specifying the day of the month, says it was on a Sunday:—

"Lo di de Domenga era
Passa prima en l'ora bona
Stormezam fin provo nona
Con bataio forte e fera."

Now the 7th September, 1298, fell on a Sunday.

[18]

Ma li pensavam grande error
Che in fuga se fussem tuti metui
Che de si lonzi eram vegnui
Per cerchali a casa lor.

[19] "Note here that the Genoese generally, commonly, and by nature, are the most covetous of Men, and the Love of Gain spurs them to every Crime. Yet are they deemed also the most valiant Men in the World. Such an one was Lampa, of that very Doria family, a man of an high Courage truly. For when he was engaged in a Sea-Fight against the Venetians, and was standing on the Poop of his Galley, his Son, fighting valiantly at the Forecastle, was shot by an Arrow in the Breast, and fell wounded to the Death; a Mishap whereat his Comrades were sorely shaken, and Fear came upon the whole Ship's Company. But Lampa, hot with the Spirit of Battle, and more mindful of his Country's Service and his own Glory than of his Son, ran forward to the spot, loftily rebuked the agitated Crowd, and ordered his

Son's Body to be cast into the Deep, telling them for their Comfort that the Land could never have afforded his Boy a nobler Tomb. And then, renewing the Fight more fiercely than ever, he achieved the Victory." (*Benvenuto of Imola*, in *Comment. on Dante, in Muratori, Antiq.* i. 1146.)

("Yet like an English General will I die,
And all the Ocean make my spacious Grave;
Women and Cowards on the Land may lie,
The Sea's the Tomb that's proper for the Brave!"
—*Annus Mirabilis*.)

[20] The particulars of the battle are gathered from *Ferretus Vicentinus*, in *Murat.* ix. 985 *seqq.*; *And. Dandulo*, in xii. 407–408; *Navagiero*, in xxiii. 1009–1010; and the Genoese Poem as before.

[21] *Navagiero*, u.s. Dandulo says, "after a few days he died of grief"; Ferretus, that he was killed in the action and buried at Curzola.

[22] For the funeral, a MS. of Cibo Recco quoted by *Jacopo Doria* in *La Chiesa di San Matteo descritta*, etc., Genova, 1860, p. 26. For the date of arrival the poem so often quoted:—

"*De Oitover*, a zoia, *a seze di*
Lo nostro ostel, con gran festa
En nostro porto, a or di sesta
Domine De restitui."

[23] S. Matteo was built by Martin Doria in 1125, but pulled down and rebuilt by the family in a slightly different position in 1278. On this occasion is recorded a remarkable anticipation of the feats of American engineering: "As there was an ancient and very fine picture of Christ upon the apse of the Church, it was thought a great pity that so fine a work should be destroyed. And so they contrived an ingenious method by which the apse bodily was transported without injury, picture and all, for a distance of 25 ells, and firmly set upon the foundations where it now exists." (*Jacopo de Varagine* in *Muratori*, vol. ix. 36.)

The inscription on S. Matteo regarding the battle is as follows:—"*Ad Honorem Dei et Beate Virginis Marie Anno MCCLXXXXVIII Die Dominico VII Septembris iste Angelus captus fuit in Gulfo Venetiarum in Civitate Scursole et ibidem fuit prelium Galearum LXXVI Januensium cum Galeis LXXXXVI Veneciarum. Capte fuerunt LXXXIIII per Nobilem Virum Dominum Lambam Aurie Capitaneum et Armiratum tunc Comunis et Populi Janue cum omnibus existentibus in eisdem, de quibus conduxit Janue homines vivos carceratos VII cccc et Galeas XVIII, reliquas LXVI fecit cumburi in dicto Gulfo Veneciarum. Qui obiit Sagone I. MCCCXXIII.*" It is not clear to what the *Angelus* refers.

[24] *Rampoldi, Ann. Musulm.* ix. 217.

[25] *Jacopo Doria*, p. 280.

[26] *Murat.* xxiii. 1010. I learn from a Genoese gentleman, through my friend Professor Henry Giglioli (to whose kindness I owe the transcript of the inscription just given), that a faint tradition exists as to the place of our traveller's imprisonment. It is alleged to have been a massive building, standing between the *Grazie* and the Mole, and bearing the name of the *Malapaga*, which is now a barrack for Doganieri, but continued till comparatively recent times to be used as a civil prison. "It is certain," says my informant, "that men of fame in arms who had fallen into the power of the Genoese *were* imprisoned there, and among others is recorded the name of the Corsican Giudice dalla Rocca and Lord of Cinarca, who

indicates as the scene of Marco's captivity certain old prisons near the Old Arsenal, in a site still known as the *Vico degli Schiavi*. (*Celesia, Dante in Liguria*, 1865, p. 43.) [Was not the place of Polo's captivity the basement of the *Palazzo del Capitan del Popolo*, afterwards *Palazzo del Comune al Mare*, where the Customs (*Dogana*) had their office, and from the 15th century the *Casa* or *Palazzo di S. Giorgio?*—H. C.]

[27] The Treaty and some subsidiary documents are printed in the Genoese *Liber Jurium*, forming a part of the *Monumenta Historiae Patriae*, published at Turin. (See *Lib. Jur.* II. 344, *seqq.*) Muratori in his Annals has followed John Villani (Bk. VIII. ch. 27) in representing the terms as highly unfavourable to Venice. But for this there is no foundation in the documents. And the terms are stated with substantial accuracy in Navagiero. (*Murat. Script.* xxiii. 1011.)

[28] *Paulin Paris, Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, ii. 355.

[29] Though there is no precise information as to the birth or death of this writer, who belonged to a noble family of Lombardy, the Bellingeri, he can be traced with tolerable certainty as in life in 1289, 1320, and 1334. (See the Introduction to his Chronicle in the Turin *Monumentà*, *Scriptores* III.)

[30] There is another MS. of the *Imago Mundi* at Turin, which has been printed in the *Monumenta*. The passage about Polo in that copy differs widely in wording, is much shorter, and contains no date. But it relates his capture as having taken place at *Là Glazà*, which I think there can be no doubt is also intended for Ayas (sometimes called *Giàzza*), a place which in fact is called *Glaza* in three of the MSS. of which various readings are given in the edition of the Société de Géographie (p. 535).

[31] "*E per meio esse aregordenti*
De si grande scacho mato
Correa mille duxenti
Zonto ge novanta e quatro."

The Armenian Prince Hayton or Héthum has put it under 1293. (See *Langlois, Mém. sur les Relations de Gênes avec la Petite-Arménie*.)

VII. Rusticiano or Rustichello of Pisa, Marco Polo's Fellow-Prisoner at Genoa, the Scribe who wrote down the Travels.

38. We have now to say something of that Rusticiano to whom all who value Polo's book are so much indebted.

56

Rusticiano, perhaps a prisoner from Meloria.

The relations between Genoa and Pisa had long been so hostile that it was only too natural in 1298 to find a Pisan in the gaol of Genoa. An unhappy multitude of such prisoners had been carried thither fourteen years before, and the survivors still lingered there in vastly dwindled numbers. In the summer of 1284 was fought the battle from which Pisa had to date the commencement of her long decay. In July of that year the Pisans, at a time when the Genoese had no fleet in

with scarlet.[1] They had to pay dearly for this insult. The Genoese, recalling their cruisers, speedily mustered a fleet of eighty-eight galleys, which were placed under the command of another of that illustrious House of Doria, the Scipios of Genoa as they have been called, Uberto, the elder brother of Lamba. Lamba himself with his six sons, and another brother, was in the fleet, whilst the whole number of Dorias who fought in the ensuing action amounted to 250, most of them on board one great galley bearing the name of the family patron, St. Matthew.[2]

The Pisans, more than one-fourth inferior in strength, came out boldly, and the battle was fought off the Porto Pisano, in fact close in front of Leghorn, where a lighthouse on a remarkable arched basement still marks the islet of MELORIA, whence the battle got its name. The day was the 6th of August, the feast of St. Sixtus, a day memorable in the Pisan Fasti for several great victories. But on this occasion the defeat of Pisa was overwhelming. Forty of their galleys were taken or sunk, and upwards of 9000 prisoners carried to Genoa. In fact so vast a sweep was made of the flower of Pisan manhood that it was a common saying then: "*Che vuol veder Pisa, vada a Genova*!" Many noble ladies of Pisa went in large companies on *57* foot to Genoa to seek their husbands or kinsmen: "And when they made enquiry of the Keepers of the Prisons, the reply would be, 'Yesterday there died thirty of them, to-day there have died forty; all of whom we have cast into the sea; and so it is daily.'"[3]

A body of prisoners so numerous and important naturally exerted themselves in the cause of peace, and through their efforts, after many months of negotiation, a formal peace was signed (15th April, 1288). But through the influence, as was alleged, of Count Ugolino (Dante's) who was then in power at Pisa, the peace became abortive; war almost immediately recommenced, and the prisoners had no release.[4] And, when the 6000 or 7000 Venetians were thrown into the prisons of Genoa in October 1298, they would find there the scanty surviving remnant of the Pisan Prisoners of Meloria, and would gather from them dismal forebodings of the fate before them.

Seal of the Pisan Prisoners.

It is a fair conjecture that to that remnant Rusticiano of Pisa may have belonged.

We have seen Ramusio's representation of the kindness shown to Marco during his imprisonment by a certain Genoese gentleman who also assisted him to reduce his travels to writing. We may be certain that this Genoese gentleman is only a distorted image of Rusticiano, the Pisan prisoner in the gaol of Genoa, whose name *58* and part in the history of his hero's book Ramusio so strangely ignores. Yet patriotic Genoese writers in our own times have striven to determine the identity of this their imaginary countryman![5]

39. Who, then, was Rusticiano, or, as the name actually is read in the oldest type of MS., "Messire Rustacians de Pise"?

Our knowledge of him is but scanty. Still something is known of him besides the few words concluding his preamble to our Traveller's Book, which you may read at pp. 1–2 of the body of this volume.

Rusticiano, a person known from other sources.

In Sir Walter Scott's "Essay on Romance," when he speaks of the new mould in which the subjects of the old metrical stories were cast by the school of prose romancers which arose in the 13th century, we find the following words:—

> "Whatever fragments or shadows of true history may yet remain hidden under the mass of accumulated fable which had been heaped upon them during successive ages, must undoubtedly be sought in the metrical romances.... But those prose authors who wrote under the imaginary names of RUSTICIEN DE PISE, Robert de Borron, and the like, usually seized upon the subject of some old minstrel; and recomposing the whole narrative after their own fashion, with additional character and adventure, totally obliterated in that operation any shades which remained of the original and probably authentic tradition," &c.[6]

Evidently, therefore, Sir Walter regarded Rustician of Pisa as a person belonging to the same ghostly company as his own Cleishbothams and Dryasdusts. But in this we see that he was wrong.

In the great Paris Library and elsewhere there are manuscript volumes containing the stories of the Round Table abridged and somewhat clumsily combined from the various Prose Romances of that cycle, such as *Sir Tristan*, *Lancelot*, *Palamedes*, *Giron le Courtois*, &c., which had been composed, it would seem, by various Anglo-French gentlemen at the court of Henry III., styled, or styling themselves, Gasses le Blunt, Luces du Gast, Robert de Borron, and Hélis de Borron. And these abridgments or recasts are professedly the work of *Le Maistre Rusticien de Pise*. Several of them were printed at Paris in the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries as the works of Rusticien de Pise; and as the preambles and the like, especially in the form presented in those printed editions, appear to be due sometimes to the original composers (as Robert and Hélis de Borron) and sometimes to Rusticien de Pise the recaster, there would seem to have been a good deal of confusion made in regard to their respective personalities. 59

From a preamble to one of those compilations which undoubtedly belongs to Rustician, and which we shall quote at length by and bye, we learn that Master Rustician "translated" (or perhaps *transferred?*) his compilation from a book belonging to King Edward of England, at the time when that prince went beyond seas to recover the Holy Sepulchre. Now Prince Edward started for the Holy Land in 1270, spent the winter of that year in Sicily, and arrived in Palestine in May 1271. He quitted it again in August, 1272, and passed again by Sicily, where in January, 1273, he heard of his father's death and his own consequent accession. Paulin Paris supposes that Rustician was attached to the Sicilian Court of Charles of Anjou, and that Edward "may have deposited with that king the Romances of the Round Table, of which all the world was talking, but the manuscripts of which were still very rare, especially those of the work of Helye de Borron[7] ... whether by order, or only with permission of the King of Sicily, our Rustician made haste to read, abridge, and re-arrange the whole, and when Edward returned to Sicily he

recovered possession of the book from which the indefatigable Pisan had extracted the contents."

But this I believe is, in so far as it passes the facts stated in Rustician's own preamble, pure hypothesis, for nothing is cited that connects Rustician with the King of Sicily. And if there be not some such confusion of personality as we have alluded to, in another of the preambles, which is quoted by Dunlop as an utterance of Rustician's, that personage would seem to claim to have been a comrade in arms of the two de Borrons. We might, therefore, conjecture that Rustician himself had accompanied Prince Edward to Syria.[8] 60

40. Rustician's literary work appears from the extracts and remarks of Paulin Paris to be that of an industrious simple man, without method or much judgment. "The haste with which he worked is too perceptible; the adventures are told without connection; you find long stories of Tristan followed by adventures of his father Meliadus." For the latter derangement of historical sequence we find a quaint and ingenuous apology offered in Rustician's epilogue to Giron le Courtois:—

Character of Rustician's Romance compilations.

> "Cy fine le Maistre Rusticien de Pise son conte en louant et regraciant le Père le Filz et le Saint Esperit, et ung mesme Dieu, Filz de la Benoiste Vierge Marie, de ce qu'il m'a doné grace, sens, force, et mémoire, temps et lieu, de me mener à fin de si haulte et si noble matière come ceste-cy dont j'ay traicté les faiz et proesses recitez et recordez à mon livre. Et se aucun me demandoit pour quoy j'ay parlé de Tristan avant que de son père le Roy Meliadus, je respons que ma matière n'estoist pas congneue. Car je ne puis pas scavoir tout, ne mettre toutes mes paroles par ordre. Et ainsi fine mon conte. Amen."[9]

In a passage of these compilations the Emperor Charlemagne is asked whether in his judgment King Meliadus or his son Tristan were the better man? The Emperor's answer is: "I should say that the King Meliadus was the better man, and I will tell you why I say so. As far as I can see, everything that Tristan did was done for Love, and his great feats would never have been done but under the constraint of Love, which was his spur and goad. Now that never can be said of King Meliadus! For what deeds he did, he did them not by dint of Love, but by dint of his strong right arm. Purely out of his own goodness he did good, and not by constraint of Love." "It will be seen," remarks on this Paulin Paris, "that we are here a long way removed from the ordinary principles of Round Table Romances. And one thing besides will be manifest, viz., that Rusticien de Pise was no Frenchman!"[10] 61

The same discretion is shown even more prominently in a passage of one of his compilations, which contains the romances of Arthur, Gyron, and Meliadus (No. 6975—see last note but one):—

> "No doubt," Rustician says, "other books tell the story of the Queen Ginevra and Lancelot differently from this; and there were certain passages between them of which the Master, in his concern for the honour of both those personages, will say not a word." Alas, says the French Bibliographer, that the copy of Lancelot, which fell into the hands of poor Francesca of Rimini, was not one of those *expurgated* by our worthy friend Rustician![11]

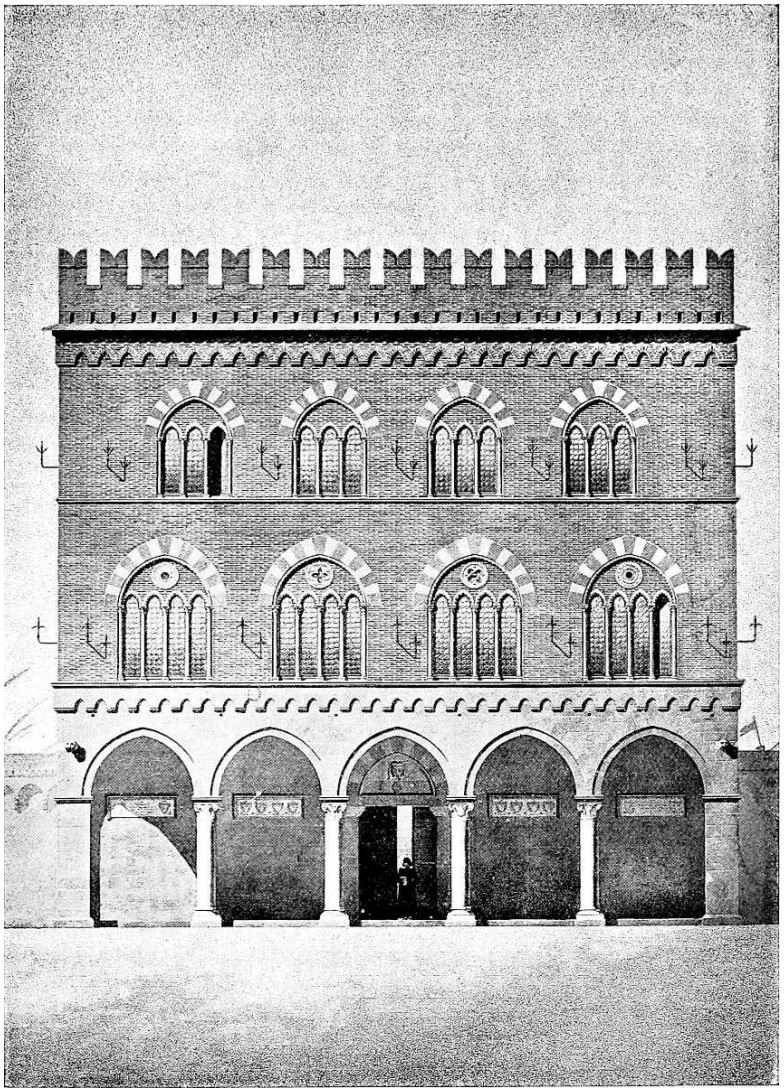
41. A question may still occur to an attentive reader as to the identity of this Romance-compiler Rusticien de Pise with the Messire *Rustacians de Pise*, of a solitary MS. of Polo's work (though the oldest and most authentic), a name which appears in other copies as *Rusta Pisan*, *Rasta Pysan*, *Rustichelus Civis Pisanus*, *Rustico*, *Restazio da Pisa*, *Stazio da Pisa*, and who is stated in the preamble to have acted as the Traveller's scribe at Genoa.

Identity of the Romance Compiler with Polo's fellow-prisoner.

M. Pauthier indeed[12] asserts that the French of the MS. Romances of Rusticien de Pise is of the same barbarous character as that of the early French MS. of Polo's Book to which we have just alluded, and which we shall show to be the nearest presentation of the work as originally dictated by the Traveller. The language of the latter MS. is so peculiar that this would be almost perfect evidence of the identity of the writers, if it were really the fact. A cursory inspection which I have made of two of those MSS. in Paris, and the extracts which I have given and am about to give, do not, however, by any means support M. Pauthier's view. Nor would that view be consistent with the judgment of so competent an authority as Paulin Paris, implied in his calling Rustician a *nom recommandable* in old French literature, and his speaking of him as "versed in the secrets of the French Romance Tongue."[13] In fact the difference of language in the two cases would really be a difficulty in the way of identification, if there were room for doubt. This, however, Paulin Paris seems to have excluded finally, by calling attention to the peculiar formula of preamble which is common to the Book of Marco Polo and to one of the Romance compilations of Rusticien de Pise. 62

The former will be found in English at pp. 1, 2, of our Translation; but we give a part of the original below[14] for comparison with the preamble to the Romances of Meliadus, Tristan, and Lancelot, as taken from MS. 6961 (Fr. 340) of the Paris Library:—

"*Seigneurs Empereurs et Princes, Ducs et Contes et Barons et Chevaliers et Vavasseurs et Bourgeois, et tous les preudommes de cestui monde qui avez talent de vous deliter en rommans, si prenez cestui (livre) et le faites lire de chief en chief, si orrez toutes les grans aventure* qui advindrent entre les Chevaliers errans du temps au Roy Uter Pendragon, jusques à le temps au Roy Artus son fils, et des compaignons de la Table Ronde. Et sachiez tout vraiment que cist livres fust translatez du livre Monseigneur Edouart le Roy d'Engleterre en cellui temps qu'il passa oultre la mer au service nostre Seigneur Damedieu pour conquester le Sant Sepulcre, et Maistre Rusticiens de Pise, lequel est ymaginez yci dessus,[15] compila ce rommant, car il en translata toutes les merveilleuses nouvelles et aventures qu'il trouva en celle livre et traita tout certainement de toutes les aventures du monde, et si sachiez qu'il traitera plus de Monseigneur Lancelot du Lac, et Mons^{r} Tristan le fils au Roy Meliadus de Leonnoie que d'autres, porcequ'ilz furent sans faille les meilleurs chevaliers qui à ce temps furent en terre; et li Maistres en dira de ces deux pluseurs choses et pluseurs nouvelles que l'en treuvera escript en tous les autres livres; et porce que le Maistres les trouva escript au Livre d'Engleterre."



Palazzo di S. Giorgio Genoa.

"Certainly," Paulin Paris observes, "there is a singular analogy between these two prefaces. And it must be remarked that the formula is not an ordinary one with translators, compilers, or authors of the 13th and 14th centuries. Perhaps you would not find a single other example of it."[16] 63

This seems to place beyond question the identity of the Romance-compiler of Prince Edward's suite in 1270, and the Prisoner of Genoa in 1298.

Further particulars concerning Rustician.

42. In Dunlop's History of Fiction a passage is quoted from the preamble of *Meliadus*, as set forth in the Paris printed edition of 1528, which gives us to understand that Rusticien de Pise had received as a reward for some of his compositions from King Henry III. the prodigal gift of two *chateaux*. I gather, however, from passages in the work of Paulin Paris that this must certainly be one of those confusions of persons to which I have referred before, and that the recipient of the chateaux was in reality Helye de Borron, the author of some of the originals which Rustician manipulated.[17] This supposed incident in Rustician's scanty history must therefore be given up.

We call this worthy *Rustician* or *Rusticiano*, as the nearest probable representation in Italian form of the *Rusticien* of the Round-Table MSS. and the *Rustacians* of the old text of Polo. But it is highly probable that his real name was *Rustichello*, as is suggested by the form *Rustichelus* in the early Latin version published by the *Société de Géographie*. The change of one liquid for another never goes for much in Italy,[18] and Rustichello might easily Gallicize himself as Rusticien. In a very long list of Pisan officials during the Middle Ages I find several bearing the name of *Rustichello* or *Rustichelli*, but no *Rusticiano* or *Rustigiano*.[19]

Respecting him we have only to add that the peace between Genoa and Venice was speedily followed by a treaty between Genoa and Pisa. On the 31st July, 1299, a truce for twenty-five years was signed between those two Republics. It was a very different matter from that between Genoa and Venice, and contained much that was humiliating and detrimental to Pisa. But it embraced the release of prisoners; and those of Meloria, reduced it is said to less than one tithe of their original number, had their liberty at last. Among the prisoners then released no doubt Rustician was one. But we hear of him no more. 64

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[1] *B. Marangone, Croniche della C. di Pisa*, in *Rerum Ital. Script.* of *Tartini*, Florence, 1748, i. 563; *Dal Borgo, Dissert. sopra l'Istoria Pisana*, ii. 287.

[2] The list of the whole number is preserved in the Doria archives, and has been published by Sign. Jacopo D'Oria. Many of the Baptismal names are curious, and show how far sponsors wandered from the Church Calendar. *Assan, Alton, Turco, Soldan* seem to come of the constant interest in the East. *Alaone*, a name which remained in the family for several generations, I had thought certainly borrowed from the fierce conqueror of the Khalif (*infra*, p. 63). But as one Alaone, present at this battle, had a son also there, he must surely have been christened before the fame of Hulaku could have reached Genoa. (See *La Chiesa di S. Matteo*, pp. 250, *seqq.*)

In documents of the kingdom of Jerusalem there are names still more anomalous, *e.g.*, *Gualterius Baffumeth*, *Joannes Mahomet*. (See *Cod. Dipl. del Sac. Milit. Ord. Gerosol.* I. 2–3, 62.)

[3] *Memorial. Potestat. Regiens.* in *Muratori*, viii. 1162.

[4] See *Fragm. Hist. Pisan.* in *Muratori*, xxiv. 651, *seqq.*; and *Caffaro*, *id.* vi. 588, 594–595. The cut in the text represents a striking memorial of those Pisan Prisoners, which perhaps still survives, but which at any rate existed last century in a collection at Lucca. It is the seal of the prisoners as a body corporate: SIGILLUM UNIVERSITATIS CARCERATORUM PISANORUM JANUE DETENTORUM, and was doubtless used in their negotiations for peace with the Genoese Commissioners. It represents two of the prisoners imploring the Madonna, Patron of the Duomo at Pisa. It is from *Manni, Osserv. Stor. sopra Sigilli Antichi*, etc., Firenze, 1739, tom. xii. The seal is also engraved in *Dal Borgo*, *op. cit.* ii. 316.

[5] The Abate Spotorno in his *Storia Letteraria della Liguria*, II. 219, fixes on a Genoese philosopher called Andalo del Negro, mentioned by Boccaccio.

[6] I quote from Galignani's ed. of Prose Works, v. 712. This has "Rusticien de *Puise*." In this view of the fictitious character of the names of Rusticien and the rest, Sir Walter seems to have been following Ritson, as I gather from a quotation in Dunlop's H. of Fiction. (*Liebrecht's* German Version, p. 63.)

[7] *Giron le Courtois*, and the conclusion of *Tristan*.

[8] The passage runs thus as quoted (from the preamble of the *Meliadus*—I suspect in one of the old printed editions):—

> "Aussi Luces du Gau (Gas) translata en langue Françoise une partie de l'Hystoire de Monseigneur Tristan, et moins assez qu'il ne deust. Moult commença bien son livre et si ny mist tout les faicts de Tristan, ains la greigneur partie. Après s'en entremist Messire Gasse le Blond, qui estoit parent au Roy Henry, et divisa l'Hystoire de Lancelot du Lac, et d'autre chose ne parla il mye grandement en son livre. Messire Robert de Borron s'en entremist et Helye de Borron, par la prière du dit Robert de Borron, *et pource que compaignons feusmes d'armes longuement*, je commencay mon livre," etc. (*Liebrecht's Dunlop*, p. 80.) If this passage be authentic it would set beyond doubt the age of the de Borrons and the other writers of Anglo-French Round Table Romances, who are placed by the *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, and apparently by Fr. Michel, under Henry II. I have no means of pursuing the matter, and have preferred to follow Paulin Paris, who places them under Henry III. I notice, moreover, that the *Hist. Litt.* (xv. p. 498) puts not only the de Borrons but Rustician himself under Henry II.; and, as the last view is certainly an error, the first is probably so too.

[9] Transc. from MS. 6975 (now Fr. 355) of Paris Library.

[10] *MSS. François*, iii. 60–61.

[11] *Ibid.* 56–59.

[12] *Introd.* pp. lxxxvi.–vii. note.

[13] See *Jour. As.* sér. II. tom. xii. p. 251.

[14] "*Seignors Enperaor, & Rois, Dux & Marquois, Cuens, Chevaliers & Bargions* [for Borgiois] *& toutes gens qe uoles sauoir les deuerses jenerasions des homes*, & les deuersités des deuerses region dou monde, *si prennés cestui liure & le feites lire & chi trouerés toutes les grandismes meruoilles*," etc.

[15] The portrait of Rustician here referred to would have been a precious illustration for our book. But unfortunately it has not been transferred to MS. 6961, nor apparently to any other noticed by Paulin Paris.

[16] *Jour. As.* as above.

[17] See *Liebrecht's Dunlop*, p. 77; and *MSS. François*, II. 349, 353. The alleged gift to Rustician is also put forth by D'Israeli the Elder in his *Amenities of Literature*, 1841, I. p. 103.

[18] *E.g.* Geronimo, *Girolamo*; and garofalo, *garofano*; Cristoforo, *Cristovalo*; gonfalone, *gonfanone*, etc.

[19] See the List in *Archivio Stor. Ital.* VI. p. 64, *seqq.*

VIII. Notices of Marco Polo's History, after the Termination of his Imprisonment at Genoa.

43. A few very disconnected notices are all that can be collected of matter properly biographical in relation to the quarter

Death of Marco's Father before 1300.

century during which Marco Polo survived the Genoese captivity.

Will of his brother Maffeo.

We have seen that he would probably reach Venice in the course of August, 1299. Whether he found his aged father alive is not known; but we know at least that a year later (31st August, 1300) Messer Nicolo was no longer in life.

This we learn from the Will of the younger Maffeo, Marco's brother, which bears the date just named, and of which we give an abstract below.[1] It seems to imply strong regard for the testator's brother Marco, who is made inheritor of the bulk of 65
the property, failing the possible birth of a son. I have already indicated some conjectural deductions from this document. I may add that the terms of the second clause, as quoted in the note, seem to me to throw considerable doubt on the genealogy which bestows a large family of sons upon this brother Maffeo. If he lived to have such a family it seems improbable that the draft which he thus left in the hands of a notary, to be converted into a Will in the event of his death (a curious example of the validity attaching to all acts of notaries in those days), should never have been superseded, but should actually have been so converted after his death, as the existence of the parchment seems to prove. But for this circumstance we 66
might suppose the Marcolino mentioned in the ensuing paragraph to have been a son of the younger Maffeo.

Messer Maffeo, the uncle, was, we see, alive at this time. We do not know the year of his death. But it is alluded to by Friar Pipino in the Preamble to his Translation of the Book, supposed to have been executed about 1315–1320; and we learn from a document in the Venetian archives (see p. 77) that it must have been previous to 1318, and subsequent to February 1309, the date of his last Will. The Will itself is not known to be extant, but from the reference to it in this document we learn that he left 1000 *lire* of public debt[2] (*? imprestitorum*) to a certain Marco Polo, called *Marcolino*. The relationship of this Marco to old Maffeo is not stated, but we may suspect him to have been an illegitimate son. [Marcolino was a son of Nicolo, son of Marco the Elder; see vol. ii., *Calendar*, No. 6.—H. C.]

44. In 1302 occurs what was at first supposed to be a glimpse of Marco as a citizen, slight and quaint enough; being a resolution on the Books of the Great Council to exempt the respectable Marco Polo from the penalty incurred by him on account of the omission to have his water-pipe duly inspected. But since our Marco's claims to the designation of *Nobilis Vir* have been established, there is a doubt whether the *providus vir* or *prud'-homme* here spoken of may not have been rather his namesake Marco Polo of Cannareggio or S. Geremia, of whose existence we learn from another entry of the same year.[3] It is, however, possible that Marco 67
the Traveller was called to the Great Council *after* the date of the document in question.

Documentary notices of Polo at this time. The sobriquet of Milione.

We have seen that the Traveller, and after him his House and his Book, acquired from his contemporaries the surname, or nickname rather, of *Il Milione*. Different writers have given different explanations of the origin of this name; some, beginning with his contemporary Fra Jacopo d'Acqui, (*supra*, p. 54), ascribing it to the family's having brought home a fortune of a million of *lire*, in fact to their being *millionaires*. This is the explanation followed by Sansovino, Marco Barbaro, Coronelli, and others.[4] More far-fetched is that of Fontanini, who supposes the

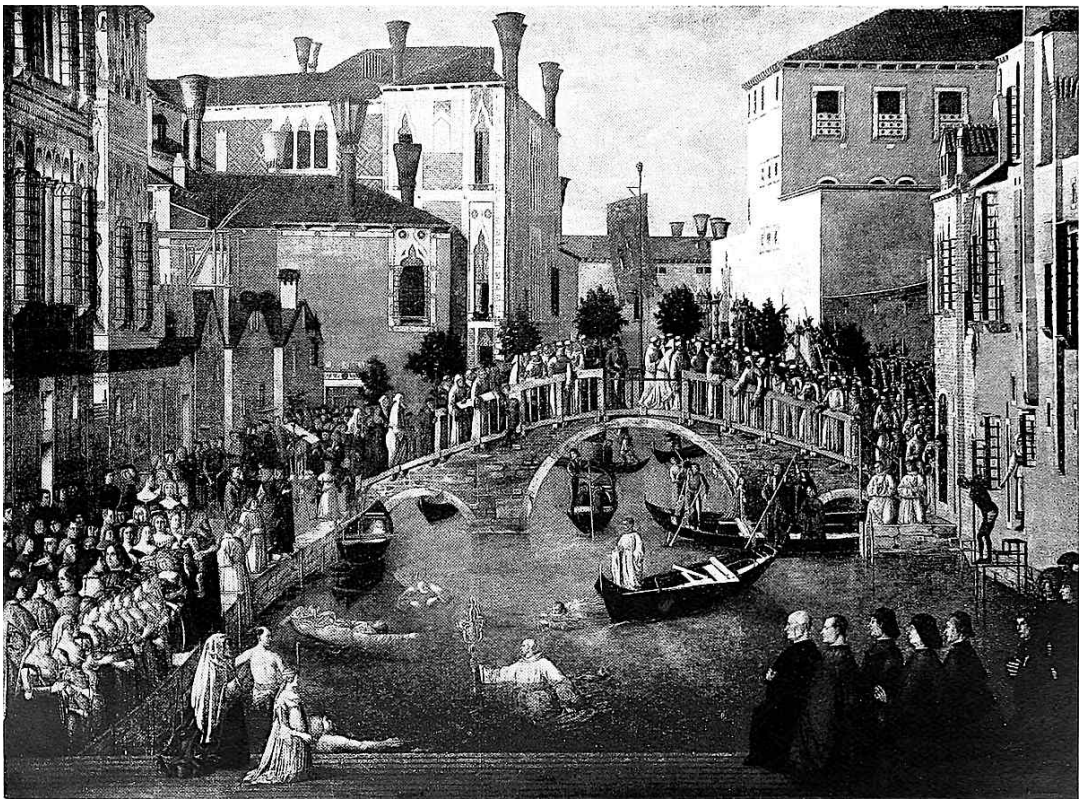
name to have been given to the Book as containing a great number of stories, like the *Cento Novelle* or the *Thousand and One Nights!* But there can be no doubt that Ramusio's is the true, as it is the natural, explanation; and that the name was bestowed on Marco by the young wits of his native city, because of his frequent use of a word which appears to have been then unusual, in his attempts to convey an idea of the vast wealth and magnificence of the Kaan's Treasury and Court.[5] Ramusio has told us (*supra*, p. 6) that he had seen Marco styled by this sobriquet in the Books of the Signory; and it is pleasant to be able to confirm this by the next document which we cite. This is an extract from the Books of the Great Council under 10th April, 1305, condoning the offence of a certain Bonocio of Mestre in smuggling wine, for whose penalty one of the sureties had been the NOBILIS VIR MARCHUS PAULO MILIONI.[6]

It is alleged that long after our Traveller's death there was always, in the Venetian Masques, one individual who assumed the character of Marco Milioni, and told Munchausenlike stories to divert the vulgar. Such, if this be true, was the honour of our prophet among the populace of his own country.[7] *68*

45. A little later we hear of Marco once more, as presenting a copy of his Book to a noble Frenchman in the service of Charles of Valois.

Polo's relations with Thibault de Cepoy.

This Prince, brother of Philip the Fair, in 1301 had married Catharine, daughter and heiress of Philip de Courtenay, titular Emperor of Constantinople, and on the strength of this marriage had at a later date set up his own claim to the Empire of the East. To this he was prompted by Pope Clement V., who in the beginning of 1306 wrote to Venice, stimulating that Government to take part in the enterprise. In the same year, Charles and his wife sent as their envoys to Venice, in connection with this matter, a noble knight called THIBAULT DE CEPOY, along with an ecclesiastic of Chartres called Pierre le Riche, and these two succeeded in executing a treaty of alliance with Venice, of which the original, dated 14th December, 1306, exists at Paris. Thibault de Cepoy eventually went on to Greece with a squadron of Venetian Galleys, but accomplished nothing of moment, and returned to his master in 1310.[8]



Miracle of S. Lorenzo.

During the stay of Thibault at Venice he seems to have made acquaintance with Marco Polo, and to have received from him a copy of his Book. This is recorded in a curious note which appears on two existing MSS. of Polo's Book, viz., that of the Paris Library (10,270 or Fr. 5649), and that of Bern, which is substantially identical in its text with the former, and is, as I believe, a copy of it.[9] The note runs as follows:— *69*

"Here you have the Book of which My Lord THIEBAULT, Knight and LORD OF CEPOY, (whom may God assoil!) requested a copy from SIRE MARC POL, Burgess and Resident of the City of Venice. And the said Sire Marc Pol, being a very honourable Person, of high character and respect in many countries, because of his desire that what he had witnessed should be known throughout the World, and also for the honour and reverence he bore to the most excellent and puissant Prince my Lord CHARLES, Son of the King of France and COUNT OF VALOIS, gave and presented to the aforesaid Lord of Cepoy the first copy (that was taken) of his said Book after he had made the same. And very pleasing it was to him that his Book should be carried to the noble country of France and there made known by so worthy a gentleman. And from that copy which the said Messire Thibault, Sire de Cepoy above-named, did carry into France, Messire John, who was his eldest son and is the present Sire de Cepoy,[10] after his Father's decease did have a copy made, and that very first copy that was made of the Book after its being carried into France he did present to his very dear and dread Lord Monseigneur de Valois. Thereafter he gave copies of it to such of his friends as asked for them.

"And the copy above-mentioned was presented by the said Sire Marc Pol to the said Lord de Cepoy when the latter went to Venice, on the part of Monseigneur de Valois and of Madame the Empress his wife, as Vicar General for them both in all the Territories of

the Empire of Constantinople. And this happened in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand three hundred and seven, and in the month of August."

Of the bearings of this memorandum on the literary history of Polo's Book we shall speak in a following section.

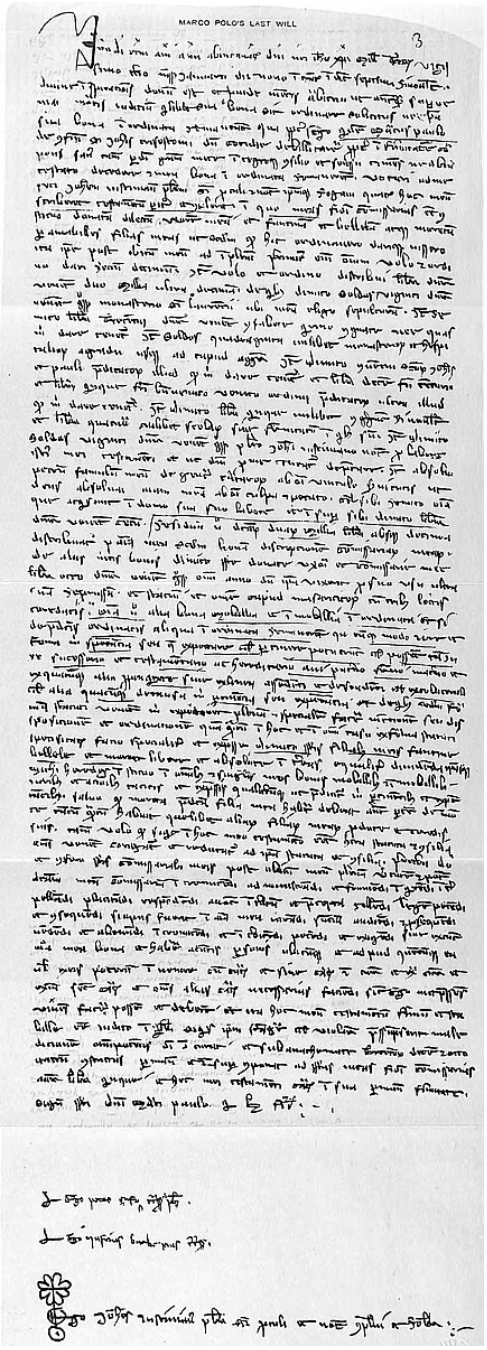
His marriage and his daughters. Marco as a merchant.

46. When Marco married we have not been able to ascertain, but it was no doubt early in the 14th century, for in 1324, we find that he had two married daughters besides one unmarried. His wife's Christian name was *Donata*, but of her family we have as yet found no assurance. I suspect, however, that her name may have been Loredano (*vide infra*, p. *77*).

70

Under 1311 we find a document which is of considerable interest, because it is the only one yet discovered which exhibits Marco under the aspect of a practical trader. It is the judgment of the Court of Requests upon a suit brought by the NOBLE MARCO POLO of the parish of S. Giovanni Grisostomo against one Paulo Girardo of S. Apollinare. It appears that Marco had entrusted to the latter as a commission agent for sale, on an agreement for half profits, a pound and a half of musk, priced at six *lire of grossi* (about 22*l*. 10*s*. in value of silver) the pound. Girardo had sold half-a-pound at that rate, and the remaining pound which he brought back was deficient of a *saggio*, or, one-sixth of an ounce, but he had accounted for neither the sale nor the deficiency. Hence Marco sues him for three *lire of Grossi*, the price of the half-pound sold, and for twenty *grossi* as the value of the saggio. And the Judges cast the defendant in the amount with costs, and the penalty of imprisonment in the common gaol of Venice if the amounts were not paid within a suitable term.[11]

Again in May, 1323, probably within a year of his death, Ser Marco appears (perhaps only by attorney), before the Doge and his judicial examiners, to obtain a decision respecting a question touching the rights to certain stairs and porticoes in contact with his own house property, and that obtained from his wife, in S. Giovanni Grisostomo. To this allusion has been already made (*supra*, p. *31*).



(*Dimensions of Original, 26·4 inches by 9·4 inches*)

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH SPECIALLY TAKEN IN ST. MARK'S LIBRARY BY SIGNOR BERTANI.

47. We catch sight of our Traveller only once more. It is on the 9th of January, 1324; he is labouring with disease, under which he is sinking day by day; and he has sent for Giovanni Giustiniani, Priest of S. Proculo and Notary, to make his Last Will and Testament. It runs thus:—

Marco Polo's Last Will and Death.

"IN THE NAME OF THE ETERNAL GOD AMEN!

71 "In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1323, on the 9th day of the month of January, in the first half of the 7th Indiction,[12] at Rialto.

"It is the counsel of Divine Inspiration as well as the judgment of a provident mind that every man should take thought to make a disposition of his property before death become imminent, lest in the end it should remain without any disposition:

"Wherefore I MARCUS PAULO of the parish of St. John Chrysostom, finding myself to grow daily feebler through bodily ailment, but being by the grace of God of a sound mind, and of senses and judgment unimpaired, have sent for JOHN GIUSTINIANI, Priest of S. Proculo and Notary, and have instructed him to draw out in complete form this my Testament:

"Whereby I constitute as my Trustees DONATA my beloved wife, and my dear daughters FANTINA, BELLELA, and MORETA,[13] in order that after my decease they may execute the dispositions and bequests which I am about to make herein.

"First of all: I will and direct that the proper Tithe be paid.[14] And over and above the said tithe I direct that 2000 *lire* of Venice denari be distributed as follows:[15]

"*Viz.*, 20 *soldi* of Venice *grossi* to the Monastery of St. Lawrence where I desire to be buried.

72 "Also 300 *lire* of Venice denari to my sister-in-law YSABETA QUIRINO,[16] that she owes me.

"Also 40 *soldi* to each of the Monasteries and Hospitals all the way from Grado to Capo d'Argine.[17]

"Also I bequeath to the Convent of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, of the Order of Preachers, that which it owes me, and also 10 *lire* to Friar RENIER, and 5 *lire* to Friar BENVENUTO the Venetian, of the Order of Preachers, in addition to the amount of his debt to me.

"I also bequeath 5 *lire* to every Congregation in Rialto, and 4 *lire* to every Guild or Fraternity of which I am a member.[18]

"Also I bequeath 20 *soldi* of Venetian grossi to the Priest Giovanni Giustiniani the Notary, for his trouble about this my Will, and in order that he may pray the Lord in my behalf.

"Also I release PETER the Tartar, my servant, from all bondage, as completely as I pray God to release mine own soul from all sin and guilt. And I also remit him whatever he may have gained by work at his own house; and over and above I bequeath him 100 *lire* of Venice denari.[19]

73 "And the residue of the said 2000 *lire* free of tithe, I direct to be distributed for the good of my soul, according to the discretion of my trustees.

"Out of my remaining property I bequeath to the aforesaid Donata, my Wife and Trustee, 8 *lire* of Venetian grossi annually during her life, for her own use, over and above her settlement, and the linen and all the household utensils,[20] with 3 beds garnished.

"And all my other property movable and immovable that has not been disposed of [here follow some lines of mere technicality] I specially and expressly bequeath to my aforesaid Daughters Fantina, Bellela, and Moreta, freely and absolutely, to be divided equally among them. And I constitute them my heirs as regards all and sundry my property movable and immovable, and as regards all rights and contingencies tacit and

as each of my other daughters hath received for dowry and outfit [here follow many lines of technicalities, ending]

"And if any one shall presume to infringe or violate this Will, may he incur the malediction of God Almighty, and abide bound under the anathema of the 318 Fathers; and farthermore he shall forfeit to my Trustees aforesaid five pounds of gold;[21] and so let this my Testament abide in force. The signature of the above named Messer Marco Paulo who gave instructions for this deed.

"‡ I Peter Grifon, Priest, Witness.
"* I Humfrey Barberi, Witness.
"† I John Giustiniani, Priest of S. Proculo, and Notary, have completed and authenticated (this testament)."[22]

74

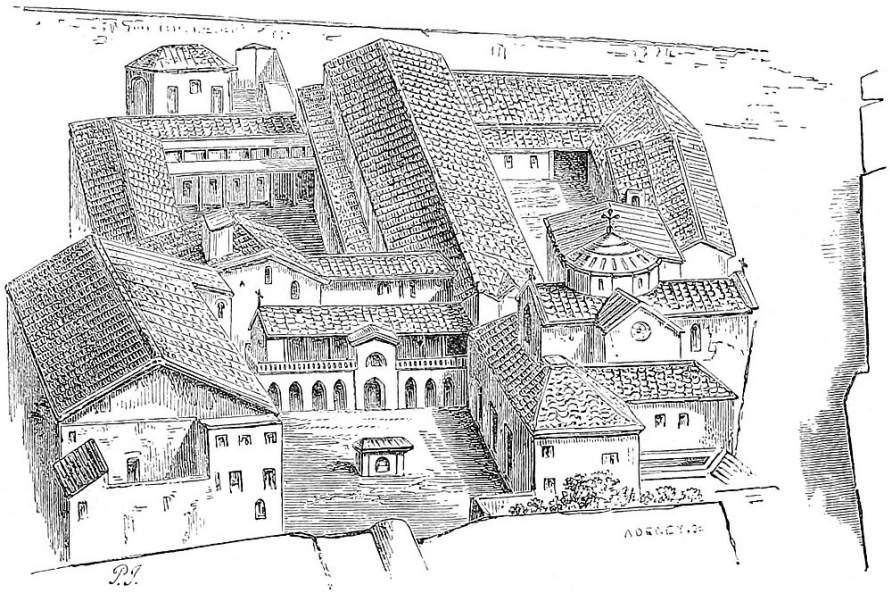
We do not know, as has been said, how long Marco survived the making of this will, but we know, from a scanty series of documents commencing in June of the following year (1325), that he had *then* been some time dead.[23]

Place of Sepulture. Professed Portraits of Polo.

48. He was buried, no doubt, according to his declared wish, in the Church of S. Lorenzo; and indeed Sansovino bears testimony to the fact in a confused notice of our Traveller.[24] But there does not seem to have been any monument to Marco, though the sarcophagus which had been erected to his father Nicolo, by his own filial care, existed till near the end of the 16th century in the porch or corridor leading to the old Church of S. Lorenzo, and bore the inscription: "SEPULTURA DOMINI NICOLAI PAULO DE CONTRATA S. IOANNIS GRISOSTEMI." The church was renewed from its foundations in 1592, and then, probably, the sarcophagus was cast aside and lost, and with it all certainty as to the position of the tomb.[25]

Pavement in front of San Lorenzo, Venice.

There is no portrait of Marco Polo in existence with any claim to authenticity. 75
The quaint figure which we give in the *Bibliography*, vol. ii. p. 555, extracted from the earliest printed edition of his book, can certainly make no such pretension. The oldest one after this is probably a picture in the collection of Monsignor Badia at Rome, of which I am now able, by the owner's courtesy, to give a copy. It is set down in the catalogue to Titian, but is probably a work of 1600, or thereabouts, to which the aspect and costume belong. It is inscribed "*Marcus Polvs Venetvs Totivs Orbis et Indie Peregrator Primus*." Its history unfortunately cannot be traced, but I believe it came from a collection at Urbino. A marble statue was erected in his honour by a family at Venice in the 17th century, and is still to be seen in the Palazzo Morosini-Gattemburg in the Campo S. Stefano in that city. The medallion portrait on the wall of the *Sala dello Scudo* in the ducal palace, and which was engraved in Bettom's "Collection of Portraits of Illustrious Italians," is a work of imagination painted by Francesco Griselini in 1761.[26] From this, however, was taken the medal by Fabris, which was struck in 1847 in honour of the last meeting of the Italian Congresso Scientifico; and from the medal again is copied, I believe, 76
the elegant woodcut which adorns the introduction to M. Pauthier's edition, though without any information as to its history. A handsome bust, by Augusto Gamba, has lately been placed among the illustrious Venetians in the inner arcade of the Ducal Palace.[27] There is also a mosaic portrait of Polo, opposite the similar portrait of Columbus in the Municipio at Genoa.



S. Lorenzo as it was in the 15th century.

49. From the short series of documents recently alluded to,[28] we gather all that we know of the remaining history of Marco Polo's immediate family. We have seen in his will an indication that the two elder daughters, Fantina and Bellela, were married before his death. In 1333 we find the youngest, Moreta, also a married woman, and Bellela deceased. In 1336 we find that their mother Donata had died in the interval. We learn, too, that Fantina's husband was MARCO BRAGADINO, and Moreta's, RANUZZO DOLFINO.[29] The name of Bellela's husband does not appear.

Further History of the Polo Family.

Fantina's husband is probably the Marco Bragadino, son of Pietro, who in 1346 is mentioned to have been sent as Provveditore-Generale to act against the Patriarch of Acquileia.[30] And in 1379 we find Donna Fantina herself, presumably in widowhood, assessed as a resident of S. Giovanni Grisostomo, on the *Estimo* or forced loan for the Genoese war, at 1300 *lire*, whilst Pietro Bragadino of the same parish—her son as I imagine—is assessed at 1500 *lire*.[31] [See vol. ii., *Calendar*.]

The documents show a few other incidents which may be briefly noted. In 1326 we have the record of a charge against one Zanino Grioni for insulting Donna Moreta in the Campo of San Vitale; a misdemeanour punished by the Council of Forty with two months' imprisonment.

Mosaic Portrait of Marco Polo at Genoa.

In March, 1328, Marco Polo, called Marcolino, of St. John Chrysostom (see p. 66), represents before the *Domini Advocatores* of the Republic that certain *imprestita* that had belonged to the late Maffeo Polo the Elder, had been alienated and transferred in May 1318, by the late Marco Polo of St. John Chrysostom and since his death by his heirs, without regard to the rights of the said Marcolino, to whom the said Messer Maffeo had bequeathed 1000 *lire* by his will executed on 6th February, 1308 (*i.e.* 1309). The Advocatores find that the transfer was to that extent unjust and improper, and they order that to the same extent it should be revoked and annulled. Two months later the Lady Donata makes rather an unpleasant figure before the Council of Forty. It would seem that on the claim of Messer Bertuccio Quirino a mandate of sequestration had been issued by the Court of Requests affecting certain articles in the Ca' Polo; including two bags of money which had been tied and sealed, but left in custody of the Lady Donata. The sum so sealed was about 80 *lire* of grossi (300*l*. in silver value), but when opened only 45 *lire* and 22 *grossi* (about 170*l*.) were found therein, and the Lady was accused of abstracting the balance *non bono modo*. Probably she acted, as ladies sometimes do, on a strong sense of her own rights, and a weak sense of the claims of law. But the

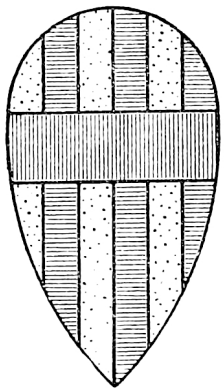
77

Council pronounced against her, ordering restitution, and a fine of 200 *lire* over and above "*ut ceteris transeat in exemplum*."[32]

It will have been seen that there is nothing in the amounts mentioned in Marco's will to bear out the large reports as to his wealth, though at the same time there is no positive ground for a deduction to the contrary.[33]

The mention in two of the documents of Agnes Loredano as the sister of the Lady Donata suggests that the latter may have belonged to the Loredano family, but as it does not appear whether Agnes was maid or wife this remains uncertain.[34]

Respecting the further history of the family there is nothing certain, nor can we *78* give unhesitating faith to Ramusio's statement that the last male descendant of the Polos of S. Giovanni Grisostomo was Marco, who died Castellano of Verona in 1417 (according to others, 1418, or 1425),[35] and that the family property then passed to Maria (or *Anna*, as she is styled in a MS. statement furnished to me from Venice), who was married in 1401 to Benedetto Cornaro, and again in 1414 to Azzo Trevisan. Her descendant in the fourth generation by the latter was Marc Antonio Trevisano,[36] who was chosen Doge in 1553.



Arms of the Trevisan family.

The genealogy recorded by Marco Barbaro, as drawn up from documents by Ramusio, makes the Castellano of Verona a grandson of our Marco by a son Maffeo, whom we may safely pronounce not to have existed, and makes Maria the daughter of Maffeo, Marco's brother—that is to say, makes a lady marry in 1414 and have children, whose father was born in 1271 at the very latest! The genealogy is given in several other ways, but as I have satisfied myself that they all (except perhaps this of Barbaro's, which we see to be otherwise erroneous) confound together the two distinct families of Polo of S. Geremia and Polo of S. Giov. Grisostomo, I reserve my faith, and abstain from presenting them. Assuming that the Marco or Marcolino Polo, spoken of in the preceding page, was a near relation (as is probable, though perhaps an illegitimate one), he is the only male descendant *79* of old Andrea of San Felice whom we can indicate as having survived Marco himself; and from a study of the links in the professed genealogies I think it not unlikely that both Marco the Castellano of Verona and Maria Trevisan belonged to the branch of S. Geremia.[37] [See vol. ii., *App. C*, p. 510.]

The Pseudo Marco Polo at Canton.

[49. *bis*.—It is interesting to note some of the *reliques* left by our traveller.

I. The unfortunate Doge of Venice, Marino Faliero, seems to have possessed many souvenirs of Marco Polo, and among them two manuscripts, one in the handwriting of his celebrated fellow-citizen(?), and one adorned with miniatures. M. Julius von Schlosser has reprinted (*Die ältesten Medaillen und die Antike*, Bd. XVIII., *Jahrb. d. Kunsthist. Samml. d. Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1897, pp. 42–43) from the *Bulletino di arti, industrie e curiosità veneziane*, III., 1880–81, p. 101,[38] the inventory of the curiosities kept in the "Red Chamber" of Marino Faliero's palace in the Parish of the SS. Apostles; we give the following abstract of it:—

Anno ab incarnacione domini nostri Jesu Christi 1351° indictione sexta mensis aprilis. *80*
Inuentarium rerum qui sunt in camera rubea domi habitationis clarissimi domini MARINI FALETRO de confinio SS. Apostolorum, scriptum per me Johannem, presbiterum, dicte ecclesie.

• • • • •

Item alia capsaleta cum ogiis auri et argenti, inter quos unum anulum con inscriptione que dicit: *Ciuble Can Marco Polo*, et unum torques cum multis animalibus Tartarorum

sculptis, que res donum dedit predictus MARCUS cuidam Faletrorum.

• • • • •

Item 2 capsalete de corio albo cum variis rebus auri et argenti, quas habuit praedictus MARCUS a Barbarorum rege.

• • • • •

Item 1 ensem mirabilem, qui habet 3 enses simul, quem habuit in suis itineribus praedictus MARCUS.

• • • • •

Item 1 tenturam de pannis indicis, quam habuit praedictus MARCUS.

Item de itineribus MARCI praedicti liber in corio albo cum multis figuris.

Item aliud volumen quod vocatur *de locis mirabilibus Tartarorum, scriptum manu praedicti* MARCI.

• • • • •

II. There is kept at the Louvre, in the very valuable collection of China Ware given by M. Ernest Grandidier, a white porcelain incense-burner said to come from Marco Polo. This incense-burner, which belonged to Baron Davillier, who received it, as a present, from one of the keepers of the Treasury of St. Mark's at Venice, is an octagonal *ting* from the Fo-kien province, and of the time of the Sung Dynasty. By the kind permission of M. P. Grandidier, we reproduce it from Pl. II. 6, of the *Céramique chinoise*, Paris, 1894, published by this learned amateur.—H. C.]

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[1] 1. The Will is made in prospect of his voyage to Crete.

2. He had drafted his will with his own hand, sealed the draft, and made it over to Pietro Pagano, priest of S. Felice and Notary, to draw out a formal testament in faithful accordance therewith in case of the Testator's death; and that which follows is the substance of the said draft rendered from the vernacular into Latin. ("Ego Matheus Paulo ... volens ire in Cretam, ne repentinus casus hujus vite fragilis me subreperet intestatum, mea propria manu meum scripsi et condidi testamentum, rogans Petrum Paganum ecclesie Scti. Felicis presbiterum et Notarium, sana mente et integro consilio, ut, secundum ipsius scripturam quam sibi tunc dedi meo sigillo munitam, meum scriberet testamentum, si me de hoc seculo contigeret pertransire; cujus scripture tenor translato vulgari in latinum per omnia talis est.")

3. Appoints as Trustees Messer Maffeo Polo his uncle, Marco Polo his brother, Messer Nicolo Secreto (or Sagredo) his father-in-law, and Felix Polo his cousin (*consanguineum*).

4. Leaves 20 *soldi* to each of the Monasteries from Grado to Capo d'Argine; and 150 *lire* to all the congregations of Rialto, on condition that the priests of these maintain an annual service in behalf of the souls of his father, mother, and self.

5. To his daughter Fiordelisa 2000 *lire* to marry her withal. To be invested in safe mortgages in Venice, and the interest to go to her.

Also leaves her the interest from 1000 *lire* of his funds in Public Debt (? *de meis imprestitis*) to provide for her till she marries. After her marriage this 1000 *lire* and its interest shall go to his male heir if he has one, and failing that to his brother Marco.

[3] 6. To his wife Catharine 400 *lire* and all her clothes as they stand now. To the Lady Maroca 100 *lire*.

7. To his natural daughter Pasqua 400 *lire* to marry her withal. Or, if she likes to be a nun, 200 *lire* shall go to her convent and the other 200 shall purchase securities for her benefit. After her death these shall come to his male heir, or failing that be sold, and the proceeds distributed for the good of the souls of his father, mother, and self.

8. To his natural brothers Stephen and Giovannino he leaves 500 *lire*. If one dies the whole to go to the other. If both die before marrying, to go to his male heir; failing such, to his brother Marco or *his* male heir.

9. To his uncle Giordano Trevisano 200 *lire*. To Marco de Tumba 100. To Fiordelisa, wife of Felix Polo, 100. To Maroca, the daughter of the late Pietro Trevisano, living at Negropont, 100. To Agnes, wife of Pietro Lion, 100; and to Francis, son of the late Pietro Trevisano, in Negropont, 100.

10. To buy Public Debt producing an annual 20 *lire ai grossi* to be paid yearly to Pietro Pagano, Priest of S. Felice, who shall pray for the souls aforesaid: on death of said Pietro the income to go to Pietro's cousin Lionardo, Clerk of S. Felice; and after him always to the senior priest of S. Giovanni Grisostomo with the same obligation.

11. Should his wife prove with child and bear a son or sons they shall have his whole property not disposed of. If a daughter, she shall have the same as Fiordelisa.

12. If he have no male heir his Brother Marco shall have the Testator's share of his Father's bequest, and 2000 *lire* besides. Cousin Nicolo shall have 500 *lire*, and Uncle Maffeo 500.

13. Should Daughter Fiordelisa die unmarried her 2000 *lire* and interest to go to his male heir, and failing such to Brother Marco and his male heir. But in that case Marco shall pay 500 *lire* to Cousin Nicolo or his male heir.

14. Should his wife bear him a male heir or heirs, but these should die under age, the whole of his undisposed property shall go to Brother Marco or his male heir. But in that case 500 *lire* shall be paid to Cousin Nicolo.

15. Should his wife bear a daughter and she die unmarried, her 2000 *lire* and interest shall go to Brother Marco, with the same stipulation in behalf of Cousin Nicolo.

16. Should the whole amount of his property between cash and goods not amount to 10,000 *lire* (though he believes he has fully as much), his bequests are to be ratably diminished, except those to his own children which he does not wish diminished. Should any legatee die before receiving the bequest, its amount shall fall to the Testator's heir male, and failing such, the half to go to Marco or his male heir, and the other half to be distributed for the good of the souls aforesaid.

The witnesses are Lionardo priest of S. Felice, Lionardo clerk of the same, and the Notary Pietro Pagano priest of the same.

[2] According to Romanin (I. 321) the *lira dei grossi* was also called *Lira d'imprestidi*, and if the *lire* here are to be so taken, the sum will be 10,000 ducats, the largest amount by far that occurs in any of these Polo documents, unless, indeed, the 1000 *lire* in § 5 of Maffeo Junior's Will be the like; but I have some doubt if such lire are intended in either case.

seeing that he was ignorant of the order on that subject." (See *Appendix C*. No. 3.) The other reference, to M. Polo, of S. Geremia, runs as follows:—

[*MCCCII. indic. XV. die VIII. Macii q̄ fiat grā Gūillō aurifici q̄ ipe absolvat a pena ī qua dicit icurisse p̄ uno spōtono sibi iūeto veuiēdo de Mestre p̄p̄e domū Macī Pauli de Canaregio ūi descenderat ad bibendū.*]

"That grace be granted to William the Goldsmith, relieving him of the penalty which he is stated to have incurred on account of a spontoon (*spontono*, a loaded bludgeon) found upon him near the house of MARCO PAULO of Cannareggio, where he had landed to drink on his way from Mestre." (See *Cicogna*, V. p. 606.)

[4] *Sansovino, Venezia, Città Nobilissima e Singolare, Descritta*, etc., Ven. 1581, f. 236 *v.*; *Barbaro, Alberi; Coronelli, Allante Veneto*, I. 19.

[5] The word *Millio* occurs several times in the Chronicle of the Doge Andrea Dandolo, who wrote about 1342; and *Milion* occurs at least once (besides the application of the term to Polo) in the History of Giovanni Villani; viz. when he speaks of the Treasury of Avignon:— "*diciotto* milioni *di fiorini d'oro* ec. *che ogni* milione *è mille migliaja di fiorini d'oro la valuta*." (xi. 20, § 1; *Ducange*, and *Vocab. Univ. Ital.*). But the definition, thought necessary by Villani, in itself points to the use of the word as rare. *Domilion* occurs in the estimated value of houses at Venice in 1367, recorded in the *Cronaca Magna* in St. Mark's Library. (*Romanin*, III. 385).

[6] "Also; that Pardon be granted to Bonocio of Mestre for that 152 *lire* in which he stood condemned by the Captains of the Posts, on account of wine smuggled by him, in such wise: to wit, that he was to pay the said fine in 4 years by annual instalments of one fourth, to be retrenched from the pay due to him on his journey in the suite of our ambassadors, with assurance that anything then remaining deficient of his instalments should be made good by himself or his securities. And his securities are the Nobles Pietro Morosini and MARCO PAULO MILIOÑ." Under *Milioñ* is written in an ancient hand "*mortuus*." (See *Appendix C*, No. 4.)

[7] Humboldt tells this (*Examen*, II. 221), alleging *Jacopo d'Acqui* as authority; and Libri (*H. des Sciences Mathématiques*, II. 149), quoting *Doglioni, Historia Veneziana*. But neither authority bears out the citations. The story seems really to come from Amoretti's commentary on the *Voyage du Cap. L. F. Maldonado*, Plaisance, 1812, p. 67. Amoretti quotes as authority *Pignoria, Degli Dei Antichi*.

An odd revival of this old libel was mentioned to me recently by Mr. George Moffatt. When he was at school it was common among the boys to express incredulity by the phrase: "Oh, what a Marco Polo!"

[8] Thibault, according to Ducange, was in 1307 named Grand Master of the Arblasteers of France; and Buchon says his portrait is at Versailles among the Admirals (No. 1170). Ramon de Muntaner fell in with the Seigneur de Cepoy in Greece, and speaks of him as "but a Captain of the Wind, as his Master was King of the Wind." (See *Ducange, H. de l'Empire de Const. sous les Emp. François*, Venice ed. 1729, pp. 109, 110; *Buchon, Chroniques Etrangères*, pp. lv. 467–470.)

[9] The note is not found in the Bodleian MS., which is the third known one of this precise type.

[10] Messire Jean, the son of Thibault, is mentioned in the accounts of the latter in the *Chambre des Comptes* at Paris, as having been with his Father in Romania. And in 1344 he commanded a confederate Christian armament sent to check the rising power of the Turks, and beat a great Turkish fleet in the Greek seas. (*Heyd*. I. 377; *Buchon*, 468.)

[11] The document is given in *Appendix C*, No. 5. It was found by Comm. Barozzi, the Director of the Museo Civico, when he had most kindly accompanied me to aid in the search for certain other documents in the archives of the *Casa di Ricovero*, or Poor House of Venice. These archives contain a great mass of testamentary and other documents, which probably have come into that singular depository in connection with bequests to public charities.

The document next mentioned was found in as strange a site, viz., the *Casa degli Esposti* or Foundling Hospital, which possesses similar muniments. This also I owe to Comm. Barozzi, who had noted it some years before, when commencing an arrangement of the archives of the Institution.

[12] The Legal Year at Venice began on the 1st of March. And 1324 was 7th of the Indiction. Hence the date is, according to the modern Calendar, 1324.

[13] Marsden says of Moreta and Fantina, the only daughters named by Ramusio, that these may be thought rather familiar terms of endearment than baptismal names. This is a mistake however. *Fantina* is from one of the parochial saints of Venice, S. Fantino, and the male name was borne by sundry Venetians, among others by a son of Henry Dandolo's. Moreta is perhaps a variation of Maroca, which seems to have been a family name among the Polos. We find also the male name of Bellela, written *Bellello*, *Bellero*, *Belletto*.

[14] The *Decima* went to the Bishop of Castello (eventually converted into Patriarch of Venice) to divide between himself, the Clergy, the Church, and the Poor. It became a source of much bad feeling, which came to a head after the plague of 1348, when some families had to pay the tenth three times within a very short space. The existing Bishop agreed to a composition, but his successor Paolo Foscari (1367) claimed that on the death of every citizen an exact inventory should be made, and a full tithe levied. The Signory fought hard with the Bishop, but he fled to the Papal Court and refused all concession. After his death in 1376 a composition was made for 5500 ducats yearly. (*Romanin*, II. 406; III. 161, 165.)

[15] There is a difficulty about estimating the value of these sums from the variety of Venice pounds or *lire*. Thus the *Lira dei piccoli* was reckoned 3 to the ducat or zecchin, the *Lira ai grossi* 2 to the ducat, but the *Lira* dei *grossi* or *Lira d'imprestidi* was equal to 10 ducats, or (allowing for higher value of silver then) about 3*l*. 15*s*.; a little more than the equivalent of the then Pound sterling. This last money is *specified* in some of the bequests, as in the 20 soldi (or 1 lira) to St. Lorenzo, and in the annuity of 8 lire to Polo's wife; but it seems doubtful what money is meant when *libra* only or *libra denariorum venetorum* is used. And this doubt is not new. Gallicciolli relates that in 1232 Giacomo Menotto left to the Church of S. Cassiano as an annuity *libras denariorum venetorum quatuor*. Till 1427 the church received the income as of *lire dei piccoli*, but on bringing a suit on the subject it was adjudged that *lire ai grossi* were to be understood. (*Delle Mem. Venet. Ant.* II. 18.) This story, however, cuts both ways, and does not decide our doubt.

[16] The form of the name *Ysabeta* aptly illustrates the transition that seems so strange from *Elizabeth* into the *Isabel* that the Spaniards made of it.

[17] *I.e.* the extent of what was properly called the Dogado, all along the Lagoons from Grado on the extreme east to Capo d'Argine (Cavarzere at the mouth of the Adige) on the extreme west.

[18] The word rendered *Guilds* is "*Scholarum*." The crafts at Venice were united in corporations called *Fraglie* or *Scholae*, each of which had its statutes, its head

to be celebrated for deceased members, joined in public religious processions, etc., nor could any craft be exercised except by members of such a guild. (*Romanin*, I. 390.)

[19] A few years after Ser Marco's death (1328) we find the Great Council granting to this Peter the rights of a natural Venetian, as having been a long time at Venice, and well-conducted. (See App. C, *Calendar of Documents*, No. 13.) This might give some additional colour to M. Pauthier's supposition that this Peter the Tartar was a faithful servant who had accompanied Messer Marco from the East 30 years before. But yet the supposition is probably unfounded. Slavery and slave-trade were very prevalent at Venice in the Middle Ages, and V. Lazari, a writer who examined a great many records connected therewith, found that by far the greater number of slaves were described as *Tartars*. There does not seem to be any clear information as to how they were imported, but probably from the factories on the Black Sea, especially Tana after its establishment.

A tax of 5 ducats per head was set on the export of slaves in 1379, and as the revenue so received under the Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414–1423) amounted (so says Lazari) to 50,000 ducats, the startling conclusion is that 10,000 slaves yearly were exported! This it is difficult to accept. The slaves were chiefly employed in domestic service, and the records indicate the women to have been about twice as numerous as the men. The highest price recorded is 87 ducats paid for a Russian girl sold in 1429. All the higher prices are for young women; a significant circumstance. With the existence of this system we may safely connect the extraordinary frequence of mention of illegitimate children in Venetian wills and genealogies. (See *Lazari, Del Traffico degli Schiavi in Venezia*, etc., in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, I. 463 *seqq*.) In 1308 the Khan Toktai of Kipchak (see Polo, II. 496), hearing that the Genoese and other Franks were in the habit of carrying off Tartar children to sell, sent a force against Caffa, which was occupied without resistance, the people taking refuge in their ships. The Khan also seized the Genoese property in Sarai. (*Heyd*. II. 27.)

[20] "*Stracium et omne capud massariciorum*"; in Scotch phrase "*napery and plenishing*." A Venetian statute of 1242 prescribes that a bequest of *massariticum* shall be held to carry to the legatee all articles of common family use except those of gold and silver plate or jeweller's work. (See *Ducange, sub voce*.) *Stracci* is still used technically in Venice for "household linen."

[21] In the original *aureas libras quinque*. According to Marino Sanudo the Younger (*Vite dei Dogi* in *Muratori*, xxii. 521) this should be pounds or *lire* of *aureole*, the name of a silver coin struck by and named after the Doge *Aurio* Mastropietro (1178–1192): "Ancora fu fatta una Moneta d'argento che si chiamava *Aureola* per la casata del Doge; *è quella Moneta che i Notai de Venezia mettevano di pena sotto i loro instrumenti*." But this was a vulgar error. An example of the penalty of 5 pounds of gold is quoted from a decree of 960; and the penalty is sometimes expressed "*auri purissimi librae* 5." A coin called the *lira d'oro* or *redonda* is alleged to have been in use before the ducat was introduced. (See *Gallicciolli*, II. 16.) But another authority seems to identify the *lira a oro* with the *lira dei grossi*. (See *Zanetti, Nuova Racc. delle Monete &c. d'Italia*, 1775. I. 308.)

[22] We give a photographic reduction of the original document. This, and the other two Polo Wills already quoted, had come into the possession of the Noble Filippo Balbi, and were by him presented in our own time to the St. Mark's Library. They are all on parchment, in writing of that age, and have been officially examined and declared to be originals. They were first published by *Cicogna, Iscrizioni*

There is no signature, as may be seen, except those of the Witnesses and the Notary. The sole presence of a Notary was held to make a deed valid, and from about the middle of the 13th century in Italy it is common to find no actual signature (even of witnesses) except that of the Notary. The peculiar flourish before the Notary's name is what is called the *Tabellionato*, a fanciful distinctive monogram which each Notary adopted. Marco's Will is unfortunately written in a very cramp hand with many contractions. The other two Wills (of Marco the Elder and Maffeo) are in beautiful and clear Gothic penmanship.

[23] We have noticed formerly (pp. *14–15*, note) the recent discovery of a document bearing what was supposed to be the autograph signature of our Traveller. The document in question is the Minute of a Resolution of the Great Council, attested by the signatures of three members, of whom the last is MARCUS PAULLO. But the date alone, 11th March, 1324, is sufficient to raise the gravest doubts as to this signature being that of our Marco. And further examination, as I learn from a friend at Venice, has shown that the same name occurs in connection with analogous entries on several subsequent occasions up to the middle of the century. I presume that this Marco Polo is the same that is noticed in our *Appendix B*, II. as a voter in the elections of the Doges Marino Faliero and Giovanni Gradenigo. I have not been able to ascertain his relation to either branch of the Polo family; but I suspect that he belonged to that of S. Geremia, of which there *was* certainly a Marco about the middle of the century.

[24] "Under the *angiporta* (of S. Lorenzo) [see plate] is buried that Marco Polo surnamed Milione, who wrote the Travels in the New World, and who was the first before Christopher Columbus to discover new countries. No faith was put in him because of the extravagant things that he recounted; but in the days of our Fathers Columbus augmented belief in him, by discovering that part of the world which eminent men had heretofore judged to be uninhabited." (*Venezia ... Descritta*, etc., f. 23 *v.*) Marco Barbaro attests the same inscription in his Genealogies (copy in Museo Civico at Venice).

[25] *Cicogna*, II. 385.

[26] *Lazari*, xxxi.

[27] In the first edition I noticed briefly a statement that had reached me from China that, in the Temple at Canton vulgarly called "of the 500 gods," there is a foreign figure which from the name attached had been supposed to represent Marco Polo! From what I have heard from Mr. Wylie, a very competent authority, this is nonsense. The temple contains 500 figures of *Arhans* or Buddhist saints, and one of these attracts attention from having a hat like a sailor's straw hat. Mr. Wylie had not remarked the name. [A model of this figure was exhibited at Venice at the international Geographical Congress, in 1881. I give a reproduction of this figure and of the Temple of 500 Genii (*Fa Lum Sze*) at Canton, from drawings by Félix Régamey made after photographs sent to me by my late friend, M. Camille Imbault Huart, French Consul at Canton.—H. C.]

[28] These documents are noted in Appendix C, Nos. 9–12, 14, 17, 18.

[29] I can find no *Ranuzzo* Dolfino among the Venetian genealogies, but several *Reniers*. And I suspect Ranuzzo may be a form of the latter name.

[30] *Cappellari* (see p. *77*, footnote) under *Bragadino*.

[31] *Ibid*. and *Gallicciolli*, II. 146.

[32] The *lire* of the fine are not specified; but probably *ai grossi*, which would be = 37*l*. 10*s*.; not, we hope, *dei* grossi!

[33] Yet, if the family were so wealthy as tradition represents, it is strange that Marco's brother Maffeo, *after* receiving a share of his father's property, should have possessed barely 10,000 *lire*, probably equivalent to 5000 ducats at most. (See p. 65, *supra*.)

[34] An Agnes Loredano, Abbess of S. Maria delle Vergini, died in 1397. (*Cicogna*, V. 91 and 629.) The interval of 61 years makes it somewhat improbable that it should be the same.

[35] In the *Museo Civico* (No. 2271 of the Cicogna collection) there is a commission addressed by the Doge Michiel Steno in 1408, "*Nobili Viro Marcho Paulo*," nominating him Podestà of Arostica (a Castello of the Vicentino). This is probably the same Marco.

[36] The descent runs: (1) Azzo = Maria Polo; (2) Febo, Captain at Padua; (3) Zaccaria, Senator; (4) Domenico, Procurator of St. Mark's; (5) Marc'Antonio, Doge (*Cappellari*, *Campidoglio Veneto*, MS. St. Mark's Lib.).

Marc'Antonio *nolebat ducari* and after election desired to renounce. His friends persuaded him to retain office, but he lived scarcely a year after. (*Cicogna*, IV. 566.) [See p. 8.]

[37] In Appendix B will be found tabulated all the facts that seem to be positively ascertained as to the Polo genealogies.

In the Venetian archives occurs a procuration executed by the Doge in favour of the *Nobilis Vir* SER MARCO PAULO that he may present himself before the king of Sicily; under date, Venice 9th November, 1342. And some years later we have in the Sicilian Archives an order by King Lewis of Sicily, directed to the Maestri Procuratori of Messina, which grants to MARCO POLO of Venice, on account of services rendered to the king's court, the privilege of free import and export at the port of Messina, without payment of customs of goods to the amount annually of 20 ounces. Dated in Catania 13th January, 1346 (1347?).

For the former notice I am indebted to the courtesy of Signor B. Cecchetti of the Venetian Archives, who cites it as "transcribed in the *Commemor.* IV. p. 5"; for the latter to that of the Abate Carini of the *Reale Archivio* at Palermo; it is in *Archivio della Regia Cancellaria* 1343–1357, f. 58.

The mission of this MARCO POLO is mentioned also in a rescript of the Sicilian king Peter II., dated Messina, 14th November, 1340, in reference to certain claims of Venice, about which the said Marco appeared as the Doge's ambassador. This is printed in F. TESTA, *De Vitâ et Rebus Gestis Federici II., Siciliæ Regis*, Panormi, 1775, pp. 267 *seqq*. The Sicilian Antiquary Rosario Gregorio identifies the Envoy with our Marco, dead long before. (See *Opere scelte del Canon Ros. Gregorio*, Palermo, 1845, 3za ediz., p. 352.)

It is possible that this Marco, who from the latter notice seems to have been engaged in mercantile affairs, may have been the Marcolino above mentioned, but it is perhaps on the whole more probable that this *nobilis vir* is the Marco spoken of in the note at p. 74.

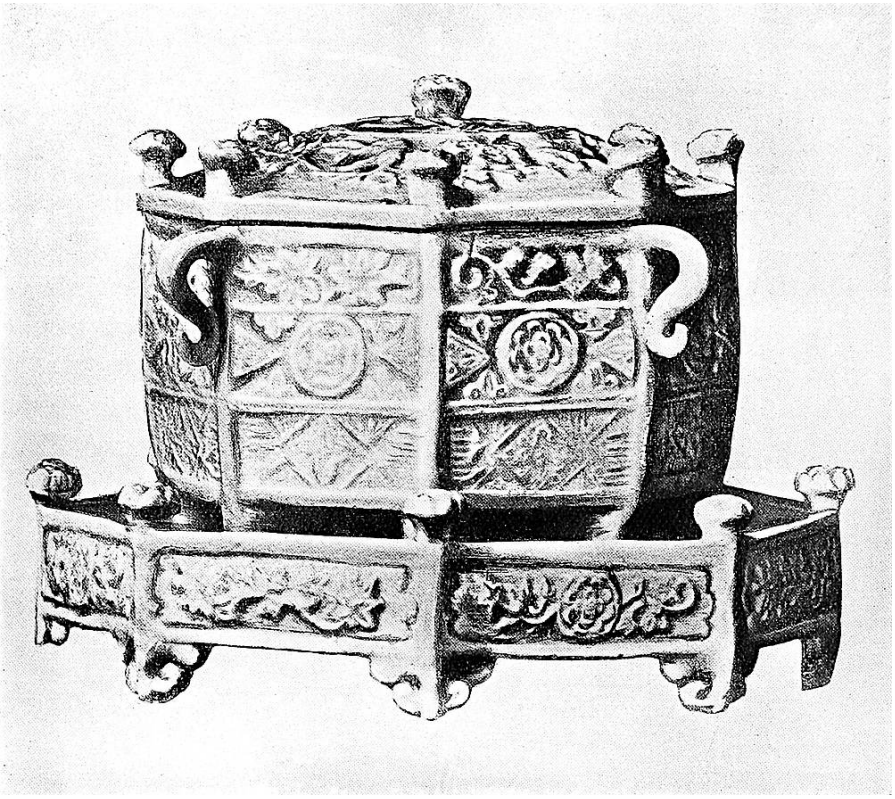
[38] *La Collezione del Doge Marin Faliero e i Tesori di Marco Polo*, pp. 98–103. I have seen this article.—H. C.

IX. Marco Polo's Book; and the Language in which it was first written.

50. The Book itself consists essentially of Two Parts. *First*, of a Prologue, as it is termed, the only part which is actual personal narrative, and which relates, in a very interesting but far too brief manner, the circumstances which led the two elder Polos to the Kaan's Court, and those of their second journey with Mark, and of their return to Persia through the Indian Seas. *Secondly*, of a long series of chapters of very unequal length, descriptive of notable sights and products, of curious manners and remarkable events, relating to the different nations and states of Asia, but, above all, to the Emperor Kúblái, his court, wars, and administration. A series of chapters near the close treats in a verbose and monotonous manner of sundry wars that took place between the various branches of the House of Chinghiz in the latter half of the 13th century. This last series is either omitted or greatly curtailed in all the copies and versions except one; a circumstance perfectly accounted for by the absence of interest as well as value in the bulk of these chapters. Indeed, desirous though I have been to give the Traveller's work complete, and sharing the dislike that every man who *uses* books must bear to abridgments, I have felt that it would be sheer waste and dead-weight to print these chapters in full.

General statement of what the Book contains.

81



Porcelain Incense-Burner, from the Louvre.

This second and main portion of the Work is in its oldest forms undivided, the chapters running on consecutively to the end.[1] In some very early Italian or

Venetian version, which Friar Pipino translated into Latin, it was divided into three Books, and this convenient division has generally been adhered to. We have adopted M. Pauthier's suggestion in making the final series of chapters, chiefly historical, into a Fourth.

51. As regards the language in which Marco's Book was first committed to writing, we have seen that Ramusio assumed, somewhat arbitrarily, that it was *Latin*; Marsden supposed it to have been the *Venetian* dialect; Baldelli Boni first showed, in his elaborate edition (Florence, 1827), by arguments that have been illustrated and corroborated by learned men since, that it was *French*.

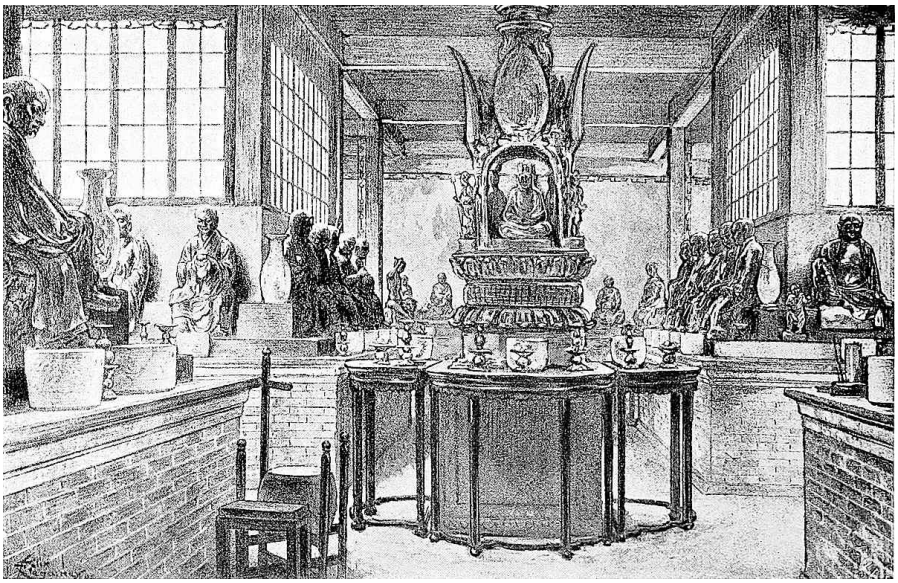
Language of the original Work.

That the work was originally written in *some* Italian dialect was a natural presumption, and slight contemporary evidence can be alleged in its favour; for Fra Pipino, in the Latin version of the work, executed whilst Marco still lived, describes his task as a translation *de vulgari*. And in one MS. copy of the same Friar Pipino's Chronicle, existing in the library at Modena, he refers to the said version as made "*ex vulgari idiomate* Lombardico." But though it may seem improbable that at so early a date a Latin version should have been made at second hand, I believe this to have been the case, and that some internal evidence also is traceable that Pipino translated *not* from the original but from an Italian *version* of the original.

The oldest MS. (it is supposed) in any Italian dialect is one in the Magliabecchian Library at Florence, which is known in Italy as *L'Ottima*, on account of the purity of its Tuscan, and as *Della Crusca* from its being one of the authorities cited by that body in their Vocabulary.[2] It bears on its face the following note in Italian:— 82

> "This Book called the Navigation of Messer Marco Polo, a noble Citizen of Venice, was written in Florence by Michael Ormanni my great grandfather by the Mother's side, who died in the Year of Grace One Thousand Three Hundred and Nine; and my mother brought it into our Family of Del Riccio, and it belongs to me Pier del Riccio and to my Brother; 1452."

As far as I can learn, the age which this note implies is considered to be supported by the character of the MS. itself.[3] If it be accepted, the latter is a performance going back to within eleven years *at most* of the first dictation of the Travels. At first sight, therefore, this would rather argue that the original had been written in pure Tuscan. But when Baldelli came to prepare it for the press he found manifest indications of its being a Translation from the *French*. Some of these he has noted; others have followed up the same line of comparison. We give some detailed examples in a note.[4]



Temple of 500 Genii, at Canton, *after a Drawing by* Félix Régamey.

52. The French Text that we have been quoting, published by the Geographical Society of Paris in 1824, affords on the other hand the strongest corresponding proof that it is an original and not a Translation. Rude as is the language of the manuscript (Fr. 1116, formerly No. 7367, of Paris Library), it is, in the correctness of the proper names, and the intelligible exhibition of the itineraries, much superior to any form of the Work previously published. *83*

Old French Text published by the Société de Géographie.

The language is very peculiar. We are obliged to call it French, but it is not "Frenche of Paris." "Its style," says Paulin Paris, "is about as like that of good French authors of the age, as in our day the natural accent of a German, an Englishman, or an Italian, is like that of a citizen of Paris or Blois." The author is at war with all the practices of French grammar; subject and object, numbers, moods, and tenses, are in consummate confusion. Even readers of his own day must at times have been fain to guess his meaning. Italian words are constantly introduced, either quite in the crude or rudely Gallicized.[5] And words also, we may add, sometimes slip in which appear to be purely Oriental, just as is apt to happen with Anglo-Indians in these days.[6] All this is perfectly consistent with the supposition that we have in this MS. a copy at least of the original words as written down by Rusticiano a Tuscan, from the dictation of Marco an Orientalized Venetian, in French, a language foreign to both. *84*

But the character of the language *as French* is not its only peculiarity. There is in the style, apart from grammar or vocabulary, a rude angularity, a rough dramatism like that of oral narrative; there is a want of proportion in the style of different parts, now over curt, now diffuse and wordy, with at times even a hammering reiteration; a constant recurrence of pet colloquial phrases (in which, however, other literary works of the age partake); a frequent change in the spelling of the same proper names, even when recurring within a few lines, as if caught by ear only; a literal following to and fro of the hesitations of the narrator; a more general use of the third person in speaking of the Traveller, but an occasional lapse into the first. All these characteristics are strikingly indicative of the unrevised product of

dictation, and many of them would *necessarily* disappear either in translation or in a revised copy.

Of changes in representing the same proper name, take as an example that of the Kaan of Persia whom Polo calls *Quiacatu* (Kaikhátú), but also *Acatu, Catu*, and the like.

As an example of the literal following of dictation take the following:—

> "Let us leave Rosia, and I will tell you about the Great Sea (the Euxine), and what provinces and nations lie round about it, all in detail; and we will begin with Constantinople—First, however, I should tell you about a province, etc.... There is nothing more worth mentioning, so I will speak of other subjects,—but there is one thing more to tell you about Rosia that I had forgotten.... Now then let us speak of the Great Sea as I was about to do. To be sure many merchants and others have been here, but still 85
> there are many again who know nothing about it, so it will be well to include it in our Book. We will do so then, and let us begin first with the Strait of Constantinople.
>
> "At the Straits leading into the Great Sea, on the West Side, there is a hill called the Faro.—But since beginning on this matter I have changed my mind, because so many people know all about it, so we will not put it in our description but go on to something else." (See vol. ii. p. 487 *seqq*.)

And so on.

As a specimen of tautology and hammering reiteration the following can scarcely be surpassed. The Traveller is speaking of the *Chughi*, *i.e*. the Indian Jogis:—

> "And there are among them certain devotees, called *Chughi*; these are longer-lived than the other people, for they live from 150 to 200 years; and yet they are so hale of body that they can go and come wheresoever they please, and do all the service needed for their monastery or their idols, and do it just as well as if they were younger; and that comes of the great abstinence that they practise, in eating little food and only what is wholesome; for they use to eat rice and milk more than anything else. And again I tell you that these Chughi who live such a long time as I have told you, do also eat what I am going to tell you, and you will think it a great matter. For I tell you that they take quicksilver and sulphur, and mix them together, and make a drink of them, and then they drink this, and they say that it adds to their life; and in fact they do live much longer for it; and I tell you that they do this twice every month. And let me tell you that these people use this drink from their infancy in order to live longer, and without fail those who live so long as I have told you use this drink of sulphur and quicksilver." (See G. T. p. 213.)

Such talk as this does not survive the solvent of translation; and we may be certain that we have here the nearest approach to the Traveller's reminiscences as they were taken down from his lips in the prison of Genoa.

Conclusive proof that the Old French Text is the source of all the others.

53. Another circumstance, heretofore I believe unnoticed, is in itself enough to demonstrate the Geographic Text to be the source of all other versions of the Work. It is this.

In reviewing the various classes or types of texts of Polo's Book, which we shall hereafter attempt to discriminate, there are certain proper names which we find in the different texts to take very different forms, each class adhering in the main to one particular form.

Thus the names of the Mongol ladies introduced at pp. 32 and 36 of this volume, which are in proper Oriental form *Bulughán* and *Kukáchin*, appear in the class of MSS. which Pauthier has followed as *Bolgara* and *Cogatra*; in the MSS. of Pipino's version, and those founded on it, including Ramusio, the names appear in 86
the correcter forms *Bolgana* or *Balgana* and *Cogacin*. Now *all the forms* Bolgana, Balgana, Bolgara, *and* Cogatra, Cocacin *appear in the Geographic Text*.

Kaikhátú Kaan appears in the Pauthier MSS. as *Chiato*, in the Pipinian as *Acatu*, in the Ramusian as *Chiacato*. *All three forms*, Chiato, Achatu, and Quiacatu *are found in the Geographic Text*.

The city of Koh-banan appears in the Pauthier MSS. as *Cabanant*, in the Pipinian and Ramusian editions as *Cobinam* or *Cobinan*. *Both forms are found in the Geographic Text*.

The city of the Great Kaan (Khanbalig) is called in the Pauthier MSS. *Cambaluc*, in the Pipinian and Ramusian less correctly *Cambalu*. *Both forms appear in the Geographic Text*.

The aboriginal People on the Burmese Frontier who received from the Western officers of the Mongols the Persian name (translated from that applied by the Chinese) of *Zardandán*, or Gold-Teeth, appear in the Pauthier MSS. most accurately as Zardandan, but in the Pipinian as *Ardandan* (still further corrupted in some copies into *Arcladam*). Now *both forms are found in the Geographic Text*. Other examples might be given, but these I think may suffice to prove that this Text was the common source of both classes.

In considering the question of the French original too we must remember what has been already said regarding Rusticien de Pise and his other French writings; and we shall find hereafter an express testimony borne in the next generation that Marco's Book was composed *in vulgari Gallico*.

54. But, after all, the circumstantial evidence that has been adduced from the texts themselves is the most conclusive. We have then every reason to believe both that the work was written in French, and that an existing French Text is a close representation of it as originally committed to paper. And that being so we may cite some circumstances to show that the use of French or quasi-French for the purpose was not a fact of a very unusual or surprising nature. The French language had at that time almost as wide, perhaps relatively a wider, diffusion than it has now. It was still spoken at the Court of England, and still used by many English writers, of whom the authors or translators of the Round Table 87
Romances at Henry III.'s Court are examples.[7] In 1249 Alexander III. King of Scotland, at his coronation spoke in Latin and French; and in 1291 the English Chancellor addressing the Scotch Parliament did so in French. At certain of the Oxford Colleges as late as 1328 it was an order that the students should converse *colloquio latino vel saltem gallico*.[8] Late in the same century Gower had not ceased to use French, composing many poems in it, though apologizing for his want of skill therein:—

Greatly diffused employment of French in that age.

"Et si jeo nai de François la faconde
* * * *
Jeo suis Englois; si quier par tiele voie
Estre excusé."[9]

Indeed down to nearly 1385, boys in the English grammar-schools were taught to construe their Latin lessons into French.[10] St. Francis of Assisi is said by some of his biographers to have had his original name changed to Francesco because of his early mastery of that language as a qualification for commerce. French had been the prevalent tongue of the Crusaders, and was that of the numerous Frank Courts which they established in the East, including Jerusalem and the states of the Syrian coast, Cyprus, Constantinople during the reign of the Courtenays, and the principalities of the Morea. The Catalan soldier and chronicler Ramon de Muntaner tells us that it was commonly said of the Morean chivalry that they spoke as good French as at Paris.[11] Quasi-French at least was still spoken half a century later by the numerous Christians settled at Aleppo, as John Marignolli testifies;[12] and if we may trust Sir John Maundevile the Soldan of Egypt himself and four of his chief Lords "*spak Frensche righte wel!*"[13] Gházán Kaan, the accomplished Mongol Sovereign of Persia, to whom our Traveller conveyed a bride from Cambaluc, is *88* said by the historian Rashiduddin to have known something of the Frank tongue, probably French.[14] Nay, if we may trust the author of the Romance of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, French was in his day the language of still higher spheres![15]

Nor was Polo's case an exceptional one even among writers on the East who were not Frenchmen. Maundevile himself tells us that he put his book first "out of Latyn into Frensche," and then out of French into English.[16] The History of the East which the Armenian Prince and Monk Hayton dictated to Nicolas Faulcon at Poictiers in 1307 was taken down in French. There are many other instances of the employment of French by foreign, and especially by Italian authors of that age. The Latin chronicle of the Benedictine Amato of Monte Cassino was translated into French early in the 13th century by another monk of the same abbey, at the particular desire of the Count of Militrée (or Malta), "*Pour ce qu'il set lire et entendre fransoize et s'en delitte*."[17] Martino da Canale, a countryman and contemporary of Polo's, during the absence of the latter in the East wrote a Chronicle of Venice in the same language, as a reason for which he alleges its general popularity.[18] The like does the most notable example of all, Brunetto Latini, Dante's master, who wrote in French his encyclopædic and once highly popular work *Li Tresor*.[19] Other examples might be given, but in fact such *89* illustration is superfluous when we consider that Rusticiano himself was a compiler of French Romances.

But why the language of the Book as we see it in the Geographic Text should be so much more rude, inaccurate, and Italianized than that of Rusticiano's other writings, is a question to which I can suggest no reply quite satisfactory to myself. Is it possible that we have in it a literal representation of Polo's own language in dictating the story,—a rough draft which it was intended afterwards to reduce to better form, and which was so reduced (after a fashion) in French copies of another type, regarding which we shall have to speak presently?[20] And, if this be the true answer, why should Polo have used a French jargon in which to tell his story? Is it possible that his own mother Venetian, such as he had carried to the East with him

and brought back again, was so little intelligible to Rusticiano that French of some kind was the handiest medium of communication between the two? I have known an Englishman and a Hollander driven to converse in Malay; Chinese Christians of different provinces are said sometimes to take to English as the readiest means of intercommunication; and the same is said even of Irish-speaking Irishmen from remote parts of the Island.

It is worthy of remark how many notable narratives of the Middle Ages have been dictated instead of being written by their authors, and that in cases where it is impossible to ascribe this to ignorance of writing. The Armenian Hayton, though evidently a well-read man, possibly could not write in Roman characters. But Joinville is an illustrious example. And the narratives of four of the most famous Mediæval Travellers[21] seem to have been drawn from them by a kind of pressure, and committed to paper by other hands. I have elsewhere remarked this as indicating how little diffused was literary ambition or vanity; but it would perhaps be more correct to ascribe it to that intense dislike which is still seen on the shores of the Mediterranean to the use of pen and ink. On certain of those shores at least 90
there is scarcely any inconvenience that the majority of respectable and good-natured people will not tolerate—inconvenience to their neighbours be it understood—rather than put pen to paper for the purpose of preventing it.

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[1] 232 chapters in the oldest French which we quote as the *Geographic Text* (or G. T.), 200 in Pauthier's Text, 183 in the Crusca Italian.

[2] The MS. has been printed by Baldelli as above, and again by Bartoli in 1863.

[3] This is somewhat peculiar. I traced a few lines of it, which with Del Riccio's note were given in facsimile in the First Edition.

[4] The Crusca is cited from Bartoli's edition.

French idioms are frequent, as *l'uomo* for the French *on*; *quattro-vinti* instead of *ottanta*; etc.

We have at p. 35, "*Questo piano è molto* cavo," which is nonsense, but is explained by reference to the French (G. T.) "*Voz di qu'il est celle plaingne mout* chaue" (*chaude*).

The bread in Kerman is bitter, says the G. T. "*por ce que l'eive hi est* amer," because the water there is bitter. The Crusca mistakes the last word and renders (p. 40) "*e questi è per lo* mare *che vi viene*."

"*Sachiés de voir qe* endementiers," know for a truth that whilst——, by some misunderstanding of the last word becomes (p. 129) "*Sappiate di vero* sanza mentire."

"*Mès de sel* font-il monoie"—"They make money of salt," becomes (p. 168) "*ma fannole* da loro," *sel* being taken for a pronoun, whilst in another place *sel* is transferred bodily without translation.

"*Chevoil*," "hair" of the old French, appears in the Tuscan (p. 20) as *cavagli*, "horses."—"*La Grant Provence* Jereraus," the great general province, appears (p. 68) as a province whose proper name is *Ienaraus*. In describing Kúblái's expedition against Mien or Burma, Polo has a story of his calling on the Jugglers at his court to undertake the job, promising them a Captain and other help, "*Cheveitain et aide*." This has fairly puzzled the Tuscan, who converts these (p. 186) into two Tartar tribes, "*quegli d'*Aide *e quegli di* Caveità."

[12] So also we have *lievre* for hare transferred without change; *lait*, milk, appearing as *laido* instead of *latte*; *très*, rendered as "three"; *bue*, "mud," Italianised as *buoi*, "oxen," and so forth. Finally, in various places when Polo is explaining Oriental terms we find in the Tuscan MS. "*cioè a dire in* Francesco."

The blunders mentioned are intelligible enough as in a version *from the French*; but in the description of the Indian pearl-fishery we have a startling one not so easy to account for. The French says, "the divers gather the sea-oysters (*hostrige de Mer*), and in these the pearls are found." This appears in the Tuscan in the extraordinary form that the divers catch those fishes called *Herrings* (Aringhe), and in those Herrings are found the Pearls!

[5] As examples of these Italianisms: "*Et ont del* olio *de la lanpe dou* sepolchro *de Crist*"; "*L'Angel ven en vision pour mesajes de Deu à un* Veschevo *qe mout estoient home de* sante vite"; "*E certes il estoit bien* beizongno"; "*ne trop caut ne trop* fredo"; "*la* crense" (*credenza*); "remort" for noise (*rumore*); "inverno"; "jorno"; "dementiqué" (*dimenticato*); "enferme" for sickly; "leign" (*legno*); "devisce" (*dovizia*); "ammalaide" (*ammalato*), etc. etc.

Professor Bianconi points out that there are also traces of *Venetian* dialect, as *Pare* for *père*; *Mojer* for wife; *Zabater*, cobbler; *cazaor*, huntsman, etc.

I have not been able to learn to what extent books in this kind of mixed language are extant. I have observed one, a romance in verse called *Macaire* (*Altfranzösische Gedichte aus Venez. Handschriften*, von *Adolf Mussafia*, Wien, 1864), the language of which is not unlike this jargon of Rustician's, *e.g.*:—

> "'Dama,' fait-il, 'molto me poso merviler
> De ves enfant quant le fi batecer
> De un signo qe le vi sor la spal'a droiturer
> Qe non ait nul se no filz d'inperer.'"—(p. 41)

[6] As examples of such Orientalisms: *Bonus*, "ebony," and *calamanz*, "pencases," seem to represent the Persian *abnús* and *ḳalamdàn*; the dead are mourned by *les mères et les* Araines, the *Harems*; in speaking of the land of the Ismaelites or Assassins, called *Mulhete*, *i.e.* the Arabic *Muláhidah*, "Heretics," he explains this term as meaning "des *Aram*" (*Ḥarám*, "the reprobate"). Speaking of the Viceroys of Chinese Provinces, we are told that they rendered their accounts yearly to the *Safators* of the Great Kaan. This is certainly an Oriental word. Sir H. Rawlinson has suggested that it stands for *dafátir* ("registers or public books"), pl. of *daftar*. This seems probable, and in that case the true reading may have been *dafators*.

[7] Luces du Gast, one of the first of these, introduces himself thus:— "Je Luces, Chevaliers et Sires du Chastel du Gast, voisins prochain de Salebieres, comme chevaliers amoureus enprens à translater du Latin en François une partie de cette estoire, non mie pour ce que je sache gramment de François, ainz apartient plus ma langue et ma parleure à la manière de l'Engleterre que à celle de France, comme cel qui fu en Engleterre nez, mais tele est ma volentez et mon proposement, que je en langue françoise le translaterai." (*Hist. Litt. de La France*, xv. 494.)

[8] *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xv. 500.

[9] *Ibid.* 508.

[10] *Tyrwhitt's Essay on Lang., etc., of Chaucer*, p. xxii. (Moxon's Ed. 1852.)

[11] *Chroniques Etrangères*, p. 502.

[13] Page 138.

[14] *Hammers Ilchan*, II. 148.

[15] After the capture of Acre, Richard orders 60,000 Saracen prisoners to be executed:—

> "They wer brought out off the toun,
> Save twenty, he heeld to raunsoun.
> They wer led into the place ful evene:
> *Ther they herden Aungeles off Hevene*:
> *They sayde*: 'SEYNYORS, TUEZ, TUEZ!
> 'Spares hem nought! Behedith these!'
> Kyng Rychard herde the Aungelys voys,
> And thankyd God, and the Holy Croys."
> —*Weber*, II. 144.

Note that, from the rhyme, the Angelic French was apparently pronounced "*Too-eese! Too-eese!*"

[16] [Refer to the edition of Mr. George F. Warner, 1889, for the Roxburghe Club, and to my own paper in the *T'oung Pao*, Vol. II., No. 4, regarding the compilation published under the name of Maundeville. Also *App. L.* 13—H. C.]

[17] *L'Ystoire de li Normand*, etc., edited by M. Champollion-Figeac, Paris, 1835, p. v.

[18] "*Porce que lengue Frenceise cort parmi le monde, et est la plus delitable à lire et à oir que nule autre, me sui-je entremis de translater l'ancien estoire des Veneciens de Latin en Franceis*." (Archiv. Stor. Ital. viii. 268.)

[19] "*Et se aucuns demandoit por quoi cist livres est escriz en Romans, selonc le langage des François, puisque nos somes Ytaliens, je diroie que ce est por. ij. raisons: l'une, car nos somes en France; et l'autre porce que la parleure est plus delitable et plus commune à toutes gens*." (Li Livres dou Tresor, p. 3.)

[20] It is, however, not improbable that Rusticiano's hasty and abbreviated original was extended by a scribe who knew next to nothing of French; otherwise it is hard to account for such forms as *perlinage* (pelerinage), *peseries* (espiceries), *proque* (see vol. ii. p. 370), *oisi* (G. T. p. 208), *thochere* (toucher), etc. (See *Bianconi*, 2nd Mem. pp. 30–32.)

[21] Polo, Friar Odoric, Nicolo Conti, Ibn Batuta.

X. VARIOUS TYPES OF TEXT OF MARCO POLO'S BOOK.

Four Principal Types of Text. First, that of the Geographic, or oldest French.

55. In treating of the various Texts of Polo's Book we must necessarily go into some irksome detail.

Those Texts that have come down to us may be classified under Four principal Types.

I. The First Type is that of the Geographic Text of which we have already said so much. This is found nowhere *complete* except in the unique MS. of the Paris Library, to which it is stated to have come from the old Library of the French Kings at Blois. But the Italian *Crusca*, and the old Latin version (No. 3195 of the Paris Library) published with the Geographic Text, are evidently derived entirely from it, though both are considerably abridged. It is also

demonstrable that neither of these copies has been translated from the other, for each has passages which the other omits, but that both have been taken, the one as a copy more or less loose, the other as a translation, from an intermediate *Italian* copy.[1] A special difference lies in the fact that the Latin version is divided into three Books, whilst the Crusca has no such division. I shall show in a tabular form the *filiation* of the texts which these facts seem to demonstrate (see Appendix G). 91

There are other Italian MSS. of this type, some of which show signs of having been derived independently from the French;[2] but I have not been able to examine any of them with the care needful to make specific deductions regarding them.

56. II. The next Type is that of the French MSS. on which M. Pauthier's Text is based, and for which he claims the highest authority, as having had the mature revision and sanction of the Traveller. There are, as far as I know, five MSS. which may be classed together under this type, three in the Great Paris Library, one at Bern, and one in the Bodleian. 92

Second; the remodelled French Text, followed by Pauthier.

The high claims made by Pauthier on behalf of this class of MSS. (on the first three of which his Text is formed) rest mainly upon the kind of certificate which two of them bear regarding the presentation of a copy by Marco Polo to Thibault de Cepoy, which we have already quoted (*supra*, p. 69). This certificate is held by Pauthier to imply that the original of the copies which bear it, and of those having a general correspondence with them, had the special seal of Marco's revision and approval. To some considerable extent their character is corroborative of such a claim, but they are far from having the perfection which Pauthier attributes to them, and which leads him into many paradoxes.

It is not possible to interpret rigidly the bearing of this so-called certificate, as if no copies had previously been taken of *any* form of the Book; nor can we allow it to impugn the authenticity of the Geographic Text, which demonstratively represents an older original, and has been (as we have seen) the parent of all other versions, including some very old ones, Italian and Latin, which certainly owe nothing to this revision.

The first idea apparently entertained by d'Avezac and Paulin Paris was that the Geographic Text was *itself* the copy given to the Sieur de Cepoy, and that the differences in the copies of the class which we describe as Type II. merely resulted from the modifications which would naturally arise in the process of transcription into purer French. But closer examination showed the differences to be too great and too marked to admit of this explanation. These differences consist not only in the conversion of the rude, obscure, and half Italian language of the original into good French of the period. There is also very considerable curtailment, generally of tautology, but also extending often to circumstances of substantial interest; whilst we observe the omission of a few notably erroneous statements or expressions; and a few insertions of small importance. None of the MSS. of this class contain more than a few of the historical chapters which we have formed into Book IV. 93

The only *addition* of any magnitude is that chapter which in our translation forms chapter xxi. of Book II. It will be seen that it contains no new facts, but is only a tedious recapitulation of circumstances already stated, though scattered over

several chapters. There are a few minor additions. I have not thought it worth while to collect them systematically here, but two or three examples are given in a note.[3]

There are also one or two corrections of erroneous statements in the G. T. which seem not to be accidental and to indicate some attempt at revision. Thus a notable error in the account of Aden, which seems to conceive of the Red Sea as a *river*, disappears in Pauthier's MSS. A and B.[4] And we find in these MSS. one or two interesting names preserved which are not found in the older Text.[5]

But on the other hand this class of MSS. contains many erroneous readings of names, either adopting the worse of two forms occurring in the G. T. or originating blunders of its own.[6]

M. Pauthier lays great stress on the character of these MSS. as the sole authentic *94* form of the work, from their claim to have been specially revised by Marco Polo. It is evident, however, from what has been said, that this revision can have been only a very careless and superficial one, and must have been done in great measure by deputy, being almost entirely confined to curtailment and to the improvement of the expression, and that it is by no means such as to allow an editor to dispense with a careful study of the Older Text.

The Bern MS. and two others form a sub-class of this Type.

57. There is another curious circumstance about the MSS. of this type, viz., that they clearly divide into two distinct recensions, of which both have so many peculiarities and errors in common that they must necessarily have been both derived from *one* modification of the original text, whilst at the same time there are such differences between the two as cannot be set down to the accidents of transcription. Pauthier's MSS. A and B (Nos. 16 and 15 of the List in App. F) form one of these subdivisions: his C (No. 17 of List), Bern (No. 56), and Oxford (No. 6), the other. Between A and B the differences are only such as seem constantly to have arisen from the whims of transcribers or their dialectic peculiarities. But between A and B on the one side, and C on the other, the differences are much greater. The readings of proper names in C are often superior, sometimes worse; but in the latter half of the work especially it contains a number of substantial passages[7] which are to be found in the G. T., but are altogether absent from the MSS. A and B; whilst in one case at least (the history of the Siege of Saianfu, vol. ii. p. 159) it diverges considerably from the G. T. *as well* as from A and B.[8]

I gather from the facts that the MS. C represents an older form of the work than A and B. I should judge that the latter had been derived from that older form, but intentionally modified from it. And as it is the MS. C, with its copy at Bern, that alone presents the certificate of derivation from the Book given to the Sieur de *95* Cepoy, there can be no doubt that it is the true representative of that recension.

Third; Friar Pipino's Latin.

58. III. The next Type of Text is that found in Friar Pipino's Latin version. It is the type of which MSS. are by far the most numerous. In it condensation and curtailment are carried a good deal further than in Type II. The work is also divided into three Books. But this division does not seem to have originated with Pipino, as we find it in the ruder and perhaps older Latin version of which we have already spoken under Type I. And we have demonstrated that this ruder Latin is a translation from an Italian copy. It is

probable therefore that an Italian version similarly divided was the common source of what we call the Geographic Latin and of Pipino's more condensed version.[9]

Pipino's version appears to have been executed in the later years of Polo's life.[10] But I can see no ground for the idea entertained by Baldelli-Boni and Professor Bianconi that it was executed with Polo's cognizance and retouched by him.

59. The absence of effective publication in the Middle Ages led to a curious complication of translation and retranslation. Thus the Latin version published by Grynæus in the *Novus Orbis* (Basle, 1532) is different from Pipino's, and yet clearly traceable to it as a base. In fact it is a retranslation into Latin from some version (Marsden thinks the printed Portuguese one) of Pipino. It introduces many minor modifications, omitting specific statements of numbers and values, generalizing the names and descriptions of specific animals, exhibiting frequent sciolism and self-sufficiency in modifying statements which the Editor disbelieved.[11] It is therefore utterly worthless as a Text, and it is curious that Andreas Müller, who in the 17th century devoted himself to the careful editing of Polo, should have made so unfortunate a choice as to reproduce this fifth-hand Translation. I may add that the French editions published in the middle of the 16th century are *translations* from Grynæus. Hence they complete this curious and vicious circle of translation: French—Italian—Pipino's Latin—Portuguese?—Grynæus's Latin—French![12]

The Latin of Grynæus a translation at fifth hand.

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60. IV. We now come to a Type of Text which deviates largely from any of those hitherto spoken of, and the history and true character of which are involved in a cloud of difficulty. We mean that Italian version prepared for the press by G. B. Ramusio, with most interesting, though, as we have seen, not always accurate preliminary dissertations, and published at Venice two years after his death, in the second volume of the *Navigationi e Viaggi*.[13]

Fourth; Ramusio's Italian.

The peculiarities of this version are very remarkable. Ramusio seems to imply that he used as one basis at least the Latin of Pipino; and many circumstances, such as the division into Books, the absence of the terminal historical chapters and of those about the Magi, and the form of many proper names, confirm this. But also many additional circumstances and anecdotes are introduced, many of the names assume a new shape, and the whole style is more copious and literary in character than in any other form of the work.

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Whilst some of the changes or interpolations seem to carry us further from the truth, others contain facts of Asiatic nature or history, as well as of Polo's own experiences, which it is extremely difficult to ascribe to any hand but the Traveller's own. This was the view taken by Baldelli, Klaproth, and Neumann;[14] but Hugh Murray, Lazari, and Bartoli regard the changes as interpolations by another hand; and Lazari is rash enough to ascribe the whole to a *rifacimento* of Ramusio's own age, asserting it to contain interpolations not merely from Polo's own contemporary Hayton, but also from travellers of later centuries, such as Conti, Barbosa, and Pigafetta. The grounds for these last assertions have not been cited, nor can I trace them. But I admit *to a certain extent* indications of modern tampering with the text, especially in cases where proper names seem to have been identified and more modern forms substituted. In days, however, where an Editor's duties were ill understood, this was natural.

61. Thus we find substituted for the *Bastra* (or *Bascra*) of the older texts the more modern and incorrect *Balsora*, dear to memories of the Arabian Nights; among the provinces of Persia we have *Spaan* (Ispahan) where older texts read *Istanit*; for *Cormos* we have *Ormus*; for *Herminia* and *Laias*, *Armenia* and *Giazza*; *Coulam* for the older *Coilum*; *Socotera* for *Scotra*. With these changes may be classed the chapter-headings, which are undisguisedly modern, and probably Ramusio's own. In some other cases this editorial spirit has been over-meddlesome and has gone astray. Thus *Malabar* is substituted wrongly for *Maabar* in one place, and by a grosser error for *Dalivar* in another. The age of young Marco, at the time of his father's first return to Venice, has been arbitrarily altered from 15 to 19, in order to correspond with a date which is itself erroneous. Thus also Polo is made to describe Ormus as on an Island, contrary to the old texts and to the fact; for the city of Hormuz was not transferred to the island, afterwards so famous, till some years after Polo's return from the East. It is probably also the editor who in the notice of the oil-springs of Caucasus (i. p. 46) has substituted *camel-loads* for *ship-loads*, in ignorance that the site of those alluded to was probably Baku on the Caspian.

Injudicious tamperings in Ramusio.

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Other erroneous statements, such as the introduction of window-glass as one of the embellishments of the palace at Cambaluc, are probably due only to accidental misunderstanding.

62. Of circumstances certainly genuine, which are peculiar to this edition of Polo's work, and which it is difficult to assign to any one but himself, we may note the specification of the woods east of Yezd as composed of *date trees* (vol. i pp. 88–89); the unmistakable allusion to the subterranean irrigation channels of Persia (p. 123); the accurate explanation of the term *Mulehet* applied to the sect of Assassins (pp. 139–142); the mention of the Lake (Sirikul?) on the plateau of Pamer, of the wolves that prey on the wild sheep, and of the piles of wild rams' horns used as landmarks in the snow (pp. 171–177). To the description of the Tibetan Yak, which is in all the texts, Ramusio's version alone adds a fact probably not recorded again till the present century, viz., that it is the practice to cross the Yak with the common cow (p. 274). Ramusio alone notices the prevalence of *goître* at Yarkand, confirmed by recent travellers (i. p. 187); the vermilion seal of the Great Kaan imprinted on the paper-currency, which may be seen in our plate of a Chinese note (p. 426); the variation in Chinese dialects (ii. p. 236); the division of the hulls of junks into water-tight compartments (ii. p. 249); the introduction into China from Egypt of the art of refining sugar (ii. p. 226). Ramusio's account of the position of the city of Sindafu (Ch'êng-tu fu) encompassed and intersected by many branches of a great river (ii. p. 40), is much more just than that in the old text, which speaks of but one river through the middle of the city. The intelligent notices of the Kaan's charities as originated by his adoption of "idolatry" or Buddhism; of the astrological superstitions of the Chinese, and of the manners and character of the latter nation, are found in Ramusio alone. To whom but Marco himself, or one of his party, can we refer the brief but vivid picture of the delicious atmosphere and scenery of the Badakhshan plateaux (i. p. 158), and of the benefit that Messer Marco's health derived from a visit to them? In this version alone again we have an account of the oppressions exercised by Kúblái's Mahomedan Minister Ahmad, telling how the Cathayans rose against him and murdered him, with the addition

Genuine statements peculiar to Ramusio.

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that Messer Marco was on the spot when all this happened. Now not only is the whole story in substantial accordance with the Chinese Annals, even to the name of the chief conspirator,[15] but those annals also tell of the courageous frankness of "Polo, assessor of the Privy Council," in opening the Kaan's eyes to the truth.

Many more such examples might be adduced, but these will suffice. It is true that many of the passages peculiar to the Ramusian version, and indeed the whole version, show a freer utterance and more of a literary faculty than we should attribute to Polo, judging from the earlier texts. It is possible, however, that this may be almost, if not entirely, due to the fact that the version is the result of a double translation, and probably of an editorial fusion of several documents; processes in which angularities of expression would be dissolved.[16]

63. Though difficulties will certainly remain,[17] the most probable explanation of the origin of this text seems to me to be some such hypothesis as the following:—I suppose that Polo in his latter years added with his own hand supplementary notes and reminiscences, marginally or otherwise, to a copy of his book; that these, perhaps in his lifetime, more probably after his death, were digested and translated into Latin;[18] and that Ramusio, or some friend of his, in retranslating and fusing them with Pipino's version for the *Navigationi*, made those minor modifications in names and other matters which we have already noticed. The mere facts of digestion from memoranda and double translation would account for a good deal of unintentional corruption. *100*

Hypothesis of the sources of the Ramusian Version.

That more than one version was employed in the composition of Ramusio's edition we have curious proof in at least one passage of the latter. We have pointed out at p. 410 of this volume a curious example of misunderstanding of the old French Text, a passage in which the term *Roi des Pelaines*, or "King of Furs," is applied to the Sable, and which in the Crusca has been converted into an imaginary Tartar phrase *Leroide pelame*, or as Pipino makes it *Rondes* (another indication that Pipino's Version and the Crusca passed through a common medium). But Ramusio exhibits *both* the true reading and the perversion: "*E li Tartari la chiamano* Regina delle pelli" (there is the true reading), "*E gli animali si chiamano* Rondes" (and there the perverted one). *101*

We may further remark that Ramusio's version betrays indications that one of its bases either was in the Venetian dialect, or had passed through that dialect; for a good many of the names appear in Venetian forms, *e.g.*, substituting the *z* for the sound of *ch*, *j*, or soft *g*, as in *Goza*, *Zorzania*, *Zagatay*, *Gonza* (for Giogiu), *Quenzanfu*, *Coiganzu*, *Tapinzu*, *Zipangu*, *Ziamba*.

64. To sum up. It is, I think, beyond reasonable dispute that we have, in what we call the Geographic Text, as nearly as may be an exact transcript of the Traveller's words as originally taken down in the prison of Genoa. We have again in the MSS. of the second type an edition pruned and refined, probably under instructions from Marco Polo, but not with any critical exactness. And lastly, I believe, that we have, imbedded in the Ramusian edition, the supplementary recollections of the Traveller, noted down at a later period of his life, but perplexed by repeated translation, compilation, and editorial mishandling.

Summary in regard to Text of Polo.

And the most important remaining problem in regard to the text of Polo's work is the discovery of the supplemental manuscript from which Ramusio derived those passages which are found only in his edition. It is possible that it may still exist, but no trace of it in anything like completeness has yet been found; though when my task was all but done I discovered a small part of the Ramusian peculiarities in a MS. at Venice.[19]

65. Whilst upon this subject of manuscripts of our Author, I will give some particulars regarding a very curious one, containing a version in the *Irish* language. 102

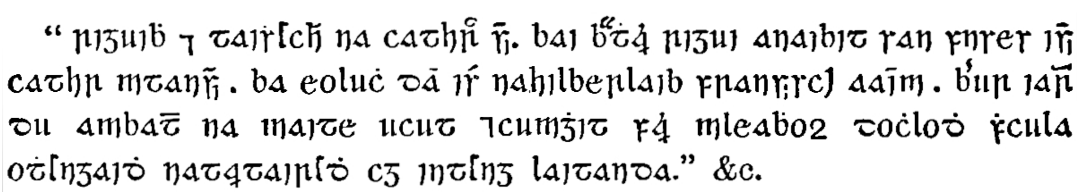
Notice of a curious Irish Version of Polo.

This remarkable document is found in the *Book of Lismore*, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire. That magnificent book, finely written on vellum of the largest size, was discovered in 1814, enclosed in a wooden box, along with a superb crozier, on opening a closed doorway in the castle of Lismore. It contained Lives of the Saints, the (Romance) History of Charlemagne, the History of the Lombards, histories and tales of Irish wars, etc., etc., and among the other matter this version of Marco Polo. A full account of the Book and its mutilations will be found in *O'Curry's Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 196 *seqq.*, Dublin, 1861. The *Book of Lismore* was written about 1460 for Finghin MacCarthy 103
and his wife Catharine Fitzgerald, daughter of Gerald, Eighth Earl of Desmond.

The date of the Translation of Polo is not known, but it may be supposed to have been executed about the above date, probably in the Monastery of Lismore (county of Waterford).

From the extracts that have been translated for me, it is obvious that the version was made, with an astounding freedom certainly, from Friar Francesco Pipino's Latin.

Both beginning and end are missing. But what remains opens thus; compare it with Friar Pipino's real prologue as we give it in the Appendix![20]


"rigaib ⁊ taisech na cathrach sin. bai brathair rigda anaibit san Fresis isin cathair intansin. ba eoluch dá is na hilberlaib Franciscus a ainm. Búr iarr du ambat na maithe ucut ⁊ cuingit fair in leabor do chlod scula otengaid na tartairsid co hinnsing laitanda." &c.

————"Kings and chieftains of that city. There was then in the city a princely Friar in the habit of St. Francis, named Franciscus, who was versed in many languages. He was brought to the place where those nobles were, and they requested of him to translate the book from the Tartar (!) into the Latin language. 'It is an abomination to me,' said he, 'to devote my mind or labour to works of Idolatry and Irreligion.' They entreated him again. 'It shall be done,' said he; 'for though it be an irreligious narrative that is related therein, yet the things are miracles of the True God; and every one who hears this much against the Holy Faith shall pray fervently for their conversion. And he who will not pray shall waste the vigour of his body to convert them.' I am not in dread of this Book of Marcus, for there is no lie in it. My eyes beheld him bringing the relics of the holy Church with him, and he left [his testimony], whilst tasting of death, that it was true. And Marcus was a devout man. What is there in it, then, but that Franciscus translated this Book of Marcus from the Tartar into Latin; and the years of the Lord at that time were fifteen years, two score, two hundred, and one thousand" (1255).

It then describes *Armein Bec* (Little Armenia), *Armein Mor* (Great Armenia), *Musul*, *Taurisius*, *Persida*, *Camandi*, and so forth. The last chapter is that on *Abaschia*:—

"ABASCHIA also is an extensive country, under the government of Seven Kings, four of whom worship the true God, and each of them wears a golden cross on the forehead; and they are valiant in battle, having been brought up fighting against the Gentiles of the other three kings, who are Unbelievers and Idolaters. And the kingdom of ADEN; a Soudan rules over them. 104

"The king of Abaschia once took a notion to make a pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of Jesus. 'Not at all,' said his nobles and warriors to him, 'for we should be afraid lest the infidels through whose territories you would have to pass, should kill you. There is a Holy Bishop with you,' said they; 'send him to the Sepulchre of Jesus, and much gold with him'"——

The rest is wanting.

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[1] In the following citations, the Geographic Text (G. T.) is quoted by page from the printed edition (1824); the Latin published in the same volume (G. L.) also by page; the Crusca, as before, from Bartoli's edition of 1863. References in parentheses are to the present translation:—

A. *Passages showing the G. L. to be a translation from the Italian, and derived from the same Italian text as the* Crusca.

		Page		
(1).	G.T.	17	(I. 43).	Il hi se laborent *le souran tapis* dou monde.
	Crusca,	17	..	E quivi si fanno *i sovrani tappeti* del mondo.
	G.L.	311	..	Et ibi fiunt *soriani et tapeti* pulcriores de mundo.
(2).	G.T.	23	(I. 69).	Et adonc le calif mande par tuit les cristiez ... *que en sa tere estoient*.
	Crusca,	27	..	*Ora mandò* lo aliffo per tutti gli Cristiani *ch'erano di là*.
	G.L.	316	..	*Or misit* califus pro Christianis *qui erant ultra fluvium* (the last words being clearly a misunderstanding of the Italian *di là*).
(3).	G.T.	198	(II. 313).	Ont *sosimain* (sesamum) de coi il font le olio.
	Crusca,	253	..	Hanno *sosimai* onde fanno l'olio.
	G.L.	448	..	Habent *turpes manus* (taking *sosimani* for *sozze mani* "Dirty hands"!).
(4).	Crusca,	52	(I. 158).	*Cacciare e uccellare* v'è lo migliore del mondo.
	G.L.	332	..	Et est ibi optimum *caciare et ucellare*.
(5).	G.T.	124	(II. 36).	Adonc treuve ... une Provence *qe est encore* de le confin dou Mangi.
	Crusca,	162–3	..	L'uomo truova una Provincia *ch'è chiamata ancora* delle confine de' Mangi.
	G.L.	396	..	Invenit unam Provinciam *quae vocatur Anchota* de confinibus Mangi.
(6).	G.T.	146	(II. 119).	Les dames portent as jambes et es braces, braciaus d'or et d'arjent de grandisme vailance.

[7] G.L. 411 ..Dominæ eorum *portant ad brachia et ad gambas brazalia de auro* et de argento magni valoris.

B. *Passages showing additionally the errors, or other peculiarities of a translation from a French original, common to the Italian and the Latin.*

(7). G.T. 32 (I. 97). Est celle plaingne mout *chaue* (chaude).
Crusca, 35 .. Questo piano è molto *cavo*.
G.L. 322 .. Ista planities est multum *cava*.

(8). G.T. 36 (I. 110). Avent por ce que l'eive hi est *amer*.
Crusca, 40 .. E questo è *per lo mare* che vi viene.
G.L. 324 .. Istud est *propter mare* quod est ibi.

(9). G.T. 18 (I. 50). Un roi qi est apelés par tout tens Davit Melic, que veut à dir *en fransois* Davit Roi.
Crusca, 20 .. Uno re il quale si chiama *sempre* David Melic, ciò è a dire *in francesco* David Re.
G.L. 312 .. Rex qui *semper* vocatur David Mellic, quod sonat *in gallico* David Rex.

These passages, and many more that might be quoted, seem to me to demonstrate (1) that the Latin and the Crusca have had a common original, and (2) that this original was an Italian version from the French.

[2] Thus the *Pucci* MS. at Florence, in the passage regarding the Golden King (vol. ii. p. 17) which begins in G. T. "*Lequel fist faire* jadis *un rois qe fu apellés le Roi Dor*," renders "*Lo quale fa fare* Jaddis *uno re*," a mistake which is not in the Crusca nor in the Latin, and seems to imply derivation from the French directly, or by some other channel (*Baldelli Boni*).

[3] In the Prologue (vol. i. p. 34) this class of MSS. alone names the King of England.

In the account of the Battle with Nayan (i. p. 337) this class alone speaks of the two-stringed instruments which the Tartars played whilst awaiting the signal for battle. But the circumstance appears elsewhere in the G. T. (p. 250).

In the chapter on *Malabar* (vol. ii. p. 390), it is said that the ships which go with cargoes towards Alexandria are not one-tenth of those that go to the further East. This is not in the older French.

In the chapter on *Coilun* (ii. p. 375), we have a notice of the Columbine ginger so celebrated in the Middle Ages, which is also absent from the older text.

[4] See vol. ii. p. 439. It is, however, remarkable that a like mistake is made about the Persian Gulf (see i. 63, 64). Perhaps Polo *thought* in Persian, in which the word *darya* means either *sea* or a *large river*. The same habit and the ambiguity of the Persian *sher* led him probably to his confusion of lions and tigers (see i. 397).

[5] Such are Pasciai-*Dir* and *Ariora* Kesciemur (i. p. 98.)

[6] Thus the MSS. of this type have elected the erroneous readings *Bolgara, Cogatra, Chiato, Cabanant*, etc., instead of the correcter *Bolgana, Cocacin, Quiacatu, Cobinan*, where the G. T. presents both (*supra*, p. 86). They read *Esanar* for the correct *Etzina*; *Chascun* for *Casvin*; *Achalet* for *Acbalec*; *Sardansu* for *Sindafu*, *Kayteu, Kayton, Sarcon* for *Zaiton* or *Caiton*; *Soucat* for *Locac*; *Falec* for *Ferlec*, and so on, the worse instead of the better. They make the *Mer Occeane* into *Mer Occident*; the wild asses (*asnes*) of the Kerman Desert into wild geese (*oes*); the *escoillez* of Bengal (ii. p. 115) into *escoliers*; the *giraffes* of Africa into *girofles*, or cloves, etc., etc.

[8] The Bern MS. I have satisfied myself is an actual *copy* of the Paris MS. C.

The Oxford MS. closely resembles both, but I have not made the comparison minutely enough to say if it is an exact copy of either.

[9] The following comparison will also show that these two Latin versions have probably had a common source, such as is here suggested.

At the end of the Prologue the Geographic Text reads simply:—

"Or puis que je voz ai contez tot le fat dou prolegue ensi con voz avés oï, adonc (commencerai) le Livre."

Whilst the Geographic Latin has:—

"*Postquam recitavimus et diximus facta et condictiones morum, itinerum* et ea quae nobis contigerunt per vias, *incipiemus dicere ea quae vidimus. Et primo dicemus de Minore Hermenia*."

And Pipino:—

"*Narratione facta nostri itineris, nunc ad ea narranda quae vidimus accedamus. Primo autem Armeniam Minorem describemus breviter*."

[10] Friar Francesco Pipino of Bologna, a Dominican, is known also as the author of a lengthy chronicle from the time of the Frank Kings down to 1314; of a Latin Translation of the French History of the Conquest of the Holy Land, by Bernard the Treasurer; and of a short Itinerary of a Pilgrimage to Palestine in 1320. Extracts from the Chronicle, and the version of Bernard, are printed in Muratori's Collection. As Pipino states himself to have executed the translation of Polo by order of his Superiors, it is probable that the task was set him at a general chapter of the order which was held at Bologna in 1315. (See *Muratori*, IX. 583; and *Quétif, Script. Ord. Praed.* I. 539). We do not know why Ramusio assigned the translation specifically to 1320, but he may have had grounds.

[11] See *Bianconi*, 1st Mem. 29 *seqq*.

[12] C. Dickens somewhere narrates the history of the equivalents for a sovereign as changed and rechanged at every frontier on a continental tour. The final equivalent received at Dover on his return was some 12 or 13 shillings; a fair parallel to the comparative value of the first and last copies in the circle of translation.

[13] The Ramusios were a family of note in literature for several generations. Paolo, the father of Gian Battista, came originally from Rimini to Venice in 1458, and had a great repute as a jurist, besides being a littérateur of some eminence, as was also his younger brother Girolamo. G. B. Ramusio was born at Treviso in 1485, and early entered the public service. In 1533 he became one of the Secretaries of the Council of X. He was especially devoted to geographical studies, and had a school for such studies in his house. He retired eventually from public duties, and lived at Villa Ramusia, near Padua. He died in the latter city, 10th July, 1557, but was buried at Venice in the Church of S. Maria dell'Orto. There was a portrait of him by Paul Veronese in the Hall of the Great Council, but it perished in the fire of 1577; and that which is now seen in the Sala dello Scudo is, like the companion portrait of Marco Polo, imaginary. Paolo Ramusio, his son, was the author of the well-known History of the Capture of Constantinople. (*Cicogna*, II. 310 *seqq*.)

[14] The old French texts were unknown in Marsden's time. Hence this question did not present itself to him.

[15] *Wangcheu* in the Chinese Annals; *Vanchu* in Ramusio. I assume that Polo's *Vanchu* was pronounced as in English; for in Venetian the *ch* very often has that sound.

have this sound, except in the initial sound of *Chinchitalas* and twice in *Choiach* (see II. 364).

Professor Bianconi, who has treated the questions connected with the Texts of Polo with honest enthusiasm and laborious detail, will admit nothing genuine in the Ramusian interpolations beyond the preservation of some *oral traditions* of Polo's supplementary recollections. But such a theory is out of the question in face of a chapter like that on Ahmad.

[16] Old Purchas appears to have greatly relished Ramusio's comparative lucidity: "I found (says he) this Booke translated by Master Hakluyt out of the Latine (*i.e.* among Hakluyt's MS. collections). But where the blind leade the blind both fall: as here the corrupt *Latine* could not but yeeld a corruption of truth in *English*. Ramusio, Secretarie to the *Decemviri* in *Venice*, found a better Copie and published the same, whence you have the worke in manner new: so renewed, that I have found the Proverbe true, that it is better to pull downe an old house and to build it anew, then to repaire it; as I also should have done, had I knowne that which in the event I found. The *Latine* is Latten, compared to *Ramusio's* Gold. And hee which hath the *Latine* hath but *Marco Polo's* carkasse or not so much, but a few bones, yea, sometimes stones rather then bones; things divers, averse, adverse, perverted in manner, disjoynted in manner, beyond beliefe. I have seene some Authors maymed, but never any so mangled and so mingled, so present and so absent, as this vulgar *Latine* of *Marco Polo*; not so like himselfe, as the Three *Polo's* were at their returne to *Venice*, where none knew them.... Much are wee beholden to *Ramusio*, for restoring this *Pole* and Load-starre of *Asia*, out of that mirie poole or puddle in which he lay drouned." (III. p. 65.)

[17] Of these difficulties the following are some of the more prominent:—

1. The mention of the death of Kúblái (see note 7, p. 38 of this volume), whilst throughout the book Polo speaks of Kúblái as if still reigning.

2. Mr. Hugh Murray objects that whilst in the old texts Polo appears to look on Kúblái with reverence as a faultless Prince, in the Ramusian we find passages of an opposite tendency, as in the chapter about Ahmad.

3. The same editor points to the manner in which one of the Ramusian additions represents the traveller to have visited the Palace of the Chinese Kings at Kinsay, which he conceives to be inconsistent with Marco's position as an official of the Mongol Government. (See vol. ii. p. 208.)

If we could conceive the Ramusian additions to have been originally notes written by old Maffeo Polo on his nephew's book, this hypothesis would remove almost all difficulty.

One passage in Ramusio seems to bear a reference to the date at which these interpolated notes were amalgamated with the original. In the chapter on Samarkand (i. p. 191) the conversion of the Prince Chagatai is said in the old texts to have occurred "not a great while ago" (*il ne a encore grament de tens*). But in Ramusio the supposed event is fixed at "one hundred and twenty-five years since." This number could not have been uttered with reference to 1298, the year of the dictation at Genoa, nor to any year of Polo's own life. Hence it is probable that the original note contained a date or definite term which was altered by the compiler to suit the date of his own compilation, some time in the 14th century.

[18] In the first edition of Ramusio the preface contained the following passage, which is omitted from the succeeding editions; but as even the first edition was issued after Ramusio's own death, I do not see that any stress can be laid on this:

"A copy of the Book of Marco Polo, as it was originally written in Latin, marvellously old, and perhaps directly copied from the original as it came from M. Marco's own hand, has been often consulted by me and compared with that which we now publish, having been lent me by a nobleman of this city, belonging to the Ca' Ghisi."

[19] For a moment I thought I had been lucky enough to light on a part of the missing original of Ramusio in the Barberini Library at Rome. A fragment of a Venetian version in that library (No. 56 in our list of MSS.) bore on the fly-leaf the title "*Alcuni primi capi del Libro di S. Marco Polo, copiati dall esemplare manoscritto di PAOLO RANNUSIO.*" But it proved to be of no importance. One brief passage of those which have been thought peculiar to Ramusio, viz., the reference to the Martyrdom of St. Blaize at Sebaste (see p. 43 of this volume), is found also in the Geographic Latin.

It was pointed out by Lazari, that another passage (vol. i. p. 60) of those otherwise peculiar to Ramusio, is found in a somewhat abridged Latin version in a MS. which belonged to the late eminent antiquary Emanuel Cicogna. (See List in Appendix F, No. 35.) This fact induced me when at Venice in 1870 to examine the MS. throughout, and, though I could give little time to it, the result was very curious.

I find that this MS. contains, not one only, but at least *seven* of the passages otherwise peculiar to Ramusio, and must have been one of the elements that went to the formation of his text. Yet of his more important interpolations, such as the chapter on Ahmad's oppressions and the additional matter on the City of Kinsay, there is no indication. The seven passages alluded to are as follows; the words corresponding to Ramusian peculiarities are in italics, the references are to my own volumes.

1. In the chapter on Georgia:

"Mare quod dicitur Gheluchelan *vel ABACU*"....

"Est ejus stricta via et dubia. Ab una parte est mare *quod dixi de ABACU* et ab aliâ nemora invia," etc. (See i. p. 59, note 8.)

2. "Et ibi optimi austures *dicti AVIGI*" (i. 50).

3. After the chapter on Mosul is another short chapter, already alluded to:

"*Prope hanc civitatem (est) alia provincia dicta MUS e MEREDIEN in quâ nascitur magna quantitas bombacis, et hic fiunt bocharini et alia multa, et sunt mercatores homines et artiste.*" (See i. p. 60.)

4. In the chapter on *Tarcan* (for Carcan, *i.e.* Yarkand):

"*Et maior pars horum habent unum ex pedibus grossum et habent gosum in gulâ*; et est hic fertilis contracta." (See i. p. 187.)

5. In the Desert of Lop:

"*Homines trasseuntes appendunt bestiis suis capanullas* [*i.e.* campanellas] *ut ipsas senciant et ne deviare possint*" (i. p. 197.)

6. "Ciagannor, *quod sonat in Latino STAGNUM ALBUM.*" (i. p. 296.)

7. "Et in medio hujus viridarii est palacium sive logia, *tota super columpnas. Et in summitate cujuslibet columnæ est draco magnus circundans totam columpnam, et hic substinet eorum cohoperturam cum ore et pedibus*; et est cohopertura tota de cannis hoc modo," etc. (See i. p. 299.)

[20] My valued friend Sir Arthur Phayre made known to me the passage in *O'Curry's Lectures*. I then procured the extracts and further particulars from Mr. J. Long, Irish Transcriber and Translator in Dublin, who took them from the Transcript of the *Book of Lismore*, in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy. [Cf. *Anecdota Oxoniensia. Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore, edited with a translation ... by* Whitley Stokes, Oxford, 1890.—*Marco Polo* forms fo. 79 a, 1–fo. 89 b, 2, of the MS., and is described pp. xxii.–xxiv. of Mr. Whitley Stokes' Book, who has since published the Text in the *Zeit. f. Celtische Philol.* (See *Bibliography*, vol. ii. p. 573.)—H. C.]

XI. Some Estimate of the Character of Polo and His Book.

66. That Marco Polo has been so universally recognised as the King of Mediæval Travellers is due rather to the width of his experience, the vast compass of his journeys, and the romantic nature of his personal history, than to transcendent superiority of character or capacity.

Grounds of Polo's pre-eminence among mediæval travellers.

The generation immediately preceding his own has bequeathed to us, in the Report of the Franciscan Friar William de Rubruquis, [1] on the Mission with which St. Lewis charged him to the Tartar Courts, the narrative of one great journey, which, in its rich detail, its vivid pictures, its acuteness of observation and strong good sense, seems to me to form a Book of Travels of much higher claims than *any one series* of Polo's chapters; a book, indeed, which has never had justice done to it, for it has few superiors in the whole Library of Travel. 105

Enthusiastic Biographers, beginning with Ramusio, have placed Polo on the same platform with Columbus. But where has our Venetian Traveller left behind him any trace of the genius and lofty enthusiasm, the ardent and justified previsions which mark the great Admiral as one of the lights of the human race?[2] It is a juster praise that the spur which his Book eventually gave to geographical studies, and the beacons which it hung out at the Eastern extremities of the Earth helped to guide the aims, though scarcely to kindle the fire, of the greater son of the rival Republic. His work was at least a link in the Providential chain which at last dragged the New World to light.[3] 106

67. Surely Marco's real, indisputable, and, in their kind, unique claims to glory may suffice! *He was the first Traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of* Asia, *naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes; the Deserts of* Persia, *the flowering plateaux and wild gorges of* Badakhshan, *the jade-bearing rivers of* Khotan, *the* Mongolian *Steppes, cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom, the new and brilliant Court that had been established at* Cambaluc: *The first Traveller to reveal* China *in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the nations on its borders with all their eccentricities of manners and worship; of* Tibet *with its sordid devotees; of* Burma *with its golden* 107

His true claims to glory.

pagodas and their tinkling crowns; of LAOS, *of*SIAM, *of*COCHIN CHINA, *of*JAPAN, *the Eastern Thule, with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces; the first to speak of that Museum of Beauty and Wonder, still so imperfectly ransacked, the*INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO, *source of those aromatics then so highly prized and whose origin was so dark; of*JAVA*the Pearl of Islands; of*SUMATRA*with its many kings, its strange costly products, and its cannibal races; of the naked savages of*NICOBAR*and*ANDAMAN; *of*CEYLON*the Isle of Gems with its Sacred Mountain and its Tomb of Adam; of*INDIA THE GREAT, *not as a dream-land of Alexandrian fables, but as a country seen and partially explored, with its virtuous Brahmans, its obscene ascetics, its diamonds and the strange tales of their acquisition, its sea-beds of pearl, and its powerful sun; the first in mediæval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian Empire of*ABYSSINIA, *and the semi-Christian Island of*SOCOTRA; *to speak, though indeed dimly, of*ZANGIBAR*with its negroes and its ivory, and of the vast and distant*MADAGASCAR, *bordering on the Dark Ocean of the South, with its Ruc and other monstrosities; and, in a remotely opposite region, of*SIBERIA*and the*ARCTIC OCEAN, *of dog-sledges, white bears, and reindeer-riding Tunguses*.

That all this rich catalogue of discoveries should belong to the revelations of one Man and one Book is surely ample ground enough to account for and to justify the Author's high place in the roll of Fame, and there can be no need to exaggerate his greatness, or to invest him with imaginary attributes.[4]

68. What manner of man was Ser Marco? It is a question hard to answer. Some critics cry out against personal detail in books of Travel; but as regards him who would not welcome a little more egotism! In his Book impersonality is carried to excess; and we are often driven to discern by indirect and doubtful indications alone, whether he is speaking of a place from personal knowledge or only from hearsay. In truth, though there are delightful exceptions, and nearly every part of the book suggests interesting questions, a desperate meagreness and baldness does extend over considerable tracts of the story. In fact his book reminds us sometimes of his own description of Khorasan:—"*On chevauche par beaus plains et belles costieres, là où il a moult beaus herbages et bonne pasture et fruis assez.... Et aucune fois y treuve l'en un desert de soixante milles ou de mains, esquels desers ne treuve l'en point d'eaue; mais la convient porter o lui!*"

His personal attributes seen but dimly.

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Still, some shadowy image of the man may be seen in the Book; a practical man, brave, shrewd, prudent, keen in affairs, and never losing his interest in mercantile details, very fond of the chase, sparing of speech; with a deep wondering respect for Saints, even though they be Pagan Saints, and their asceticism, but a contempt for Patarins and such like, whose consciences would not run in customary grooves, and on his own part a keen appreciation of the World's pomps and vanities. See, on the one hand, his undisguised admiration of the hard life and long fastings of Sakya Muni; and on the other how enthusiastic he gets in speaking of the great Kaan's command of the good things of the world, but above all of his matchless opportunities of sport![5]

Of humour there are hardly any signs in his Book. His almost solitary joke (I know but one more, and it pertains to the οὐκ ἀνήκοντα) occurs in speaking of the Kaan's paper-money when he observes that Kúblái might be said to have the true

Philosopher's Stone, for he made his money at pleasure out of the bark of Trees.[6] Even the oddest eccentricities of outlandish tribes scarcely seem to disturb his gravity; as when he relates in his brief way of the people called Gold-Teeth on the frontier of Burma, that ludicrous custom which Mr. Tylor has so well illustrated under the name of the *Couvade*. There is more savour of laughter in the few lines of a Greek Epic, which relate precisely the same custom of a people on the Euxine:—

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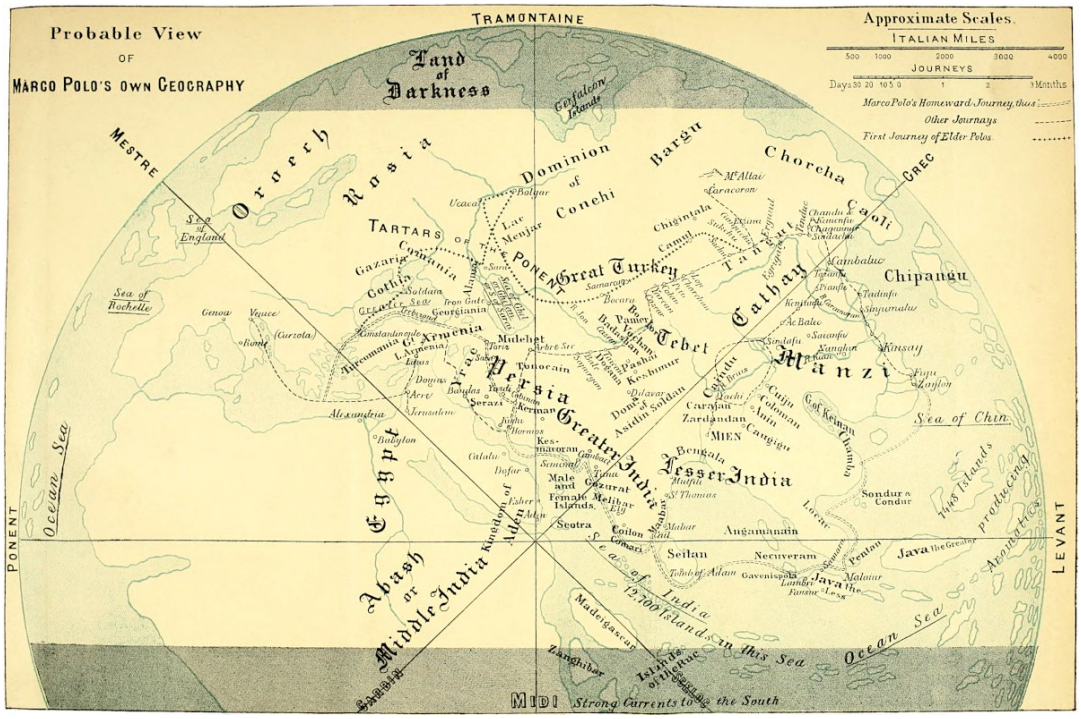
——"In the Tibarenian Land
When some good woman bears her lord a babe,
'Tis *he* is swathed and groaning put to bed;
Whilst *she*, arising, tends his baths, and serves
Nice possets for her husband in the straw."[7]

Probable View of Marco Polo's Own Geography



Lit. Frauenfelder, Palermo

69. Of scientific notions, such as we find in the unveracious Maundevile, we have no trace in truthful Marco. The former, "lying with a circumstance," tells us boldly that he was in 33° of South Latitude; the latter is full of wonder that some of the Indian Islands where he had been lay so far to the south that you lost sight of the Pole-star. When it rises again on his horizon he estimates the Latitude by the Pole-star's being so many *cubits* high. So the gallant Baber speaks of the sun having mounted *spear-high* when the onset of battle began at Paniput. Such expressions convey no notion at all to such as have had their ideas sophisticated by angular perceptions of altitude, but similar expressions are common among Orientals,[8] and indeed I have heard them from educated Englishmen. In another place Marco states regarding certain islands in the Northern Ocean that they lie so very far to the north that in going thither one actually leaves the Pole-star a trifle behind towards the south; a statement to which we know only one parallel, to wit, in the voyage of that

Absence of scientific notions.

adventurous Dutch skipper who told Master Moxon, King Charles II.'s Hydrographer, that he had sailed two degrees beyond the Pole!

70. The Book, however, is full of bearings and distances, and I have thought it worth while to construct a map from its indications, in order to get some approximation to Polo's own idea of the face of that world which he had traversed so extensively. There are three allusions to maps in the course of his work (II. 245, 312, 424).

Map constructed on Polo's data.

In his own bearings, at least on land journeys, he usually carries us along a great general traverse line, without much caring about small changes of direction. Thus on the great outward journey from the frontier of Persia to that of China the line runs almost continuously "*entre Levant et Grec*" or E.N.E. In his journey from Cambaluc or Peking to Mien or Burma, it is always *Ponent* or W.; and in that from *110*
Peking to Zayton in Fo-kien, the port of embarkation for India, it is *Sceloc* or S.E. The line of bearings in which he deviates most widely from truth is that of the cities on the Arabian Coast from Aden to Hormuz, which he makes to run steadily *vers Maistre* or N.W., a conception which it has not been very easy to realise on the map.[9]

71. In the early part of the Book we are told that Marco acquired several of the languages current in the Mongol Empire, and no less than four written characters. We have discussed what these are likely to have been (i. pp. 28–29), and have given a decided opinion that Chinese was not one of them. Besides intrinsic improbability, and positive indications of Marco's ignorance of Chinese, in no respect is his book so defective as in regard to Chinese manners and peculiarities. The Great Wall is never mentioned, though we have shown reason for believing that it was in his mind when one passage of his book was dictated.[10] The use of Tea, though he travelled through the Tea districts of Fo-kien, is never mentioned;[11] *111*
the compressed feet of the women and the employment of the fishing cormorant (both mentioned by Friar Odoric, the contemporary of his later years), artificial egg-hatching, printing of books (though the notice of this art seems positively challenged in his account of paper-money), besides a score of remarkable arts and customs which one would have expected to recur to his memory, are never alluded to. Neither does he speak of the great characteristic of the Chinese writing. It is difficult to account for these omissions, especially considering the comparative fulness with which he treats the manners of the Tartars and of the Southern Hindoos; but the impression remains that his associations in China were chiefly with foreigners. Wherever the place he speaks of had a Tartar or Persian name he uses that rather than the Chinese one. Thus *Cathay*, *Cambaluc*, *Pulisanghin*, *Tangut*, *Chagannor*, *Saianfu*, *Kenjanfu*, *Tenduc*, *Acbalec*, *Carajan*, *Zardandan*, *Zayton*, *Kemenfu*, *Brius*, *Caramoran*, *Chorcha*, *Juju*, are all Mongol, Turki, or Persian forms, though all have Chinese equivalents.[12]

Singular omissions of Polo in regard to China; Historical inaccuracies.

In reference to the then recent history of Asia, Marco is often inaccurate, *e.g.* in his account of the death of Chinghiz, in the list of his successors, and in his statement of the relationship between notable members of that House.[13] But the *112*
most perplexing knot in the whole book lies in the interesting account which he gives of the Siege of Sayanfu or Siang-yang, during the subjugation of Southern China by Kúblái. I have entered on this matter in the notes (vol. ii. p. 167), and will

only say here that M. Pauthier's solution of the difficulty is no solution, being absolutely inconsistent with the story as told by Marco himself, and that I see none; though I have so much faith in Marco's veracity that I am loath to believe that the facts admit of no reconciliation.

Our faint attempt to appreciate some of Marco's qualities, as gathered from his work, will seem far below the very high estimates that have been pronounced, not only by some who have delighted rather to enlarge upon his frame than to make themselves acquainted with his work,[14] but also by persons whose studies and opinions have been worthy of all respect. Our estimate, however, does not abate a jot of our intense interest in his Book and affection for his memory. And we have a strong feeling that, owing partly to his reticence, and partly to the great disadvantages under which the Book was committed to writing, we have in it a singularly imperfect image of the Man.

72. A question naturally suggests itself, how far Polo's narrative, at least in its expression, was modified by passing under the pen of a professed littérateur of somewhat humble claims, such as Rusticiano was. The case is not a singular one, and in our own day the ill-judged use of such assistance has been fatal to the reputation of an adventurous Traveller.

Was Polo's Book materially affected by the Scribe Rusticiano?

We have, however, already expressed our own view that in the Geographic Text we have the nearest possible approach to a photographic impression of Marco's oral narrative. If there be an exception to this we should seek it in the descriptions of battles, in which we find the narrator to fall constantly into a certain vein of bombastic commonplaces, which look like the stock phrases of a professed romancer, and which indeed have a strong resemblance to the actual phraseology of certain metrical romances.[15] Whether this feature be due to Rusticiano I cannot say, but I have not been able to trace anything of the same character in a cursory inspection of some of his romance-compilations. Still one finds it impossible to conceive of our sober and reticent Messer Marco pacing the floor of his Genoese dungeon, and seven times over rolling out this magniloquent bombast, with sufficient deliberation to be overtaken by the pen of the faithful amanuensis! *113*

73. On the other hand, though Marco, who had left home at fifteen years of age, naturally shows very few signs of reading, there are indications that he had read romances, especially those dealing with the fabulous adventures of Alexander.

Marco's reading embraced the Alexandrian Romances. Examples.

To these he refers explicitly or tacitly in his notices of the Irongate and of Gog and Magog, in his allusions to the marriage of Alexander with Darius's daughter, and to the battle between those two heroes, and in his repeated mention of the *Arbre Sol* or *Arbre Sec* on the Khorasan frontier.

The key to these allusions is to be found in that Legendary History of Alexander, entirely distinct from the true history of the Macedonian Conqueror, which in great measure took the place of the latter in the imagination of East and West for more than a thousand years. This fabulous history is believed to be of Græco-Egyptian origin, and in its earliest extant compiled form, in the Greek of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, can be traced back to at least about A.D. 200. From the Greek its marvels spread eastward at an early date; some part at least of their matter was

known to Moses of Chorene, in the 5th century;[16] they were translated into Armenian, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac; and were reproduced in the verses of Firdusi and various other Persian Poets; spreading eventually even to the Indian Archipelago, and finding utterance in Malay and Siamese. At an early date they had been rendered into Latin by Julius Valerius; but this work had probably been lost sight of, and it was in the 10th century that they were re-imported from Byzantium to Italy by the Archpriest Leo, who had gone as Envoy to the Eastern Capital from John Duke of Campania.[17] Romantic histories on this foundation, in verse and prose, became diffused in all the languages of Western Europe, from Spain to Scandinavia, rivalling in popularity the romantic cycles of the Round Table or of Charlemagne. Nor did this popularity cease till the 16th century was well advanced. *114*

The heads of most of the Mediæval Travellers were crammed with these fables as genuine history.[18] And by the help of that community of legend on this subject which they found wherever Mahomedan literature had spread, Alexander Magnus was to be traced everywhere in Asia. Friar Odoric found Tana, near Bombay, to be the veritable City of King Porus; John Marignolli's vainglory led him to imitate King Alexander in setting up a marble column "in the corner of the world over against Paradise," *i.e.* somewhere on the coast of Travancore; whilst Sir John Maundevile, with a cheaper ambition, borrowed wonders from the Travels of Alexander to adorn his own. Nay, even in after days, when the Portuguese stumbled with amazement on those vast ruins in Camboja, which have so lately become familiar to us through the works of Mouhot, Thomson, and Garnier, they ascribed them to Alexander.[19]

Prominent in all these stories is the tale of Alexander's shutting up a score of impure nations, at the head of which were Gog and Magog, within a barrier of impassable mountains, there to await the latter days; a legend with which the disturbed mind of Europe not unnaturally connected that cataclysm of unheard-of Pagans that seemed about to deluge Christendom in the first half of the 13th century. In these stories also the beautiful Roxana, who becomes the bride of Alexander, is *Darius's* daughter, bequeathed to his arms by the dying monarch. Conspicuous among them again is the Legend of the Oracular Trees of the Sun and Moon, which with audible voice foretell the place and manner of Alexander's death. With this Alexandrian legend some of the later forms of the story had mixed up one of Christian origin about the Dry Tree, *L'Arbre Sec*. And they had also adopted the Oriental story of the Land of Darkness and the mode of escape from it, which Polo relates at p. 484 of vol. ii. *115*

74. We have seen in the most probable interpretation of the nickname *Milioni* that Polo's popular reputation in his lifetime was of a questionable kind; and a contemporary chronicler, already quoted, has told us how on his death-bed the Traveller was begged by anxious friends to retract his extraordinary stories.[20] A little later one who copied the Book "*per passare tempo e malinconia*" says frankly that he puts no faith in it.[21] Sir Thomas Brown is content "to carry a wary eye" in reading "Paulus Venetus"; but others of our countrymen in the last century express strong doubts whether he ever was in Tartary or China.[22] Marden's edition might well have extinguished the last sparks of scepticism.[23] Hammer meant praise in calling Polo "*der Vater orientalischer Hodogetik*," in spite

Injustice long done to Polo. Singular modern instance.

of the uncouthness of the eulogy. But another grave German writer, ten years after Marsden's publication, put forth in a serious book that the whole story was a clumsy imposture![24] 116

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[1] M. d'Avezac has refuted the common supposition that this admirable traveller was a native of Brabant.

The form *Rubruquis* of the name of the traveller William de Rubruk has been habitually used in this book, perhaps without sufficient consideration, but it is the most familiar in England, from its use by Hakluyt and Purchas. The former, who first published the narrative, professedly printed from an imperfect MS. belonging to the Lord Lumley, which does not seem to be now known. But all the MSS. collated by Messrs. Francisque-Michel and Wright, in preparing their edition of the Traveller, call him simply Willelmus de Rubruc or Rubruk.

Some old authors, apparently without the slightest ground, having called him *Risbroucke* and the like, it came to be assumed that he was a native of Ruysbroeck, a place in South Brabant.

But there is a place still called *Rubrouck* in French Flanders. This is a commune containing about 1500 inhabitants, belonging to the Canton of Cassel and *arrondissement* of Hazebrouck, in the Department du Nord. And we may take for granted, till facts are alleged against it, that *this* was the place from which the envoy of St. Lewis drew his origin. Many documents of the Middle Ages, referring expressly to this place Rubrouck, exist in the Library of St. Omer, and a detailed notice of them has been published by M. Edm. Coussemaker, of Lille. Several of these documents refer to persons bearing the same name as the Traveller, *e.g.*, in 1190, Thierry de Rubrouc; in 1202 and 1221, Gauthier du Rubrouc; in 1250, Jean du Rubrouc; and in 1258, Woutermann de Rubrouc. It is reasonable to suppose that Friar William was of the same stock. See *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie*, 2nd vol. for 1868, pp. 569–570, in which there are some remarks on the subject by M. d'Avezac; and I am indebted to the kind courtesy of that eminent geographer himself for the indication of this reference and the main facts, as I had lost a note of my own on the subject.

It seems a somewhat complex question whether a native even of *French* Flanders at that time should be necessarily claimable as a Frenchman;[A] but no doubt on this point is alluded to by M. d'Avezac, so he probably had good ground for that assumption. [See also *Yule's* article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and *Rockhill's Rubruck*, Int., p. xxxv.—H. C.]

That cross-grained Orientalist, I. J. Schmidt, on several occasions speaks contemptuously of this veracious and delightful traveller, whose evidence goes in the teeth of some of his crotchets. But I am glad to find that Professor Peschel takes a view similar to that expressed in the text: "The narrative of Ruysbroek [Rubruquis], almost immaculate in its freedom from fabulous insertions, may be indicated on account of its truth to nature as the greatest geographical masterpiece of the Middle Ages." (*Gesch. der Erdkunde*, 1865, p. 151.)

[2] High as Marco's name deserves to be set, his place is not beside the writer of such burning words as these addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella: "From the most tender age I went to sea, and to this day I have continued to do so. Whosoever devotes himself to this craft must desire to know the secrets of Nature here below. For 40 years now have I thus been engaged, and wherever man has sailed hitherto on the face of the sea, thither have I sailed also. I have been in constant relation

[9] the Secrets of the World) I found the Lord favourable to my purposes; it is He who hath given me the needful disposition and understanding. He bestowed upon me abundantly the knowledge of seamanship: and of Astronomy He gave me enough to work withal, and so with Geometry and Arithmetic.... In the days of my youth I studied works of all kinds, history, chronicles, philosophy, and other arts, and to apprehend these the Lord opened my understanding. Under His manifest guidance I navigated hence to the Indies; for it was the Lord who gave me the will to accomplish that task, and it was in the ardour of that will that I came before your Highnesses. All those who heard of my project scouted and derided it; all the acquirements I have mentioned stood me in no stead; and if in your Highnesses, and in you alone, Faith and Constancy endured, to Whom are due the Lights that have enlightened you as well as me, but to the Holy Spirit?" (Quoted in *Humboldt's Examen Critique*, I. 17, 18.)

[3] Libri, however, speaks too strongly when he says: "The finest of all the results due to the influence of Marco Polo is that of having stirred Columbus to the discovery of the New World. Columbus, jealous of Polo's laurels, spent his life in preparing means to get to that Zipangu of which the Venetian traveller had told such great things; his desire was to reach China by sailing westward, and in his way he fell in with America." (*H. des Sciences Mathém.* etc. II. 150.)

The fact seems to be that Columbus knew of Polo's revelations only at second hand, from the letters of the Florentine Paolo Toscanelli and the like; and I cannot find that he *ever* refers to Polo by name. [How deep was the interest taken by Colombus in Marco Polo's travels is shown by the numerous marginal notes of the Admiral in the printed copy of the latin version of Pipino kept at the Bib. Colombina at Seville. See *Appendix H.* p. 558.—H. C.] Though to the day of his death he was full of imaginations about Zipangu and the land of the Great Kaan as being in immediate proximity to his discoveries, these were but accidents of his great theory. It was the intense conviction he had acquired of the absolute smallness of the Earth, of the vast extension of Asia eastward, and of the consequent narrowness of the Western Ocean, on which his life's project was based. This conviction he seems to have derived chiefly from the works of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly. But the latter borrowed his collected arguments from Roger Bacon, who has stated them, erroneous as they are, very forcibly in his *Opus Majus* (p. 137), as Humboldt has noticed in his *Examen* (vol. i. p. 64). The Spanish historian Mariana makes a strange jumble of the alleged guides of Columbus, saying that some ascribed his convictions to "the information given by *one Marco Polo, a Florentine Physician!*" ("como otros dizen, por aviso que le dio *un cierto Marco Polo, Medico Florentin*;" *Hist. de España*, lib. xxvi. cap 3). Toscanelli is called by Columbus *Maestro Paulo*, which seems to have led to this mistake; see Sign. *G. Uzielli*, in *Boll. della Soc. Geog. Ital.* IX. p. 119. [Also by the same: *Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli iniziatore della scoperta d'America*, Florence, 1892; *Toscanelli*, No. 1; *Toscanelli*, Vol. V. of the *Raccolta Colombiana*, 1894.—H. C.]

[4] "C'est diminuer l'expression d'un éloge que de l'exagérer." (*Humboldt, Examen*, III. 13.)

[5] See vol. ii. p. 318, and vol. i. p. 404.

[6] Vol. i. p. 423.

[7] Vol. ii. p. 85, and *Apollonius Rhodius, Argonaut.* II. 1012.

[8] Chinese Observers record the length of Comets' tails by *cubits*!

book illustrations of ninety years ago we find that Princesses of Abyssinia, damsels of Otaheite, and Beauties of Mary Stuart's Court have all somehow a savour of the high waists, low foreheads, and tight garments of 1810.

We are told that Prince Pedro of Portugal in 1426 received from the Signory of Venice a map which was supposed to be either an original or a copy of one by Marco Polo's own hand. (*Major's P. Henry*, p. 62.) There is no evidence to justify any absolute expression of disbelief; and if any map-maker with the spirit of the author of the Carta Catalana then dwelt in Venice, Polo certainly could not have gone to his grave uncatechised. But I should suspect the map to have been a copy of the old one that existed in the Sala dello Scudo of the Ducal Palace.

The maps now to be seen painted on the walls of that Hall, and on which Polo's route is marked, are not of any great interest. But in the middle of the 15th century there was an old *Descriptio Orbis sive Mappamundus* in the Hall, and when the apartment was renewed in 1459 a decree of the Senate ordered that such a map should be repainted on the new walls. This also perished by a fire in 1483. On the motion of Ramusio, in the next century, four new maps were painted. These had become dingy and ragged, when, in 1762, the Doge Marco Foscarini caused them to be renewed by the painter Francesco Grisellini. He professed to have adhered closely to the old maps, but he certainly did not, as Morelli testifies. Eastern Asia looks as if based on a work of Ramusio's age, but Western Asia is of undoubtedly modern character. (See *Operetti di Iacopo Morelli*, Ven. 1820, I. 299.)

[10] "Humboldt confirms the opinion I have more than once expressed that too much must not be inferred from the silence of authors. He adduces three important and perfectly undeniable matters of fact, as to which no evidence is to be found where it would be most anticipated: In the archives of Barcelona no trace of the triumphal entry of Columbus into that city; *in Marco Polo no allusion to the Chinese Wall*; in the archives of Portugal nothing about the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci in the service of that crown." (*Varnhagen* v. *Ense*, quoted by Hayward, *Essays*, 2nd Ser. I. 36.) See regarding the Chinese Wall the remarks referred to above, at p. 292 of this volume.

[11] [It is a strange fact that Polo never mentions the use of *Tea* in China, although he travelled through the Tea districts in Fu Kien, and tea was then as generally drunk by the Chinese as it is now. It is mentioned more than four centuries earlier by the Mohammedan merchant Soleyman, who visited China about the middle of the 9th century. He states (*Reinaud, Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, 1845, I. 40): "The people of China are accustomed to use as a beverage an infusion of a plant, which they call *sakh*, and the leaves of which are aromatic and of a bitter taste. It is considered very wholesome. This plant (the leaves) is sold in all the cities of the empire." (*Bretschneider, Hist. Bot. Disc.* I. p. 5.)—H. C.]

[12] It is probable that Persian, which had long been the language of Turanian courts, was also the common tongue of foreigners at that of the Mongols. *Pulisanghin* and *Zardandan*, in the preceding list, are pure Persian. So are several of the Oriental phrases noted at p. *84*. See also notes on *Ondanique* and *Vernique* at pp. 93 and 384 of this volume, on *Tacuin* at p. 448, and a note at p. *93**supra*. The narratives of Odoric, and others of the early travellers to Cathay, afford corroborative examples. Lord Stanley of Alderley, in one of his contributions to the Hakluyt Series, has given evidence from experience that Chinese Mahomedans still preserve the knowledge of numerous Persian words.

[13] Compare these errors with like errors of Herodotus, *e.g.*, regarding the conspiracy of the False Smerdis. (See Rawlinson's Introduction, p. 55.) There is a curious

records, as in Herodotus's accounts of the revenues of the satrapies, and of the army of Xerxes, and in Marco Polo's account of Kinsay, and of the Kaan's revenues. (Vol. ii pp. 185, 216.)

[14] An example is seen in the voluminous *Annali Musulmani* of *G. B. Rampoldi*, Milan, 1825. This writer speaks of the Travels of Marco Polo with his *brother* and uncle; declares that he visited *Tipango* (*sic*), Java, Ceylon, and the *Maldives*, collected all the geographical notions of his age, traversed the two peninsulas of the Indies, examined the islands of *Socotra, Madagascar, Sofala*, and traversed with *philosophic eye* the regions of Zanguebar, Abyssinia, Nubia, and Egypt! and so forth (ix. 174). And whilst Malte-Brun bestows on Marco the sounding and ridiculous title of "*the Humboldt of the 13th century*," he shows little real acquaintance with his Book. (See his *Précis*, ed. of 1836, I. 551 *seqq*.)

[15] See for example vol. i. p. 338, and note 4 at p. 341; also vol. ii. p. 103. The descriptions in the style referred to recur in all seven times; but most of them (which are in Book IV.) have been omitted in this translation.

[16] [On the subject of Moses of Chorene and his works, I must refer to the clever researches of the late Auguste Carrière, Professor of Armenian at the École des Langues Orientales.—H. C.]

[17] *Zacher, Forschungen zur Critik, &c., der Alexandersage*, Halle, 1867, p. 108.

[18] Even so sagacious a man as Roger Bacon quotes the fabulous letter of Alexander to Aristotle as authentic. (*Opus Majus*, p. 137.)

[19] *J. As*. sér. VI. tom. xviii. p. 352.

[20] See passage from Jacopo d'Acqui, *supra*, p. *54*.

[21] It is the transcriber of one of the Florence MSS. who appends this terminal note, worthy of Mrs. Nickleby:—"Here ends the Book of Messer M. P. of Venice, written with mine own hand by me Amalio Bonaguisi when Podestà of Cierreto Guidi, to get rid of time and *ennui*. The contents seem to me incredible things, not lies so much as miracles; and it may be all very true what he says, but I don't believe it; though to be sure throughout the world very different things are found in different countries. But these things, it has seemed to me in copying, are entertaining enough, but not things to believe or put any faith in; that at least is my opinion. And I finished copying this at Cierreto aforesaid, 12th November, A.D. 1392."

[22] *Vulgar Errors*, Bk. I. ch. viii.; *Astley's Voyages*, IV. 583.

[23] A few years before Marsden's publication, the Historical branch of the R. S. of Science at Göttingen appears to have put forth as the subject of a prize Essay the Geography of the Travels of Carpini, Rubruquis, and especially of Marco Polo. (See *L. of M. Polo*, by *Zurla*, in *Collezione di Vite e Ritratti d'Illustri Italiani*. Pad. 1816.)

[24] See *Städtewesen des Mittelalters*, by *K. D. Hüllmann*, Bonn, 1829, vol. iv.

After speaking of the Missions of Pope Innocent IV. and St. Lewis, this author sketches the Travels of the Polos, and then proceeds:—"Such are the clumsily compiled contents of this ecclesiastical fiction (*Kirchengeschichtlichen Dichtung*) disguised as a Book of Travels, a thing devised generally in the spirit of the age, but specially in the interests of the Clergy and of Trade.... This compiler's aim was analogous to that of the inventor of the Song of Roland, to kindle enthusiasm for the conversion of the Mongols, and so to facilitate commerce through their dominions.... Assuredly the Poli never got further than Great Bucharia, which was then reached by many Italian Travellers. What they have related of the regions of

Arabia, and Ethiopia, are borrowed from Arabic Works. The compiler no doubt carries his audacity in fiction a long way, when he makes his hero Marcus assert that he had been seventeen years in Kúblái's service," etc. etc. (pp. 360–362).

In the French edition of *Malcolm's History of Persia* (II. 141), Marco is styled "*prêtre Venetien*"! I do not know whether this is due to Sir John or to the translator.

[Polo is also called "a Venetian Priest," in a note, vol. i., p. 409, of the original edition of London, 1815, 2 vols., 4to.—H. C.]

[A] The County of Flanders was at this time in large part a fief of the French Crown. (See *Natalis de Wailly*, notes to Joinville, p. 576.) But that would not much affect the question either one way or the other.

XII. Contemporary Recognition of Polo and his Book.

How far was there diffusion of his Book in his own day?

75. But we must return for a little to Polo's own times. Ramusio states, as we have seen, that immediately after the first commission of Polo's narrative to writing (in Latin as he imagined), many copies of it were made, it was translated into the vulgar tongue, and in a few months all Italy was full of it.

The few facts that we can collect do not justify this view of the rapid and diffused renown of the Traveller and his Book. The number of MSS. of the latter dating from the 14th century is no doubt considerable, but a large proportion of these are of Pipino's condensed Latin Translation, which was not put forth, if we can trust Ramusio, till 1320, and certainly not much earlier. The whole number of MSS. in various languages that we have been able to register, amounts to about eighty. I find it difficult to obtain statistical data as to the comparative number of copies of different works existing in manuscript. With Dante's great Poem, of *117* which there are reckoned close upon 500 MSS.,[1] comparison would be inappropriate. But of the Travels of Friar Odoric, a poor work indeed beside Marco Polo's, I reckoned thirty-nine MSS., and could now add at least three more to the list. [I described seventy-three in my edition of *Odoric*.—H. C.] Also I find that of the nearly contemporary work of Brunetto Latini, the *Tresor*, a sort of condensed Encyclopædia of knowledge, but a work which one would scarcely have expected to approach the popularity of Polo's Book, the Editor enumerates some fifty MSS. And from the great frequency with which one encounters in Catalogues both MSS. and early printed editions of Sir John Maundevile, I should suppose that the lying wonders of our English Knight had a far greater popularity and more extensive diffusion than the veracious and more sober marvels of Polo.[2] To Southern Italy Polo's popularity certainly does not seem at any time to have extended. I cannot learn that any MS. of his Book exists in any Library of the late Kingdom of Naples or in Sicily.[3]

Dante, who lived for twenty-three years after Marco's work was written, and *118* who touches so many things in the seen and unseen Worlds, never alludes to Polo,

nor I think to anything that can be connected with his Book. I believe that no mention of *Cathay* occurs in the *Divina Commedia*. That distant region is indeed mentioned more than once in the poems of a humbler contemporary, Francesco da Barberino, but there is nothing in his allusions besides this name to suggest any knowledge of Polo's work.[4]

Neither can I discover any trace of Polo or his work in that of his contemporary and countryman, Marino Sanudo the Elder, though this worthy is well acquainted with the somewhat later work of Hayton, and many of the subjects which he touches in his own book would seem to challenge a reference to Marco's labours.

Contemporary references to Polo.

76. Of contemporary or nearly contemporary references to our Traveller by name, the following are all that I can produce, and none of them are new.

First there is the notice regarding his presentation of his book to Thibault de Cepoy, of which we need say no more (*supra*, p. *68*).

Next there is the Preface to Friar Pipino's Translation, which we give at length in the Appendix (E) to these notices. The phraseology of this appears to imply that Marco was still alive, and this agrees with the date assigned to the work by Ramusio. Pipino was also the author of a Chronicle, of which a part was printed by *119* Muratori, and this contains chapters on the Tartar wars, the destruction of the Old Man of the Mountain, etc., derived from Polo. A passage not printed by Muratori has been extracted by Prof. Bianconi from a MS. of this Chronicle in the Modena Library, and runs as follows:—

> "The matters which follow, concerning the magnificence of the Tartar Emperors, whom in their language they call *Cham* as we have said, are related by Marcus Paulus the Venetian in a certain Book of his which has been translated by me into Latin out of the Lombardic Vernacular. Having gained the notice of the Emperor himself and become attached to his service, he passed nearly 27 years in the Tartar countries."[5]

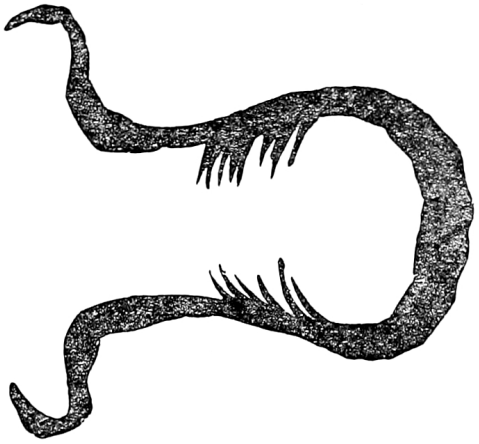
Again we have that mention of Marco by Friar Jacopo d'Acqui, which we have quoted in connection with his capture by the Genoese, at p. *54*.[6] And the Florentine historian GIOVANNI VILLANI,[7] when alluding to the Tartars, says:—

> "Let him who would make full acquaintance with their history examine the book of Friar Hayton, Lord of Colcos in Armenia, which he made at the instance of Pope Clement V., and also the Book called *Milione* which was made by Messer Marco Polo of Venice, who tells much about their power and dominion, having spent a long time among them. And so let us quit the Tartars and return to our subject, the History of Florence."[8]

Further contemporary references.

77. Lastly, we learn from a curious passage in a medical work by PIETRO OF ABANO, a celebrated physician and philosopher, and a man of Polo's own generation, that he was personally acquainted with the Traveller. In a discussion on the old notion of the non-habitability of the Equatorial regions, which Pietro controverts, he says:[9]

120



Star at the Antarctic as sketched by Marco Polo[10].

"In the country of the ZINGHI there is seen a star as big as a sack. I know a man who has seen it, and he told me it had a faint light like a piece of a cloud, and is always in the south.[11] I have been told of this and other matters by MARCO the Venetian, the most extensive traveller and the most diligent inquirer whom I have ever known. He saw this same star under the Antarctic; he described it as having a great tail, and drew a figure of it *thus*. He also told me that he saw the Antarctic Pole at an altitude above the earth apparently equal to the length of a soldier's lance, whilst the Arctic Pole was as much below the horizon. 'Tis from that place, he says, that they export to us camphor, lign-aloes, and brazil. He says the heat there is intense, and the habitations few. And these things he witnessed in a certain island at which he arrived by Sea. He tells me also that there are (wild?) men there, and also certain very great rams that have very coarse and stiff wool just like the bristles of our pigs."[12]

In addition to these five I know no other contemporary references to Polo, nor indeed any other within the 14th century, though such there must surely be, excepting in a Chronicle written after the middle of that century by JOHN of YPRES, *121* Abbot of St. Bertin, otherwise known as Friar John the Long, and himself a person of very high merit in the history of Travel, as a precursor of the Ramusios, Hakluyts and Purchases, for he collected together and translated (when needful) into French all of the most valuable works of Eastern Travel and Geography produced in the age immediately preceding his own.[13] In his Chronicle the Abbot speaks at some length of the adventures of the Polo Family, concluding with a passage to which we have already had occasion to refer:

"And so Messers Nicolaus and Maffeus, with certain Tartars, were sent a second time to these parts; but Marcus Pauli was retained by the Emperor and employed in his military service, abiding with him for a space of 27 years. And the Cham, on account of his ability despatched him upon affairs of his to various parts of Tartary and India and the Islands, on which journeys he beheld many of the marvels of those regions. And concerning these he afterwards composed a book in the French vernacular, which said Book of Marvels, with others of the same kind, we do possess." (*Thesaur. Nov. Anecdot.* III. 747.)

78. There is, however, a notable work which is ascribed to a rather early date in the 14th century, and which, though it contains no reference to Polo by name, shows a thorough acquaintance with his book, and borrows themes largely from it. This is the poetical Romance of Bauduin de Sebourc, an exceedingly clever and vivacious production, partaking largely of that bantering, half-mocking spirit which is, I believe, characteristic of many of the later mediæval French Romances.[14] *122* Bauduin is a knight who, after a very wild and loose youth, goes through an extraordinary series of adventures, displaying great faith and courage, and eventually becomes King of Jerusalem. I will cite some of

Curious borrowings from Polo in the Romance of Bauduin de Sebourc.

the traits evidently derived from our Traveller, which I have met with in a short examination of this curious work.

Bauduin, embarked on a dromond in the Indian Sea, is wrecked in the territory of Baudas, and near a city called Falise, which stands on the River of Baudas. The people of this city were an unbelieving race.

> "Il ne créoient Dieu, Mahon, né Tervogant,
> Ydole, cruchéfis, déable, né tirant." P. 300.

Their only belief was this, that when a man died a great fire should be made beside his tomb, in which should be burned all his clothes, arms, and necessary furniture, whilst his horse and servant should be put to death, and then the dead man would have the benefit of all these useful properties in the other world.[15] Moreover, if it was the king that died—

> "Sé li rois de la terre i aloit trespassant,
> * * * * *
> Si fasoit-on tuer, .viij. jour en un tenant,
> Tout chiaus c'on encontroit par la chité passant,
> Pour tenir compaingnie leur ségnor soffisant.
> Telle estoit le créanche ou païs dont je cant!"[16] P. 301.

Baudin arrives when the king has been dead three days, and through dread of this custom all the people of the city are shut up in their houses. He enters an inn, and helps himself to a vast repast, having been fasting for three days. He is then seized and carried before the king, Polibans by name. We might have quoted this prince at p. 87 as an instance of the diffusion of the French tongue:

> "Polibans sot Fransois, car on le doctrina:
> j. renoiés de Franche .vij. ans i demora,
> Qui li aprist Fransois, si que bel en parla." P. 309.

Bauduin exclaims against their barbarous belief, and declares the Christian doctrine to the king, who acknowledges good points in it, but concludes: *123*

> "Vassaus, dist Polibans, à le chière hardie,
> Jà ne crerrai vou Dieux, à nul jour de ma vie;
> Né vostre Loy ne vaut une pomme pourie!" P. 311.

Bauduin proposes to prove his Faith by fighting the prince, himself unarmed, the latter with all his arms. The prince agrees, but is rather dismayed at Bauduin's confidence, and desires his followers, in case of his own death, to burn with him horses, armour, etc., asking at the same time which of them would consent to burn along with him, in order to be his companions in the other world:

> "Là en i ot .ij^{e}. dont cascuns s'escria:
> Nous morons volentiers, quant vo corps mort sara!"[17] P. 313.

Bauduin's prayer for help is miraculously granted; Polibans is beaten, and converted by a vision. He tells Bauduin that in his neighbourhood, beyond Baudas —

"ou .v. liewes, ou .vi.
Ché un felles prinches, orgoellieus et despis;
De la Rouge-Montaingne est Prinches et Marchis.
Or vous dirai comment il a ses gens nouris:
Je vous di que chius Roys a fait un Paradis
Tant noble et gratieus, et plain de tels déliis,
* * * * *
Car en che Paradis est un riex establis,
Qui se partist en trois, en che noble pourpris:
En l'un coert li clarés, d'espises bien garnis;
Et en l'autre li miés, qui les a resouffis;
Et li vins di pieument i queurt par droit avis—
* * * * *
Il n'i vente, né gèle. Che liés est de samis,
De riches dras de soie, bien ouvrés à devis.
Et aveukes tout che que je chi vous devis,
I a .ij^{e}. puchelles qui moult ont cler les vis,
Carolans et tresquans, menans gales et ris.
Et si est li dieuesse, dame et suppellatis,
Qui doctrine les autres et en fais et en dis,
Celle est la fille au Roy c'on dist des *Haus-Assis*."[18] Pp. 319–320.

This Lady Ivorine, the Old Man's daughter, is described among other points as having— *124*

"Les iex vairs com faucons, nobles et agentis."[19] P. 320.

The King of the Mountain collects all the young male children of the country, and has them brought up for nine or ten years:

"Dedens un lieu oscur: là les met-on toudis
Aveukes males bestes; kiens, et cas, et soris,
Culoères, et lisaerdes, escorpions petis.
Là endroit ne peut nuls avoir joie, né ris." Pp. 320–321.

And after this dreary life they are shown the Paradise, and told that such shall be their portion if they do their Lord's behest.

"S'il disoit à son homme: 'Va-t-ent droit à Paris;
Si me fier d'un coutel le Roy de Saint Denis,
Jamais n'aresteroit, né par nuit né par dis,
S'aroit tué le Roy, voïant tous ches marchis;
Et déuist estre à fources traïnés et mal mis.'" P. 321.

Bauduin determines to see this Paradise and the lovely Ivorine. The road led by Baudas:

"Or avoit à che tamps, sé l'istoire ne ment,
En le chit de Baudas Kristiens jusqu'à cent;
Qui manonent illoec par tréu d'argent,
Que cascuns cristiens au Roy-Calife rent.
Li pères du Calife, qui régna longement,
Ama les Crestiens, et Dieu primièrement:
* * * * *
Et lor fist establir. j. monstier noble et gent,
Où Crestien faisoient faire lor sacrement.
Une mout noble pière lor donna proprement,
Où on avoit posé Mahon moult longement."[20] P. 322.

The story is, in fact, that which Marco relates of Samarkand.[21] The Caliph dies. His son hates the Christians. His people complain of the toleration of the Christians and their minister; but he says his father had pledged him not to interfere, and he dared not forswear himself. If, without doing so, he could do them an ill turn, he would gladly. The people then suggest their claim to the stone: 125

"Or leur donna vos pères, dont che fu mesprisons.
Ceste pierre, biaus Sire, Crestiens demandons:
Il ne le porront rendre, pour vrai le vous disons,
Si li monstiers n'est mis et par pièches et par mons;
Et s'il estoit desfais, jamais ne le larons
Refaire chi-endroit. Ensément averons
Faites et acomplies nostres ententions." P. 324.

The Caliph accordingly sends for Maistre Thumas, the Priest of the Christians, and tells him the stone must be given up:

"Il a .c. ans ut plus c'on i mist à solas
Mahon, le nostre Dieu: dont che n'est mie estas
Que li vous monstiers soit fais de nostre harnas!" P. 324.

Master Thomas, in great trouble, collects his flock, mounts the pulpit, and announces the calamity. Bauduin and his convert Polibans then arrive. Bauduin recommends confession, fasting, and prayer. They follow his advice, and on the third day the miracle occurs:

"L'escripture le dist, qui nous achertéfie
Que le pierre Mahon, qui ou mur fut fiquie,
Sali hors du piler, coi que nul vous en die,
Droit enmi le monstier, c'onques ne fut brisie.
Et demoura li traus, dont le pière ert widie,
Sans pière est sans quailliel, à cascune partie;
Chou deseure soustient, par divine maistrie,
Tout en air proprement, n'el tenés a falie.
Encore le voit-on en ichelle partie:
Qui croire ne m'en voelt, si voist; car je l'en prie!" P. 327.

The Caliph comes to see, and declares it to be the Devil's doing. Seeing Polibans, who is his cousin, he hails him, but Polibans draws back, avowing his Christian faith. The Caliph in a rage has him off to prison. Bauduin becomes very ill, and has to sell his horse and arms. His disease is so offensive that he is thrust out of his hostel, and in his wretchedness sitting on a stone he still avows his faith, and confesses that even then he has not received his deserts. He goes to beg in the

Christian quarter, and no one gives to him; but still his faith and love to God hold out: 126

> "Ensément Bauduins chelle rue cherqua,
> Tant qu'à .j. chavetier Bauduins s'arresta,
> Qui chavates cousoit; son pain en garigna:
> Jones fu et plaisans, apertement ouvra.
> Bauduins le regarde, c'onques mot ne parla." P. 334.

The cobler is charitable, gives him bread, shoes, and a grey coat that was a foot too short. He then asks Bauduin if he will not learn his trade; but that is too much for the knightly stomach:

> "Et Bauduins respont, li preus et li membrus:
> J'ameroie trop miex que je fuisse pendus!" P. 335.

The Caliph now in his Council expresses his vexation about the miracle, and says he does not know how to disprove the faith of the Christians. A very sage old Saracen who knew Hebrew, and Latin, and some thirty languages, makes a suggestion, which is, in fact, that about the moving of the Mountain, as related by Marco Polo.[22] Master Thomas is sent for again, and told that they must transport the high mountain of *Thir* to the valley of *Joaquin*, which lies to the westward. He goes away in new despair and causes his clerk to *sonner le clocke* for his people. Whilst they are weeping and wailing in the church, a voice is heard desiring them to seek a certain holy man who is at the good cobler's, and to do him honour. God at his prayer will do a miracle. They go in procession to Bauduin, who thinks they are mocking him. They treat him as a saint, and strive to touch his old coat. At last he consents to pray along with the whole congregation.

The Caliph is in his palace with his princes, taking his ease at a window. Suddenly he starts up exclaiming:

> "'Seignour, par Mahoumet que j'aoure et tieng chier,
> Le Mont de Thir enportent le déable d'enfeir!'
> Li Califes s'écrie: 'Seignour, franc palasin,
> Voïés le Mont de Thir qui ch'est mis au chemin!
> Vés-le-là tout en air, par mon Dieu Apolin;
> Jà bientost le verrons ens ou val Joaquin!'" P. 345.

The Caliph is converted, releases Polibans, and is baptised, taking the name of Bauduin, to whom he expresses his fear of the Viex de la Montagne with his *Hauts-Assis*, telling anew the story of the Assassin's Paradise, and so enlarges on the beauty of Ivorine that Bauduin is smitten, and his love heals his malady. Toleration is not learned however: 127

> "Bauduins, li Califes, fist baptisier sa gent,
> Et qui ne voilt Dieu crore, li teste on li pourfent!" P. 350.

The Caliph gives up his kingdom to Bauduin, proposing to follow him to the Wars of Syria. And Bauduin presents the Kingdom to the Cobler.

Bauduin, the Caliph, and Prince Polibans then proceed to visit the Mountain of the Old Man. The Caliph professes to him that they want help against Godfrey of Bouillon. The Viex says he does not give a *bouton* for Godfrey; he will send one of

his *Hauts-Assis* straight to his tent, and give him a great knife of steel between *fie et poumon!*

After dinner they go out and witness the feat of devotion which we have quoted elsewhere.[23] They then see the Paradise and the lovely Ivorine, with whose beauty Bauduin is struck dumb. The lady had never smiled before; now she declares that he for whom she had long waited was come. Bauduin exclaims:

> "'Madame, fu-jou chou qui sui le vous soubgis?'
> Quant la puchelle l'ot, lors li geta .j. ris;
> Et li dist: 'Bauduins, vous estes mes amis!'" Pp. 362–363.

The Old One is vexed, but speaks pleasantly to his daughter, who replies with frightfully bad language, and declares herself to be a Christian. The father calls out to the Caliph to kill her. The Caliph pulls out a big knife and gives him a blow that nearly cuts him in two. The amiable Ivorine says she will go with Bauduin:

> "'Sé mes pères est mors, n'en donne .j. paresis!'" P. 364.

We need not follow the story further, as I did not trace beyond this point any distinct derivation from our Traveller, with the exception of that allusion to the incombustible covering of the napkin of St. Veronica, which I have quoted at p. 216 of this volume. But including this, here are at least seven different themes borrowed from Marco Polo's book, on which to be sure his poetical contemporary plays the most extraordinary variations. *128*

[78 *bis*.—In the third volume of *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1894, the Rev. Walter W. Skeat gives (pp. 372 *seqq*.) an *Account of the Sources of the Canterbury Tales*. Regarding *The Squieres Tales*, he says that one of his sources was the Travels of Marco; Mr. Keighley in his *Tales and Popular Fictions*, published in 1834, at p. 76, distinctly derives Chaucer's Tale from the travels of Marco Polo. (*Skeat, l. c*., p. 463, note.) I cannot quote all the arguments given by the Rev. W. W. Skeat to support his theory, pp. 463–477.

Chaucer and Marco Polo.

Regarding the opinion of Professor Skeat of Chaucer's indebtedness to Marco Polo, cf. *Marco Polo and the Squire's Tale*, by Professor John Matthews Manly, vol. xi. of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1896, pp. 349–362. Mr. Manly says (p. 360): "It seems clear, upon reviewing the whole problem, that if Chaucer used Marco Polo's narrative, he either carelessly or intentionally confused all the features of the setting that could possibly be confused, and retained not a single really characteristic trait of any person, place or event. It is only by twisting everything that any part of Chaucer's story can be brought into relation with any part of Polo's. To do this might be allowable, if any rational explanation could be given for Chaucer's supposed treatment of his 'author,' or if there were any scarcity of sources from which Chaucer might have obtained as much information about Tartary as he seems really to have possessed; but such an explanation would be difficult to devise, and there is no such scarcity. Any one of half a dozen accessible accounts could be distorted into almost if not quite as great resemblance to the *Squire's Tale* as Marco Polo's can."

Mr. A. W. Pollard, in his edition of *The Squire's Tale* (Lond., 1899) writes: "A very able paper, by Prof. J. M. Manly, demonstrates the needlessness of Prof.

Skeat's theory, which has introduced fresh complications into an already complicated story. My own belief is that, though we may illustrate the Squire's Tale from these old accounts of Tartary, and especially from Marco Polo, because he has been so well edited by Colonel Yule, there is very little probability that Chaucer consulted any of them. It is much more likely that he found these details where he found more important parts of his story, *i.e.* in some lost romance. But if we must suppose that he provided his own local colour, we have no right to pin him down to using Marco Polo to the exclusion of other accessible authorities." Mr. Pollard adds in a note (p. xiii.): "There are some features in these narratives, *e.g.* the account of the gorgeous dresses worn at the Kaan's feast, which Chaucer with his love of colour could hardly have helped reproducing if he had known them."—H. C.] *129*

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[1] See *Ferrazzi, Manuele Dantesca*, Bassano, 1865, p. 729.

[2] In Quaritch's catalogue for Nov. 1870 there is only one old edition of Polo; there are *nine* of Maundevile. In 1839 there were nineteen MSS. of the latter author *catalogued* in the British Museum Library. There are *now* only six of Marco Polo. At least twenty-five editions of Maundevile and only five of Polo were printed in the 15th century.

[3] I have made personal enquiry at the National Libraries of Naples and Palermo, at the Communal Library in the latter city, and at the Benedictine Libraries of Monte Cassino, Monreale, S. Martino, and Catania.

In the 15th century, when Polo's book had become more generally diffused we find three copies of it in the Catalogue of the Library of Charles VI. of France, made at the Louvre in 1423, by order of the Duke of Bedford.

The estimates of value are curious. They are in *sols parisis*, which we shall not estimate very wrongly at a shilling each:—

"No. 295. *Item*. Marcus Paulus; *en ung cahier escript de lettre formée, en françois, à deux coulombes. Commt. ou ii^e. fo.* 'deux frères prescheurs,' *et ou derrenier* 'que sa arrières.' *X. s. p.*

* * *

"No. 334. *Item*. Marcus Paulus. *Couvert de drap d'or, bien escript & enluminé, de lettre de forme en françois, à deux coulombes. Commt. ou ii^e. fol.*; 'il fut Roys,' *& ou derrenier* 'propremen,' *à deux fermouers de laton. XV. s. p.*

* * *

"No. 336. *Item*. Marcus Paulus; *non enluminé, escript en françois, de lettre de forme. Commt. ou ii^e. fo.* 'vocata moult grant,' *& ou derrenier* 'ilec dist il.' *Couvert de cuir blanc, à deux fermouers de laton. XII. s. p.*"

(*Inventaire de la Bibliothèque du Roi Charles VI.*, etc. Paris, Société des Bibliophiles, 1867.)

[4] See *Del Reggimento e de' Costumi delle donne di Messer Francesco da Barberino*, Roma, 1815, pp. 166 and 271. The latter passage runs thus, on *Slavery*: —

"E fu indutta prima da Noé,
E fu cagion lo vin, perchè si egge:
Ch'egli è un paese, dove
Son molti servi in parte di Cathay:
Che per questa cagione
Hanno a nimico il vino,
E non ne beon, nè voglion vedere."

The author was born the year before Dante (1264), and though he lived to 1348 it is probable that the poems in question were written in his earlier years. *Cathay* was no doubt known by dim repute long before the final return of the Polos, both through the original journey of Nicolo and Maffeo, and by information gathered by the Missionary Friars. Indeed, in 1278 Pope Nicolas III., in consequence of information said to have come from Abaka Khan of Persia, that Kúblái was a baptised Christian, sent a party of Franciscans with a long letter to the Kaan *Quobley*, as he is termed. They never seem to have reached their destination. And in 1289 Nicolas IV. entrusted a similar mission to Friar John of Monte Corvino, which eventually led to very tangible results. Neither of the Papal letters, however, mentions *Cathay*. (See *Mosheim*, App. pp. 76 and 94.)

[5] See *Muratori*, IX. 583, *seqq*.; *Bianconi*, Mem. I. p. 37.

[6] This Friar makes a strange hotch-potch of what he had read, *e.g.*: "The Tartars, when they came out of the mountains, made them a king, viz., the son of Prester John, who is thus vulgarly termed *Vetulus de la Montagna!*" (*Mon. Hist. Patr.* Script. III. 1557.)

[7] G. Villani died in the great plague of 1348. But his book was begun soon after Marco's was written, for he states that it was the sight of the memorials of greatness which he witnessed at Rome, during the Jubilee of 1300, that put it into his head to write the history of the rising glories of Florence, and that he began the work after his return home. (Bk. VIII. ch. 36.)

[8] Book V. ch. 29.

[9] *Petri Aponensis Medici ac Philosophi Celeberrimi, Conciliator*, Venice, 1521, fol. 97. Peter was born in 1250 at Abano, near Padua, and was Professor of Medicine at the University in the latter city. He twice fell into the claws of the Unholy Office, and only escaped them by death in 1316.

[10] [It is curious that this figure is almost exactly that which among oriental carpets is called a "cloud." I have heard the term so applied by Vincent Robinson. It often appears in old Persian carpets, and also in Chinese designs. Mr. Purdon Clarke tells me it is called *nebula* in heraldry; it is also called in Chinese by a term signifying cloud; in Persian, by a term which he called *silen-i-khitai*, but of this I can make nothing.—*MS. Note by Yule*.]

[11] The great Magellanic cloud? In the account of Vincent Yanez Pinzon's Voyage to the S.W. in 1499 as given in Ramusio (III. 15) after Pietro Martire d'Anghieria, it is said:—"Taking the astrolabe in hand, and ascertaining the Antarctic Pole, they did not see any star like our Pole Star; but they related that they saw another manner of stars very different from ours, and which they could not clearly discern because of a certain dimness which diffused itself about those stars, and obstructed the view of them." Also the Kachh mariners told Lieutenant Leech that midway to Zanzibar there was a town (?) called Marethee, where the North Pole Star sinks below the horizon, and they steer by *a fixed cloud in the heavens*. (Bombay Govt. Selections, No. XV. N.S. p. 215.)

'Irák. Humboldt, in quoting this, calculates that in A.D. 1000 the Great Magellan would have been visible at Aden some degrees above the horizon. (*Examen*, V. 235.)

[12] This passage contains points that are omitted in Polo's book, besides the drawing implied to be from Marco's own hand! The island is of course Sumatra. The animal is perhaps the peculiar Sumatran wild-goat, figured by Marsden, the hair of which on the back is "coarse and strong, almost like bristles." (*Sumatra*, p. 115.)

[13] A splendid example of Abbot John's Collection is the *Livre des Merveilles* of the Great French Library (No. 18 in our *App. F.*). This contains Polo, Odoric, William of Boldensel, the Book of the Estate of the Great Kaan by the Archbishop of Soltania, Maundevile, Hayton, and Ricold of Montecroce, of which all but Polo and Maundevile are French versions by this excellent Long John. A list of the Polo miniatures is given in *App. F.* of this Edition, p. 527.

It is a question for which there is sufficient ground, whether the Persian Historians Rashiduddin and Wassáf, one or other or both, did not derive certain information that appears in their histories, from Marco Polo personally, he having spent many months in Persia, and at the Court of Tabriz, when either or both may have been there. Such passages as that about the Cotton-trees of Guzerat (vol. ii. p. 393, and note), those about the horse trade with Maabar (id. p. 340, and note), about the brother-kings of that country (id. p. 331), about the naked savages of Necuveram (id. p. 306), about the wild people of Sumatra calling themselves subjects of the Great Kaan (id. pp. 285, 292, 293, 299), have so strong a resemblance to parallel passages in one or both of the above historians, as given in the first and third volumes of Elliot, that the probability, at least, of the Persian writers having derived their information from Polo might be fairly maintained.

[14] *Li Romans de Bauduin de Sebourc III^e Roy de Jhérusalem*; Poëme du XIV^e Siècle; Valenciennes, 1841. 2 vols. 8vo. I was indebted to two references of M. Pauthier's for knowledge of the existence of this work. He cites the legends of the Mountain, and of the Stone of the Saracens from an abstract, but does not seem to have consulted the work itself, nor to have been aware of the extent of its borrowings from Marco Polo. M. Génin, from whose account Pauthier quotes, ascribes the poem to an early date after the death of Philip the Fair (1314). See *Pauthier*, pp. 57, 58, and 140.

[15] See Polo, vol. i. p. 204, and vol. ii. p. 191.

[16] See Polo, vol. i. p. 246.

[17] See Polo, vol. ii. p. 339.

[18] See Polo, vol. i. p. 140. *Hashishi* has got altered into *Haus Assis*.

[19] See vol. i. p. 358, note.

[20] See vol. i. p. 189, note 2.

[21] Vol. i. pp. 183–186.

[22] Vol. i. pp. 68*seqq*. The virtuous cobler is not left out, but is made to play second fiddle to the hero Bauduin.

[23] Vol. i. p. 144.

79. Marco Polo contributed such a vast amount of new facts to the knowledge of the Earth's surface, that one might have expected his book to have had a sudden effect upon the Science of Geography: but no such result occurred speedily, nor was its beneficial effect of any long duration.

Tardy operation, and causes thereof.

No doubt several causes contributed to the slowness of its action upon the notions of Cosmographers, of which the unreal character attributed to the Book, as a collection of romantic marvels rather than of geographical and historical facts, may have been one, as Santarem urges. But the essential causes were no doubt the imperfect nature of publication before the invention of the press; the traditional character which clogged geography as well as all other branches of knowledge in the Middle Ages; and the entire absence of scientific principle in what passed for geography, so that there was no organ competent to the assimilation of a large mass of new knowledge.

Of the action of the first cause no examples can be more striking than we find in the false conception of the Caspian as a gulf of the Ocean, entertained by Strabo, and the opposite error in regard to the Indian Sea held by Ptolemy, who regards it as an enclosed basin, when we contrast these with the correct ideas on both subjects possessed by Herodotus. The later Geographers no doubt knew his statements, but did not appreciate them, probably from not possessing the evidence on which they were based.

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80. As regards the second cause alleged, we may say that down nearly to the middle of the 15th century cosmographers, as a rule, made scarcely any attempt to reform their maps by any elaborate search for new matter, or by lights that might be collected from recent travellers. Their world was in its outline that handed down by the traditions of their craft, as sanctioned by some Father of the Church, such as Orosius or Isidore, as sprinkled with a combination of classical and mediæval legend; Solinus being the great authority for the former. Almost universally the earth's surface is represented as filling the greater part of a circular disk, rounded by the ocean; a fashion that already existed in the time of Aristotle and was ridiculed by him.[1] No dogma of false geography was more persistent or more pernicious than this. Jerusalem occupies the central point, because it was found written in the Prophet Ezekiel: "*Haec dicit Dominus Deus: Ista est Jerusalem*, in medio gentium *posui eam, et in circuitu ejus terras*;"[2] a declaration supposed to be corroborated by the Psalmist's expression, regarded as prophetic of the death of Our Lord: "*Deus autem, Rex noster, ante secula operatus est salutem* in medio Terrae" (Ps. lxxiii. 12).[3] The Terrestrial Paradise was represented as occupying the extreme East, because it was found in Genesis that the Lord planted a garden eastward in Eden.[4] *Gog and Magog* were set in the far north or north-east, because it was said again in Ezekiel: "*Ecce Ego super te Gog Principem capitis Mosoch et Thubal ... et ascendere te faciam de lateribus Aquilonis*," whilst probably the topography of those mysterious nationalities was completed by a girdle of mountains out of the Alexandrian Fables. The loose and scanty nomenclature was mainly borrowed from Pliny or Mela through such Fathers as we have named; whilst vacant spaces were occupied by Amazons, Arimaspians, and the realm of Prester John. A favourite representation of the inhabited earth was this

General characteristics of Mediæval Cosmography.

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 ; a great O enclosing a T, which thus divides the circle in three parts; the greater or half-circle being Asia, the two quarter circles Europe and Africa.[5] These Maps were known to St. Augustine.[6]

81. Even Ptolemy seems to have been almost unknown; and indeed had his Geography been studied it might, with all its errors, have tended to some greater endeavours after accuracy. Roger Bacon, whilst lamenting the exceeding deficiency of geographical knowledge in the Latin world, and purposing to essay an exacter distribution of countries, says he will not attempt to do so by latitude and longitude, for that is a system of which the Latins have learned nothing. He himself, whilst still somewhat burdened by the authoritative dicta of "saints and sages" of past times, ventures at least to criticise some of the latter, such as Pliny and Ptolemy, and declares his intention to have recourse to the information of those who have travelled most extensively over the Earth's surface. And judging from the good use he makes, in his description of the northern parts of the world, of the Travels of Rubruquis, whom he had known and questioned, besides diligently studying his narrative,[7] we might have expected much in Geography from this great man, had similar materials been available to him for other parts of the earth. He did attempt a map with mathematical determination of places, but it has not been preserved.[8]

Roger Bacon as a geographer.

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It may be said with general truth that the world-maps current up to the end of the 13th century had more analogy to the mythical cosmography of the Hindus than to any thing properly geographical. Both, no doubt, were originally based in the main on real features. In the Hindu cosmography these genuine features are symmetrised as in a kaleidoscope; in the European cartography they are squeezed together in a manner that one can only compare to a pig in brawn. Here and there some feature strangely compressed and distorted is just recognisable. A splendid example of this kind of map is that famous one at Hereford, executed about A.D. 1275, of which a facsimile has lately been published, accompanied by a highly meritorious illustrative Essay.[9]

82. Among the Arabs many able men, from the early days of Islám, took an interest in Geography, and devoted labour to geographical compilations, in which they often made use of their own observations, of the itineraries of travellers, and of other fresh knowledge. But somehow or other their maps were always far behind their books. Though they appear to have had an early translation of Ptolemy, and elaborate Tables of Latitudes and Longitudes form a prominent feature in many of their geographical treatises, there appears to be no Arabic map in existence, laid down with meridians and parallels; whilst *all* of their best known maps are on the old system of the circular disk. This apparent incapacity for map-making appears to have acted as a heavy drag and bar upon progress in Geography among the Arabs, notwithstanding its early promise among them, and in spite of the application to its furtherance of the great intellects of some (such as Abu Rihán al-Biruni), and of the indefatigable spirit of travel and omnivorous curiosity of others (such as Mas'udi).

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83. Some distinct trace of acquaintance with the Arabian Geography is to be found in the World-Map of Marino Sanudo the Elder, constructed between 1300 and 1320; and this may be regarded as an exceptionally favourable specimen of the cosmography in vogue, for the author was a diligent investigator and compiler, who evidently took a

Marino Sanudo the Elder.

considerable interest in geographical questions, and had a strong enjoyment and appreciation of a map.[10] Nor is the map in question without some result of these characteristics. His representation of Europe, Northern Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, Arabia and its two gulfs, is a fair approximation to general facts; his collected knowledge has enabled him to locate, with more or less of general truth, Georgia, the Iron Gates, Cathay, the Plain of Moghan, Euphrates and Tigris, Persia, Bagdad, Kais, Aden (though on the wrong side of the Red Sea), Abyssinia (*Habesh*), Zangibar (*Zinz*), Jidda (Zede), etc. But after all the traditional forms are too strong for him. Jerusalem is still the centre of the disk of the habitable earth, so that the distance is as great from Syria to Gades in the extreme West, as from Syria to the India Interior of Prester John which terminates the extreme East. And Africa beyond the Arabian Gulf is carried, according to the Arabian modification of Ptolemy's misconception, far to the eastward until it almost meets the prominent shores of India.

84. The first genuine mediæval attempt at a geographical construction that I know of, absolutely free from the traditional *idola*, is the Map of the known World from the Portulano Mediceo (in the Laurentian Library), of which an extract is engraved in the atlas of Baldelli-Boni's Polo. I need not describe it, however, because I cannot satisfy myself that it makes much use of Polo's contributions, and its facts have been embodied in a more ambitious work of the next generation, the celebrated Catalan Map of 1375 in the great Library of Paris. This also, but on a larger scale and in a more comprehensive manner, is an honest endeavour to represent the known world on the basis of collected facts, casting aside all theories pseudo-scientific or pseudo-theological; and a very remarkable work it is. In this map it seems to me Marco Polo's influence, I will not say on geography, but on map-making, is seen to the greatest advantage. His Book is the basis of the Map as regards Central and Further Asia, and partially as regards India. His names are often sadly perverted, and it is not always easy to understand the view that the compiler took of his itineraries. Still we have Cathay admirably placed in the true position of China, as a great Empire filling the south-east of Asia. The Eastern Peninsula of India is indeed absent altogether, but the Peninsula of Hither India is for the first time in the History of Geography represented with a fair approximation to its correct form and position,[11] and Sumatra also (*Jaua*) is not badly placed. Carajan, Vocian, Mien, and Bangala, are located with a happy conception of their relation to Cathay and to India. Many details in India foreign to Polo's book,[12] and some in Cathay (as well as in Turkestan and Siberia, which have been entirely derived from other sources) have been embodied in the Map. But the study of his Book has, I conceive, been essentially the basis of those great portions which I have specified, and the additional matter has not been in mass sufficient to perplex the compiler. Hence we really see in this Map something like the idea of Asia that the Traveller himself would have presented, had he bequeathed a Map to us.

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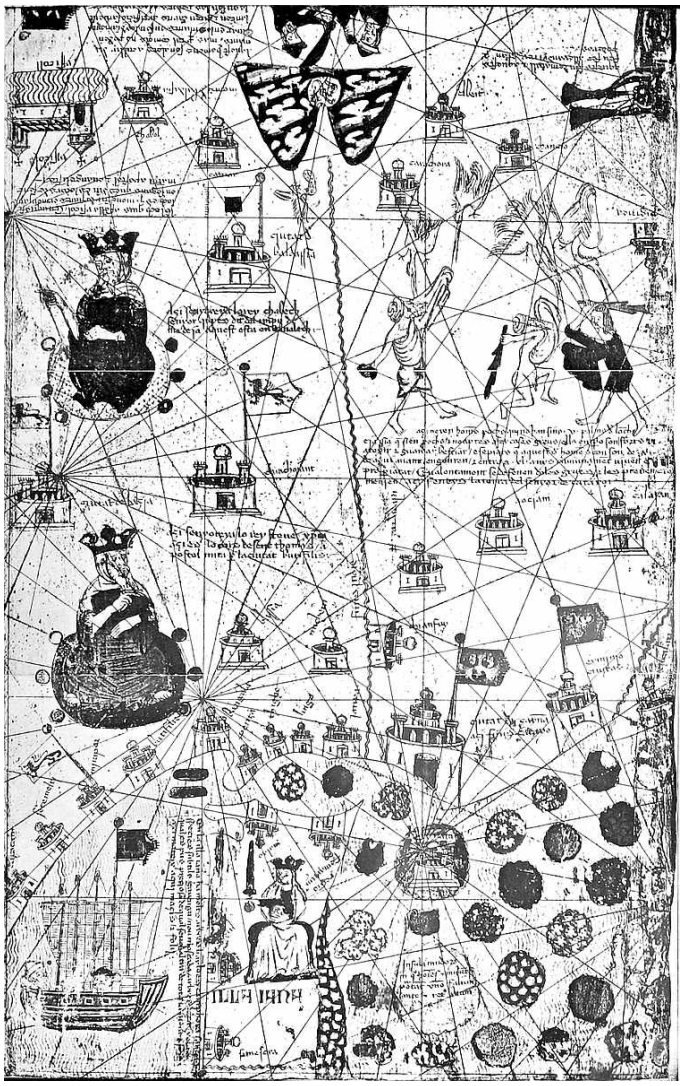
The Catalan Map of 1375, the most complete mediæval embodiment of Polo's Geography.



Part of the Catalan Map (1375).

[Some years ago, I made a special study of the Far East in the Catalan Map (*L'Extrême-Orient dans l'Atlas catalan de Charles V.*, Paris, 1895), and I have come to the conclusion that the cartographer's knowledge of Eastern Asia is drawn almost entirely from Marco Polo. We give a reproduction of part of the Catalan Map.—H. C.]

85. In the following age we find more frequent indications that Polo's book was diffused and read. And now that the spirit of discovery began to stir, it was apparently regarded in a juster light as a Book of Facts, and not as a mere *Romman du Grant Kaan*.[13] But in fact this age produced new supplies of crude information in greater abundance than the knowledge of geographers was prepared to digest or co-ordinate, and the consequence is that the magnificent Work of Fra Mauro (1459), though the result of immense labour in the collection of facts and the endeavour to combine them, really gives a considerably less accurate idea of Asia than that which the Catalan Map had afforded.[14]

Confusions in Cartography of the 16th century, from the endeavour to combine new and old information.

And when at a still later date the great burst of discovery eastward and westward took effect, the results of all attempts to combine the new knowledge with the old was most unhappy. The first and crudest forms of such combinations attempted to realise the ideas of Columbus regarding the identity of his discoveries with the regions of the Great Kaan's dominion;[15] but even after AMERICA had vindicated its independent position on the surface of the globe, and the new knowledge of the 136
Portuguese had introduced CHINA where the Catalan Map of the 14th century had presented CATHAY, the latter country, with the whole of Polo's nomenclature, was shoved away to the north, forming a separate system.[16] Henceforward the influence of Polo's work on maps was simply injurious; and when to his nomenclature was added a sprinkling of Ptolemy's, as was usual throughout the 16th century, the result was a most extraordinary hotch-potch, conveying no approximation to any consistent representation of facts.

Thus, in a map of 1522,[17] running the eye along the north of Europe and Asia from West to East, we find the following succession of names: Groenlandia, or Greenland, as a great peninsula overlapping that of Norvegia and Suecia; Livonia, Plescovia and Moscovia, Tartaria bounded on the South by *Scithia extra Imaum*, and on the East, by the Rivers *Ochardes* and *Bautisis* (out of Ptolemy), which are made to flow into the Arctic Sea. South of these are *Aureacithis* and *Asmirea* (Ptolemy's *Auxacitis* and *Asmiræa*), and *Serica Regio*. Then following the northern coast *Balor Regio*,[18] *Judei Clausi*, *i.e.* the Ten Tribes who are constantly associated or confounded with the Shut-up Nations of Gog and Magog. These impinge upon the River *Polisacus*, flowing into the Northern Ocean in Lat. 75°, but which is in fact no other than Polo's *Pulisanghin*![19] Immediately south of this is *Tholomon Provincia* (Polo's again), and on the coast *Tangut*, *Cathaya*, the Rivers *Caramoran* 137
and *Oman* (a misreading of Polo's *Quian*), *Quinsay* and *Mangi*.

86. The Maps of Mercator (1587) and Magini (1597) are similar in character, but more elaborate, introducing China as a separate system. Such indeed also is Blaeu's Map (1663) excepting that Ptolemy's contributions are reduced to one or two.

Gradual disappearance of Polo's nomenclature.

In Sanson's Map (1659) the data of Polo and the mediæval Travellers are more cautiously handled, but a new element of confusion is introduced in the form of numerous features derived from Edrisi.

It is scarcely worth while to follow the matter further. With the increase of knowledge of Northern Asia from the Russian side, and that of China from the Maps of Martini, followed by the surveys of the Jesuits, and with the real science brought to bear on Asiatic Geography by such men as De l'Isle and D'Anville, mere traditional nomenclature gradually disappeared. And the task which the study of Polo has provided for the geographers of later days has been chiefly that of determining the true localities that his book describes under obsolete or corrupted names.

[My late illustrious friend, Baron *A. E. Nordenskiöld*, who has devoted much time and labour to the study of Marco Polo (see his *Periplus*, Stockholm, 1897), and published a facsimile edition of one of the French MSS. kept in the Stockholm Royal Library (see vol. ii. *Bibliography*, p. 570), has given to *The Geographical Journal* for April, 1899, pp. 396–406, a paper on *The Influence of the "Travels of*

Marco Polo" on Jacobo Gastaldi's Maps of Asia. He writes (p. 398) that as far as he knows, none "of the many learned men who have devoted their attention to the discoveries of Marco Polo, have been able to refer to any maps in which all or almost all those places mentioned by Marco Polo are given. All friends of the history of geography will therefore be glad to hear that such an atlas from the middle of the sixteenth century really does exist, viz. Gastaldi's 'Prima, seconda e terza parte dell'Asia.'" All the names of places in Ramusio's Marco Polo are introduced in the maps of Asia of Jacobo Gastaldi (1561). Cf. *Periplus*, liv., lv., and lvi.

I may refer to what both Yule and myself say *supra* of the Catalan Map.—H. C.]

87. Before concluding, it may be desirable to say a few words on the subject of important knowledge other than geographical, which various persons have supposed that Marco Polo must have introduced from Eastern Asia to Europe. *138*

Alleged introduction of Block-printed Books into Europe by Marco Polo.

Respecting the mariner's compass and gunpowder I shall say nothing, as no one now, I believe, imagines Marco to have had anything to do with their introduction. But from a highly respectable source in recent years we have seen the introduction of Block-printing into Europe connected with the name of our Traveller. The circumstances are stated as follows:[20]

> "In the beginning of the 15th century a man named Pamphilo Castaldi, of Feltre ... was employed by the Seignory or Government of the Republic, to engross deeds and public edicts of various kinds ... the initial letters at the commencement of the writing being usually ornamented with red ink, or illuminated in gold and colours.
>
> "According to Sansovino, certain stamps or types had been invented some time previously by Pietro di Natali, Bishop of Aquilœa.[21] These were made at Murano of glass, and were used to stamp or print the outline of the large initial letters of public documents, which were afterwards filled up by hand.... Pamphilo Castaldi improved on these glass types, by having others made of wood or metal, and having seen several Chinese books which the famous traveller Marco Polo had brought from China, and of which the entire text was printed with wooden blocks, he caused moveable wooden types to be made, each type containing a single letter; and with these he printed several broadsides and single leaves, at Venice, in the year 1426. Some of these single sheets are said to be preserved among the archives at Feltre....
>
> "The tradition continues that John Faust, of Mayence ... became acquainted with Castaldi, and passed some time with him, at his *Scriptorium*, ... at Feltre;"

and in short developed from the knowledge so acquired the great invention of printing. Mr. Curzon goes on to say that Panfilo Castaldi was born in 1398, and died in 1490, and that he gives the story as he found it in an article written by Dr. Jacopo Facen, of Feltre, in a (Venetian?) newspaper called *Il Gondoliere*, No. 103, of 27th December, 1843. *139*

In a later paper Mr. Curzon thus recurs to the subject:[22]

> "Though none of the early block-books have dates affixed to them, many of them are with reason supposed to be more ancient than any books printed with moveable types. Their resemblance to Chinese block-books is so exact, that they would almost seem to be copied from the books commonly used in China. *The impressions are taken off on one*

> *side of the paper only, and in binding, both the Chinese, and ancient German, or Dutch block-books, the blank sides of the pages are placed opposite each other*, and sometimes pasted together.... The impressions are not taken off with printer's ink, but *with a brown paint or colour, of a much thinner description, more in the nature of Indian ink, as we call it, which is used in printing Chinese books*. Altogether the German and Oriental block-books are so precisely alike, in almost every respect, that ... we must suppose that the process of printing then must have been copied from ancient Chinese specimens, brought from that country by some early travellers, whose names have not been handed down to our times."

The writer then refers to the tradition about *Guttemberg* (so it is stated on this occasion, not Faust) having learned Castaldi's art, etc., mentioning a circumstance which he supposes to indicate that Guttemberg had relations with Venice; and appears to assent to the probability of the story of the art having been founded on specimens brought home by Marco Polo.

This story was in recent years diligently propagated in Northern Italy, and resulted in the erection at Feltre of a public statue of Panfilo Castaldi, bearing this inscription (besides others of like tenor):—

> "*To Panfilo Castaldi the illustrious Inventor of Movable Printing Types, Italy renders this Tribute of Honour, too long deferred*."

In the first edition of this book I devoted a special note to the exposure of the worthlessness of the evidence for this story.[23] This note was, with the present Essay, translated and published at Venice by Comm. Berchet, but this challenge to the supporters of the patriotic romance, so far as I have heard, brought none of them into the lists in its defence. *140*

But since Castaldi has got his statue from the printers of Lombardy, would it not be mere equity that the mariners of Spain should set up a statue at Huelva to the Pilot Alonzo Sanchez of that port, who, according to Spanish historians, after discovering the New World, died in the house of Columbus at Terceira, and left the crafty Genoese to appropriate his journals, and rob him of his fame?

Seriously; if anybody in Feltre cares for the real reputation of his native city, let him do his best to have that preposterous and discreditable fiction removed from the base of the statue. If Castaldi has deserved a statue on other and truer grounds let *him* stand; if not, let him be burnt into honest lime! I imagine that the original story that attracted Mr. Curzon was more *jeu d'esprit* than anything else; but that the author, finding what a stone he had set rolling, did not venture to retract.

88. Mr. Curzon's own observations, which I have italicised about the resemblance of the two systems are, however, very striking, and seem clearly to indicate the derivation of the art from China. But I should suppose that in the tradition, if there ever was any genuine tradition of the kind at Feltre (a circumstance worthy of all doubt), the name of Marco Polo was introduced merely because it was so prominent a name in Eastern Travel. The fact has been generally overlooked and forgotten[24] that, for many years in the course of the 14th century, not only were missionaries of the Roman Church and Houses of the Franciscan Order established in the chief cities of China, but a regular trade was carried on overland between Italy and China, by way of Tana (or Azov), Astracan,

Frequent opportunities for such introduction in the age following Polo's.

Otrar and Kamul, insomuch that instructions for the Italian merchant following that route form the two first chapters in the Mercantile Handbook of Balducci Pegolotti (*circa* 1340).[25] Many a traveller besides Marco Polo might therefore have brought home the block-books. And this is the less to be ascribed to him because he so curiously omits to speak of the art of printing, when his subject seems absolutely to challenge its description. 141

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[1] "They draw nowadays the map of the world in a laughable manner, for they draw the inhabited earth as a circle; but this is impossible, both from what we see and from reason." (*Meteorolog. Lib.* II. cap. 5.) Cf. *Herodotus*, iv. 36.

[2] In Dante's Cosmography, Jerusalem is the centre of our οἰκουμένη, whilst the Mount of Purgatory occupies the middle of the Antipodal hemisphere:—

"Come ciò sia, se' l vuoi poter pensare,
Dentro raccolto immagina Sion
Con questo monte in su la terra stare,
Sì, ch'ambodue hann'un solo orrizon
E diversi emisperi"....
—*Purg.* IV. 67.

[3] The belief, with this latter ground of it, is alluded to in curious verses by Jacopo Alighieri, Dante's son:—

"*E molti gran Profeti*
Filosofi e Poeti
Fanno il colco dell'Emme
Dov'è Gerusalemme;
Se le loro scritture
Hanno vere figure:
E per la Santa fede
Cristiana ancor si vede
Che' l' suo principio Cristo
Nel suo mezzo *conquisto*
Per cui prese morte
E vi pose la sorte."
—(*Rime Antiche Toscane*, III. 9.)

Though the general meaning of the second couplet is obvious, the expression *il colco dell'Emme*, "the couch of the M," is puzzling. The best solution that occurs to me is this: In looking at the world map of Marino Sanudo, noticed on p. *133*, as engraved by Bongars in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, you find geometrical lines laid down, connecting the N.E., N.W., S.E., and S.W. points, and thus forming a square inscribed in the circular disk of the Earth, with its diagonals passing through the Central Zion. The eye easily discerns in these a great M inscribed in the circle, with its middle angular point at Jerusalem. Gervasius of Tilbury (with some confusion in his mind between tropic and equinoxial, like that which Pliny makes in speaking of the Indian Mons Malleus) says that "some are of opinion that the Centre is in the place where the Lord spoke to the woman of Samaria at the well, for there, at the summer solstice, the noonday sun descends perpendicularly into the water of the well, casting no shadow; a thing which the philosophers say occurs at Syene"! (*Otia Imperialia*, by Liebrecht, p. 1.)

[4] This circumstance does not, however, show in the Vulgate.

[5] "Veggiamo in prima in general la terra
Come risiede e come il mar la serra.

Un T dentro ad un O mostra il disegno
Come in tre parti fu diviso il Mondo,
E la superiore è il maggior regno
Che quasi piglia la metà del tondo.

ASIA chiamata: il gambo ritto è segno
Che parte il terzo nome dal secondo
AFFRICA dico da EUROPA: il mare
Mediterran tra esse in mezzo appare."
—*La Sfera*, di F. Leonardo di Stagio Dati, Lib. iii. st. 11.

[6] *De Civ. Dei*, xvi. 17, quoted by *Peschel*, 92.

[7] *Opus Majus*, Venice ed. pp. 142, *seqq*.

[8] *Peschel*, p. 195. This had escaped me.

[9] By the Rev. W. L. Bevan, M.A., and the Rev. H. W. Phillott, M.A. In Asia, they point out, the only name showing any recognition of modern knowledge is Samarcand.

[10] His work, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, intended to stimulate a new Crusade, has three capital maps, besides that of the World, one of which, translated, but otherwise in facsimile, is given at p. 18 of this volume. But besides these maps, he gives, in a tabular form of parallel columns, the reigning sovereigns in Europe and Asia connected with his historical retrospect, just on the plan presented in Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology of History.

[11] I do not see that al-Birúni deserves the credit in this respect assigned to him by Professor Peschel, so far as one can judge from the data given by Sprenger (*Peschel*, p. 128; *Post und Reise-Routen*, 81–82.)

[12] For example, *Delli*, which Polo does not name; *Diogil* (Deogír); on the Coromandel coast *Setemelti*, which I take to be a clerical error for *Sette-Templi*, the Seven Pagodas; round the Gulf of Cambay we have *Cambetum* (Kambayat), *Cocintaya* (Kokan-Tana, see vol. ii. p. 396), *Goga, Baroche, Neruala* (Anharwala), and to the north *Moltan*. Below Multan are *Hocibelch* and *Bargelidoa*, two puzzles. The former is, I think, *Uch-baligh*, showing that part of the information was from Perso-Mongol sources.

[13] I see it stated by competent authority that *Romman* is often applied to any prose composition in a Romance language.

In or about 1426, Prince Pedro of Portugal, the elder brother of the illustrious Prince Henry, being on a visit to Venice, was presented by the Signory with a copy of Marco Polo's book, together with a map already alluded to. (*Major's P. Henry*, pp. 61, 62.)

[14] This is partly due also to Fra Mauro's reversion to the fancy of the circular disk limiting the inhabited portion of the earth.

[15] An early graphic instance of this is Ruysch's famous map (1508). The following extract of a work printed as late as 1533 is an example of the like confusion in verbal description: "The Territories which are beyond the limits of Ptolemy's Tables have not yet been described on certain authority. Behind the Sinae and the Seres, and beyond 180° of East Longitude, many countries were discovered by one [*quendam*] Marco Polo a Venetian and others, and the sea-coasts of those countries have now recently again been explored by Columbus the Genoese and Amerigo Vespucci in navigating the Western Ocean.... To this part (of Asia) belong the

territory called that of the *Bachalaos* [or Codfish, Newfoundland], *Florida*, *the Desert of Lop*, *Tangut*, *Cathay*, the realm of *Mexico* (wherein is the vast city of *Temistitan*, built in the middle of a great lake, but which the older travellers styled QUINSAY), besides *Paria*, *Uraba*, and the countries of the *Canibals*." (*Joannis Schoneri Carolostadtii Opusculum Geogr.*, quoted by Humboldt, *Examen*, V. 171, 172.)

[16] In Robert Parke's Dedication of his Translation of Mendoza's, London, 1st of January, 1589, he identifies China and Japan with the regions of which *Paulus Venetus* and *Sir John Mandeuill* "wrote long agoe."—*MS. Note by Yule*.

[17] "*Totius Europae et Asiae Tabula Geographica, Auctore Thoma D. Aucuparo. Edita Argentorati*, MDXXII." Copied in Witsen.

[18] This strange association of *Balor* (*i.e.*, Bolor, that name of so many odd vicissitudes, see pp. 178–179*infra*) with the shut-up Israelites must be traced to a passage which Athanasius Kircher quotes from *R. Abraham Pizol* (qu. Peritsol?): "*Regnum*, inquit, Belor *magnum et excelsum nimis, juxta omnes illos qui scripserunt Historicos*. Sunt in eo Judaei *plurimi inclusi, et illud in latere Orientali et Boreali*," etc. (*China Illustrata*, p. 49.)

[19] Vol. ii. p. 1.

[20] *A short Account of Libraries of Italy*, by the Hon. R. Curzon (the late Lord de la Zouche); in *Bibliog. and Hist. Miscellanies; Philobiblon Society*, vol. i, 1854, pp. 6. *seqq*.

[21] P. del Natali was Bishop of Equilio, a city of the Venetian Lagoons, in the latter part of the 14th century. (See *Ughelli, Italia Sacra*, X. 87.) There is no ground whatever for connecting him with these inventions. The story of the glass types appears to rest entirely and solely on one obscure passage of Sansovino, who says that under the Doge Marco Corner (1365–1367): "*certe Natale Veneto lasciò un libro della materie delle forme da giustar intorno alle lettere, ed il modo di formarle di vetro*." There is absolutely nothing more. Some kind of stencilling seems indicated.

[22] *History of Printing in China and Europe*, in *Philobiblon*, vol. vi. p. 23.

[23] See *Appendix L.* in First Edition.

[24] Ramusio himself appears to have been entirely unconscious of it, *vide supra*, p. 3.

[25] This subject has been fully treated in *Cathay and the Way Thither*.

XIV. EXPLANATIONS REGARDING THE BASIS ADOPTED FOR THE PRESENT TRANSLATION.

89. It remains to say a few words regarding the basis adopted for our English version of the Traveller's record.

Ramusio's recension was that which Marsden selected for translation. But at the date of his most meritorious publication nothing was known of the real literary history of Polo's Book, and no one was aware of the peculiar value and originality of the French manuscript texts, nor had Marsden seen any of them. A translation from one of those texts is a translation at first hand; a translation from Ramusio's Italian

Text followed by Marsden and by Pauthier.

is, as far as I can judge, the translation of a translated compilation from two or more translations, and therefore, whatever be the merits of its matter, inevitably carries us far away from the spirit and style of the original narrator. M. Pauthier, I think, did well in adopting for the text of his edition the MSS. which I have classed as of the second Type, the more as there had hitherto been no publication from those texts. But editing a text in the original language, and translating, are tasks substantially different in their demands.

90. It will be clear from what has been said in the preceding pages that I should not regard as a fair or full representation of Polo's Work, a version on which the Geographic Text did not exercise a material influence. But to adopt that Text, with all its awkwardnesses and tautologies, as the absolute subject of translation, would have been a mistake. What I have done has been, in the first instance, to translate from Pauthier's Text. The process of abridgment in this text, however it came about, has been on the whole judiciously executed, getting rid of the intolerable prolixities of manner which belong to many parts of the Original Dictation, but *as a general rule* preserving the matter. Having translated this,—not always from the Text adopted by Pauthier himself, but with the exercise of my own judgment on the various readings which that Editor lays before us,—I then compared the translation with the Geographic Text, and transferred from the latter not only all items of real substance that had been omitted, but also all expressions of special interest and character, and occasionally a greater fulness of phraseology where condensation in Pauthier's text seemed to have been carried too far. And finally I introduced *between brackets* everything peculiar to Ramusio's version that seemed to me to have a just claim to be reckoned authentic, and that could be so introduced without harshness or mutilation. Many passages from the same source which were of interest in themselves, but failed to meet one or other of these conditions, have been given in the notes.[1]

Eclectic formation of the English Text of this Translation.

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91. As regards the reading of proper names and foreign words, in which there is so much variation in the different MSS. and editions, I have done my best to select what seemed to be the true reading from the G. T. and Pauthier's three MSS., only in some rare instances transgressing this limit.

Mode of rendering proper names.

Where the MSS. in the repetition of a name afforded a choice of forms, I have selected that which came nearest the real name when known. Thus the G. T. affords *Baldasciain, Badascian, Badasciam, Badausiam, Balasian*. I adopt BADASCIAN, or in English spelling BADASHAN, because it is closest to the real name *Badakhshan*. Another place appears as COBINAN, *Cabanat, Cobian*. I adopt the first because it is the truest expression of the real name *Koh-benán*. In chapters 23, 24 of Book I., we have in the G. T. *Asisim, Asciscin, Asescin*, and in Pauthier's MSS. *Hasisins, Harsisins*, etc. I adopt ASCISCIN, or in English spelling ASHISHIN, for the same reason as before. So with *Creman, Crerman, Crermain*, QUERMAN, Anglicè KERMAN; Cormos, HORMOS, and many more.[2]

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In two or three cases I have adopted a reading which I cannot show *literatim* in any authority, but because such a form appears to be the just resultant from the variety of readings which are presented; as in surveying one takes the mean of a number of observations when no one can claim an absolute preference.

Polo's proper names, even in the French Texts, are *in the main* formed on an Italian fashion of spelling.[3] I see no object in preserving such spelling in an English book, so after selecting the best reading of the name I express it in English spelling, printing *Badashan, Pashai, Kerman*, instead of *Badascian, Pasciai, Querman*, and so on.

And when a little trouble has been taken to ascertain the true form and force of Polo's spelling of Oriental names and technical expressions, it will be found that they are in the main as accurate as Italian lips and orthography will admit, and not justly liable either to those disparaging epithets[4] or to those exegetical distortions which have been too often applied to them. Thus, for example, *Cocacin, Ghel* or *Ghelan, Tonocain, Cobinan, Ondanique, Barguerlac, Argon, Sensin, Quescican, Toscaol, Bularguci, Zardandan, Anin, Caugigu, Coloman, Gauenispola, Mutfili, Avarian, Choiach*, are not, it will be seen, the ignorant blunderings which the interpretations affixed by some commentators would imply them to be, but are, on the contrary, all but perfectly accurate utterances of the names and words intended.

The *-tchéou* (of French writers), *-choo*, *-chow*, or *-chau*[5] of English writers, which so frequently forms the terminal part in the names of Chinese cities, is almost invariably rendered by Polo as *-giu*. This has frequently in the MSS., and constantly in the printed editions, been converted into *-gui*, and thence into *-guy*. This is on the whole the most constant canon of Polo's geographical orthography, and holds in *Caagiu* (Ho-chau), *Singiu* (Sining-chau), *Cui-giu* (Kwei-chau), *Sin-giu* (T'sining-chau), *Pi-giu* (Pei-chau), *Coigangiu* (Hwaingan-chau), *Si-giu* (Si-chau), *Ti-giu* (Tai-chau), *Tin-giu* (Tung-chau), *Yan-giu* (Yang-chau), *Sin-giu* (Chin-chau), *Cai-giu* (Kwa-chau), *Chinghi-giu* (Chang-chau), *Su-giu* (Su-chau), *Vu-giu* (Wu-chau), and perhaps a few more. In one or two instances only (as *Sinda-ciu*, *Caiciu*) he has *-ciu* instead of *-giu*.

The chapter-headings I have generally taken from Pauthier's Text, but they are no essential part of the original work, and they have been slightly modified or enlarged where it seemed desirable.

"Behold! I see the Haven nigh at Hand,
To which I meane my wearie Course to bend;
Vere the maine Shete, and beare up with the Land,
The which afore is fayrly to be kend,
And seemeth safe from Storms that may offend.
* * * * *
There eke my Feeble Barke a while may stay,
Till mery Wynd and Weather call her thence away."
—THE FAERIE QUEENE, I. xii. 1.

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[1] This "eclectic formation of the English text," as I have called it for brevity in the marginal rubric, has been disapproved by Mr. de Khanikoff, a critic worthy of high respect. But I must repeat that the duties of a translator, and of the Editor of an original text, at least where the various recensions bear so peculiar a relation to each other as in this case, are essentially different; and that, on reconsidering the matter after an interval of four or five years, the plan which I have adopted, whatever be the faults of execution, still commends itself to me as the only appropriate one.

Let Mr. de Khanikoff consider what course he would adopt if he were about to publish Marco Polo in Russian. I feel certain that with whatever theory he might set out, before his task should be concluded he would have arrived practically at the same system that I have adopted.

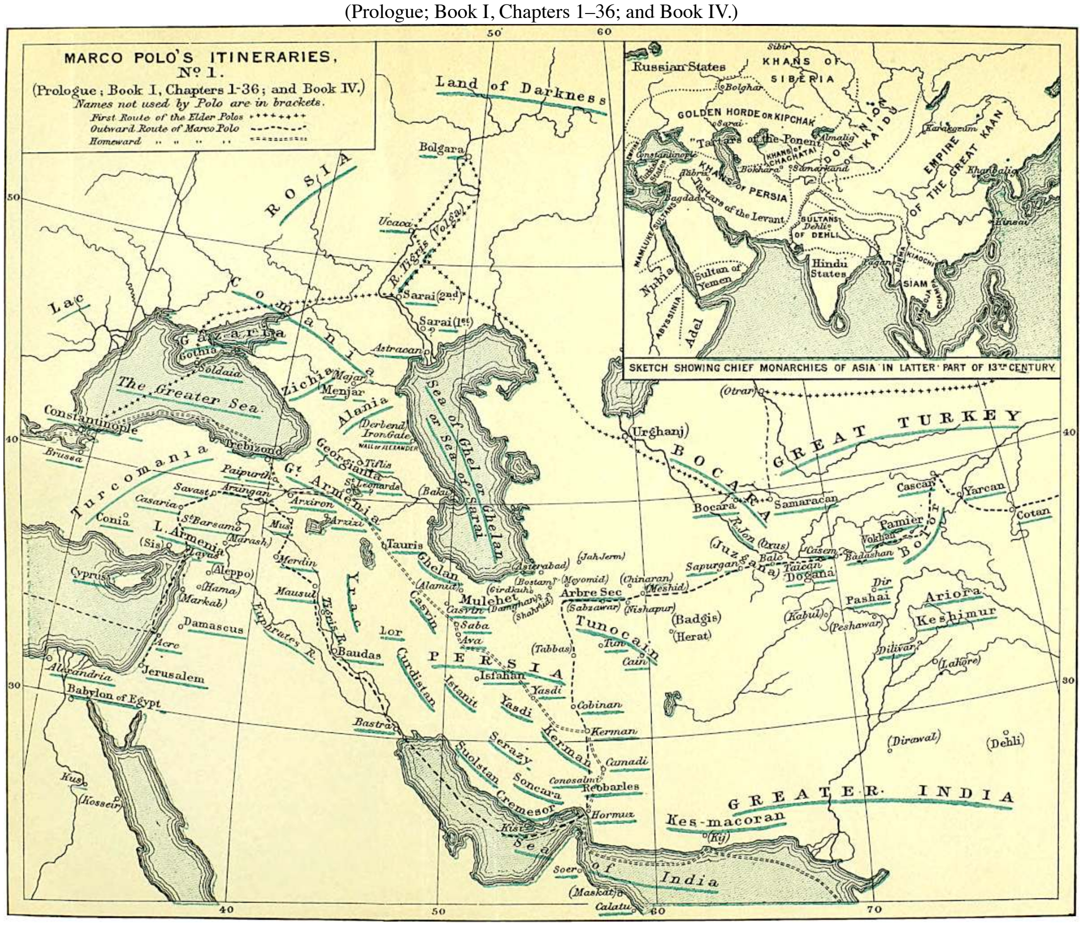
[2] In Polo's diction C frequently represents H., *e.g.*, *Cormos* = Hormuz; *Camadi* probably = Hamadi; *Caagiu* probably = Hochau; *Cacianfu* = Hochangfu, and so on. This is perhaps attributable to Rusticiano's Tuscan ear. A true Pisan will absolutely contort his features in the intensity of his efforts to aspirate sufficiently the letter C. Filippo Villani, speaking of the famous Aguto (Sir J. Hawkwood), says his name in English was *Kauchouvole*. (*Murat. Script.* xiv. 746.)

[3] In the Venetian dialect *ch* and *j* are often sounded as in English, not as in Italian. Some traces of such pronunciation I think there are, as in *Coja, Carajan*, and in the Chinese name *Vanchu* (occurring only in Ramusio, *supra*, p. 99). But the scribe of the original work being a Tuscan, the spelling is in the main Tuscan. The sound of the *Qu* is, however, French, as in *Quescican, Quinsai*, except perhaps in the case of *Quenianfu*, for a reason given in vol. ii. p. 29.

[4] For example, that enthusiastic student of mediæval Geography, Joachim Lelewel, speaks of Polo's "gibberish" (*le baragouinage du Venitien*) with special reference to such names as *Zayton* and *Kinsay*, whilst we now know that these names were in universal use by all foreigners in China, and no more deserve to be called gibberish than *Bocca-Tigris*, *Leghorn*, *Ratisbon*, or *Buda*.

[5] I am quite sensible of the diffidence with which any outsider should touch any question of Chinese language or orthography. A Chinese scholar and missionary (Mr. Moule) objects to my spelling *chau*, whilst he, I see, uses *chow*. I imagine we mean the same sound, according to the spelling which I try to use throughout the book. Dr. C. Douglas, another missionary scholar, writes *chau*.

MARCO POLO'S ITINERARIES, N^o. I.
(Prologue; Book I, Chapters 1–36; and Book IV.)



SKETCH SHOWING CHIEF MONARCHIES OF ASIA IN LATTER PART OF 13^th CENTURY

THE
BOOK OF MARCO POLO.

PROLOGUE.

GREAT PRINCES, Emperors, and Kings, Dukes and Marquises, Counts, Knights, and Burgesses! and People of all degrees who desire to get knowledge of the various races of mankind and of the diversities of the sundry regions of the World, take this Book and cause it to be read to you. For ye shall find therein all kinds of wonderful things, and the divers histories of the Great Hermenia, and of Persia, and of the Land of the Tartars, and of India, and of many another country of which our Book doth speak, particularly and in regular succession, according to the description of Messer Marco Polo, a wise and noble citizen of Venice, as he saw them with his own eyes. Some things indeed there be therein which he beheld not; but these he heard from men of credit and veracity. And we shall set down things seen as seen, and things heard as heard only, so that no jot of falsehood may mar the truth of our Book, and that all who shall read it or hear it read may put full faith in the truth of all its contents.

For let me tell you that since our Lord God did mould with his hands our first Father Adam, even until this day, never hath there been Christian, or Pagan, or Tartar, or Indian, or any man of any nation, who in his own person hath had so much knowledge and experience of the divers parts of the World and its Wonders as hath had this Messer Marco! And for that reason he bethought himself that it would be a very great pity did he not cause to be put in writing all the great marvels that he had seen, or on sure information heard of, so that other people who had not these advantages might, by his Book, get such knowledge. And I may tell you that in acquiring this knowledge he spent in those various parts of the World good six-and-twenty years. Now, being thereafter an inmate of the Prison at Genoa, he caused Messer Rusticiano of Pisa, who was in the said Prison likewise, to reduce the whole to writing; and this befell in the year 1298 from the birth of Jesus.

CHAPTER I.

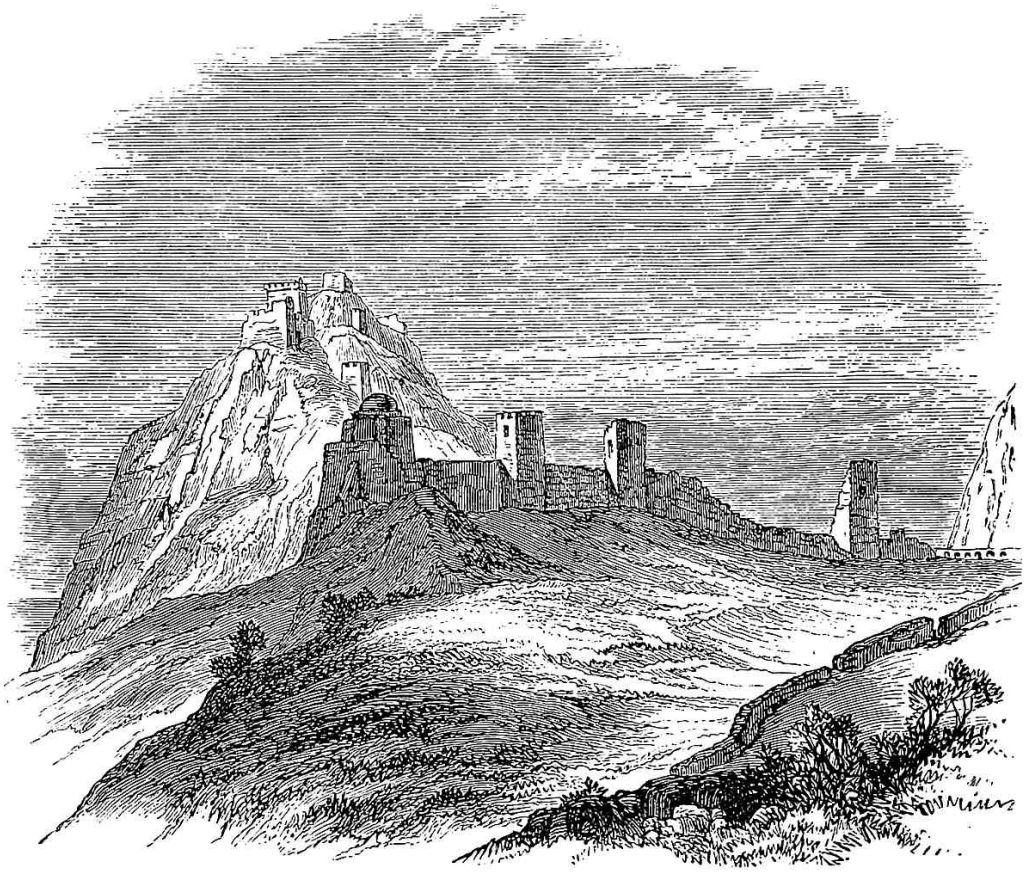
HOW THE TWO BROTHERS POLO SET FORTH FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO TRAVERSE THE WORLD.

It came to pass in the year of Christ 1260, when Baldwin was reigning at Constantinople,[{1}] that Messer Nicolas Polo, the father of my lord Mark, and Messer Maffeo Polo, the brother of Messer Nicolas, were at the said city of Constantinople, whither they had gone from Venice with their merchants' wares. Now these two Brethren, men singularly noble, wise, and provident, took counsel together to cross the Greater Sea on a venture of trade; so they laid in a store of jewels and set forth from Constantinople, crossing the Sea to Soldaia.[{2}]

3

Note 1.—Baldwin II. (de Courtenay), the last Latin Emperor of Constantinople, reigned from 1237 to 1261, when he was expelled by Michael Palaeologus.

The date in the text is, as we see, that of the Brothers' voyage across the Black Sea. It stands 1250 in all the chief texts. But the figure is certainly wrong. We shall see that, when the Brothers return to Venice in 1269, they find Mark, who, according to Ramusio's version, was *born after their departure*, a lad of fifteen. Hence, if we rely on Ramusio, they must have left Venice about 1253–54. And we shall see also that they reached the Volga in 1261. Hence their start from Constantinople may well have occurred in 1260, and this I have adopted as the most probable correction. Where they spent the interval between 1254 (if they really left Venice so early) and 1260, nowhere appears. But as their brother, Mark the Elder, in his Will styles himself "*whilom of Constantinople*," their headquarters were probably there.



Castle of Soldaia or Sudak.

"In the GRETE SEE,
At many a noble Armee hadde he be."

The term Black Sea (*Mare Maurum* v. *Nigrum*) was, however, in use, and Abulfeda says it was general in his day. That name has been alleged to appear as early as the 10th century, in the form Σκοτεινή, "The Dark Sea"; but an examination of the passage cited, from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, shows that it refers rather to the Baltic, whilst that author elsewhere calls the Euxine simply Pontus. (*Reinaud's Abulf*. I. 38, *Const. Porph. De Adm. Imp*. c. 31, c. 42.)

✛ *Sodaya, Soldaia*, or *Soldachia*, called by Orientals *Súdák*, stands on the S.E. coast of the Crimea, west of Kaffa. It had belonged to the Greek Empire, and had a considerable Greek population. After the Frank conquest of 1204 it apparently fell to Trebizond. It was taken by the Mongols in 1223 for the first time, and a second time in 1239, and during that century was the great port of intercourse with what is now Russia. At an uncertain date, but about the middle of the century, the Venetians established a factory there, which in 1287 became the seat of a consul. In 1323 we find Pope John XXII. complaining to Uzbek Khan of Sarai that the Christians had been ejected from Soldaia and their churches turned into mosques. Ibn Batuta, who alludes to this strife, counts Sudak as one of the four great ports of the World. The Genoese got Soldaia in 1365 and built strong defences, still to be seen. Kaffa, with a good anchorage, in the 14th century, and later on Tana, took the place of Soldaia as chief emporium in South Russia. Some of the Arab Geographers call the Sea of Azov the Sea of Sudak. 4

The Elder Marco Polo in his Will (1280) bequeaths to the Franciscan Friars of the place a house of his in *Soldachia*, reserving life occupation to his own son and daughter, then residing in it. Probably this establishment already existed when the two Brothers went thither. (*Elie de Laprimaudaie*, passim; *Gold. Horde*, 87; *Mosheim*, App. 148; *Ibn Bat*. I. 28, II. 414; *Cathay*, 231–33; *Heyd*, II. passim.)

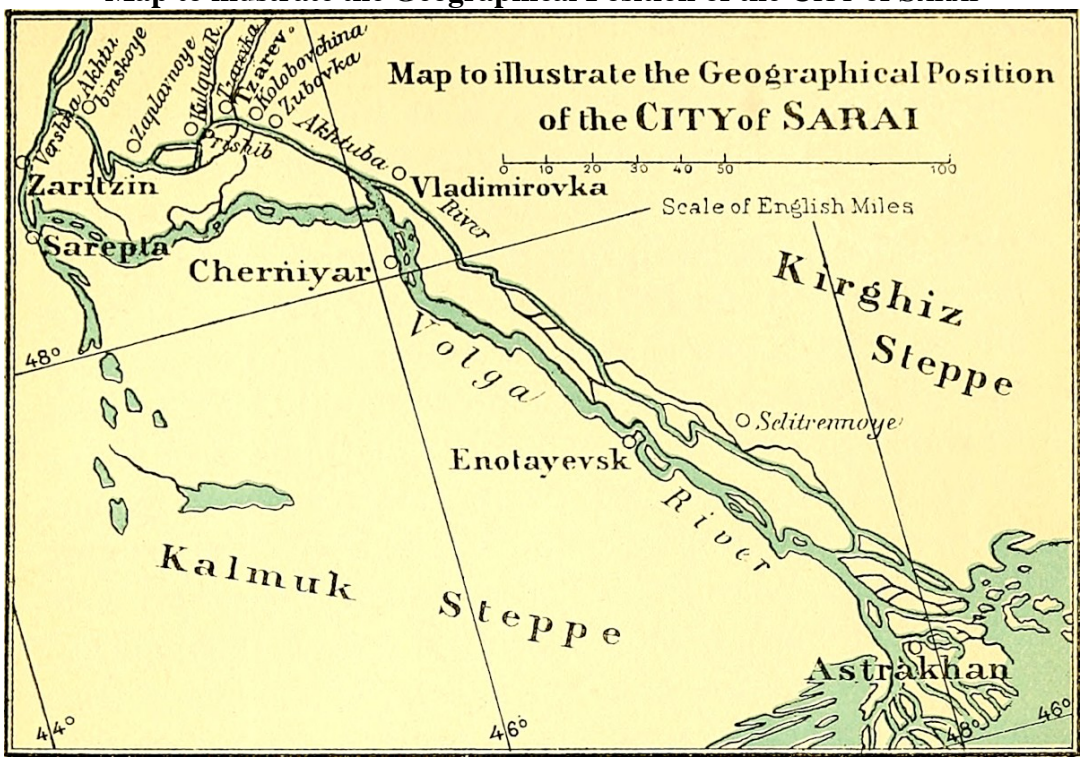
CHAPTER II.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS WENT ON BEYOND SOLDAIA.

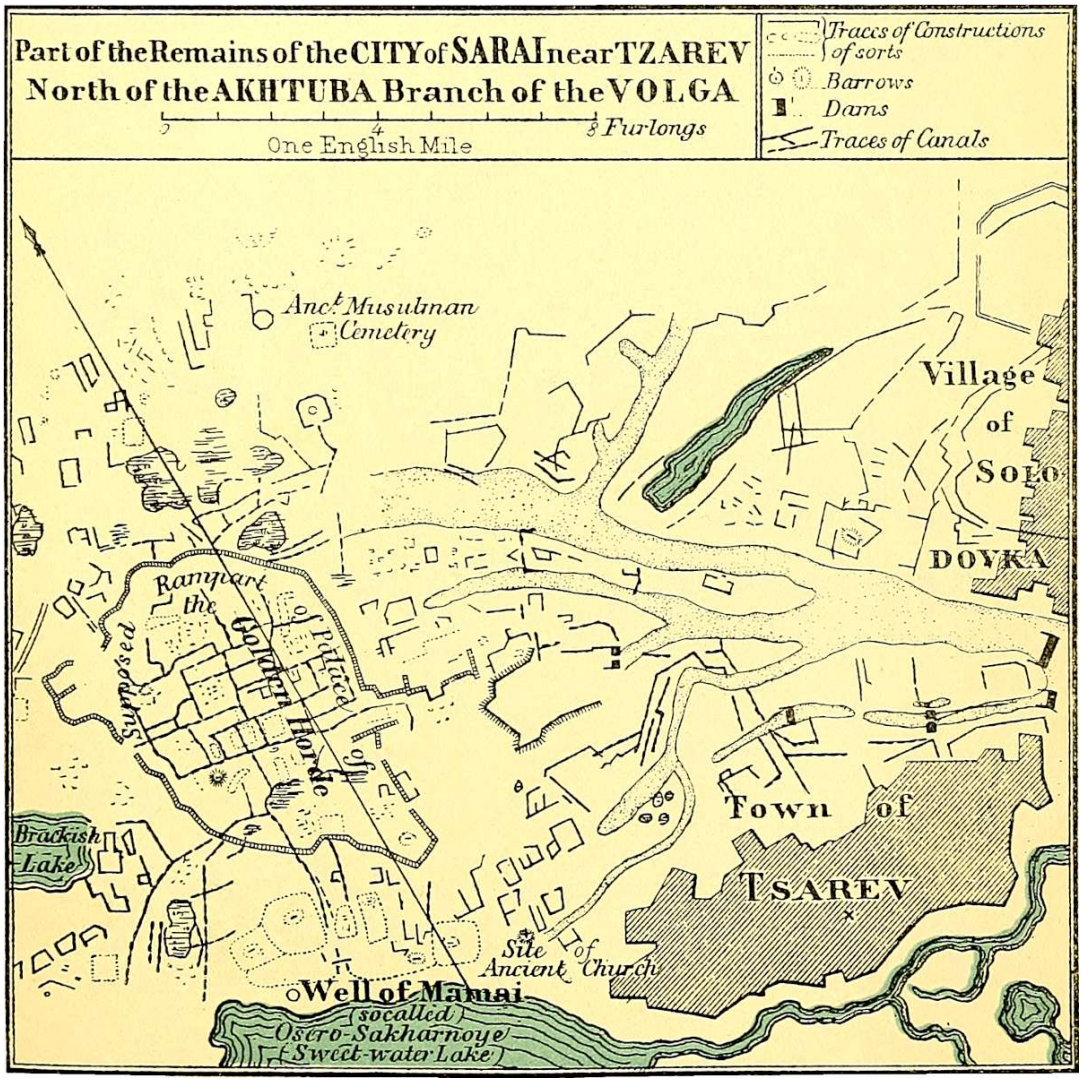
HAVING stayed a while at Soldaia, they considered the matter, and thought it well to extend their journey further. So they set forth from Soldaia and travelled till they came to the Court of a certain Tartar Prince, BARCA KAAN by name, whose residences were at SARA[{1}] and at BOLGARA [and who was esteemed one of the most liberal and courteous Princes that ever was among the Tartars.][{2}] This Barca was delighted at the arrival of the Two Brothers, and treated them with great honour; so they presented to him the whole of the jewels that they had brought with them. The Prince was highly pleased with these, and accepted the offering most graciously, causing the Brothers to receive at least twice its value.

After they had spent a twelvemonth at the court of this Prince there broke out a great war between Barca and Aláu, the Lord of the Tartars of the Levant, and great hosts were mustered on either side.[{3}] 5

Map to illustrate the Geographical Position of the CITY of SARAI



Part of the Remains of the CITY of SARAI near TZAREV North of the AKHTUBA Branch of the VOLGA



Lit. Frauenfelder, Palermo

But in the end Barca, the Lord of the Tartars of the Ponent, was defeated, though on both sides there was great slaughter. And by reason of this war no one could travel without peril of being taken; thus it was at least on the road by which the Brothers had come, though there was no obstacle to their travelling forward. So the Brothers, finding they could not retrace their steps, determined to go forward. Quitting Bolgara, therefore, they proceeded to a city called UCACA, which was at the extremity of the kingdom of the Lord of the Ponent;{4} and thence departing again, and passing the great River Tigris, they travelled across a Desert which extended for seventeen days' journey, and wherein they found neither town nor village, falling in only with the tents of Tartars occupied with their cattle at pasture. {5}

NOTE 1.—✢ Barka Khan, third son of Jújí, the first-born of Chinghiz, ruled the *Ulús* of Juji and Empire of Kipchak (Southern Russia) from 1257 to 1265. He was the first

Musulman sovereign of his race. His chief residence was at SARAI (Sara of the text), a city founded by his brother and predecessor Bátú, on the banks of the Akhtuba branch of the Volga. In the next century Ibn Batuta describes Sarai as a very handsome and populous city, so large that it made half a day's journey to ride through it. The inhabitants were Mongols, Aás (or Alans), Kipchaks, Circassians, Russians, and Greeks, besides the foreign Moslem merchants, who had a walled quarter. Another Mahomedan traveller of the same century says the city itself was not walled, but, "The Khan's Palace was a great edifice surmounted by a golden crescent weighing two *kantars* of Egypt, and encompassed by a wall flanked with towers," etc. Pope John XXII., on the 26th February 1322, defined the limits of the new Bishopric of Kaffa, which were Sarai to the east and Varna to the west.

Sarai became the seat of both a Latin and a Russian metropolitan, and of more than one Franciscan convent. It was destroyed by Timur on his second invasion of Kipchak (1395–6), and extinguished by the Russians a century later. It is the scene of Chaucer's half-told tale of Cambuscan:—

> "At *Sarra*, in the Londe of Tartarie,
> There dwelt a King that werriëd Russie."

["*Mesalek-al-absar* (285, 287), says Sarai, meaning 'the Palace,' was founded by Bereké, brother of Batu. It stood in a salty plain, and was without walls, though the palace had walls flanked by towers. The town was large, had markets, *madrasas*—and baths. It is usually identified with Selitrennoyé Gorodok, about 70 miles above Astrakhan." (*Rockhill, Rubruck*, p. 260, note.)—H. C.]

Several sites exhibiting extensive ruins near the banks of the Akhtuba have been identified with Sarai; two in particular. One of these is not far from the great elbow of the Volga at Tzaritzyn: the other much lower down, at Selitrennoyé Gorodok or Saltpetre-Town, not far above Astrakhan. 6

The upper site exhibits by far the most extensive traces of former population, and is declared unhesitatingly to be the sole site of Sarai by M. Gregorieff, who carried on excavations among the remains for four years, though with what precise results I have not been able to learn. The most dense part of the remains, consisting of mounds and earth-works, traces of walls, buildings, cisterns, dams, and innumerable canals, extends for about 7½ miles in the vicinity of the town of Tzarev, but a tract of 66 miles in length and 300 miles in circuit, commencing from near the head of the Akhtuba, presents remains of like character, though of less density, marking the ground occupied by the villages which encircled the capital. About 2½ miles to the N.W. of Tzarev a vast mass of such remains, surrounded by the traces of a brick rampart, points out the presumable position of the Imperial Palace.

M. Gregorieff appears to admit no alternative. Yet it seems certain that the indications of Abulfeda, Pegolotti, and others, with regard to the position of the capital in the early part of the 14th century, are not consistent with a site so far from the Caspian. Moreover, F. H. Müller states that the site near Tzarev is known to the Tartars as the "Sarai of Janibek Khan" (1341–1357). Now it is worthy of note that in the coinage of Janibek we repeatedly find as the place of mintage, *New Sarai*. Arabsháh in his History of Timur states that 63 years had elapsed from the foundation to the destruction of Sarai. But it must have been at least 140 years since the foundation of Batu's city. Is it not possible, therefore, that both the sites which we have mentioned were successively occupied by the Mongol capital; that the original Sarai of Batu was at Selitrennoyé Gorodok, and that the *New Sarai* of Janibek was established by him, or by his father Uzbeg in his latter days, on the upper Akhtuba? Pegolotti having carried his merchant from Tana (Azov) to

Saracanco for Saraichik, on the Yaik. But it was possibly the Upper or New Sarai on the Akhtuba. Ibn Batuta, marching on the frozen river, reached Sarai in three days from Astrakhan. This could not have been at Tzarev, 200 miles off.

In corroboration (*quantum valeat*) of my suggestion that there must have been two Sarais near the Volga, Professor Bruun of Odessa points to the fact that Fra Mauro's map presents *two* cities of Sarai on the Akhtuba; only the Sarai of Janibeg is with him no longer *New* Sarai, but *Great* Sarai.

The use of the latter name suggests the possibility that in the *Saracanco* of Pegolotti the latter half of the name may be the Mongol *Kúnḳ* "Great." (See *Pavet de Courteille*, p. 439.)

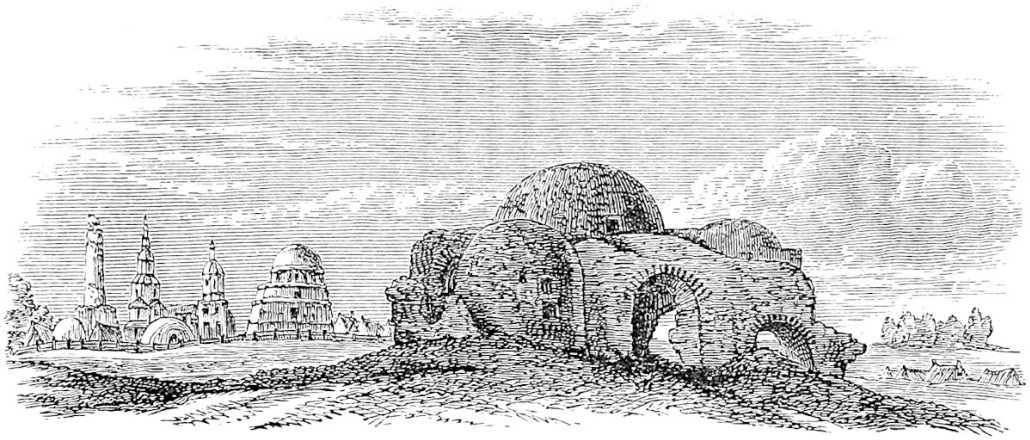
Professor Bruun also draws attention to the impossibility of Ibn Batuta's travelling from Astrakhan to Tzarev in three days, an argument which had already occurred to me and been inserted above.

[The Empire of Kipchak founded after the Mongol Conquest of 1224, included also parts of Siberia and Khwarizm; it survived nominally until 1502.—H. C.]

(*Four Years of Archæological Researches among the Ruins of Sarai* [in Russian] by M. Gregorieff [who appears to have also published a pamphlet specially on the site, but this has not been available]; *Historisch-geographische Darstellung des Stromsystems der Wolga, von Ferd. Heinr. Müller*, Berlin, 1839, 568–577; *Ibn. Bat.* II. 447; *Not. et Extraits*, XIII. i. 286; *Pallas, Voyages; Cathay*, 231, etc.; *Erdmann, Numi Asiatici*, pp. 362 *seqq.*; *Arabs*. I. p. 381.)

NOTE 2.—BOLGHAR, our author's Bolgara, was the capital of the region sometimes called Great Bulgaria, by Abulfeda *Inner Bulgaria*, and stood a few miles from the left bank of the Volga, in latitude about 54° 54′, and 90 miles below Kazan. The old Arab writers regarded it as nearly the limit of the habitable world, and told wonders of the cold, the brief summer nights, and the fossil ivory that was found in its vicinity. This was exported, and with peltry, wax, honey, hazel-nuts, and Russia leather, formed the staple articles of trade. The last item derived from Bolghar the name which it still bears all over Asia. (See Bk. II. ch. xvi., and Note.) Bolghar seems to have been the northern limit of Arab travel, and was visited by the curious (by Ibn Batuta among others) in order to witness the phenomena of the short summer night, as tourists now visit Hammerfest to witness its entire absence. 7

Russian chroniclers speak of an earlier capital of the Bulgarian kingdom, Brakhimof, near the mouth of the Kama, destroyed by Andrew, Grand Duke of Rostof and Susdal, about 1160; and this may have been the city referred to in the earlier Arabic accounts. The fullest of these is by Ibn Fozlán, who accompanied an embassy from the Court of Baghdad to Bolghar, in A.D. 921. The King and people had about this time been converted to Islam, having previously, as it would seem, professed Christianity. Nevertheless, a Mahomedan writer of the 14th century says the people had then long renounced Islam for the worship of the Cross. (*Not. et Extr.* XIII. i. 270.)



Ruins of Bolghar.

Bolghar was first captured by the Mongols in 1225. It seems to have perished early in the 15th century, after which Kazan practically took its place. Its position is still marked by a village called Bolgari, where ruins of Mahomedan character remain, and where coins and inscriptions have been found. Coins of the Kings of Bolghar, struck in the 10th century, have been described by Fraehn, as well as coins of the Mongol period struck at Bolghar. Its latest known coin is of A.H. 818 (A.D. 1415–16). A history of Bolghar was written in the first half of the 12th century by Yakub Ibn Noman, Kadhi of the city, but this is not known to be extant.

Fraehn shows ground for believing the people to have been a mixture of Fins, Slavs, and Turks. Nicephorus Gregoras supposes that they took their name from the great river on which they dwelt (Βούλγα).

["The ruins [of Bolghar]," says Bretschneider, in his *Mediæval Researches*, published in 1888, vol. ii. p. 82, "still exist, and have been the subject of learned investigation by several Russian scholars. These remains are found on the spot where now the village *Uspenskoye*, called also *Bolgarskoye* (Bolgari), stands, in the district of Spask, province of Kazan. This village is about 4 English miles distant from the Volga, east of it, and 83 miles from Kazan." Part of the Bulgars removed to the Balkans; others remained in their native country on the shores of the Azov Sea, and were subjugated by the Khazars. At the beginning of the 9th century, they marched northwards to the Volga and the Kama, and established the kingdom of Great Bulgaria. Their chief city, Bolghar, was on the bank of the Volga, but the river runs now to the west; as the Kama also underwent a change in its course, it is possible that formerly Bolghar was built at the junction of the two rivers. (Cf. *Reclus, Europe russe*, p. 761.) The Bulgars were converted to Islam in 922. Their 8
country was first invaded by the Mongols under Subutai in 1223; this General conquered it in 1236, the capital was destroyed the following year, and the country annexed to the kingdom of Kipchak. Bolghar was again destroyed in 1391 by Tamerlan. In 1438, Ulugh Mohammed, cousin of Toka Timur, younger son of Juji, transformed this country into the khanate of Kazan, which survived till 1552. It had probably been the capital of the Golden Horde before Sarai.

With reference to the early Christianity of the Bulgarians, to which Yule refers in his note, the *Laurentian Chronicle* (A.D. 1229), quoted by Shpilevsky, adduces evidence to show that in the Great City, *i.e. Bulgar*, there were Russian Christians and a Christian cemetery, and the death of a Bulgarian Christian martyr is related in the same chronicle as well as in the Nikon, Tver, and Tatischef annals in which his name is given. (Cf. Shpilevsky, *Anc. towns and other Bulgaro-Tartar monuments*, Kazan, 1877, p. 158 seq.; *Rockhill's Rubruck*, Hakl. Soc. p. 121, note.)—H. C.]

The severe and lasting winter is spoken of by Ibn Fozlán and other old writers in terms that seem to point to a modern mitigation of climate. It is remarkable, too, that Ibn Fozlán speaks of the aurora as of very frequent occurrence, which is not now the case in that latitude. We may suspect this frequency to have been connected with the greater cold indicated, and perhaps with a different position of the magnetic pole. Ibn Fozlán's account of the aurora is very striking:—"Shortly before sunset the horizon became all very ruddy, and at the same time I heard sounds in the upper air, with a dull rustling. I looked up and beheld sweeping over me a fire-red cloud, from which these sounds issued, and in it movements, as it were, of men and horses; the men grasping bows, lances, and swords. This I saw, or thought I saw. Then there appeared a white cloud of like aspect; in it also I beheld armed horsemen, and these rushed against the former as one squadron of horse charges another. We were so terrified at this that we turned with humble prayer to the Almighty, whereupon the natives about us wondered and broke into loud laughter. We, however, continued to gaze, seeing how one cloud charged the other, remained confused with it a while, and then sundered again. These movements lasted deep into the night, and then all vanished."

(*Fraehn, Ueber die Wolga Bulgaren*, Petersb. 1832; *Gold. Horde*, 8, 9, 423–424; *Not. et Extr.* II. 541; *Ibn Bat*. II. 398; *Büschings Mag*. V. 492; *Erdmann, Numi Asiat*. I. 315–318, 333–334, 520–535; *Niceph. Gregoras*, II. 2, 2.)

NOTE 3.—ALAU is Polo's representation of the name of Hulákú, brother of the Great Kaans Mangu and Kublai and founder of the Mongol dynasty in Persia. In the Mongol pronunciation guttural and palatal consonants are apt to be elided, hence this spelling. The same name is written by Pope Alexander IV., in addressing the Khan, *Olao*, by Pachymeres and Gregoras Χαλαὺ and Χαλαοῦ, by Hayton *Haolon*, by Ibn Batuta *Huláún*, as well as in a letter of Hulaku's own, as given by Makrizi.

The war in question is related in Rashíduddín's history, and by Polo himself towards the end of the work. It began in the summer of 1262, and ended about eight months later. Hence the Polos must have reached Barka's Court in 1261.

Marco always applies to the Mongol Khans of Persia the title of "Lords of the East" (*Levant*), and to the Khans of Kipchak that of "Lords of the West" (*Ponent*). We use the term *Levant* still with a similar specific application, and in another form *Anatolia*. I think it best to preserve the terms *Levant* and *Ponent* when used in this way.

[Robert Parke in his translation out of Spanish of Mendoza, *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China* ... London, printed by I. Wolfe for Edward White, 1588, uses the word *Ponent*: "You shall understande that this mightie kingdome is the Orientalest part of all Asia, and his next neighbour towards the *Ponent* is the kingdome of *Quachinchina* ... (p. 2)."—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—UCACA or UKEK was a town on the right bank of the Volga, nearly equidistant between Sarai and Bolghar, and about six miles south of the modern Saratov, where a village called *Uwek* still exists. Ukek is not mentioned before the Mongol domination, and is supposed to have been of Mongol foundation, as the name Ukek is said in Mongol to signify a dam of hurdles. The city is mentioned by Abulfeda as marking the extremity of "the empire of the Barka Tartars," and Ibn Batuta speaks of it as "one day distant from the hills of the Russians." Polo therefore means that it was the frontier of the Ponent towards Russia. Ukek was the site of a Franciscan convent in the 14th century; it is mentioned several times in the campaigns of Timur, and was destroyed by his army. It is not mentioned under the form Ukek after this, but appears as *Uwek* and *Uwesh* in Russian documents of the 16th century. Perhaps this was always the Slavonic form, for it already is written *Uguech* (= Uwek) in Wadding's 14th century catalogue of

Oueak, and the latitude as 51° 30′ (some 7′ too much). In his time (1579) there were the remains of a "very faire stone castle" and city, with old tombs exhibiting sculptures and inscriptions. All these have long vanished. Burrough was told by the Russians that the town "was swallowed into the earth by the justice of God, for the wickednesse of the people that inhabited the same." Lepechin in 1769 found nothing remaining but part of an earthen rampart and some underground vaults of larger bricks, which the people dug out for use. He speaks of coins and other relics as frequent, and the like have been found more recently. Coins with Mongol-Arab inscriptions, struck at Ukek by Tuktugai Khan in 1306, have been described by Fraehn and Erdmann.

(*Fraehn, Ueber die ehemalige Mong. Stadt Ukek*, etc., Petersb. 1835; *Gold. Horde*; *Ibn Bat.* II. 414; *Abulfeda, in Büsching*, V. 365; *Ann. Minorum*, sub anno 1400; *Pétis de la Croix*, II. 355, 383, 388; *Hakluyt*, ed. 1809, I. 375 and 472; *Lepechin, Tagebuch der Reise*, etc., I. 235–237; *Rockhill, Rubruck*, 120–121, note 2.)

NOTE 5.—The great River Tigeri or Tigris is the Volga, as Pauthier rightly shows. It receives the same name from the Monk Pascal of Vittoria in 1338. (*Cathay*, p. 234.) Perhaps this arose out of some legend that the Tigris was a reappearance of the same river. The ecclesiastical historian, Nicephorus Callistus, appears to imply that the Tigris coming from Paradise flows under the Caspian to emerge in Kurdistan. (See IX. 19.)

The "17 days" applies to one stretch of desert. The whole journey from Ukek Bokhara would take some 60 days at least. Ibn Batuta is 58 days from Sarai to Bokhara, and of the last section he says, "we entered the desert which extends between Khwarizm and Bokhara, and *which has an extent of 18 days' journey*." (III. 19.)

CHAPTER III.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS, AFTER CROSSING A DESERT, CAME TO THE CITY OF BOCARA, AND FELL IN WITH CERTAIN ENVOYS THERE.

AFTER they had passed the desert, they arrived at a very great and noble city called BOCARA, the territory of which belonged to a king whose name was Barac, and is also called Bocara. The city is the best in all Persia.{1} And when they had got thither, they found they could neither proceed further forward nor yet turn back again; wherefore they abode in that city of Bocara for three years. And whilst they were sojourning in that city, there came from Alau, Lord of the Levant, Envoys on their way to the Court of the Great Kaan, the Lord of all the Tartars in the world. And when the Envoys beheld the Two Brothers they were amazed, for they had never before seen Latins in that part of the world. And they said to the Brothers: "Gentlemen, if ye will take our counsel, ye will find great honour and profit shall come thereof." So they replied that they would be right glad to learn how. "In truth," said the Envoys, "the Great Kaan hath never seen any Latins, and he hath a great desire so to do. Wherefore, if ye will keep us company to his Court, ye may depend upon it that he will be right glad to see you, and will treat you with great honour and liberality; whilst in our company ye shall travel with perfect security, and need fear to be molested by nobody."{2}

12

NOTE 1.—Hayton also calls Bokhara a city of Persia, and I see Vámbéry says that, up till the conquest by Chinghiz, Bokhara, Samarkand, Balkh, etc., were considered to belong to Persia. (*Travels*, p. 377.) The first Mongolian governor of Bokhara was Buka Bosha.

King Barac is Borrak Khan, great-grandson of Chagatai, and sovereign of the Ulús of Chagatai, from 1264 to 1270. The Polos, no doubt, reached Bokhara before 1264, but Borrak must have been sovereign some time before they left it.

NOTE 2.—The language of the envoys seems rather to imply that they were the Great Kaan's own people returning from the Court of Hulaku. And Rashid mentions that Sartak, the Kaan's ambassador to Hulaku, returned from Persia in the year that the latter prince died. It may have been his party that the Venetians joined, for the year almost certainly was the same, viz. 1265. If so, another of the party was Bayan, afterwards the greatest of Kublai's captains, and much celebrated in the sequel of this book. (See *Erdmann's Temudschin*, p. 214.)

Marsden justly notes that Marco habitually speaks of *Latins*, never of *Franks*. Yet I suspect his own mental expression was *Farangi*.

11

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS TOOK THE ENVOYS' COUNSEL, AND WENT TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAN.

SO when the Two Brothers had made their arrangements, they set out on their travels, in company with the Envoys, and journeyed for a whole year, going northward and north-eastward, before they reached the Court of that Prince. And on their journey they saw many marvels of divers and sundry kinds, but of these we shall say nothing at present, because Messer Mark, who has likewise seen them all, will give you a full account of them in the Book which follows.

CHAPTER V.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS ARRIVED AT THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAN.

WHEN the Two Brothers got to the Great Kaan, he received them with great honour and hospitality, and showed much pleasure at their visit, asking them a great number of questions. First, he asked about the emperors, how they maintained their dignity, and administered justice in their dominions; and how they went forth to battle, and so forth. And then he asked the like questions about the kings and princes and other potentates.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Great Kaan asked all about the manners of the Christians, and particularly about the Pope of Rome.

And then he inquired about the Pope and the Church, and about all that is done at Rome, and all the customs of the Latins. And the Two Brothers told him the truth in all its particulars, with order and good sense, like sensible men as they were; and this they were able to do as they knew the Tartar language well.{1}

Note 1.—The word generally used for Pope in the original is *Apostoille* (*Apostolicus*), the usual French expression of that age.

It is remarkable that for the most part the text edited by Pauthier has the correcter Oriental form *Tatar*, instead of the usual *Tartar*. *Tattar* is the word used by Yvo of Narbonne, in the curious letter given by Matthew Paris under 1243.

We are often told that *Tartar* is a vulgar European error. It is in any case a very old one; nor does it seem to be of European origin, but rather Armenian;[1] though the suggestion of Tartarus may have given it readier currency in Europe. Russian writers, or rather writers who have been in Russia, sometimes try to force on us a specific limitation of the word *Tartar* to a certain class of Oriental Turkish race, to whom the Russians appropriate the name. But there is no just ground for this. *Tátár* is used by Oriental writers of Polo's age exactly as Tartar was then, and is still, used in Western Europe, as a generic title for the Turanian hosts who followed Chinghiz and his successors. But I believe the name in this sense was unknown to Western Asia before the time of Chinghiz. And General Cunningham must overlook this when he connects the *Ṭáṭaríya* coins, mentioned by Arab geographers of the 9th century, with "the Scythic or Tátár princes who ruled in Kabul" in the beginning of our era. Tartars on the Indian frontier in those centuries are surely to be classed with the Frenchmen whom Brennus led to Rome, or the Scotchmen who fought against Agricola.

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[1] See *J. As.* sér. V. tom. xi. p. 203.

CHAPTER VII.

13

How the Great Kaan sent the Two Brothers as his Envoys to the Pope.

When that Prince, whose name was Cublay Kaan, Lord of the Tartars all over the earth, and of all the kingdoms and provinces and territories of that vast quarter of the world, had heard all that the Brothers had to tell him about the ways of the Latins, he was greatly pleased, and he took it into his head that he would send them on an Embassy to the Pope. So he urgently desired them to undertake this mission along with one of his Barons; and they replied that they would gladly execute all

ready, for it was proposed to send him to the Pope along with the Two Brothers. The Baron replied that he would execute the Lord's commands to the best of his ability.

After this the Prince caused letters from himself to the Pope to be indited in the Tartar tongue,{1} and committed them to the Two Brothers and to that Baron of his own, and charged them with what he wished them to say to the Pope. Now the contents of the letter were to this purport: He begged that the Pope would send as many as an hundred persons of our Christian faith; intelligent men, acquainted with the Seven Arts,{2} well qualified to enter into controversy, and able clearly to prove by force of argument to idolaters and other kinds of folk, that the Law of Christ was best, and that all other religions were false and naught; and that if they would prove this, he and all under him would become Christians and the Church's liegemen. 14 Finally he charged his Envoys to bring back to him some Oil of the Lamp which burns on the Sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem.{3}

NOTE 1.—✛ The appearance of the Great Kaan's letter may be illustrated by two letters on so-called Corean paper preserved in the French archives; one from Arghún Khan of Persia (1289), brought by Buscarel, and the other from his son Oljaitu (May, 1305), to Philip the Fair. These are both in the Mongol language, and according to Abel Rémusat and other authorities, in the Uighúr character, the parent of the present Mongol writing. Facsimiles of the letters are given in Rémusat's paper on intercourse with Mongol Princes, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* vols. vii. and viii., reproductions in J. B. Chabot's *Hist. de Mar Jabalaha III.*, Paris, 1895, and preferably in Prince Roland Bonaparte's beautiful *Documents Mongols*, Pl. XIV., and we give samples of the two in vol. ii.[1]

NOTE 2.—"The Seven Arts," from a date reaching back nearly to classical times, and down through the Middle Ages, expressed the whole circle of a liberal education, and it is to these Seven Arts that the degrees in arts were understood to apply. They were divided into the *Trivium* of Rhetoric, Logic, and Grammar, and the *Quadrivium* of Arithmetic, Astronomy, Music, and Geometry. The 38th epistle of Seneca was in many MSS. (according to Lipsius) entitled "*L. Annaei Senecae Liber de Septem Artibus liberalibus*." I do not find, however, that Seneca there mentions categorically more than five, viz., Grammar, Geometry, Music, Astronomy, and Arithmetic. In the 5th century we find the Seven Arts to form the successive subjects of the last seven books of the work of Martianus Capella, much used in the schools during the early Middle Ages. The Seven Arts will be found enumerated in the verses of Tzetzes (*Chil. XI.* 525), and allusions to them in the mediæval romances are endless. Thus, in one of the "Gestes d'Alexandre," a chapter is headed "*Comment Aristotle aprent à Alixandre les Sept Arts*." In the tale of the Seven Wise Masters, Diocletian selects that number of tutors for his son, each to instruct him in one of the Seven Arts. In the romance of *Erec and Eneide* we have a dress on which the fairies had portrayed the Seven Arts (*Franc. Michel, Recherches*, etc. II. 82); in the *Roman de Mahommet* the young impostor is master of all the seven. There is one mediæval poem called the *Marriage of the Seven Arts*, and another called the *Battle of the Seven Arts*. (See also Dante, *Convito*, Trat. II. c. 14; *Not. et Ex.* V., 491 *seqq.*)

NOTE 3.—The Chinghizide Princes were eminently liberal—or indifferent—in religion; and even after they became Mahomedan, which, however, the Eastern branch never did, they were rarely and only by brief fits persecutors. Hence there was scarcely one of the non-Mahomedan Khans of whose conversion to Christianity there were not stories spread. The first rumours of Chinghiz in the West were as of a Christian conqueror; tales may be found of the Christianity of Chagatai, Hulaku, Abaka, Arghun,

Baidu, Ghazan, Sartak, Kuyuk, Mangu, Kublai, and one or two of the latter's successors in China, all probably false, with one or two doubtful exceptions.

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[1] See plates with ch. xvii. of Bk. IV. See also the Uighúr character in the second *Païza*, Bk. II. ch. vii.

15

The Great Kaan delivering a Golden Tablet to the Brothers. From a miniature of the 14th century.

CHAPTER VIII.

How the Great Kaan gave them a Tablet of Gold, bearing his orders in their behalf.

When the Prince had charged them with all his commission, he caused to be given them a Tablet of Gold, on which was inscribed that the three Ambassadors should be supplied with everything needful in all the countries through which they should pass—with horses, with escorts, and, in short, with whatever they should require. And when they had made all needful preparations, the three Ambassadors took their leave of the Emperor and set out.

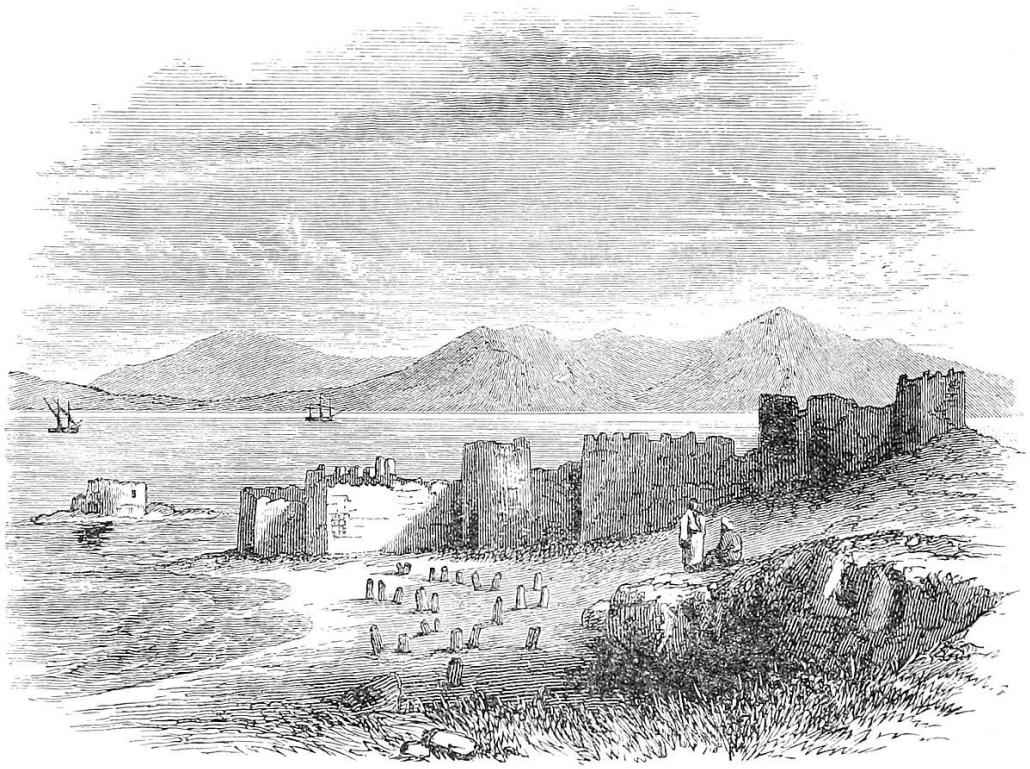
When they had travelled I know not how many days, the Tartar Baron fell sick, so that he could not ride, and being very ill, and unable to proceed further, he halted at a certain city. So the Two Brothers judged it best that they should leave him behind and proceed to carry out their commission; and, as he was well content that they should do so, they continued their journey. And I can assure you, that whithersoever they went they were honourably provided with whatever they stood in need of, or chose to command. And this was owing to that Tablet of Authority from the Lord which they carried with them.[1]

16

So they travelled on and on until they arrived at Layas in Hermenia, a journey which occupied them, I assure you, for three years.{2} It took them so long because they could not always proceed, being stopped sometimes by snow, or by heavy rains falling, or by great torrents which they found in an impassable state.

NOTE 1.—On these Tablets, see a note under Bk. II. ch. vii.

NOTE 2.—AYAS, called also Ayacio, Aiazzo, Giazza, Glaza, La Jazza, and *Layas*, occupied the site of ancient Aegae, and was the chief port of Cilician Armenia, on the Gulf of Scanderoon. *Aegae* had been in the 5th century a place of trade with the West, and the seat of a bishopric, as we learn from the romantic but incomplete story of Mary, the noble slave-girl, told by Gibbon (ch. 33). As Ayas it became in the latter part of the 13th century one of the chief places for the shipment of Asiatic wares arriving through Tabriz, and was much frequented by the vessels of the Italian Republics. The Venetians had a *Bailo* resident there. 17



Castle of Ayas.

Ayas is the *Leyes* of Chaucer's Knight,—

("At LEYES was he and at Satalie")—

and the Layas of Froissart. (Bk. III. ch. xxii.) The Gulf of Layas is described in the xix. Canto of Ariosto, where Mafisa and Astolfo find on its shores a country of barbarous Amazons:—

"Fatto è 'l porto a sembranza d'una luna," etc.

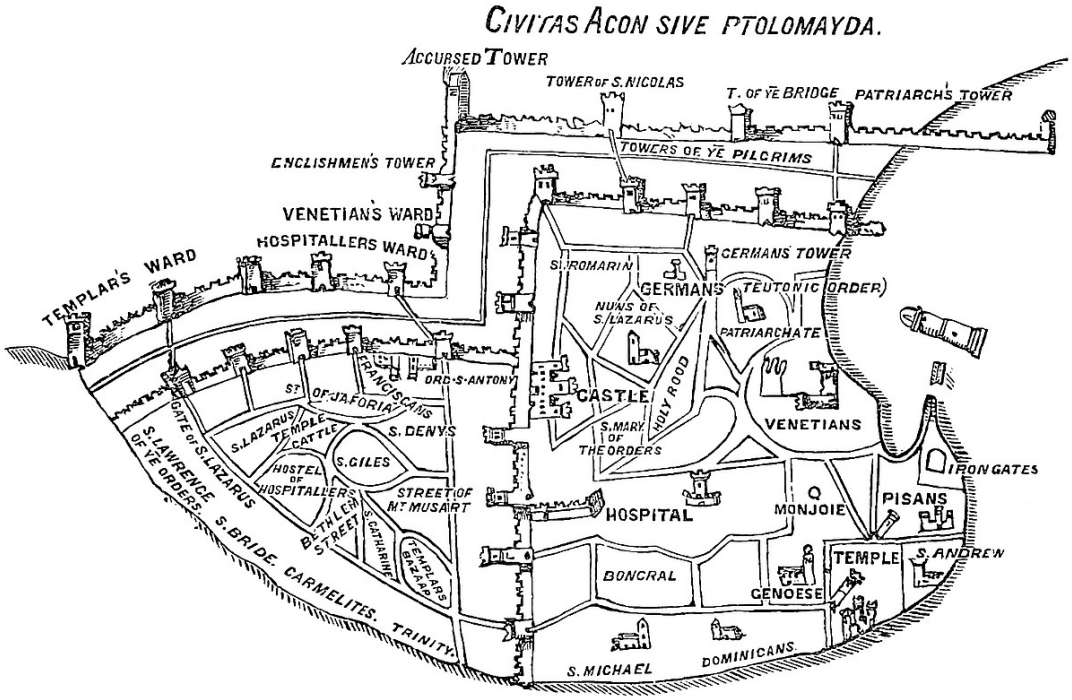
Marino Sanuto says of it: "Laiacio has a haven, and a shoal in front of it that we might rather call a reef, and to this shoal the hawsers of vessels are moored whilst the anchors are laid out towards the land." (II. IV. ch. xxvi.)

The present Ayas is a wretched village of some 15 huts, occupied by about 600 Turkmans, and standing inside the ruined walls of the castle. This castle, which is still in good condition, was built by the Armenian kings, and restored by Sultan Suleiman; it was constructed from the remains of the ancient city; fragments of old columns are embedded in its walls of cut stone. It formerly communicated by a causeway with an advanced work on an island before the harbour. The ruins of the city occupy a large space. (*Langlois, V. en Cilicie*, pp. 429–31; see also *Beaufort's Karamania*, near the end.) A plan of Ayas will be found at the beginning of Bk. I.—H. Y. and H. C.

CHAPTER IX.

How the Two Brothers came to the city of Acre.

They departed from Layas and came to Acre, arriving there in the month of April, in the year of Christ 1269, and then they learned that the Pope was dead. And when they found that the Pope was dead (his name was Pope * *),[{1}] they went to a certain wise Churchman who was Legate for the whole kingdom of Egypt, and a man of great authority, by name Theobald of Piacenza, and told him of the mission on which they were come. When the Legate heard their story, he was greatly surprised, and deemed the thing to be of great honour and advantage for the whole of Christendom. So his answer to the two Ambassador Brothers was this: "Gentlemen, ye see that the Pope is dead; wherefore ye must needs have patience 18
until a new Pope be made, and then shall ye be able to execute your charge." Seeing well enough that what the Legate said was just, they observed: "But while the Pope is a-making, we may as well go to Venice and visit our households." So they departed from Acre and went to Negropont, and from Negropont they continued their voyage to Venice.[{2}] On their arrival there, Messer Nicolas found that his wife was dead, and that she had left behind her a son of fifteen years of age, whose name was Marco; and 'tis of him that this Book tells.[{3}] The Two Brothers abode at Venice a couple of years, tarrying until a Pope should be made.



ACRE *AS IT WAS WHEN LOST* (A.D. 1291).
FROM THE PLAN GIVEN BY
MARINO SANUTO.

NOTE 1.—The deceased Pope's name is omitted both in the Geog. Text and in Pauthier's, clearly because neither Rusticiano nor Polo remembered it. It is supplied correctly in the Crusca Italian as *Clement*, and in Ramusio as *Clement IV.*

It is not clear that *Theobald*, though generally adopted, is the ecclesiastic's proper name. It appears in different MSS. as *Teald* (G. T.), *Ceabo* for *Teabo* (Pauthier), *Odoaldo* (Crusca), and in the Riccardian as *Thebaldus de Vice-comitibus de Placentia*, which 19
corresponds to Ramusio's version. Most of the ecclesiastical chroniclers call him *Tedaldus*, some *Thealdus*. *Tedaldo* is a real name, occurring in Boccaccio. (Day iii. Novel 7.)

NOTE 2.—After the expulsion of the Venetians from Constantinople, Negropont was the centre of their influence in Romania. On the final return of the travellers they again take Negropont on their way. [It was one of the ports on the route from Venice to Constantinople, Tana, Trebizond.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—The *edition* of the Soc. de Géographie makes Mark's age *twelve*, but I have verified from inspection the fact noticed by Pauthier that the *manuscript* has distinctly xv. like all the other old texts. In Ramusio it is *nineteen*, but this is doubtless an arbitrary correction to suit the mistaken date (1250) assigned for the departure of the father from Constantinople.

There is nothing in the old French texts to justify the usual statement that Marco was born after the departure of his father from Venice. All that the G. T. says is: "Meser Nicolau treuve que sa fame estoit morte, et les remès un filz de xv. anz que avoit à nom Marc," and Pauthier's text is to the same effect. Ramusio, indeed, has: "M. Nicolò trovò, che sua moglie era morta, la quale nella sua partita haveva partorito un figliuolo," and the other versions that are based on Pipino's seem all to have like statements.

CHAPTER X.

How the Two Brothers again departed from Venice, on their way back to the Great Kaan, and took with them Mark, the son of Messer Nicolas.

When the Two Brothers had tarried as long as I have told you, and saw that never a Pope was made, they said that their return to the Great Kaan must be put off no longer. So they set out from Venice, taking Mark along with them, and went straight back to Acre, where they found the Legate of whom we have spoken. They had a good deal of discourse with him concerning the matter, and asked his permission to go to Jerusalem to get some Oil from the Lamp on the Sepulchre, to carry with them to the Great Kaan, as he had enjoined.{1} The Legate giving them leave, they went from Acre to Jerusalem and got some of the Oil, and then returned to Acre, and went to the Legate and said to him: "As we see no sign of a Pope's being made, we desire to return to the Great Kaan; for we have already tarried long, and there has been more than enough delay." To which the Legate replied: "Since 'tis your wish to go back, I am well content." Wherefore he caused letters to be written for delivery to the Great Kaan, bearing testimony that the Two Brothers had come in all good faith to accomplish his charge, but that as there was no Pope they had been unable to do so. 20

Note 1.—In a Pilgrimage of date apparently earlier than this, the Pilgrim says of the Sepulchre: "The Lamp which had been placed by His head (when He lay there) still burns on the same spot day and night. *We took a blessing from it* (*i.e.* apparently took some of the oil as a beneficent memorial), and replaced it." (*Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* in *Bollandists*, May, vol. ii. p. xx.)

["Five great oil lamps," says Daniel, the Russian Hégoumène, 1106–1107 (*Itinéraires russes en Orient*, trad. pour la Soc. de l'Orient Latin, par Mme. B. de Khitrowo, Geneva, 1889, p. 13), "burning continually night and day, are hung in the Sepulchre of Our Lord."—H. C.]

CHAPTER XI.

How the Two Brothers set out from Acre, and Mark along with them.

When the Two Brothers had received the Legate's letters, they set forth from Acre to return to the Grand Kaan, and got as far as Layas. But shortly after their arrival there they had news that the Legate aforesaid was chosen Pope, taking the name of Pope Gregory of Piacenza; news which the Two Brothers were very glad indeed to hear. And presently there reached them at Layas a message from the Legate, now the Pope, desiring them, on the part of the Apostolic See, not to proceed further on their journey, but to return to him incontinently. And what shall I tell you? The King of Hermenia caused a galley to be got ready for the Two Ambassador Brothers, and despatched them to the Pope at Acre.{1} 21

Portrait of Pope Gregory X.

NOTE 1.—The death of Pope Clement IV. occurred on St Andrew's Day (29th November), 1268; the election of Tedaldo or Tebaldo of Piacenza, a member of the Visconti family, and Archdeacon of Liège, did not take place till 1st September, 1271, owing to the factions among the cardinals. And it is said that some of them, anxious only to get away, voted for Theobald in full belief that he was dead. The conclave, in its inability to agree, had named a committee of six with full powers which the same day elected Theobald, on the recommendation of the Cardinal Bishop of Portus (John de Toleto, said, in spite of his name, to have been an Englishman). This facetious dignitary had suggested that the roof should be taken off the Palace at Viterbo where they sat, to allow the divine influences to descend more freely on their counsels (*quia nequeunt ad nos per tot tecta ingredi*). According to some, these doggerel verses, current on the occasion, were extemporised by Cardinal John in the pious exuberance of his glee:—

"Papatûs munus tulit Archidiaconus unus
Quem Patrem Patrum fecit discordia Fratrum."

The Archdeacon, a man of great weight of character, in consequence of differences with his Bishop (of Liège), who was a disorderly liver, had gone to the Holy Land, and during his stay there he contracted great intimacy with Prince Edward of England (Edward I.). Some authors, *e.g.* John Villani (VIII. 39), say that he was Legate in Syria; others, as Rainaldus, deny this; but Polo's statement, and the authority which the Archdeacon took on himself in writing to the Kaan, seem to show that he had some such position.

He took the name of Gregory X., and before his departure from Acre, preached a moving sermon on the text, "*If I forget thee, O Jerusalem*," etc. Prince Edward fitted him out for his voyage.

Gregory reigned barely four years, dying at Arezzo 10th January, 1276. His character stood high to the last, and some of the Northern Martyrologies enrolled him among the saints, but there has never been canonisation by Rome. The people of Arezzo used to celebrate his anniversary with torch-light gatherings at his tomb, and plenty of miracles were alleged to have occurred there. The tomb still stands in the Duomo at Arezzo, a handsome work by Margaritone, an artist in all branches, who was the Pope's contemporary. There is an engraving of it in *Gonnelli, Mon. Sepolc. di Toscana*. 22

(*Fra Pipino* in *Muratori*, IX. 700; *Rainaldi Annal.* III. 252 *seqq.*; *Wadding*, sub. an. 1217: *Bollandists*, 10th January; *Palatii, Gesta Pontif. Roman.* vol. iii., and *Fasti Cardinalium*, I. 463, etc.)

CHAPTER XII.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS PRESENTED THEMSELVES BEFORE THE NEW POPE.

AND when they had been thus honourably conducted to Acre they proceeded to the presence of the Pope, and paid their respects to him with humble reverence. He received them with great honour and satisfaction, and gave them his blessing. He then appointed two Friars of the Order of Preachers to accompany them to the Great Kaan, and to do whatever might be required of them. These were unquestionably as learned Churchmen as were to be found in the Province at that day—one being called Friar Nicolas of Vicenza, and the other Friar William of Tripoli.{1} He delivered to them also proper credentials, and letters in reply to the Great Kaan's messages [and gave them authority to ordain priests and bishops, and to bestow every kind of absolution, as if given by himself in proper person; sending by them also many fine vessels of crystal as presents to the Great Kaan].{2} So when they had got all that was needful, they took leave of the Pope, receiving his benediction; and the four set out together from Acre, and went to Layas, accompanied always by Messer Nicolas's son Marco.

Now, about the time that they reached Layas, Bendocquedar, the Soldan of Babylon, invaded Hermenia with a great host of Saracens, and ravaged the country, so that our Envoys ran a great peril of being taken or slain.{3} And when the Preaching Friars saw this they were greatly frightened, and said that go they never would. So they made over to Messer Nicolas and Messer Maffeo all their credentials and documents, and took their leave, departing in company with the Master of the Temple.{4} 23

NOTE 1.—Friar William, of Tripoli, of the Dominican convent at Acre, appears to have served there as early as 1250. [He was born *circa* 1220, at Tripoli, in Syria, whence his name.—H. C.] He is known as the author of a book, *De Statu Saracenorum post Ludovici Regis de Syriâ reditum*, dedicated to Theoldus, Archdeacon of Liège (*i.e.* Pope Gregory). Of this some extracts are printed in Duchesne's *Hist. Francorum Scriptores*. There are two MSS. of it, with different titles, in the Paris Library, and a French version in that of Berne. A MS. in Cambridge Univ. Library, which contains among other things a copy of Pipino's Polo, has also the work of Friar William:—"*Willelmus Tripolitanus, Aconensis Conventus, de Egressu Machometi et Saracenorum, atque progressu eorumdem, de Statu Saracenorum*," etc. It is imperfect; it is addressed THEOBALDO *Ecclesiarcho digno Sancte Terre Peregrino Sancto*. And from a cursory inspection I imagine that the Tract appended to one of the Polo MSS. in the British Museum (Addl. MSS., No. 19,952) is the same work or part of it. To the same author is ascribed a tract called *Clades Damiatae*. (*Duchesne*, V. 432; *D'Avezac* in *Rec. de Voyages*, IV. 406; *Quétif, Script. Ord. Praed.* I. 264–5; *Catal. of MSS. in Camb. Univ. Library*, I. 22.)

NOTE 2.—I presume that the powers, stated in this passage from Ramusio to have been conferred on the Friars, are exaggerated. In letters of authority granted in like cases by Pope Gregory's successors, Nicolas III. (in 1278) and Boniface VIII. (in 1299), the missionary friars to remote regions are empowered to absolve from excommunication and release from vows, to settle matrimonial questions, to found churches and appoint

among the missionaries who were priests might consecrate cemeteries, altars, palls, etc., admit to the Order of Acolytes, but nothing beyond. (See *Mosheim, Hist. Tartar. Eccles.* App. Nos. 23 and 42.)

NOTE 3.—The statement here about Bundúḳdár's invasion of Cilician Armenia is a difficulty. He had invaded it in 1266, and his second devastating invasion, during which he burnt both Layas and Sis, the king's residence, took place in 1275, a point on which Marino Sanuto is at one with the Oriental Historians. Now we know from Rainaldus that Pope Gregory left Acre in November or December, 1271, and the text appears to imply that our travellers left Acre before him. The utmost corroboration that I can find lies in the following facts stated by Makrizi:—

On the 13th Safar, A.H. 670 (20th September 1271), Bundúḳdár arrived unexpectedly at Damascus, and after a brief raid against the Ismaelians he returned to that city. In the middle of Rabi I. (about 20–25 October) the Tartars made an incursion in northern Syria, and the troops of Aleppo retired towards Hamah. There was great alarm at Damascus; the Sultan sent orders to Cairo for reinforcements, and these arrived at Damascus on the 9th November. The Sultan then advanced on Aleppo, sending corps likewise towards Marash (which was within the Armenian frontier) and Harran. At the latter place the Tartars were attacked and those in the town slaughtered; the rest retreated. The Sultan was back at 24
Damascus, and off on a different expedition, by 7th December. Hence, if the travellers arrived at Ayas towards the latter part of November they would probably find alarm existing at the advance of Bundúḳdár, though matters did not turn out so serious as they imply.

"Babylon," of which Bundúḳdár is here styled Sultan, means Cairo, commonly so styled (*Bambellonia d'Egitto*) in that age. Babylon of Egypt is mentioned by Diodorus quoting Ctesias, by Strabo, and by Ptolemy; it was the station of a Roman Legion in the days of Augustus, and still survives in the name of *Babul*, close to old Cairo.

Malik Dáhir Ruknuddín Bíbars Bundúḳdári, a native of Kipchak, was originally sold at Damascus for 800 dirhems (about 18*l*.), and returned by his purchaser because of a blemish. He was then bought by the Amir Aláuddín Aidekín *Bundúḳdár* ("The Arblasteer") whose surname he afterwards adopted. He became the fourth of the Mameluke Sultans, and reigned from 1259 to 1276. The two great objects of his life were the repression of the Tartars and the expulsion of the Christians from Syria, so that his reign was one of constant war and enormous activity. William of Tripoli, in the work above mentioned, says: "Bondogar, as a soldier, was not inferior to Julius Caesar, nor in malignity to Nero." He admits, however, that the Sultan was sober, chaste, just to his own people, and even kind to his Christian subjects; whilst Makrizi calls him one of the best princes that ever reigned over Musulmans. Yet if we take Bibars as painted by this admiring historian and by other Arabic documents, the second of Friar William's comparisons is justified, for he seems almost a devil in malignity as well as in activity. More than once he played tennis at Damascus and Cairo within the same week. A strange sample of the man is the letter which he wrote to Boemond, Prince of Antioch and Tripoli, to announce to him the capture of the former city. After an ironically polite address to Boemond as having by the loss of his great city had his title changed from Princeship (*Al-Brensíyah*) to Countship (*Al-Komasíyah*), and describing his own devastations round Tripoli, he comes to the attack of Antioch: "We carried the place, sword in hand, at the 4th hour of Saturday, the 4th day of Ramadhán, ... Hadst thou but seen thy Knights trodden under the hoofs of the horses! thy palaces invaded by plunderers and ransacked for booty! thy treasures weighed out by the hundredweight! thy ladies (*Dámátaka*, 'tes DAMES') bought and sold with thine own gear, at four for a dinár! hadst thou but seen thy churches demolished, thy crosses sawn in sunder, thy garbled Gospels hawked about before the sun, the tombs of thy nobles cast to the ground; thy foe

Couldst thou but have seen the flames devouring thy halls; thy dead cast into the fires temporal with the fires eternal hard at hand; the churches of Paul and of Cosmas rocking and going down—, then wouldst thou have said, 'Would God that I were dust!' ... As not a man hath escaped to tell thee the tale, I TELL IT THEE!"

A little later, when a mission went to treat with Boemond, Bibars himself accompanied it in disguise, to have a look at the defences of Tripoli. In drawing out the terms, the Envoys styled Boemond *Count*, not *Prince*, as in the letter just quoted. He lost patience at their persistence, and made a movement which alarmed them. Bibars nudged the Envoy Mohiuddin (who tells the story) with his foot to give up the point, and the treaty was made. On their way back the Sultan laughed heartily at their narrow escape, "sending to the devil all the counts and princes on the face of the earth."

(*Quatremère's Makrizi*, II. 92–101, and 190 *seqq*.; *J. As*. sér. I. tom. xi. p. 89; *D'Ohsson*, III. 459–474; *Marino Sanuto* in Bongars, 224–226, etc.)

NOTE 4.—The ruling Master of the Temple was Thomas Berard (1256–1273), but there is little detail about the Order in the East at this time. They had, however, considerable possessions and great influence in Cilician Armenia, and how much they were mixed up in its affairs is shown by a circumstance related by Makrizi. In 1285, 25
when Sultan Mansúr, the successor of Bundúḳdár, was besieging the Castle of Markab, there arrived in Camp the Commander of the Temple (*Kamandúr-ul Dewet*) of the Country of Armenia, charged to negotiate on the part of the King of Sis (*i.e*. of Lesser Armenia, Leon III. 1268–1289, successor of Hayton I. 1224–1268), and bringing presents from him and from the Master of the Temple, Berard's successor, William de Beaujeu (1273–1291). (III. 201.)—H. Y. and H. C.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW MESSER NICOLO AND MESSER MAFFEO POLO, ACCOMPANIED BY MARK, TRAVELLED TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAN.

SO the Two Brothers, and Mark along with them, proceeded on their way, and journeying on, summer and winter, came at length to the Great Kaan, who was then at a certain rich and great city, called KEMENFU.[{1}] As to what they met with on the road, whether in going or coming, we shall give no particulars at present, because we are going to tell you all those details in regular order in the after part of this Book. Their journey back to the Kaan occupied a good three years and a half, owing to the bad weather and severe cold that they encountered. And let me tell you in good sooth that when the Great Kaan heard that Messers Nicolo and Maffeo Polo were on their way back, he sent people a journey of full 40 days to meet them; and on this journey, as on their former one, they were honourably entertained upon the road, and supplied with all that they required.

NOTE 1.—The French texts read *Clemeinfu*, Ramusio *Clemenfu*. The Pucci MS. guides us to the correct reading, having *Chemensu* (*Kemensu*) for *Chemenfu*. KAIPINGFU, meaning something like "City of Peace," and called by Rashiduddin *Kaiminfu* (whereby we see that Polo as usual adopted the Persian form of the name), was a city founded in

or "Upper Court." (See *infra*, Bk. I. ch. lxi.) It was known to the Mongols, apparently by a combination of the two names, as *Shangdu Keibung*. It appears in D'Anville's map under the name of *Djao-Naiman Sumé*. Dr. Bushell, who visited Shangtu in 1872, makes it 1103 *li* (367 miles) by road distance *viâ* Kalgan from Peking. The busy town of 26
Dolonnúr lies 26 miles S.E. of it, and according to Kiepert's *Asia* that place is about 180 miles in a direct line north of Peking.

(See *Klaproth* in *J. As.* XI. 365; *Gaubil*, p. 115; *Cathay*, p. 260; *J. R. G. S.* vol. xliii.)

CHAPTER XIV.

How Messer Nicolo and Messer Maffeo Polo and Marco presented themselves before the Great Kaan.

And what shall I tell you? when the Two Brothers and Mark had arrived at that great city, they went to the Imperial Palace, and there they found the Sovereign attended by a great company of Barons. So they bent the knee before him, and paid their respects to him, with all possible reverence [prostrating themselves on the ground]. Then the Lord bade them stand up, and treated them with great honour, showing great pleasure at their coming, and asked many questions as to their welfare, and how they had sped. They replied that they had in verity sped well, seeing that they found the Kaan well and safe. Then they presented the credentials and letters which they had received from the Pope, which pleased him right well; and after that they produced the Oil from the Sepulchre, and at that also he was very glad, for he set great store thereby. And next, spying Mark, who was then a young gallant,{1} he asked who was that in their company? "Sire," said his father, Messer Nicolo, "'tis my son and your liegeman."{2} "Welcome is he too," quoth the Emperor. And why should I make a long story? There was great rejoicing at the Court because of their arrival; and they met with attention and honour from everybody.

So there they abode at the Court with the other Barons.

27

Note 1.—"*Joenne Bacheler*."

Note 2.—"*Sire, il est mon filz et vostre* homme." The last word in the sense which gives us the word *homage*. Thus in the miracle play of Theophilus (13th century), the Devil says to Theophilus:—

"Or joing
Tes mains, et si devien *mes hom*.
Theoph. Vez ci que je vous faz *hommage*."

So *infra* (Bk. I. ch. xlvii.) Aung Khan is made to say of Chinghiz: "*Il est* mon homes *et mon serf*." (See also Bk. II. ch. iv. note.) St. Lewis said of the peace he had made with Henry III.: "Il m'est mout grant honneur en la paix que je foiz au Roy d'Angleterre pour ce qu'il est *mon home*, ce que n'estoit pas devant." And Joinville says with regard to the king, "Je ne voz faire point de serement, car je n'estoie pas *son home*" (being a vassal of Champagne). A famous Saturday Reviewer quotes the term applied to a lady: "*Eddeva*

puella homo *Stigandi Archiepiscopi*." (*Théâtre Français au Moyen Age*, p. 145; *Joinville*, pp. 21, 37; *S. R.*, 6th September, 1873, p. 305.)

CHAPTER XV.

How the Emperor sent Mark on an Embassy of his.

Now it came to pass that Marco, the son of Messer Nicolo, sped wondrously in learning the customs of the Tartars, as well as their language, their manner of writing, and their practice of war; in fact he came in brief space to know several languages, and four sundry written characters. And he was discreet and prudent in every way, insomuch that the Emperor held him in great esteem.{1} And so when he discerned Mark to have so much sense, and to conduct himself so well and beseemingly, he sent him on an ambassage of his, to a country which was a good six months' journey distant.{2} The young gallant executed his commission well and with discretion. Now he had taken note on several occasions that when the Prince's ambassadors returned from different parts of the world, they were able to tell him about nothing except the business on which they had gone, and that the Prince in consequence held them for no better than fools and dolts, and would say: "I had far liever hearken about the strange things, and the manners of the different countries you have seen, than merely be told of the business you went upon;"—for he took great delight in hearing of the affairs of strange countries. Mark therefore, as he went and returned, took great pains to learn about all kinds of different matters in the countries which he visited, in order to be able to tell about them to the Great Kaan.{3}

28

Note 1.—The word Emperor stands here for *Seigneur*.

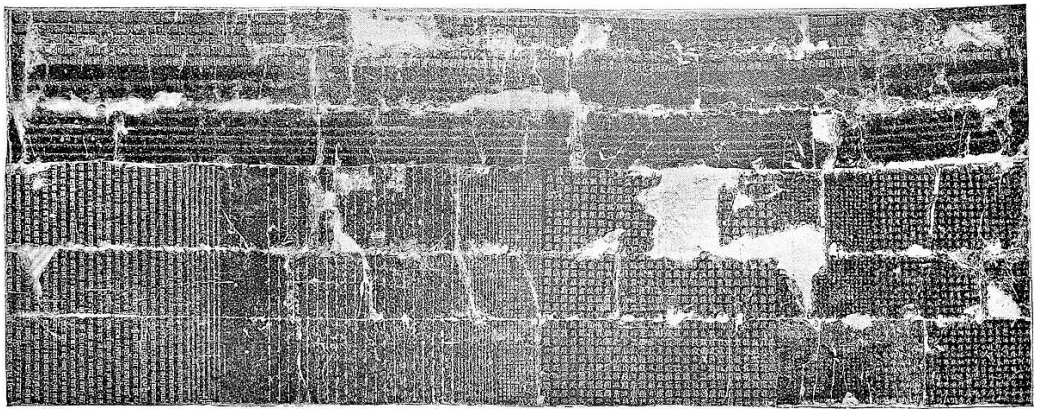
What the four characters acquired by Marco were is open to discussion.

The Chronicle of the Mongol Emperors rendered by Gaubil mentions, as characters used in their Empire, the Uíghúr, the Persian and Arabic, that of the Lamas (Tibetan), that of the Niuché, introduced by the Kin Dynasty, the Khitán, and the *Báshpah* character, a syllabic alphabet arranged, on the basis of the Tibetan and Sanskrit letters chiefly, by a learned chief Lama so-called, under the orders of Kublai, and established by edict in 1269 as the official character. Coins bearing this character, and dating from 1308 to 1354, are extant. The forms of the Niuché and Khitán were devised in imitation of Chinese writing, but are supposed to be syllabic. Of the Khitán but one inscription was known, and no key. "The Khitan had two national scripts, the 'small characters' (*hsiao tzŭ*) and the 'large characters' (*ta tzŭ*)." S. W. Bushell, *Insc. in the Juchen and Allied Scripts*, Cong. des Orientalistes, Paris, 1897.—*Die Sprache und Schrift der Juchen* von Dr. W. Grube, Leipzig, 1896, from a polyglot MS. dictionary, discovered by Dr. F. Hirth and now kept in the Royal Library, Berlin.—H. Y. and H. C.

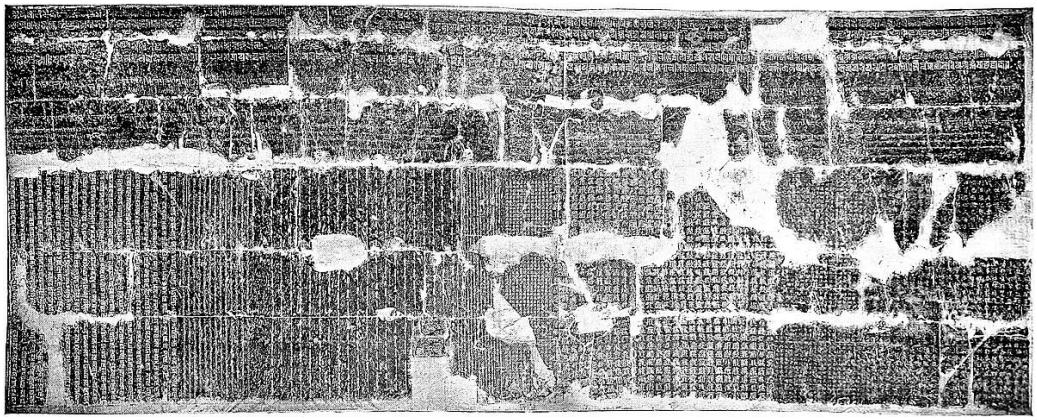
Chinghiz and his first successors used the Uíghúr, and sometimes the Chinese character. Of the Uíghúr character we give a specimen in Bk. IV. It is of Syriac origin, undoubtedly introduced into Eastern Turkestan by the early Nestorian missions, probably

1069, was published by Prof. Vámbéry in 1870. A new edition of the *Kudatku Bilik* was published at St. Petersburg, in 1891, by Dr. W. Radloff. Vámbéry had a pleasing illustration of the origin of the Uíghúr character, when he received a visit at Pesth from certain Nestorians of Urumia on a begging tour. On being shown the original MS. of the *Kudatku Bilik*, they read the character easily, whilst much to their astonishment they could not understand a word of what was written. This Uíghúr is the basis of the modern Mongol and Manchu characters. (Cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, I. pp. 236, 263.)—H. Y. and H. C.

[At the village of Keuyung Kwan, 40 miles north of Peking, in the sub-prefecture of Ch'ang Ping, in the Chih-li province, the road from Peking to Kalgan runs beyond the pass of Nankau, under an archway, a view of which will be found at the end of this volume, on which were engraved, in 1345, two large inscriptions in six different languages: Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongol, *Báshpah*, Uíghúr, Chinese, and a language unknown till recently. Mr. Wylie's kindness enabled Sir Henry Yule to present a specimen of this. (A much better facsimile of these inscriptions than Wylie's having since been published by Prince Roland Bonaparte in his valuable *Recueil des Documents de l'Époque Mongole*, this latter is, by permission, here reproduced.) The Chinese and Mongol inscriptions have been translated by M. Ed. Chavannes; the Tibetan by M. Sylvain Lévi (*Jour. Asiat*., Sept.–Oct. 1894, pp. 354–373); the Uíghúr, by Prof. W. Radloff (*Ibid*. Nov.–Dec. 1894, pp. 546, 550); the Mongol by Prof. G. Huth. (*Ibid*. Mars–Avril 1895, pp. 351–360.) The sixth language was supposed by A. Wylie (*J. R. A. S*. vol. xvii. p. 331, and N.S., vol. v. p. 14) to be Neuchih, Niuché, Niuchen or Juchen. M. Devéria has shown that the inscription is written in *Si Hia*, or the language of Tangut, and gave a facsimile of a stone stèle (*pei*) in this language kept in the great Monastery of the Clouds (Ta Yun Ssŭ) at Liangchau in Kansuh, together with a translation of the Chinese text, engraved on the reverse side of the slab. M. Devéria thinks that this writing was borrowed by the Kings of Tangut from the one derived in 920 by the Khitans from the Chinese. (*Stèle Si-Hia de Leang-tcheou ... J. As*., 1898; *L'écriture du royaume de Si-Hia ou Tangout*, par M. Devéria.... Ext. des Mém.... présentés à l'Ac. des Ins. et B. Let. 1ère Sér. XI., 1898.) Dr. S. W. Bushell in two papers (*Inscriptions in the Juchen and Allied Scripts, Actes du XI. Congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, 2nd. sect., pp. 11, 35, and the *Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut, their Money and their peculiar Script, J. China Br. R. A. S*., xxx. N.S. No. 2, pp. 142, 160) has also made a special study of the same subject. The Si Hia writing was adopted by Yuan Ho in 1036, on which occasion he changed the title of his reign to Ta Ch'ing, *i.e*. "Great Good Fortune." Unfortunately, both the late M. Devéria and Dr. S. W. Bushell have deciphered but few of the Si Hia characters.—H. C.] 29



Hexaglot Inscription on the East side of the Kiu-Yong Kwan.



Hexaglot Inscription on the West side of the Kiu-Yong Kwan.

The orders of the Great Kaan are stated to have been published habitually in six languages, viz., Mongol, Uíghúr, Arabic, Persian, Tangutan (Si-Hia), and Chinese.—H. Y. and H. C.

Gházán Khan of Persia is said to have understood Mongol, Arabic, Persian, something of Kashmiri, of Tibetan, of Chinese, and a little of the *Frank* tongue (probably French).

The annals of the Ming Dynasty, which succeeded the Mongols in China, mention the establishment in the 11th moon of the 5th year Yong-lo (1407) of the *Sse yi kwan*, a linguistic office for diplomatic purposes. The languages to be studied were Niuché, Mongol, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Bokharan (Persian?), Uíghúr, Burmese, and Siamese. To these were added by the Manchu Dynasty two languages called *Papeh* and *Pehyih*, both dialects of the S.W. frontier. (See *infra*, Bk. II. ch. lvi.–lvii., and notes.) Since 1382, however, official interpreters had to translate Mongol texts; they were selected among the Academicians, and their service (which was independent of the *Sse yi kwan* when this was created) was under the control of the *Han-lin-yuen*. There may have been similar institutions under the Yuen, but we have no proof of it. At all events, such an office could not then be called *Sse yi kwan* (*Sse yi*, Barbarians from four sides); Niuché (Niuchen) was taught in Yong-lo's office, but not Manchu. The *Sse yi kwan* must not be confounded with the *Hui t'ong kwan*, the office for the reception of tributary envoys, to which it was annexed in 1748. (*Gaubil*, p. 148; *Gold. Horde*, 184; *Ilchan*. II. 147; *Lockhart* in *J. R. G. S*. XXXVI. 152; *Koeppen*, II. 99; G. Devéria, *Hist. du Collège des Interprètes de Peking* in *Mélanges* Charles de Harlez, pp. 94–102; MS. Note of Prof. A. Vissière; *The Tangut Script in the Nan-K'ou Pass*, by Dr. S. W. Bushell, *China Review*, xxiv. II. pp. 65–68.)—H. Y. and H. C.

Pauthier supposes Mark's four acquisitions to have been *Báshpah-Mongol, Arabic, Uighúr*, and *Chinese*. I entirely reject the Chinese. Sir H. Yule adds: "We shall see no reason to believe that he knew either language or character" [Chinese]. The blunders Polo made in saying that the name of the city, Suju, signifies in our tongue "Earth" and Kinsay "Heaven" show he did not know the Chinese characters, but we read in Bk. II. ch. lxviii.: "And Messer Marco Polo himself, of whom this Book speaks, did govern this city (Yanju) for three full years, by the order of the Great Kaan." It seems to me [H. C.] hardly possible that Marco could have for three years been governor of so important and so Chinese a city as Yangchau, in the heart of the Empire, without acquiring a knowledge of the spoken language.—H. C. The other three languages seem highly probable. The fourth may have been Tibetan. But it is more likely that he counted separately two varieties of the same character (*e.g.* of the Arabic and Persian) as two "*lettres de leur escriptures*."—H. Y. and H. C.

NOTE 2.—[Ramusio here adds: "Ad und città, detta Carazan," which, as we shall see, refers to the Yun-nan Province.]—H. C.

NOTE 3.—From the context no doubt Marco's employments were honourable and confidential; but *Commissioner* would perhaps better express them than Ambassador in the modern sense. The word *Ilchi*, which was probably in his mind, was applied to a large variety of classes employed on the commissions of Government, as we may see from a passage of Rashiduddin in D'Ohsson, which says that "there were always to be found in every city from one to two hundred *Ilchis*, who forced the citizens to furnish them with free quarters," etc., III. 404. (See also 485.)

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW MARK RETURNED FROM THE MISSION WHEREON HE HAD BEEN SENT.

WHEN Mark returned from his ambassage he presented himself before the Emperor, and after making his report of the business with which he was charged, and its successful accomplishment, he went on to give an account in a pleasant and intelligent manner of all the novelties and strange things that he had seen and heard; insomuch that the Emperor and all such as heard his story were surprised, and said: "If this young man live, he will assuredly come to be a person of great worth and ability." And so from that time forward he was always entitled MESSER MARCO POLO, and thus we shall style him henceforth in this Book of ours, as is but right.

Thereafter Messer Marco abode in the Kaan's employment some seventeen years, continually going and coming, hither and thither, on the missions that were entrusted to him by the Lord [and sometimes, with the permission and authority of the Great Kaan, on his own private affairs.] And, as he knew all the sovereign's ways, like a sensible man he always took much pains to gather knowledge of 31
anything that would be likely to interest him, and then on his return to Court he would relate everything in regular order, and thus the Emperor came to hold him in great love and favour. And for this reason also he would employ him the oftener on the most weighty and most distant of his missions. These Messer Marco ever carried out with discretion and success, God be thanked. So the Emperor became ever more partial to him, and treated him with the greater distinction, and kept him so close to his person that some of the Barons waxed very envious thereat. And thus it came about that Messer Marco Polo had knowledge of, or had actually visited, a greater number of the different countries of the World than any other man; the more that he was always giving his mind to get knowledge, and to spy out and enquire into everything in order to have matter to relate to the Lord.

CHAPTER XVII.

How Messer Nicolo, Messer Maffeo, and Messer Marco, asked leave of the Great Kaan to go their way.

When the Two Brothers and Mark had abode with the Lord all that time that you have been told [having meanwhile acquired great wealth in jewels and gold], they began among themselves to have thoughts about returning to their own country; and indeed it was time. [For, to say nothing of the length and infinite perils of the way, when they considered the Kaan's great age, they doubted whether, in the event of his death before their departure, they would ever be able to get home.{1}] They 32
applied to him several times for leave to go, presenting their request with great respect, but he had such a partiality for them, and liked so much to have them about him, that nothing on earth would persuade him to let them go.

Now it came to pass in those days that the Queen Bolgana, wife of Argon, Lord of the Levant, departed this life. And in her Will she had desired that no Lady should take her place, or succeed her as Argon's wife, except one of her own family [which existed in Cathay]. Argon therefore despatched three of his Barons, by name respectively Oulatay, Apusca, and Coja, as ambassadors to the Great Kaan, attended by a very gallant company, in order to bring back as his bride a lady of the family of Queen Bolgana, his late wife.{2}

When these three Barons had reached the Court of the Great Kaan, they delivered their message, explaining wherefore they were come. The Kaan received them with all honour and hospitality, and then sent for a lady whose name was Cocachin, who was of the family of the deceased Queen Bolgana. She was a maiden of 17, a very beautiful and charming person, and on her arrival at Court she was presented to the three Barons as the Lady chosen in compliance with their demand. They declared that the Lady pleased them well.{3}

Meanwhile Messer Marco chanced to return from India, whither he had gone as the Lord's ambassador, and made his report of all the different things that he had seen in his travels, and of the sundry seas over which he had voyaged. And the three Barons, having seen that Messer Nicolo, Messer Maffeo, and Messer Marco were not only Latins, but men of marvellous good sense withal, took thought among themselves to get the three to travel with them, their intention being to return to their country by sea, on account of the great fatigue of that long land 33
journey for a lady. And the ambassadors were the more desirous to have their company, as being aware that those three had great knowledge and experience of the Indian Sea and the countries by which they would have to pass, and especially Messer Marco. So they went to the Great Kaan, and begged as a favour that he would send the three Latins with them, as it was their desire to return home by sea.

The Lord, having that great regard that I have mentioned for those three Latins, was very loath to do so [and his countenance showed great dissatisfaction]. But at last he did give them permission to depart, enjoining them to accompany the three Barons and the Lady.

Note 1.—Pegolotti, in his chapters on mercantile ventures to Cathay, refers to the dangers to which foreigners were always liable on the death of the reigning sovereign. (See *Cathay*, p. 292.)

NOTE 2.—Several ladies of the name of BULUGHAN ("Zibellina") have a place in Mongol-Persian history. The one here indicated, a lady of great beauty and ability, was known as the *Great Khátún* (or Lady) Bulughan, and was (according to strange Mongol custom) the wife successively of Ábáḳa and of his son ARGHUN, the Argon of the text, Mongol sovereign of Persia. She died on the banks of the Kur in Georgia, 7th April, 1286. She belonged to the Mongol tribe of Bayaut, and was the daughter of Hulákú's Chief Secretary Gúgah. (*Ilchan*. I. 374 *et passim; Erdmann's Temudschin*, p. 216.)

The names of the Envoys, ULADAI, APUSHKA, and KOJA, are all names met with in Mongol history. And Rashiduddin speaks of an Apushka of the Mongol Tribe of Urnaut, who on some occasion was sent as Envoy to the Great Kaan from Persia,—possibly the very person. (See *Erdmann*, 205.)

Of the Lady Cocachin we shall speak below.

NOTE 3.—Ramusio here has the following passage, genuine no doubt: "So everything being ready, with a great escort to do honour to the bride of King Argon, the Ambassadors took leave and set forth. But after travelling eight months by the same way that they had come, they found the roads closed, in consequence of wars lately broken out among certain Tartar Princes; so being unable to proceed, they were compelled to return to the Court of the Great Kaan."

CHAPTER XVIII.

34

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS AND MESSER MARCO TOOK LEAVE OF THE GREAT KAAN, AND RETURNED TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

AND when the Prince saw that the Two Brothers and Messer Marco were ready to set forth, he called them all three to his presence, and gave them two golden Tablets of Authority, which should secure them liberty of passage through all his dominions, and by means of which, whithersoever they should go, all necessaries would be provided for them, and for all their company, and whatever they might choose to order.{1} He charged them also with messages to the King of France, the King of England,{2} the King of Spain, and the other kings of Christendom. He then caused thirteen ships to be equipt, each of which had four masts, and often spread twelve sails.{3} And I could easily give you all particulars about these, but as it would be so long an affair I will not enter upon this now, but hereafter, when time and place are suitable. [Among the said ships were at least four or five that carried crews of 250 or 260 men.]

And when the ships had been equipt, the Three Barons and the Lady, and the Two Brothers and Messer Marco, took leave of the Great Kaan, and went on board their ships with a great company of people, and with all necessaries provided for two years by the Emperor. They put forth to sea, and after sailing for some three months they arrived at a certain Island towards the South, which is called JAVA,{4} and in which there are many wonderful things which we shall tell you all about by-and-bye. Quitting this Island they continued to navigate the Sea of India for eighteen months more before they arrived whither they were bound, meeting on their way also with many marvels, of which we shall tell hereafter.

35

And when they got thither they found that Argon was dead, so the Lady was delivered to CASAN, his son.

But I should have told you that it is a fact that, when they embarked, they were in number some 600 persons, without counting the mariners; but nearly all died by the way, so that only eight survived.{5}

The sovereignty when they arrived was held by KIACATU, so they commended the Lady to him, and executed all their commission. And when the Two Brothers and Messer Marco had executed their charge in full, and done all that the Great Kaan had enjoined on them in regard to the Lady, they took their leave and set out upon their journey.{6} And before their departure, Kiacatu gave them four golden tablets of authority, two of which bore gerfalcons, one bore lions, whilst the fourth was plain, and having on them inscriptions which directed that the three Ambassadors should receive honour and service all through the land as if rendered to the Prince in person, and that horses and all provisions, and everything necessary, should be supplied to them. And so they found in fact; for throughout the country they received ample and excellent supplies of everything needful; and many a time indeed, as I may tell you, they were furnished with 200 horsemen, more or less, to escort them on their way in safety. And this was all the more needful because Kiacatu was not the legitimate Lord, and therefore the people had less scruple to do mischief than if they had had a lawful prince.{7}

Another thing too must be mentioned, which does credit to those three Ambassadors, and shows for what great personages they were held. The Great 36
Kaan regarded them with such trust and affection, that he had confided to their charge the Queen Cocachin, as well as the daughter of the King of Manzi,{8} to conduct to Argon the Lord of all the Levant. And those two great ladies who were thus entrusted to them they watched over and guarded as if they had been daughters of their own, until they had transferred them to the hands of their Lord; whilst the ladies, young and fair as they were, looked on each of those three as a father, and obeyed them accordingly. Indeed, both Casan, who is now the reigning prince, and the Queen Cocachin his wife, have such a regard for the Envoys that there is nothing they would not do for them. And when the three Ambassadors took leave of that Lady to return to their own country, she wept for sorrow at the parting.

What more shall I say? Having left Kiacatu they travelled day by day till they came to Trebizond, and thence to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Negropont, and from Negropont to Venice. And this was in the year 1295 of Christ's Incarnation.

And now that I have rehearsed all the Prologue as you have heard, we shall begin the Book of the Description of the Divers Things that Messer Marco met with in his Travels.

NOTE 1.—On these plates or tablets, which have already been spoken of, a note will be found further on. (Bk. II. ch. vii.) Plano Carpini says of the Mongol practice in reference to royal messengers: "Nuncios, quoscunque et quotcunque, et ubicunque transmittit, oportet quod dent eis sine morâ equos subductitios et expensas" (669).

NOTE 2.—The mention of the King of England appears for the first time in Pauthier's text. Probably we shall never know if the communication reached him. But we have the record of several embassies in preceding and subsequent years from the Mongol Khans of Persia to the Kings of England; all with the view of obtaining co-operation in attack on the Egyptian Sultan. Such messages came from Ábáḳa in 1277; from Arghún in 1289 and 1291; from Gházán in 1302; from Oljaitu in 1307. (See *Rémusat* in *Mém. de l'Acad.* VII.)

NOTE 3.—Ramusio has "*nine* sails." Marsden thinks even this lower number an error 37
of Ramusio's, as "it is well known that Chinese vessels do not carry any kind of topsail." This is, however, a mistake, for they do sometimes carry a small topsail of cotton cloth (and formerly, it would seem from Lecomte, even a topgallant sail at times), though only in quiet weather. And the evidence as to the number of sails carried by the great Chinese junks of the Middle Ages, which evidently made a great impression on Western foreigners, is irresistible. Friar Jordanus, who saw them in Malabar, says: "With a fair wind they carry ten sails;" Ibn Batuta: "One of these great junks carries from three sails to twelve;" Joseph, the Indian, speaking of those that traded to India in the 15th century: "They were very great, and had sometimes twelve sails, with innumerable rowers." (*Lecomte*, I. 389; *Fr. Jordanus*, Hak. Soc., p. 55; *Ibn Batuta*, IV. 91; *Novus Orbis*, p. 148.) A fuller account of these vessels is given at the beginning of Bk. III.

Ancient Chinese War Vessel.

NOTE 4.—*I.e.* in this case Sumatra, as will appear hereafter. "It is quite possible for a fleet of fourteen junks which required to keep together to take three months at the present

time to accomplish a similar voyage. A Chinese trader, who has come annually to Singapore in junks for many years, tells us that he has had as long a passage as sixty days, although the average is eighteen or twenty days." (*Logan* in *J. Ind. Archip.* II. 609.)

NOTE 5.—Ramusio's version here varies widely, and looks more probable: "From the day that they embarked until their arrival there died of mariners and others on board 600 persons; and of the three ambassadors only one survived, whose name was Goza (*Coja*); but of the ladies and damsels died but one." 38

It is worth noting that in the case of an embassy sent to Cathay a few years later by Gházán Khan, on the return by this same route to Persia, the chief of the two Persian ambassadors, and the Great Khan's envoy, who was in company, both died by the way. Their voyage, too, seems to have been nearly as long as Polo's; for they were seven years absent from Persia, and of these only four in China. (See *Wassáf* in *Elliot*, III. 47.)

NOTE 6.—Ramusio's version states that on learning Arghún's death (which they probably did on landing at Hormuz), they sent word of their arrival to Kiacatu, who directed them to conduct the lady to Casan, who was then in the region of the *Arbre Sec* (the Province of Khorasan) guarding the frontier passes with 60,000 men, and that they did so, and then turned back to Kiacatu (probably at Tabriz), and stayed at his Court nine months. Even the Geog. Text seems to imply that they had become personally known to Casan, and I have no doubt that Ramusio's statement is an authentic expansion of the original narrative by Marco himself, or on his authority.

Arghún Khan died 10th March, 1291. He was succeeded (23rd July) by his brother Kaikhátú (*Quiacatu* of Polo), who was put to death 24th March, 1295.

We learn from Hammer's History of the Ilkhans that when Gházán, the son of Arghún (*Casan* of Polo), who had the government of the Khorasan frontier, was on his return to his post from Tabriz, where his uncle Kaikhatu had refused to see him, "he met at Abher the ambassador whom he had sent to the Great Khan to obtain in marriage a relative of the Great Lady Bulghán. This envoy brought with him the Lady KÚKÁCHIN (our author's *Cocachin*), with presents from the Emperor, and the marriage was celebrated with due festivity." Abher lies a little west of Kazvín.

Hammer is not, I find, here copying from Wassáf, and I have not been able to procure a thorough search of the work of Rashiduddin, which probably was his authority. As well as the date can be made out from the History of the Ilkhans, Gházán must have met his bride towards the end of 1293, or quite the beginning of 1294. Rashiduddin in another place mentions the fair lady from Cathay; "The *ordu* (or establishment) of Tukiti Khatun was given to KUKACHI KHATUN, who had been brought from the Kaan's Court, and who was a kinswoman of the late chief Queen Bulghán. Kúkáchi, the wife of the Padshah of Islam, Gházán Khan, died in the month of Shaban, 695," *i.e.* in June, 1296, so that the poor girl did not long survive her promotion. (See *Hammer's Ilch.* II. 20, and 8, and I. 273; and *Quatremère's Rashiduddin*, p. 97.) Kukachin was the name also of the wife of Chingkim, Kublai's favourite son; but she was of the Kungurát tribe. (*Deguignes*, IV. 179.)

NOTE 7.—Here Ramusio's text says: "During this journey Messers Nicolo, Maffeo, and Marco heard the news that the Great Khan had departed this life; and this caused them to give up all hope of returning to those parts."

NOTE 8.—This Princess of Manzi, or Southern China, is mentioned only in the Geog. Text and in the Crusca, which is based thereon. I find no notice of her among the wives of Gházán or otherwise.

On the fall of the capital of the Sung Dynasty—the Kinsay of Polo—in 1276, the Princesses of that Imperial family were sent to Peking, and were graciously treated by

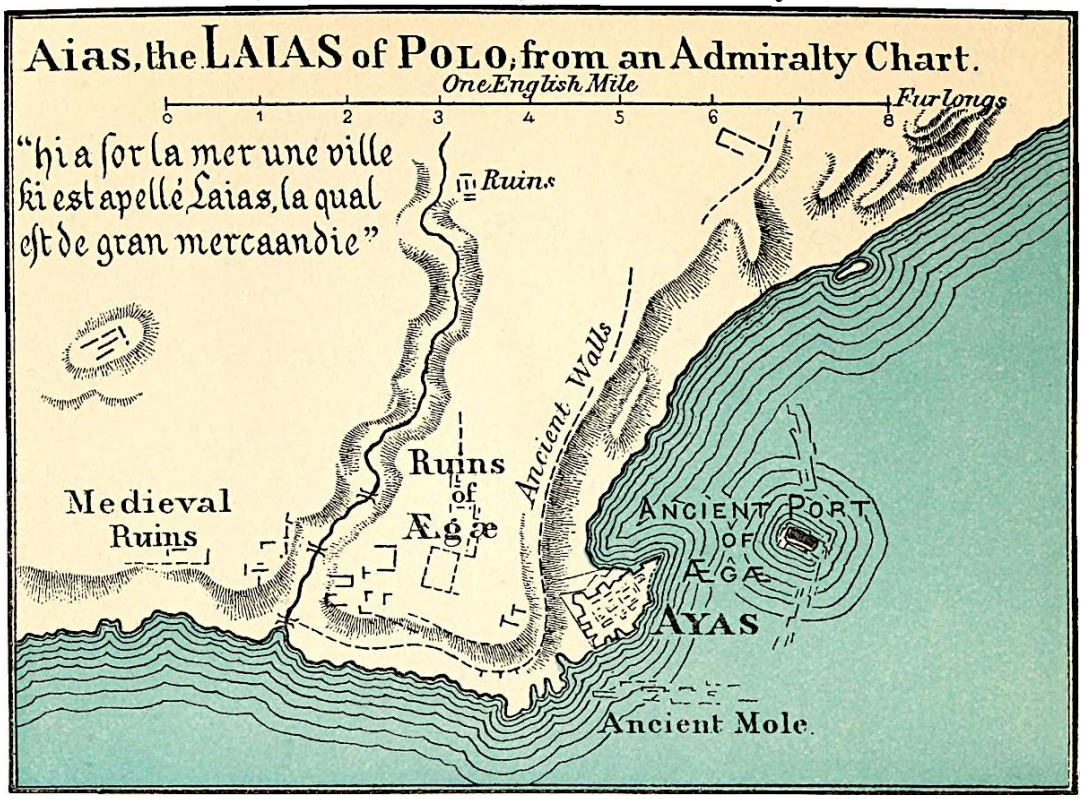
captive princesses who had been brought up at the Court of Khánbálik. (See *De Mailla*, IX. 376, and *infra* Bk. II. ch. lxv., note 6.)

BOOK FIRST.

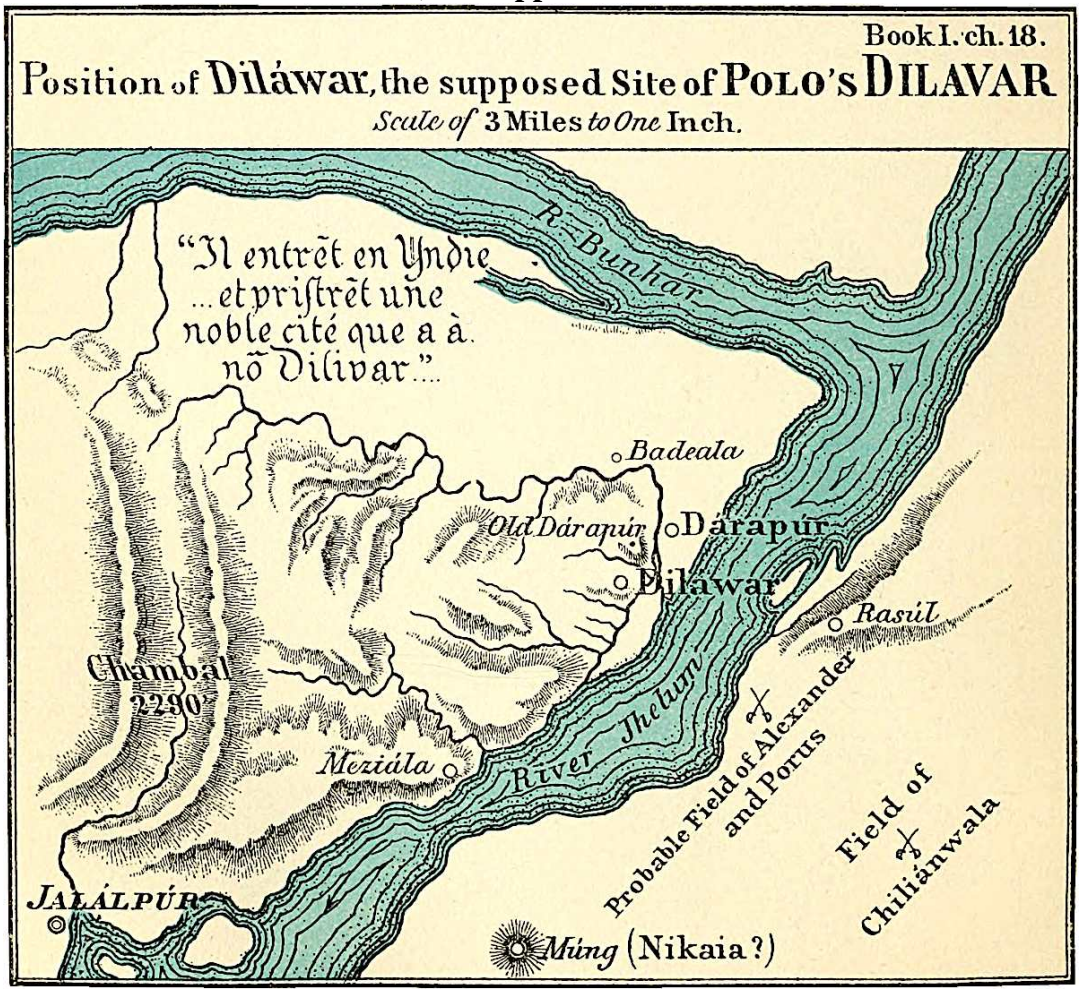
39

ACCOUNT OF REGIONS VISITED OR HEARD OF ON THE JOURNEY FROM THE LESSER ARMENIA TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAN AT CHANDU.

Aias, the LAIAS of POLO, from an Admiralty Chart.



Position of *Diláwar*, the supposed Site of Polo's Dilavar



Lit. Frauenfelder, Palermo

BOOK I.

41

CHAPTER I.

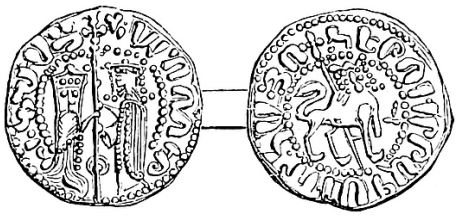
HERE THE BOOK BEGINS; AND FIRST IT SPEAKS OF THE LESSER HERMENIA.

THERE are two Hermenias, the Greater and the Less. The Lesser Hermenia is governed by a certain King, who maintains a just rule in his dominions, but is himself subject to the Tartar.{1} The country contains numerous towns and villages, {2} and has everything in plenty; moreover, it is a great country for sport in the chase of all manner of beasts and birds. It is, however, by no means a healthy region, but grievously the reverse.{3} In days of old the nobles there were valiant men, and did doughty deeds of arms; but nowadays they are poor creatures, and good at nought, unless it be at boozing; they are great at that. Howbeit, they have a city upon the sea, which is called LAYAS, at which there is a great trade. For you must know that all the spicery, and the cloths of silk and gold, and the other

valuable wares that come from the interior, are brought to that city. And the merchants of Venice and Genoa, and other countries, come thither to sell their goods, and to buy what they lack. And whatsoever persons would travel to the interior (of the East), merchants or others, they take their way by this city of Layas. {4}

Having now told you about the Lesser Hermenia, we shall next tell you about Turcomania. 42

NOTE 1.—The *Petite Hermenie* of the Middle Ages was quite distinct from the Armenia Minor of the ancient geographers, which name the latter applied to the western portion of Armenia, west of the Euphrates, and immediately north of Cappadocia.



Coin of King Hetum and his Queen Isabel.

But when the old Armenian monarchy was broken up (1079–80), Rupen, a kinsman of the Bagratid Kings, with many of his countrymen, took refuge in the Taurus. His first descendants ruled as *barons*, a title adopted apparently from the Crusaders, but still preserved in Armenia. Leon, the great-great-grandson of Rupen, was consecrated King under the supremacy of the Pope and the Western Empire in 1198. The kingdom was at its zenith under Hetum or Hayton I., husband of Leon's daughter Isabel (1224–1269); he was, however, prudent enough to make an early submission to the Mongols, and remained ever staunch to them, which brought his territory constantly under the flail of Egypt. It included at one time all Cilicia, with many cities of Syria and the ancient Armenia Minor, of Isauria and Cappadocia. The male line of Rupen becoming extinct in 1342, the kingdom passed to John de Lusignan, of the royal house of Cyprus, and in 1375 it was put an end to by the Sultan of Egypt. Leon VI., the ex-king, into whose mouth Froissart puts some extraordinary geography, had a pension of 1000*l*. a year granted him by our Richard II., and died at Paris in 1398.

The chief remaining vestige of this little monarchy is the continued existence of a *Catholicos* of part of the Armenian Church at Sis, which was the royal residence. Some Armenian communities still remain both in hills and plains; and the former, the more independent and industrious, still speak a corrupt Armenian.

Polo's contemporary, Marino Sanuto, compares the kingdom of the Pope's faithful Armenians to one between the teeth of four fierce beasts, the *Lion* Tartar, the *Panther* Soldan, the Turkish *Wolf*, the Corsair *Serpent*.

(*Dulaurier*, in *J. As.* sér. V. tom. xvii.; *St. Martin, Arm.*; *Mar. San.* p. 32; *Froissart*, Bk. II. ch. xxii. *seqq.*; *Langlois, V. en Cilicie*, 1861, p. 19.)

NOTE 2.—"*Maintes villes et maint chasteaux*." This is a constantly recurring phrase, and I have generally translated it as here, believing *chasteaux (castelli)* to be used in the frequent old Italian sense of a *walled* village or small walled town, or like the Eastern *Kala'*, applied in Khorasan "to everything—town, village, or private residence—surrounded by a wall of earth." (*Ferrier*, p. 292; see also *A. Conolly*, I. p. 211.) Martini, in his *Atlas Sinensis*, uses "*Urbes*, *oppida*, castella," to indicate the three classes of Chinese administrative cities.

NOTE 3.—"*Enferme durement*." So Marino Sanuto objects to Lesser Armenia as a place of debarkation for a crusade "*quia terra est infirma*." Langlois, speaking of the Cilician plain: "In this region once so fair, now covered with swamps and brambles, fever decimates a population which is yearly diminishing, has nothing to oppose to the

scourge but incurable apathy, and will end by disappearing altogether," etc. (*Voyage*, p. 65.) Cilician Armenia retains its reputation for sport, and is much frequented by our naval officers for that object. Ayas is noted for the extraordinary abundance of turtles.

NOTE 4.—The phrase twice used in this passage for the *Interior* is *Fra terre*, an Italianism (*Fra terra*, or, as it stands in the Geog. Latin, "*infra terram Orientis*"), which, however, Murray and Pauthier have read as an allusion to the *Euphrates*, an error based apparently on a marginal gloss in the published edition of the Soc. de Géographie. It is true that the province of Comagene under the Greek Empire got the name of *Euphratesia*, or in Arabic *Furátíyah*, but that was not in question here. The great trade of Ayas was with Tabriz, *viâ* Sivas, Erzingan, and Erzrum, as we see in Pegolotti. Elsewhere, too, in Polo we find the phrase *fra terre* used, where Euphrates could possibly have no concern, as in relation to India and Oman. (See Bk. III. chs. xxix. and xxxviii., and notes in each case.) 43

With regard to the phrase *spicery* here and elsewhere, it should be noted that the Italian *spezerie* included a vast deal more than ginger and other things "hot i' the mouth." In one of Pegolotti's lists of *spezerie* we find drugs, dye-stuffs, metals, wax, cotton, etc.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF TURCOMANIA.

IN Turcomania there are three classes of people. First, there are the Turcomans; these are worshippers of Mahommet, a rude people with an uncouth language of their own.{1} They dwell among mountains and downs where they find good pasture, for their occupation is cattle-keeping. Excellent horses, known as *Turquans*, are reared in their country, and also very valuable mules. The other two classes are the Armenians and the Greeks, who live mixt with the former in the towns and villages, occupying themselves with trade and handicrafts. They weave the finest and handsomest carpets in the world, and also a great quantity of fine and rich silks of cramoisy and other colours, and plenty of other stuffs. Their chief cities are CONIA, SAVAST [where the glorious Messer Saint Blaise suffered martyrdom], and CASARIA, besides many other towns and bishops' sees, of which we shall not speak at present, for it would be too long a matter. These people are subject to the Tartar of the Levant as their Suzerain.{2} We will now leave this province, and speak of the Greater Armenia. 44

NOTE 1.—Ricold of Montecroce, a contemporary of Polo, calls the Turkmans *homines bestiales*. In our day Ainsworth notes of a Turkman village: "The dogs were very ferocious; ... the people only a little better." (*J. R. G. S.* X. 292.) The ill report of the people of this region did not begin with the Turkmans, for the Emperor Constantine Porphyrog. quotes a Greek proverb to the disparagement of the three *kappas*, Cappadocia, Crete, and Cilicia. (In *Banduri*, I. 6.)

NOTE 2.—In Turcomania Marco perhaps embraces a great part of Asia Minor, but he especially means the territory of the decaying Seljukian monarchy, usually then called by Asiatics *Rúm*, as the Ottoman Empire is now, and the capital of which was Iconium, KUNIYAH, the Conia of the text, and Coyne of Joinville. Ibn Batuta calls the whole

country Turkey (*Al-Turkíyah*), and the people *Turkmán*; exactly likewise does Ricold (*Thurchia* and *Thurchimanni*). Hayton's account of the various classes of inhabitants is quite the same in substance as Polo's. [The Turkmans emigrated from Turkestan to Asia Minor before the arrival of the Seljukid Turks. "Their villages," says Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, II. p. 767, "are distinguished by the peculiarity of the houses being built of sun-baked bricks, whereas it is the general habit in the country to build them of earth or a kind of plaster, called *djès*"—H. C.] The migratory and pastoral Turkmans still exist in this region, but the Kurds of like habits have taken their place to a large extent. The fine carpets and silk fabrics appear to be no longer produced here, any more than the excellent horses of which Polo speaks, which must have been the remains of the famous old breed of Cappadocia. [It appears, however (Vital Cuinet's *Turquie d'Asie*, I. p. 224), that fine carpets are still manufactured at Koniah, also a kind of striped cotton cloth, called *Aladja*.—H. C.]

A grant of privileges to the Genoese by Leon II., King of Lesser Armenia, dated 23rd December, 1288, alludes to the export of horses and mules, etc., from Ayas, and specifies the duties upon them. The horses now of repute in Asia as Turkman come from the east of the Caspian. And Asia Minor generally, once the mother of so many breeds of high repute, is now poorer in horses than any province of the Ottoman empire.

(*Pereg. Quat.* p. 114; *I. B.* II. 255 *seqq.*; *Hayton*, ch. xiii.; *Liber Jurium Reip. Januensis*, II. 184; *Tchihatcheff, As. Min.*, 2de partie, 631.)

[The Seljukian Sultanate of Iconium or Rúm, was founded at the expense of the Byzantines by Suleiman (1074–1081); the last three sovereigns of the dynasty contemporaneous with Marco Polo are Ghiath ed-din Kaïkhosru III. (1267–1283), Ghiath ed-din Mas'ud II. (1283–1294), Ala ed-din Kaïkobad III. (1294–1308), when this kingdom was destroyed by the Mongols of Persia. Privileges had been granted to Venice by Ghiath ed-din Kaïkhosru I. (✝1211), and his sons Izz ed-din Kaikaus (1211–1220), and Ala ed-din Kaïkobad I. (1220–1237); the diploma of 1220 is unfortunately the only one of the three known to be preserved. (Cf. Heyd, I. p. 302.)—H. C.]

Though the authors quoted above seem to make no distinction between Turks and Turkmans, that which we still understand does appear to have been made in the 12th century: "That there may be some distinction, at least in name, between those who made themselves a king, and thus achieved such glory, and those who still abide in their primitive barbarism and adhere to their old way of life, the former are nowadays termed *Turks*, the latter by their old name of *Turkomans*." (*William of Tyre*, i. 7.)

Casaria is KAISARÍYA, the ancient Caesareia of Cappadocia, close to the foot of the great Mount Argaeus. *Savast* is the Armenian form (*Sevasd*) of Sebaste, the modern SIVAS. The three cities, Iconium, Caesareia, and Sebaste, were metropolitan sees under the Catholicos of Sis.

[The ruins of Sebaste are situated at about 6 miles to the east of modern Sivas, near the village of Gavraz, on the *Kizil Irmak*. In the 11th century, the King of Armenia, Senecherim, made his capital of Sebaste. It belonged after to the Seljukid Turks, and was conquered in 1397 by Bayezid Ilderim with Tokat, Castambol and Sinope. (Cf. *Vital Cuinet*.) 45

One of the oldest churches in Sivas is St. George (*Sourp-Kévork*), occupied by the Greeks, but claimed by the Armenians; it is situated near the centre of the town, in what is called the "Black Earth," the spot where Timur is said to have massacred the garrison. A few steps north of St. George is the Church of St. Blasius, occupied by the Roman Catholic Armenians. The tomb of St. Blasius, however, is shown in another part of the town, near the citadel mount, and the ruins of a very beautiful Seljukian Medresseh.

It must be remembered that at the time of the Seljuk Turks, there were four Medressehs at Sivas, and a university as famous as that of Amassia. Children to the number of 1000, each a bearer of a copy of the Koran, were crushed to death under the feet of the horses of Timur, and buried in the "Black Earth"; the garrison of 4000 soldiers were buried alive.

St. Blasius, Bishop of Sebaste, was martyred in 316 by order of Agricola, Governor of Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia, during the reign of Licinius. His feast is celebrated by the Latin Church on the 3rd of February, and by the Greek Church on the 11th of February. He is the patron of the Republic of Ragusa in Dalmatia, and in France of wool-carders.

At the village of Hullukluk, near Sivas, was born in 1676 Mekhitar, founder of the well-known Armenian Order, which has convents at Venice, Vienna, and Trieste.—H. C.]

CHAPTER III.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GREATER HERMENIA.

THIS is a great country. It begins at a city called ARZINGA, at which they weave the best buckrams in the world. It possesses also the best baths from natural springs that are anywhere to be found.[{1}] The people of the country are Armenians, and are subject to the Tartar. There are many towns and villages in the country, but the noblest of their cities is Arzinga, which is the See of an Archbishop, and then ARZIRON and ARZIZI.[{2}]

The country is indeed a passing great one, and in the summer it is frequented by the whole host of the Tartars of the Levant, because it then furnishes them with such excellent pasture for their cattle. But in winter the cold is past all bounds, so in 46
that season they quit this country and go to a warmer region, where they find other good pastures. [At a castle called PAIPURTH, that you pass in going from Trebizond to Tauris, there is a very good silver mine.[{3}]]

And you must know that it is in this country of Armenia that the Ark of Noah exists on the top of a certain great mountain [on the summit of which snow is so constant that no one can ascend;[{4}] for the snow never melts, and is constantly added to by new falls. Below, however, the snow does melt, and runs down, producing such rich and abundant herbage that in summer cattle are sent to pasture from a long way round about, and it never fails them. The melting snow also causes a great amount of mud on the mountain].

The country is bounded on the south by a kingdom called Mosul, the people of which are Jacobite and Nestorian Christians, of whom I shall have more to tell you presently. On the north it is bounded by the Land of the Georgians, of whom also I shall speak. On the confines towards Georgiania there is a fountain from which oil springs in great abundance, insomuch that a hundred shiploads might be taken from it at one time. This oil is not good to use with food, but 'tis good to burn, and is also used to anoint camels that have the mange. People come from vast distances to fetch it, for in all the countries round about they have no other oil.[{5}]

Now, having done with Great Armenia, we will tell you of Georgiania.

NOTE 1.—[ERZINJAN, Erzinga, or Eriza, in the vilayet of Erzrum, was rebuilt in 1784, after having been destroyed by an earthquake. "Arzendjan," says Ibn Batuta, II. p. 294, "is in possession of well-established markets; there are manufactured fine stuffs, which are called after its name." It was at Erzinjan that was fought in 1244 the great battle, which placed the Seljuk Turks under the dependency of the Mongol Khans.—H. C.] I do not find mention of its hot springs by modern travellers, but Lazari says Armenians assured him of their existence. There are plenty of others in Polo's route through the country, as at Ilija, close to Erzrum, and at Hássan Kalá. 47

The *Buckrams* of Arzinga are mentioned both by Pegolotti (*circa* 1340) and by Giov. d'Uzzano (1442). But what were they?

Buckram in the modern sense is a coarse open texture of cotton or hemp, loaded with gum, and used to stiffen certain articles of dress. But this was certainly *not* the mediæval sense. Nor is it easy to bring the mediæval uses of the term under a single explanation. Indeed Mr. Marsh suggests that probably two different words have coalesced. Fr.-Michel says that *Bouqueran* was *at first* applied to a light cotton stuff of the nature of muslin, and *afterwards* to linen, but I do not see that he makes out this history of the application. Douet d'Arcq, in his *Comptes de l'Argenterie*, etc., explains the word simply in the modern sense, but there seems nothing in his text to bear this out.

A quotation in Raynouard's Romance Dictionary has "*Vestirs de polpra e de* bisso *que est* bocaran," where Raynouard renders *bisso* as *lin*; a quotation in Ducange also makes Buckram the equivalent of Bissus; and Michel quotes from an inventory of 1365, "*unam culcitram pinctam* (qu. punctam?) *albam factam* de bisso *aliter* boquerant."

Mr. Marsh again produces quotations, in which the word is used as a proverbial example of *whiteness*, and inclines to think that it was a bleached cloth with a lustrous surface.

It certainly was not *necessarily* linen. Giovanni Villani, in a passage which is curious in more ways than one, tells how the citizens of Florence established races for their troops, and, among other prizes, was one which consisted of a *Bucherame di bambagine* (of cotton). Polo, near the end of the Book (Bk. III. ch. xxxiv.), speaking of Abyssinia, says, according to Pauthier's text: "*Et si y fait on moult beaux* bouquerans et autres draps de coton." The G. T. is, indeed, more ambiguous: "*Il hi se font maint biaus dras* banbacin e bocaran" (cotton *and* buckram). When, however, he uses the same expression with reference to the delicate stuffs woven on the coast of Telingana, there can be no doubt that a cotton texture is meant, and apparently a fine muslin. (See Bk. III. ch. xviii.) Buckram is *generally* named as an article of price, *chier bouquerant*, *rice boquerans*, etc, but not always, for Polo in one passage (Bk. II. ch. xlv.) seems to speak of it as the clothing of the poor people of Eastern Tibet.

Plano Carpini says the tunics of the Tartars were either of buckram (*bukeranum*), of *purpura* (a texture, perhaps velvet), or of *baudekin*, a cloth of gold (pp. 614–615). When the envoys of the Old Man of the Mountain tried to bully St. Lewis, one had a case of daggers to be offered in defiance, another a *bouqueran* for a winding sheet (*Joinville*, p. 136.)

In accounts of materials for the use of Anne Boleyn in the time of her prosperity, *bokeram* frequently appears for "lyning and taynting" (?) gowns, lining sleeves, cloaks, a bed, etc., but it can scarcely have been for mere stiffening, as the colour of the buckram is generally specified as the same as that of the dress.

buckram quilts (*coltre di Bucherame*) in a list of *Linajuoli*, or linen-draperies. Both his handbook and Pegolotti's state repeatedly that buckrams were sold by the piece or the half-score pieces—never by measure. In one of Michel's quotations (from *Baudouin de Sebourc*) we have:

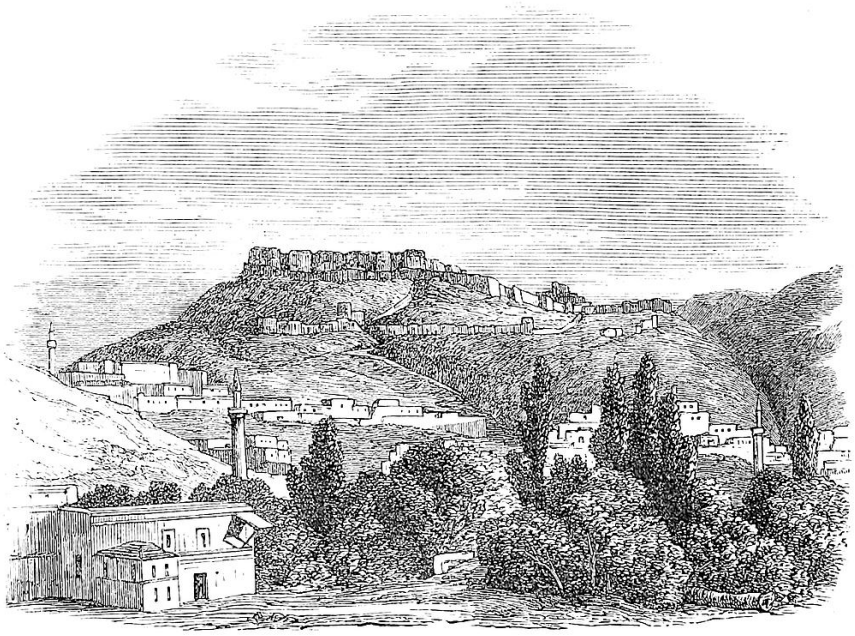
"Gaufer li fist premiers armer d'un auqueton
Qui fu de *bougherant* et *plaine de bon coton*."

Mr. Hewitt would appear to take the view that Buckram meant a quilted material; for, quoting from a roll of purchases made for the Court of Edward I., an entry for Ten Buckrams to make sleeves of, he remarks, "The sleeves appear to have been of *pourpointerie*," *i.e.* quilting. (*Ancient Armour*, I. 240.)

This signification would embrace a large number of passages in which the term is used, though certainly not all. It would account for the mode or sale by the piece, and frequent use of the expression *a* buckram, for its habitual application to *coltre* or counterpanes, its use in the *auqueton* of Baudouin, and in the jackets of Falstaff's "men in buckram," as well as its employment in the frocks of the Mongols and Tibetans. The winter *chapkan*, or long tunic, of Upper India, a form of dress which, I believe, correctly represents that of the Mongol hosts, and is probably derived from them, is almost universally of quilted cotton.[1] This signification would also facilitate the transfer of meaning to the substance now called buckram, for that is used as a *kind* of quilting. 48

The derivation of the word is very uncertain. Reiske says it is Arabic, *Abu-Kairám*, "Pannus cum intextis figuris"; Wedgwood, attaching the modern meaning, that it is from It., *bucherare*, to pierce full of holes, which might be if *bucherare* could be used in the sense of *puntare*, or the French *piquer*; Marsh connects it with the *bucking* of linen; and D'Avezac thinks it was a stuff that took its name from *Bokhara*. If the name be local, as so many names of stuffs are, the French form rather suggests *Bulgaria*. [Heyd, II. 703, says that Buckram (Bucherame) was principally manufactured at Erzinjan (Armenia), Mush, and Mardin (Kurdistan), Ispahan (Persia), and in India, etc. It was shipped to the west at Constantinople, Satalia, Acre, and Famagusta; the name is derived from Bokhara. —H. C.]

(*Della Decima*, III. 18, 149, 65, 74, 212, etc.; IV. 4, 5, 6, 212; *Reiske's* Notes to *Const. Porphyrogen.* II.; *D'Avezac*, p. 524; *Vocab. Univ. Ital.; Franc.-Michel, Recherches*, etc. II. 29 *seqq.*; *Philobiblon Soc. Miscell.* VI.; *Marsh's Wedgwood's Etym. Dict.* sub voce.)



Castle of Baiburt.

NOTE 2.—Arziron is ERZRUM, which, even in Tournefort's time, the Franks called *Erzeron* (III. 126); [it was named *Garine*, then *Theodosiopolis*, in honour of Theodosius the Great; the present name was given by the Seljukid Turks, and it means "Roman Country"; it was taken by Chinghiz Khan and Timur, but neither kept it long. Odorico (*Cathay*, I. p. 46), speaking of this city, says it "is mighty cold." (See also on the low temperature of the place, Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, II. pp. 258–259.) Arzizi, ARJISH, in the vilayet of Van, was destroyed in the middle of the 19th century; it was situated on the road from Van to Erzrum. Arjish Kalá was one of the ancient capitals of the Kingdom of Armenia; it was conquered by Toghrul I., who made it his residence. (Cf. Vital Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, II. p. 710).—H. C.] 49

Arjish is the ancient *Arsissa*, which gave the Lake Van one of its names. It is now little more than a decayed castle, with a village inside.

Notices of Kuniyah, Kaisariya, Sivas, Arzan-ar-Rumi, Arzangan, and Arjish, will be found in Polo's contemporary Abulfeda. (See *Büsching*, IV. 303–311.)

NOTE 3.—Paipurth, or Baiburt, on the high road between Trebizond and Erzrum, was, according to Neumann, an Armenian fortress in the first century, and, according to Ritter, the castle *Baiberdon* was fortified by Justinian. It stands on a peninsular hill, encircled by the windings of the R. Charok. [According to Ramusio's version Baiburt was the third relay from Trebizund to Tauris, and travellers on their way from one of these cities to the other passed under this stronghold.—H. C.] The Russians, in retiring from it in 1829, blew up the greater part of the defences. The nearest silver mines of which we find modern notice, are those of *Gumish-Khánah* ("Silverhouse"), about 35 miles N.W. of Baiburt; they are more correctly mines of lead rich in silver, and were once largely worked. But the *Masálak-al-absár* (14th century), besides these, speaks of two others in the same province, one of which was near *Bajert*. This Quatremère reasonably would read *Babert* or Baiburt. (*Not. et Extraits*, XIII. i. 337; *Texier*, *Arménie*, I. 59.)

NOTE 4.—Josephus alludes to the belief that Noah's Ark still existed, and that pieces of the pitch were used as amulets. (*Ant*. I. 3. 6.)

Khodzko, Khanikoff, and others, for trigonometrical and other scientific purposes, in August 1850. It is characteristic of the account from which I take these notes (*Longrimoff*, in *Bull. Soc. Géog. Paris*, sér. IV. tom. i. p. 54), that whilst the writer's countrymen, Spasski and Behrens, were "moved by a noble curiosity," the Englishman is only admitted to have "gratified a tourist's whim"!

NOTE 5.—Though Mr. Khanikoff points out that springs of naphtha are abundant in the vicinity of Tiflis, the mention of *ship-loads* (in Ramusio indeed altered, but probably by the Editor, to *camel-loads*), and the vast quantities spoken of, point to the naphtha-wells of the Baku Peninsula on the Caspian. Ricold speaks of their supplying the whole country as far as Baghdad, and Barbaro alludes to the practice of anointing camels with the oil. The quantity collected from the springs about Baku was in 1819 estimated at 241,000 *poods* (nearly 4000 tons), the greater part of which went to Persia. (*Pereg. Quat.* p. 122; *Ramusio*, II. 109; *El. de Laprim.* 276; *V. du Chev. Gamba*, I. 298.)

[The phenomenal rise in the production of the Baku oil-fields between 1890–1900, may be seen at a glance from the Official Statistics where the total output for 1900 is given as 601,000,000 poods, about 9,500,000 tons. (Cf. *Petroleum*, No. 42, vol. ii. p. 13.)]

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[1] Polo's contemporary, the Indian Poet Amír Khusrú, puts in the mouth of his king Kaikobád a contemptuous gibe at the Mongols with their cotton-quilted dresses. (*Elliot*, III. p. 526.)

CHAPTER IV.

50

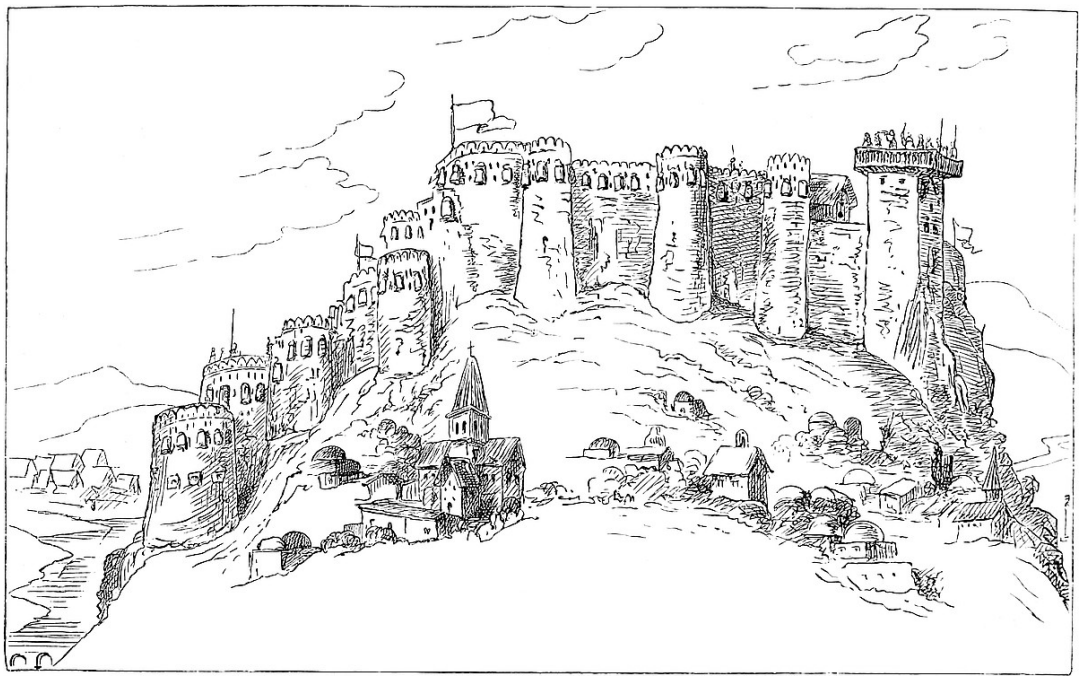
OF GEORGIANIA AND THE KINGS THEREOF.

IN GEORGIANIA there is a King called David Melic, which is as much as to say "David King"; he is subject to the Tartar.{1} In old times all the kings were born with the figure of an eagle upon the right shoulder. The people are very handsome, capital archers, and most valiant soldiers. They are Christians of the Greek Rite, and have a fashion of wearing their hair cropped, like Churchmen.{2}

This is the country beyond which Alexander could not pass when he wished to penetrate to the region of the Ponent, because that the defile was so narrow and perilous, the sea lying on the one hand, and on the other lofty mountains impassable to horsemen. The strait extends like this for four leagues, and a handful of people might hold it against all the world. Alexander caused a very strong tower to be built there, to prevent the people beyond from passing to attack him, and this got the name of the IRON GATE. This is the place that the Book of Alexander speaks of, when it tells us how he shut up the Tartars between two mountains; not that they were really Tartars, however, for there were no Tartars in those days, but they consisted of a race of people called COMANIANS and many besides.{3}

[In this province all the forests are of box-wood.{4}] There are numerous towns and villages, and silk is produced in great abundance. They also weave cloths of gold, and all kinds of very fine silk stuffs. The country produces the best goshawks in the world [which are called *Avigi*].{5} It has indeed no lack of anything, and the

people live by trade and handicrafts. 'Tis a very mountainous region, and full of strait defiles and of fortresses, insomuch that the Tartars have never been able to subdue it out and out.



Mediæval Georgian Fortress, from a drawing dated 1634.
"La provence est toute plene de grant montagne et d'estroit pas et de fort."

52 There is in this country a certain Convent of Nuns called St. Leonard's, about which I have to tell you a very wonderful circumstance. Near the church in question there is a great lake at the foot of a mountain, and in this lake are found no fish, great or small, throughout the year till Lent come. On the first day of Lent they find in it the finest fish in the world, and great store too thereof; and these continue to be found till Easter Eve. After that they are found no more till Lent come round again; and so 'tis every year. 'Tis really a passing great miracle![6]

That sea whereof I spoke as coming so near the mountains is called the Sea of GHEL or GHELAN, and extends about 700 miles.[7] It is twelve days' journey distant from any other sea, and into it flows the great River Euphrates and many others, whilst it is surrounded by mountains. Of late the merchants of Genoa have begun to navigate this sea, carrying ships across and launching them thereon. It is from the country on this sea also that the silk called *Ghellé* is brought.[8] [The said sea produces quantities of fish, especially sturgeon, at the river-mouths salmon, and other big kinds of fish.][9]

NOTE 1.—Ramusio has: "One part of the said province is subject to the Tartar, and the other part, owing to its fortresses, remains subject to the King David." We give an illustration of one of these mediæval Georgian fortresses, from a curious collection of MS. notices and drawings of Georgian subjects in the Municipal Library at Palermo, executed by a certain P. Cristoforo di Castelli of that city, who was a Theatine missionary in Georgia, in the first half of the 17th century.

The G. T. says the King was *always* called David. The Georgian Kings of the family of Bagratidae claimed descent from King David through a prince Shampath, said to have been sent north by Nebuchadnezzar; a descent which was usually asserted in their public documents. Timur in his Institutes mentions a suit of armour given him by the King of Georgia as forged by the hand of the Psalmist King. David is a very frequent name in 53
their royal lists. [The dynasty of the Bagratidae, which was founded in 786 by Ashod, and lasted until the annexation of Georgia by Russia on the 18th January, 1801, had nine reigning princes named David. During the second half of the 12th century the princes were: Dawith (David) IV. Narin (1247–1259), Dawith V. (1243–1272), Dimitri II. Thawdadebuli (1272–1289), Wakhtang II. (1289–1292), Dawith VI. (1292–1308).—H. C.] There were two princes of that name, David, who shared Georgia between them under the decision of the Great Kaan in 1246, and one of them, who survived to 1269, is probably meant here. The name of David was borne by the last titular King of Georgia, who ceded his rights to Russia in 1801. It is probable, however, as Marsden has suggested, that the statement about the King *always* being called David arose in part out of some confusion with the title of *Dadian*, which, according to Chardin (and also to P. di Castelli), was always assumed by the Princes of Mingrelia, or Colchis as the latter calls it. Chardin refers this title to the Persian *Dád*, "equity." To a portrait of "Alexander, King of Iberia," or Georgia Proper, Castelli attaches the following inscription, giving apparently his official style: "With the sceptre of David, Crowned by Heaven, First King of the Orient and of the World, King of Israel," adding, "They say that he has on his shoulder a small mark of a cross, '*Factus est principatus super humerum ejus*,' and they add that he has all his ribs in one piece, and not divided." In another place he notes that when attending the King in illness his curiosity moved him strongly to ask if these things were true, but he thought better of it! (*Khanikoff; Jour. As*. IX. 370, XI. 291, etc.; *Tim. Instit*. p. 143; *Castelli* MSS.)

[A descendant of these Princes was in St. Petersburg about 1870. He wore the Russian uniform, and bore the title of Prince Bagration-Mukransky.]

NOTE 2.—This fashion of tonsure is mentioned by Barbaro and Chardin. The latter speaks strongly of the beauty of both sexes, as does Della Valle, and most modern travellers concur.

NOTE 3.—This refers to the Pass of Derbend, apparently the Sarmatic Gates of Ptolemy, and *Claustra Caspiorum* of Tacitus, known to the Arab geographers as the "Gate of Gates" (*Báb-ul-abwáb*), but which is still called in Turkish *Demír-Kápi*, or the Iron Gate, and to the ancient Wall that runs from the Castle of Derbend along the ridges of Caucasus, called in the East *Sadd-i-Iskandar*, the Rampart of Alexander. Bayer thinks the wall was probably built originally by one of the Antiochi, and renewed by the Sassanian Kobad or his son Naoshirwan. It is ascribed to the latter by Abulfeda; and according to Klaproth's extracts from the *Derbend Námah*, Naoshirwan completed the fortress of Derbend in A.D. 542, whilst he and his father together had erected 360 towers upon the Caucasian Wall which extended to the Gate of the Alans (*i.e*. the Pass of Dariel). Mas'udi says that the wall extended for 40 parasangs over the steepest summits and deepest gorges. The Russians must have gained some knowledge as to the actual existence and extent of the remains of this great work, but I have not been able to meet with any modern information of a very precise kind. According to a quotation from *Reinegg's Kaukasus* (I. 120, a work which I have not been able to consult), the remains of defences can be traced for many miles, and are in some places as much as 120 feet high. M. Moynet indeed, in the *Tour du Monde* (I. 122), states that he traced the wall to a distance of 27 versts (18 miles) from Derbend, but unfortunately, instead of describing remains of such high interest from his own observation, he cites a description written by Alex. Dumas, which he says is quite accurate.

["To the west of Narin-Kaleh, a fortress which from the top of a promontory rises above the city, the wall, strengthened from distance to distance by large towers, follows the ridge of the mountains, descends into the ravines, and ascends the slopes to take root on some remote peak. If the natives were to be believed, this wall, which, however, no longer has any strategetical importance, had formerly its towers bristling upon the Caucasus chain from one sea to another; at least, this rampart did protect all the plains at 54
the foot of the eastern Caucasus, since vestiges were found up to 30 kilometres from Derbend." (*Reclus, Asie russe*, p. 160.) It has belonged to Russia since 1813. The first European traveller who mentions it is Benjamin of Tudela.

Bretschneider (II. p. 117) observes: "Yule complains that he was not able to find any modern information regarding the famous Caucasian Wall which begins at Derbend. I may therefore observe that interesting details on the subject are found in Legkobytov's *Survey of the Russian Dominions beyond the Caucasus* (in Russian), 1836, vol. iv. pp. 158–161, and in Dubois de Montpéreux's *Voyage autour du Caucase*, 1840, vol. iv. pp. 291–298, from which I shall give here an abstract."

(He then proceeds to give an abstract, of which the following is a part:)

"The famous *Dagh bary* (mountain wall) now begins at the village of *Djelgan*, 4 versts south-west of Derbend, but we know that as late as the beginning of the last century it could be traced down to the southern gate of the city. This ancient wall then stretches westward to the high mountains of Tabasseran (it seems the Tabarestan of Mas'udi).... Dubois de Montpéreux enumerates the following sites of remains of the wall:—In the famous defile of *Dariel*, north-east of Kazbek. In the valley of the *Assai* river, near Wapila, about 35 versts north-east of Dariel. In the valley of the Kizil river, about 15 versts north-west of Kazbek. Farther west, in the valley of the *Fiag* or *Pog* river, between *Lacz* and *Khilak*. From this place farther west about 25 versts, in the valley of the *Arredon* river, in the district of *Valaghir*. Finally, the westernmost section of the Caucasian Wall has been preserved, which was evidently intended to shut up the maritime defile of *Gagry*, on the Black Sea."—H. C.]

There is another wall claiming the title of *Sadd-i-Iskandar* at the S.E. angle of the Caspian. This has been particularly spoken of by Vámbéry, who followed its traces from S.W. to N.E. for upwards of 40 miles. (See his *Travels in C. Asia*, 54 *seqq*., and *Julius Braun* in the *Ausland*, No. 22, of 1869.)

Yule (II. pp. 537–538) says, "To the same friendly correspondent [Professor Braun] I owe the following additional particulars on this interesting subject, extracted from *Eichwald, Periplus des Kasp. M.* I. 128.

"'At the point on the mountain, at the extremity of the fortress (of Derbend), where the double wall terminates, there begins a single wall constructed in the same style, only this no longer runs in a straight line, but accommodates itself to the contour of the hill, turning now to the north and now to the south. At first it is quite destroyed, and showed the most scanty vestiges, a few small heaps of stones or traces of towers, but all extending in a general bearing from east to west.... It is not till you get 4 versts from Derbend, in traversing the mountains, that you come upon a continuous wall. Thenceforward you can follow it over the successive ridges ... and through several villages chiefly occupied by the Tartar hill-people. The wall ... makes many windings, and every ¾ verst it exhibits substantial towers like those of the city-wall, crested with loop-holes. Some of these are still in tolerably good condition; others have fallen, and with the wall itself have left but slight vestiges.'

"Eichwald altogether followed it up about 18 versts (12 miles) not venturing to proceed further. In later days this cannot have been difficult, but my kind correspondent had not been able to lay his hand on information.

"A letter from Mr. Eugene Schuyler communicates some notes regarding inscriptions that have been found at and near Derbend, embracing Cufic of A.D. 465, Pehlvi, and even Cuneiform. Alluding to the fact that the other *Iron-gate*, south of Shahrsabz, was called also *Kalugah*, or *Kohlugah* he adds: 'I don't know what that means, nor do I know if the Russian Kaluga, south-west of Moscow, has anything to do with it, but I am told there is a Russian popular song, of which two lines run:

"'Ah Derbend, Derbend Kaluga,
Derbend my little Treasure!"'

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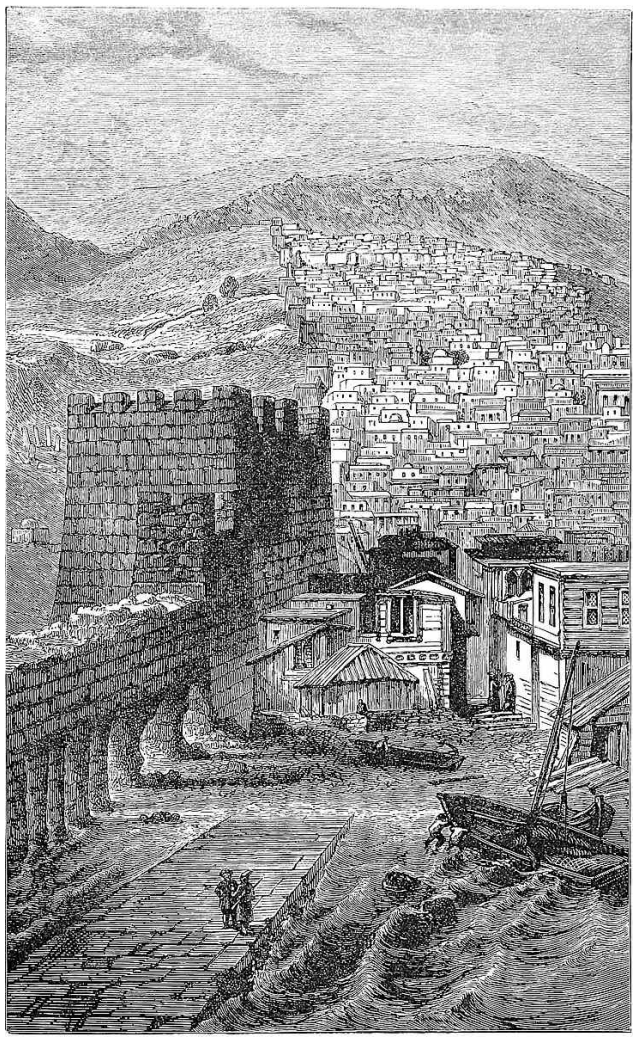

View of Derbend.
"Alexandre ne poit paser quand il vost aler au Ponent ... car de l'un les est la mer, et de l'autre est gran montagne que ne se poent cavaucher. La vie est mout estroit entre la montagne et la mer."

"I may observe that I have seen it lately pointed out that *Koluga* is a Mongol word signifying a *barrier*; and I see that Timkowski (I. 288) gives the same explanation of *Kalgan*, the name applied by Mongols and Russians to the gate in the Great Wall, called Chang-kia-Kau by the Chinese, leading to Kiakhta." 56

The story alluded to by Polo is found in the mediæval romances of Alexander, and in the Pseudo-Callisthenes on which they are founded. The hero chases a number of impure cannibal nations within a mountain barrier, and prays that they may be shut up therein.

kings, and the names of the nations were Gōth, Magōth, Anugi, Egēs, Exenach, etc. Godfrey of Viterbo speaks of them in his rhyming verses:—

"Finibus Indorum species fuit una virorum;
Goth erat atque Magoth dictum cognomen eorum
* * * * *
Narrat Esias, Isidorus et Apocalypsis,
Tangit et in titulis Magna Sibylla suis.
Patribus ipsorum tumulus fuit venter eorum," etc.

Among the questions that the Jews are said to have put, in order to test Mahommed's prophetic character, was one series: "Who are Gog and Magog? Where do they dwell? What sort of rampart did Zu'lḳarnain build between them and men?" And in the Koran we find (ch. xviii. *The Cavern*): "They will question thee, O Mahommed, regarding Zu'lḳarnain. Reply: I will tell you his history"—and then follows the story of the erection of the Rampart of Yájúj and Májúj. In ch. xxi. again there is an allusion to their expected issue at the latter day. This last expectation was one of very old date. Thus the Cosmography of Aethicus, a work long believed (though erroneously) to have been abridged by St. Jerome, and therefore to be as old at least as the 4th century, says that the *Turks* of the race of Gog and Magog, a polluted nation, eating human flesh and feeding on all abominations, never washing, and never using wine, salt, nor wheat, shall come forth in the Day of Antichrist from where they lie shut up behind the Caspian Gates, and make horrid devastation. No wonder that the irruption of the Tartars into Europe, heard of at first with almost as much astonishment as such an event would produce now, was connected with this prophetic legend![1] The Emperor Frederic II., writing to Henry III. of England, says of the Tartars: "'Tis said they are descended from the Ten Tribes who abandoned the Law of Moses, and worshipped the Golden Calf. They are the people whom Alexander Magnus shut up in the Caspian Mountains."

[See the chapter *Gog et Magog dans le roman en alexandrins*, in Paul Meyer's *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature française*, Paris, 1886, II. pp. 386–389.—H. C.]:

"Gos et Margos i vienent de la tiere des Turs
Et .cccc. m. hommes amenerent u plus,
Il en jurent la mer dont sire est Neptunus
Et le porte d'infier que garde Cerberus
Que l'orguel d'Alixandre torneront a reüs
Por çou les enclot puis es estres desus.
Dusc' al tans Antecrist n'en istera mais nus."

According to some chroniclers, the Emperor Heraclius had already let loose the Shut-up Nations to aid him against the Persians, but it brought him no good, for he was beaten in spite of their aid, and died of grief.

The theory that the Tartars were Gog and Magog led to the Rampart of Alexander being confounded with the Wall of China (see *infra*, Bk. I. ch. lix.), or being relegated to the extreme N.E. of Asia, as we find it in the Carta Catalana. 57

These legends are referred to by Rabbi Benjamin, Hayton, Rubruquis, Ricold, Matthew Paris, and many more. Josephus indeed speaks of the Pass which Alexander fortified with gates of steel. But his saying that the King of Hyrcania was Lord of this Pass points to the Hyrcanian Gates of Northern Persia, or perhaps to the Wall of Gomushtapah, described by Vámbéry.

Ricold of Montecroce allows two arguments to connect the Tartars with the Jews who were shut up by Alexander; one that the Tartars hated the very name of Alexander, and could not bear to hear it; the other, that their manner of writing was very like the

Chaldean, meaning apparently the Syriac (*anté*, p. 29). But he points out that they had no resemblance to Jews, and no knowledge of the law.

Edrisi relates how the Khalif Wathek sent one Salem the Dragoman to explore the Rampart of Gog and Magog. His route lay by Tiflis, the Alan country, and that of the Bashkirds, to the far north or north-east, and back by Samarkand. But the report of what he saw is pure fable.

In 1857, Dr. Bellew seems to have found the ancient belief in the legend still held by Afghan gentlemen at Kandahar.

At Gelath in Imeretia there still exists one valve of a large iron gate, traditionally said to be the relic of a pair brought as a trophy from Derbend by David, King of Georgia, called the Restorer (1089–1130). M. Brosset, however, has shown it to be the gate of Ganja, carried off in 1139.

(*Bayer* in *Comment. Petropol.* I. 401 *seqq.*; *Pseudo-Callisth.* by *Müller*, p. 138; *Gott. Viterb.* in *Pistorii Nidani Script. Germ.* II. 228; *Alexandriade*, pp. 310–311; *Pereg.* IV. p. 118; *Acad. des Insc. Divers Savans*, II. 483; *Edrisi*, II. 416–420, etc.)

NOTE 4.—The box-wood of the Abkhasian forests was so abundant, and formed so important an article of Genoese trade, as to give the name of *Chao de Bux* (Cavo di Bussi) to the bay of Bambor, N.W. of Sukum Kala', where the traffic was carried on. (See *Elie de Laprim.* 243.) Abulfeda also speaks of the Forest of Box (*Sharâ' ul-buḳs*) on the shores of the Black Sea, from which box-wood was exported to all parts of the world; but his indication of the exact locality is confused. (*Reinaud's Abulf.* I. 289.)

At the present time "Boxwood abounds on the southern coast of the Caspian, and large quantities are exported from near Resht to England and Russia. It is sent up the Volga to Tsaritzin, from thence by rail to the Don, and down that river to the Black Sea, from whence it is shipped to England." (*MS. Note*, H. Y.)

[Cf. V. Helm's *Cultivated Plants*, edited by J. S. Stallybrass, Lond., 1891, *The Box Tree*, pp. 176–179.—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—Jerome Cardan notices that "the best and biggest goshawks come from Armenia," a term often including Georgia and Caucasus. The name of the bird is perhaps the same as *'Afçi*, "Falco montanus." (See *Casiri*, I. 320.) Major St. John tells me that the *Terlán*, or goshawk, much used in Persia, is still generally brought from Caucasus. (*Cardan, de Rer. Varietate*, VII. 35.)

NOTE 6.—A letter of Warren Hastings, written shortly before his death, and after reading Marsden's Marco Polo, tells how a fish-breeder of Banbury warned him against putting pike into his fish-pond, saying, "If you should leave them where they are *till Shrove Tuesday* they will be sure to spawn, and then you will never get any other fish to breed in it." (*Romance of Travel*, I. 255.) Edward Webbe in his Travels (1590, reprinted 1868) tells us that in the "Land of Siria there is a River having great store of fish like unto Salmon-trouts, but no Jew can catch them, though either Christian and Turk shall catch them in abundance with great ease." The circumstance of fish being got only for a limited time in spring is noticed with reference to Lake Van both by Tavernier and Mr. Brant.

But the exact legend here reported is related (as M. Pauthier has already noticed) by 58
Wilibrand of Oldenburg of a stream under the Castle of Adamodana, belonging to the Hospitallers, near Naversa (the ancient *Anazarbus*), in Cilicia under Taurus. And Khanikoff was told the same story of a lake in the district of Akhaltziké in Western Georgia, in regard to which he explains the substance of the phenomenon as a result of the rise of the lake's level by the melting of the snows, which often coincides with Lent. I

that they were accustomed to desert it for the rivulet that ran through the valley regularly every year *on the day of the vernal equinox*, and it was then lawful to catch them.

Like circumstances would produce the same effect in a variety of lakes, and I have not been able to identify the convent of St. Leonard's. Indeed Leonard (*Sant Lienard*, G. T.) seems no likely name for an Armenian Saint; and the patroness of the convent (as she is of many others in that country) was perhaps Saint *Nina*, an eminent personage in the Armenian Church, whose tomb is still a place of pilgrimage; or possibly St. *Helena*, for I see that the Russian maps show a place called *Elenovka* on the shores of Lake Sevan, N.E. of Erivan. Ramusio's text, moreover, says that the lake was *four days in compass*, and this description will apply, I believe, to none but the lake just named. This is, according to Monteith, 47 miles in length and 21 miles in breadth, and as far as I can make out he travelled round it in three very long marches. Convents and churches on its shores are numerous, and a very ancient one occupies an island on the lake. The lake is noted for its fish, especially magnificent trout.

(*Tavern*. Bk. III. ch. iii.; *J. R. G. S.* X. 897; *Pereg. Quat*. p. 179; *Khanikoff*, 15; *Moorcroft*, II. 382; *J. R. G. S.* III. 40 *seqq*.)

Ramusio has: "In this province there is a fine city called TIFLIS, and round about it are many castles and walled villages. It is inhabited by Christians, Armenians, Georgians, and some Saracens and Jews, but not many."

NOTE 7.—The name assigned by Marco to the Caspian, "Mer de Gheluchelan" or "Ghelachelan," has puzzled commentators. I have no doubt that the interpretation adopted above is the correct one. I suppose that Marco said that the sea was called "La Mer de Ghel ou (de) Ghelan," a name taken from the districts of the ancient *Gelae* on its south-western shores, called indifferently *Gíl* or *Gílán*, just as many other regions of Asia have like duplicate titles (singular and plural), arising, I suppose, from the change of a *gentile* into a *local* name. Such are Lár, Lárán, Khutl, Khutlán, etc., a class to which Badakhshán, Wakhán, Shaghnán, Mungán, Chaghánián, possibly Bámián, and many others have formerly belonged, as the adjectives in some cases surviving, *Badakhshi, Shaghni, Wákhi*, etc., show.[2] The change exemplified in the induration of these *gentile plurals* into *local singulars* is everywhere traced in the passage from earlier to later geography. The old Indian geographical lists, such as are preserved in the Puránas, and in Pliny's extracts from Megasthenes, are, in the main, lists of *peoples*, not of provinces, and even where the real name seems to be local a *gentile* form is often given. So also *Tochari* and *Sogdi* are replaced by *Tokháristán* and *Sughd*; the *Veneti* and *Taurini* by Venice and Turin; the *Remi* and the *Parisii*, by Rheims and Paris; *East-Saxons* and *South-Saxons* by Essex and Sussex; not to mention the countless *-ings* that mark the tribal settlement of the Saxons in Britain.

Abulfeda, speaking of this territory, uses exactly Polo's phrase, saying that the districts in question are properly called *Kíl-o-Kílán*, but by the Arabs *Jíl-o-Jílán*. Teixeira gives the Persian name of the sea as *Darya Ghiláni*. (See *Abulf*. in *Büsching*, v. 329.)

[The province of Gíl (Gílán), which is situated between the mountains and the Caspian Sea, and between the provinces of Azerbaíján and Mázanderán (H. C.)], gave name to the silk for which it was and is still famous, mentioned as *Ghelle* (*Gílí*) at the end of this chapter. This *Seta Ghella* is mentioned also by Pegolotti (pp. 212, 238, 301), and by Uzzano, with an odd transposition, as Seta *Leggi*, along with Seta *Masandroni*, *i.e*. from the adjoining province of Mázanderán (p. 192). May not the Spanish *Geliz*, "a silk-dealer," which seems to have been a puzzle to etymologists, be connected with this? (See *Dozy and Engelmann*, 2nd ed. p. 275.) [Prof. F. de Filippi (*Viaggo in Persia nel* 1862, ... Milan, 1865, 8vo) speaks of the silk industry of Ghílán (pp. 295–296) as the principal product of the entire province.—H. C.] 59

The dimensions assigned to the Caspian in the text would be very correct if length were meant, but the Geog. Text with the same figure specifies *circuit* (*zire*). Ramusio again has "a circuit of 2800 miles." Possibly the original reading was 2700; but this would be in excess.

NOTE 8.—The Caspian is termed by Vincent of Beauvais *Mare Seruanicum*, the Sea of Shirwan, another of its numerous Oriental names, rendered by Marino Sanuto as *Mare Salvanicum*. (III. xi. ch. ix.) But it was generally known to the Franks in the Middle Ages as the SEA OF BACU. Thus Berni:—

"Fuor del deserto la diritta strada
Lungo il Mar di Bacu miglior pareva."
(*Orl. Innam.* xvii. 60.)

And in the *Sfera* of Lionardo Dati (*circa* 1390):—

"Da Tramontana di quest'Asia Grande
Tartari son sotto la fredda Zona,
Gente bestial di bestie e vivande,
Fin dove *l'Onda di Baccù* risuona," etc. (p. 10.)

This name is introduced in Ramusio, but probably by interpolation, as well as the correction of the statement regarding Euphrates, which is perhaps a branch of the notion alluded to in *Prologue*, ch. ii. note 5. In a later chapter Marco calls it the *Sea of Sarai*, a title also given in the Carta Catalana. [Odorico calls it Sea of *Bacuc* (*Cathay*) and Sea of *Bascon* (Cordier). The latter name is a corruption of Abeskun, a small town and island in the S.E. corner of the Caspian Sea, not far from Ashurada.—H. C.]

We have little information as to the Genoese navigation of the Caspian, but the great number of names exhibited along its shores in the map just named (1375) shows how familiar such navigation had become by that date. See also *Cathay*, p. 50, where an account is given of a remarkable enterprise by Genoese buccaneers on the Caspian about that time. Mas'udi relates an earlier history of how about the beginning of the 9th century a fleet of 500 Russian vessels came out of the Volga, and ravaged all the populous southern and western shores of the Caspian. The unhappy population was struck with astonishment and horror at this unlooked-for visitation from a sea that had hitherto been only frequented by peaceful traders or fishermen. (II. 18–24.)

NOTE 9.—[The enormous quantity of fish found in the Caspian Sea is ascribed to the mass of vegetable food to be found in the shallower waters of the North and the mouth of the Volga. According to Reclus, the Caspian fisheries bring in fish to the annual value of between three and four millions sterling.—H. C.]

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[1] See Letter of Frederic to the Roman Senate, of 20th June, 1241, in *Bréholles*. Mahommedan writers, contemporary with the Mongol invasions, regarded these as a manifest sign of the approaching end of the world. (See Elliot's *Historians*, II. p. 265.)

[2] When the first edition was published, I was not aware of remarks to like effect regarding names of this character by Sir H. Rawlinson in the *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. xi. pp. 64 and 103.

Of the Kingdom of Mausul.

On the frontier of Armenia towards the south-east is the kingdom of Mausul. It is a very great kingdom, and inhabited[{1}] by several different kinds of people whom we shall now describe.

First there is a kind of people called Arabi, and these worship Mahommet. Then there is another description of people who are Nestorian and Jacobite Christians. These have a Patriarch, whom they call the Jatolic, and this Patriarch creates Archbishops, and Abbots, and Prelates of all other degrees, and sends them into every quarter, as to India, to Baudas, or to Cathay, just as the Pope of Rome does in the Latin countries. For you must know that though there is a very great number of Christians in those countries, they are all Jacobites and Nestorians; Christians indeed, but not in the fashion enjoined by the Pope of Rome, for they come short in several points of the Faith.[{2}]

All the cloths of gold and silk that are called *Mosolins* are made in this country; and those great Merchants called *Mosolins*, who carry for sale such quantities of spicery and pearls and cloths of silk and gold, are also from this kingdom.[{3}]

There is yet another race of people who inhabit the mountains in that quarter, and are called Curds. Some of them are Christians, and some of them are Saracens; but they are an evil generation, whose delight it is to plunder merchants.[{4}]

[Near this province is another called Mus and Merdin, producing an immense quantity of cotton, from which they make a great deal of buckram[{5}] and other cloth. The people are craftsmen and traders, and all are subject to the Tartar King.] 61

Note 1.—Polo could scarcely have been justified in calling Mosul a very great kingdom. This is a bad habit of his, as we shall have to notice again. Badruddín Lúlú, the last Atabeg of Mosul of the race of Zenghi had at the age of 96 taken sides with Hulaku, and stood high in his favour. His son Malik Sálih, having revolted, surrendered to the Mongols in 1261 on promise of life; which promise they kept in Mongol fashion by torturing him to death. Since then the kingdom had ceased to exist as such. Coins of Badruddín remain with the name and titles of Mangku Kaan on their reverse, and some of his and of other atabegs exhibit curious imitations of Greek art. (*Quat. Rash.* p. 389; *Jour. As.* IV. VI. 141.).—H. Y. and H. C. [Mosul was pillaged by Timur at the end of the 14th century; during the 15th it fell into the hands of the Turkomans, and during the 16th, of Ismail, Shah of Persia.—H. C.]

Coin of Badruddín of Mausul.

[The population of Mosul is to-day 61,000 inhabitants—(48,000 Musulmans, 10,000 Christians belonging to various churches, and 3000 Jews).—H. C.]

Note 2.—The Nestorian Church was at this time and in the preceding centuries diffused over Asia to an extent of which little conception is generally entertained, having a chain of Bishops and Metropolitans from Jerusalem to Peking. The Church derived its name from Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who was deposed by the Council of Ephesus in 431. The chief "point of the Faith" wherein it came short, was (at least in its

or uniting with the latter "as fire with iron." *Nestorin*, the term used by Polo, is almost a literal transcript of the Arab form *Nastúri*. A notice of the Metropolitan sees, with a map, will be found in *Cathay*, p. ccxliv.

Játhalík, written in our text (from G. T.) *Jatolic*, by Fr. Burchard and Ricold *Jaselic*, stands for Καθολικός. No doubt it was originally *Gáthalík*, but altered in pronunciation by the Arabs. The term was applied by Nestorians to their Patriarch; among the Jacobites to the *Mafrián* or Metropolitan. The Nestorian Patriarch at this time resided at Baghdad. (*Assemani*, vol. iii. pt. 2; *Per. Quat*. 91, 127.)

The Jacobites, or Jacobins, as they are called by writers of that age (Ar. *Ya'úbkíy*), received their name from Jacob Baradaeus or James Zanzale, Bishop of Edessa (so called, Mas'udi says, because he was a maker of *barda'at* or saddle-cloths), who gave a great impulse to their doctrine in the 6th century. [At some time between the years 541 and 578, he separated from the Church and became a follower of the doctrine of Eutyches.—H. C.] The Jacobites then formed an independent Church, which at one time spread over the East at least as far as Sístán, where they had a see under the Sassanian Kings. Their distinguishing tenet was *Monophysitism*, viz., that Our Lord had but one Nature, the Divine. It was in fact a rebound from Nestorian doctrine, but, as might be expected in such a case, there was a vast number of shades of opinion among both bodies. The chief locality of the Jacobites was in the districts of Mosul, Tekrit, and Jazírah, and their Patriarch was at this time settled at the Monastery of St. Matthew, near Mosul, but afterwards, and to the present day, at or near Mardin. [They have at present two patriarchates: the Monastery of Zapharan near Baghdad and Etchmiadzin.—H. C.] The Armenian, Coptic, Abyssinian, and Malabar Churches all hold some shade of the Jacobite doctrine, though the first two at least have Patriarchs apart. 62

(*Assemani*, vol. ii.; *Le Quien*, II. 1596; *Mas'udi*, II. 329–330; *Per. Quat*. 124–129.)

NOTE 3.—We see here that *mosolin* or *muslin* had a very different meaning from what it has now. A quotation from Ives by Marsden shows it to have been applied in the middle of last century to a strong cotton cloth made at Mosul. Dozy says the Arabs use *Mauçili* in the sense of muslin, and refers to passages in 'The Arabian Nights.' [Bretschneider (*Med. Res*. II. p. 122) observes "that in the narrative of Ch'ang Ch'un's travels to the west in 1221, it is stated that in Samarkand the men of the lower classes and the priests wrap their heads about with a piece of white *mo-sze*. There can be no doubt that mo-sze here denotes 'muslin,' and the Chinese author seems to understand by this term the same material which we are now used to call muslin."—H. C.] I have found no elucidation of Polo's application of *mosolini* to a class of merchants. But, in a letter of Pope Innocent IV. (1244) to the Dominicans in Palestine, we find classed as different bodies of Oriental Christians, "*Jacobitae, Nestoritae, Georgiani, Graeci, Armeni, Maronitae, et* Mosolini." (*Le Quien*, III. 1342.)

NOTE 4.—"The Curds," says Ricold, "exceed in malignant ferocity all the barbarous nations that I have seen.... They are called *Curti*, not because they are curt in stature, but from the Persian word for *Wolves*.... They have three principal vices, viz., Murder, Robbery, and Treachery." Some say they have not mended since, but his etymology is doubtful. *Kúrt* is Turkish for a wolf, not Persian, which is *Gurg*; but the name (*Karduchi, Kordiaei*, etc.) is older, I imagine, than the Turkish language in that part of Asia. Quatremère refers it to the Persian *gurd*, "strong, valiant, hero." As regards the statement that some of the Kurds were Christians, Mas'udi states that the Jacobites and certain other Christians in the territory of Mosul and Mount Judi were reckoned among the Kurds. (*Not. et Ext*. XIII. i. 304.) [The Kurds of Mosul are in part nomadic and are called *Kotcheres*, but the greater number are sedentary and cultivate cereals, cotton, tobacco, and fruits. (*Cuinet*.) Old Kurdistan had Shehrizor (Kerkuk, in the sanjak of that name) as its capital.—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—Ramusio here, as in all passages where other texts have *Bucherami* and the like, puts *Boccassini*, a word which has become obsolete in its turn. I see both *Bochayrani* and *Bochasini* coupled, in a Genoese fiscal statute of 1339, quoted by Pardessus. (*Lois Maritimes*, IV. 456.)

MUSH and MARDIN are in very different regions, but as their actual interval is only about 120 miles, they *may* have been under one provincial government. Mush is essentially Armenian, and, though the seat of a Pashalik, is now a wretched place. Mardin, on the verge of the Mesopotamian Plain, rises in terraces on a lofty hill, and there, says Hammer, "Sunnis and Shias, Catholic and Schismatic Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Chaldæans, Sun-, Fire-, Calf-, and Devil-worshippers dwell one over the head of the other." (*Ilchan*. I. 191.)

CHAPTER VI.

63

OF THE GREAT CITY OF BAUDAS, AND HOW IT WAS TAKEN.

BAUDAS is a great city, which used to be the seat of the Calif of all the Saracens in the world, just as Rome is the seat of the Pope of all the Christians.{1} A very great river flows through the city, and by this you can descend to the Sea of India. There is a great traffic of merchants with their goods this way; they descend some eighteen days from Baudas, and then come to a certain city called KISI, where they enter the Sea of India.{2} There is also on the river, as you go from Baudas to Kisi, a great city called BASTRA, surrounded by woods, in which grow the best dates in the world.{3}

In Baudas they weave many different kinds of silk stuffs and gold brocades, such as *nasich*, and *nac*, and *cramoisy*, and many another beautiful tissue richly wrought with figures of beasts and birds. It is the noblest and greatest city in all those regions.{4}

Now it came to pass on a day in the year of Christ 1255, that the Lord of the Tartars of the Levant, whose name was Alaü, brother to the Great Kaan now reigning, gathered a mighty host and came up against Baudas and took it by storm. {5} It was a great enterprise! for in Baudas there were more than 100,000 horse, besides foot soldiers. And when Alaü had taken the place he found therein a tower of the Califs, which was full of gold and silver and other treasure; in fact the greatest accumulation of treasure in one spot that ever was known.{6} When he beheld that great heap of treasure he was astonished, and, summoning the Calif to his presence, he said to him: "Calif, tell me now why thou hast gathered such a huge treasure? What didst thou mean to do therewith? Knewest thou not that I was thine enemy, and that I was coming against thee with so great an host to cast thee forth of thine heritage? Wherefore didst thou not take of thy gear and employ it in paying knights and soldiers to defend thee and thy city?"

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The Calif wist not what to answer, and said never a word. So the Prince continued, "Now then, Calif, since I see what a love thou hast borne thy treasure, I

thy treasure as much as thou wilt, since thou art so fond of it; for never shalt thou have aught else to eat!"

So the Calif lingered in the tower four days, and then died like a dog. Truly his treasure would have been of more service to him had he bestowed it upon men who would have defended his kingdom and his people, rather than let himself be taken and deposed and put to death as he was.{7} Howbeit, since that time, there has been never another Calif, either at Baudas or anywhere else.{8}

Now I will tell you of a great miracle that befell at Baudas, wrought by God on behalf of the Christians.

NOTE 1.—This form of the Mediæval Frank name of BAGHDAD, *Baudas* [the Chinese traveller, Ch'ang Te, *Si Shi Ki*, XIII. cent., says, "the kingdom of *Bao-da*," H. C.], is curiously like that used by the Chinese historians, *Paota* (*Pauthier; Gaubil*), and both are probably due to the Mongol habit of slurring gutturals. (See *Prologue*, ch. ii. note 3.) [Baghdad was taken on the 5th of February, 1258, and the Khalif surrendered to Hulaku on the 10th of February.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Polo is here either speaking without personal knowledge, or is so brief as to convey an erroneous impression that the Tigris flows to Kisi, whereas three-fourths of the length of the Persian Gulf intervene between the river mouth and Kisi. The latter is the island and city of KISH or KAIS, about 200 miles from the mouth of the Gulf, and for a long time one of the chief ports of trade with India and the East. The island, the *Cataea* of Arrian, now called Ghes or Kenn, is singular among the islands of the Gulf as being wooded and well supplied with fresh water. The ruins of a city [called Harira, according to Lord Curzon,] exist on the north side. According to Wassáf, the island derived its 65
name from one Kais, the son of a poor widow of Síráf (then a great port of Indian trade on the northern shore of the Gulf), who on a voyage to India, about the 10th century, made a fortune precisely as Dick Whittington did. The proceeds of the cat were invested in an establishment on this island. Modern attempts to nationalise Whittington may surely be given up! It is one of the tales which, like Tell's shot, the dog Gellert, and many others, are common to many regions. (*Hammer's Ilch*. I. 239; *Ouseley's Travels*, I. 170; *Notes and Queries*, 2nd s. XI. 372.)

Mr. Badger, in a postscript to his translation of the History of Omán (*Hak. Soc*. 1871), maintains that Kish or Kais was at this time a city on the mainland, and identical from Síráf. He refers to Ibn Batuta (II. 244), who certainly does speak of visiting "the city of Kais, called also Síráf." And Polo, neither here nor in Bk. III. ch. xl., speaks of Kisi as an island. I am inclined, however, to think that this was from not having visited it. Ibn Batuta says nothing of Síráf as a seat of trade; but the historian Wassáf, who had been in the service of Jamáluddín al-Thaibi, the Lord of Kais, in speaking of the export of horses thence to India, calls it "the *Island* of Kais." (Elliot, III. 34.) Compare allusions to this horse trade in ch. xv. and in Bk. III. ch. xvii. Wassáf was precisely a contemporary of Polo.

NOTE 3.—The name is *Bascra* in the MSS., but this is almost certainly the common error of *c* for *t*. BASRA is still noted for its vast date-groves. "The whole country from the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris to the sea, a distance of 30 leagues, is covered with these trees." (*Tav*. Bk. II. ch. iii.)

NOTE 4.—From Baudas, or Baldac, *i.e*. Baghdad, certain of these rich silk and gold brocades were called *Baldachini*, or in English *Baudekins*. From their use in the state canopies and umbrellas of Italian dignitaries, the word *Baldacchino* has come to mean a canopy, even when architectural. [*Baldekino, baldacchino*, was at first entirely made of

silk, but afterwards silk was mixed (*sericum mixtum*) with cotton or thread. When Hulaku conquered Baghdad part of the tribute was to be paid with that kind of stuff. Later on, says Heyd (II. p. 697), it was also manufactured in the province of Ahwaz, at Damas and at Cyprus; it was carried as far as France and England. Among the articles sent from Baghdad to Okkodai Khan, mentioned in the *Yüan ch'ao pi shi* (made in the 14th century), quoted by Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* II. p. 124), we note: *Nakhut* (a kind of gold brocade), *Nachidut* (a silk stuff interwoven with gold), *Dardas* (a stuff embroidered in gold). Bretschneider (p. 125) adds: "With respect to *nakhut* and *nachidut*, I may observe that these words represent the Mongol plural form of *nakh* and *nachetti*.... I may finally mention that in the *Yüan shi*, ch. lxxviii. (on official dresses), a stuff, *na-shi-shi*, is repeatedly named, and the term is explained there by *kin kin* (gold brocade)."—H. C.] The stuffs called *Nasich* and *Nac* are again mentioned by our traveller below (ch. lix.). We only know that they were of silk and gold, as he implies here, and as Ibn Batuta tells us, who mentions *Nakh* several times and *Nasíj* once. The latter is also mentioned by Rubruquis (*Nasic*) as a present made to him at the Kaan's court. And Pegolotti speaks of both *nacchi* and *nacchetti* of silk and gold, the latter apparently answering to *Nasich*. *Nac, Nacques, Nachiz, Nacíz, Nasís*, appear in accounts and inventories of the 14th century, French and English. (See *Dictionnaire des Tissus*, II. 199, and *Douet d'Arcq, Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France*, etc., 334.) We find no mention of *Nakh* or *Nasíj* among the stuffs detailed in the *Aín Akbari*, so they must have been obsolete in the 16th century. [Cf. Heyd, *Com. du Levant*, II. p. 698; *Nacco*, nachetto, comes from the Arabic *nakh* (*nekh*); *nassit* (*nasith*) from the Arabic *nécidj*.—H. C.] *Quermesis* or Cramoisy derived its name from the Kermes insect (Ar. *Kirmiz*) found on *Quercus coccifera*, now supplanted by cochineal. The stuff so called is believed to have been originally a crimson velvet, but apparently, like the mediæval *Purpura*, if not identical with it, it came to indicate a tissue rather than a colour. Thus Fr.-Michel quotes velvet of vermeil cramoisy, of violet, and of blue cramoisy, and *pourpres* of a variety of colours, 66
though he says he has never met with *pourpre blanche*. I may, however, point to Plano Carpini (p. 755), who describes the courtiers at Karakorum as clad in white *purpura*.

The London prices of *Chermisi* and *Baldacchini* in the early part of the 15th century will be found in Uzzano's work, but they are hard to elucidate.

Babylon, of which Baghdad was the representative, was famous for its variegated textures in very early days. We do not know the nature of the goodly Babylonish garment which tempted Achan in Jericho, but Josephus speaks of the affluence of rich stuffs carried in the triumph of Titus, "gorgeous with life-like designs from the Babylonian loom," and he also describes the memorable Veil of the Temple as a πέπλος Βαβυλώνιος of varied colours marvellously wrought. Pliny says King Attalus invented the intertexture of cloth with gold; but the weaving of damasks of a variety of colours was perfected at Babylon, and thence they were called Babylonian.

The brocades wrought with figures of animals in gold, of which Marco speaks, are still a *spécialité* at Benares, where they are known by the name of *Shikárgáh* or hunting-grounds, which is nearly a translation of the name *Thard-wahsh* "beast-hunts," by which they were known to the mediæval Saracens. (See *Q. Makrizi*, IV. 69–70.) Plautus speaks of such patterns in carpets, the produce of Alexandria—"*Alexandrina* belluata *conchyliata tapetia*." Athenaeus speaks of Persian carpets of like description at an extravagant entertainment given by Antiochus Epiphanes; and the same author cites a banquet given in Persia by Alexander, at which there figured costly curtains embroidered with animals. In the 4th century Asterius, Bishop of Amasia in Pontus, rebukes the Christians who indulge in such attire: "You find upon them lions, panthers, bears, huntsmen, woods, and rocks; whilst the more devout display Christ and His disciples, with the stories of His miracles," etc. And Sidonius alludes to upholstery of like character:

"Peregrina det supellex
* * * *
Ubi torvus, et per artem
Resupina flexus ora,
It equo reditque telo
Simulacra bestiarum
Fugiens fugansque Parthus." (*Epist*. ix. 13.)

A modern Kashmír example of such work is shown under ch. xvii.

(*D'Avezac*, p. 524; *Pegolotti*, in *Cathay*, 295, 306; *I. B*. II. 309, 388, 422; III. 81; *Della Decima*, IV. 125–126; *Fr.-Michel, Recherches*, etc., II. 10–16, 204–206; *Joseph. Bell. Jud*. VII. 5, 5, and V. 5, 4; *Pliny*, VIII. 74 (or 48); *Plautus, Pseudolus*, I. 2; *Yonge's Athenaeus*, V. 26 and XII. 54; *Mongez* in *Mém. Acad*. IV. 275–276.)

NOTE 5.—[Bretschneider (*Med. Res*. I. p. 114) says: "Hulagu left Karakorum, the residence of his brother, on the 2nd May, 1253, and returned to his ordo, in order to organize his army. On the 19th October of the same year, all being ready, he started for the west." He arrived at Samarkand in September, 1255. For this chapter and the following of Polo, see: *Hulagu's Expedition to Western Asia, after the Mohammedan Authors*, pp. 112–122, and the *Translation of the Si Shi Ki* (Ch'ang Te), pp. 122–156, in Bretschneider's *Mediæval Researches*, I.—H. C.]

NOTE 6.—["Hulagu proceeded to the lake of *Ormia* (Urmia), when he ordered a castle to be built on the island of *Tala*, in the middle of the lake, for the purpose of depositing here the immense treasures captured at Baghdad. A great part of the booty, however, had been sent to Mangu Khan." (*Hulagu's Exp*., Bretschneider, *Med. Res*. I. p. 120.) Ch'ang Te says (*Si Shi Ki*, p. 139): "The palace of the Ha-li-fa was built of fragrant and precious woods. The walls of it were constructed of black and white jade. It is impossible to imagine the quantity of gold and precious stones found there."—H. C.]

NOTE 7.— 67

"I said to the Kalif: 'Thou art old,
Thou hast no need of so much gold.
Thou shouldst not have heaped and hidden it here,
Till the breath of Battle was hot and near,
But have sown through the land these useless hoards
To spring into shining blades of swords,
And keep thine honour sweet and clear.
* * * * *
Then into his dungeon I locked the drone,
And left him to feed there all alone
In the honey-cells of his golden hive:
Never a prayer, nor a cry, nor a groan
Was heard from those massive walls of stone,
Nor again was the Kalif seen alive.'
This is the story, strange and true,
That the great Captain Alaü
Told to his brother, the Tartar Khan,
When he rode that day into Cambalu,
By the road that leadeth to Ispahan." (*Longfellow*.)[1]

The story of the death of Mosta'sim Billah, the last of the Abbaside Khalifs, is told in much the same way by Hayton, Ricold, Pachymeres, and Joinville. The memory of the last glorious old man must have failed him, when he says the facts were related by some merchants who came to King Lewis, when before Saiette (or Sidon), viz. in 1253, for the capture of Baghdad occurred five years later. Mar. Sanuto says melted gold was poured

down the Khalif's throat—a transfer, no doubt, from the old story of Crassus and the Parthians. Contemporary Armenian historians assert that Hulaku slew him with his own hand.

All that Rashiduddin says is: "The evening of Wednesday, the 14th of Safar, 656 (20th February, 1258), the Khalif was put to death in the village of Wakf, with his eldest son and five eunuchs who had never quitted him." Later writers say that he was wrapt in a carpet and trodden to death by horses.

[Cf. *The Story of the Death of the last Abbaside Caliph, from the Vatican MS. of Ibn-al-Furāt*, by G. le Strange (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, April, 1900, pp. 293–300). This is the story of the death of the Khalif told by Ibn-al-Furāt (born in Cairo, 1335 A.D.):

"Then Hūlagū gave command, and the Caliph was left a-hungering, until his case was that of very great hunger, so that he called asking that somewhat might be given him to eat. And the accursed Hūlagū sent for a dish with gold therein, and a dish with silver therein, and a dish with gems, and ordered these all to be set before the Caliph al Musta'sim, saying to him, 'Eat these.' But the Caliph made answer, 'These be not fit for eating.' Then said Hūlagū: 'Since thou didst so well know that these be not fit for eating, why didst thou make a store thereof? With part thereof thou mightest have sent gifts to propitiate us, and with part thou shouldst have raised an army to serve thee and defend thyself against us! And Hūlagū commanded them to take forth the Caliph and his son to a place without the camp, and they were here bound and put into two great sacks, being afterwards trampled under foot till they both died—the mercy of Allah be upon them."—H. C.]

The foundation of the story, so widely received among the Christians, is to be found also in the narrative of Nikbi (and Mirkhond), which is cited by D'Ohsson. When the Khalif surrendered, Hulaku put before him a plateful of gold, and told him to eat it. "But one does not eat gold," said the prisoner. "Why, then," replied the Tartar, "did you hoard 68
it, instead of expending it in keeping up an army? Why did you not meet me at the Oxus?" The Khalif could only say, "Such was God's will!" "And that which has befallen you was also God's will," said Hulaku.

Wassáf's narrative is interesting:—"Two days after his capture the Khalif was at his morning prayer, and began with the verse (*Koran*, III. 25), 'Say God is the Possessor of Dominion! It shall be given to whom He will; it shall be taken from whom He will: whom He will He raiseth to honour; whom He will He casteth to the ground.' Having finished the regular office he continued still in prayer with tears and importunity. Bystanders reported to the Ilkhan the deep humiliation of the Khalif's prayers, and the text which seemed to have so striking an application to those two princes. Regarding what followed there are different stories. Some say that the Ilkhan ordered food to be withheld from the Khalif, and that when he asked for food the former bade a dish of gold be placed before him, etc. Eventually, after taking counsel with his chiefs, the Padishah ordered the execution of the Khalif. It was represented that the blood-drinking sword ought not to be stained with the gore of Mosta'sim. He was therefore rolled in a carpet, just as carpets are usually rolled up, insomuch that his limbs were crushed."

The avarice of the Khalif was proverbial. When the Mongol army was investing Miafaraḳain, the chief, Malik Kamál, told his people that everything he had should be at the service of those in need: "Thank God, I am not like Mosta'sim, a worshipper of silver and gold!"

(*Hayton* in *Ram.* ch. xxvi.; *Per. Quat.* 121; *Pachym. Mic. Palaeol.* II. 24; *Joinville*, p. 182; *Sanuto*, p. 238; *J. As.* sér. V. tom. xi. 490, and xvi. 291; *D'Ohsson*, III. 243; *Hammer's Wassáf*, 75–76; *Quat. Rashid.* 305.)

[1] Not that Alaü (*pace* Mr. Longfellow) ever did see Cambalu.

CHAPTER VII.

How the Calif of Baudas took counsel to slay all the Christians in his Land.

I will tell you then this great marvel that occurred between Baudas and Mausul.

It was in the year of Christ{1} ... that there was a Calif at Baudas who bore a great hatred to Christians, and was taken up day and night with the thought how he might either bring those that were in his kingdom over to his own faith, or might procure them all to be slain. And he used daily to take counsel about this with the devotees and priests of his faith,{2} for they all bore the Christians like malice. And, indeed, it 69
is a fact, that the whole body of Saracens throughout the world are always most malignantly disposed towards the whole body of Christians.

Now it happened that the Calif, with those shrewd priests of his, got hold of that passage in our Gospel which says, that if a Christian had faith as a grain of mustard seed, and should bid a mountain be removed, it would be removed. And such indeed is the truth. But when they had got hold of this text they were delighted, for it seemed to them the very thing whereby either to force all the Christians to change their faith, or to bring destruction upon them all. The Calif therefore called together all the Christians in his territories, who were extremely numerous. And when they had come before him, he showed them the Gospel, and made them read the text which I have mentioned. And when they had read it he asked them if that was the truth? The Christians answered that it assuredly was so. "Well," said the Calif, "since you say that it is the truth, I will give you a choice. Among such a number of you there must needs surely be this small amount of faith; so you must either move that mountain there,"—and he pointed to a mountain in the neighbourhood—"or you shall die an ill death; unless you choose to eschew death by all becoming Saracens and adopting our Holy Law. To this end I give you a respite of ten days; if the thing be not done by that time, ye shall die or become Saracens." And when he had said this he dismissed them, to consider what was to be done in this strait wherein they were.

Note 1.—The date in the G. Text and Pauthier is 1275, which of course cannot have been intended. Ramusio has 1225.

[The Khalifs in 1225 were Abu'l Abbas Ahmed VII. en-Nassir lidini 'llah (1180–1225) and Abu Nasr Mohammed IX. ed-Dhahir bi-emri 'llah (1225–1226).—H. C.]

Note 2.—"*Cum sez regisles et cum sez casses*." (G. T.) I suppose the former 70
expression to be a form of *Regules*, which is used in Polo's book for persons of a religious *rule* or order, whether Christian or Pagan. The latter word (*casses*) I take to be the Arabic *Kashísh*, properly a Christian Presbyter, but frequently applied by old

travellers, and habitually by the Portuguese (*caxiz, caxix*), to Mahomedan Divines. (See *Cathay*, p. 568.) It may, however, be *Kází*.

Pauthier's text has simply "à ses prestres de la Loi."

CHAPTER VIII.

How the Christians were in great dismay because of what the Calif had said.

The Christians on hearing what the Calif had said were in great dismay, but they lifted all their hopes to God, their Creator, that He would help them in this their strait. All the wisest of the Christians took counsel together, and among them were a number of bishops and priests, but they had no resource except to turn to Him from whom all good things do come, beseeching Him to protect them from the cruel hands of the Calif.

So they were all gathered together in prayer, both men and women, for eight days and eight nights. And whilst they were thus engaged in prayer it was revealed in a vision by a Holy Angel of Heaven to a certain Bishop who was a very good Christian, that he should desire a certain Christian Cobler,[{1}] who had but one eye, to pray to God; and that God in His goodness would grant such prayer because of the Cobler's holy life.

Now I must tell you what manner of man this Cobler was. He was one who led a life of great uprightness and chastity, and who fasted and kept from all sin, and went daily to church to hear Mass, and gave daily a portion of his gains to God. And the way how he came to have but one eye was this. It happened one day that a 71
certain woman came to him to have a pair of shoes made, and she showed him her foot that he might take her measure. Now she had a very beautiful foot and leg; and the Cobler in taking her measure was conscious of sinful thoughts. And he had often heard it said in the Holy Evangel, that if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee, rather than sin. So, as soon as the woman had departed, he took the awl that he used in stitching, and drove it into his eye and destroyed it. And this is the way he came to lose his eye. So you can judge what a holy, just, and righteous man he was.

Note 1.—Here the G. T. uses a strange word: "*Or te vais a tel* cralantur." It does not occur again, being replaced by *chabitier* (savetier). It has an Oriental look, but I can make no satisfactory suggestion as to what the word meant.

CHAPTER IX.

How the One-eyed Cobler was desired to pray for the Christians.

NOW when this vision had visited the Bishop several times, he related the whole matter to the Christians, and they agreed with one consent to call the Cobler before them. And when he had come they told him it was their wish that he should pray, and that God had promised to accomplish the matter by his means. On hearing their request he made many excuses, declaring that he was not at all so good a man as they represented. But they persisted in their request with so much sweetness, that at last he said he would not tarry, but do what they desired.

CHAPTER X.

72

HOW THE PRAYER OF THE ONE-EYED COBLER CAUSED THE MOUNTAIN TO MOVE.

AND when the appointed day was come, all the Christians got up early, men and women, small and great, more than 100,000 persons, and went to church, and heard the Holy Mass. And after Mass had been sung, they all went forth together in a great procession to the plain in front of the mountain, carrying the precious cross before them, loudly singing and greatly weeping as they went. And when they arrived at the spot, there they found the Calif with all his Saracen host armed to slay them if they would not change their faith; for the Saracens believed not in the least that God would grant such favour to the Christians. These latter stood indeed in great fear and doubt, but nevertheless they rested their hope on their God Jesus Christ.

So the Cobler received the Bishop's benison, and then threw himself on his knees before the Holy Cross, and stretched out his hands towards Heaven, and made this prayer: "Blessed LORD GOD ALMIGHTY, I pray Thee by Thy goodness that Thou wilt grant this grace unto Thy people, insomuch that they perish not, nor Thy faith be cast down, nor abused nor flouted. Not that I am in the least worthy to prefer such request unto Thee; but for Thy great power and mercy I beseech Thee to hear this prayer from me Thy servant full of sin."

And when he had ended this his prayer to God the Sovereign Father and Giver of all grace, and whilst the Calif and all the Saracens, and other people there, were looking on, the mountain rose out of its place and moved to the spot which the Calif had pointed out! And when the Calif and all his Saracens beheld, they stood amazed at the wonderful miracle that God had wrought for the Christians, insomuch that a great number of the Saracens became Christians. And even the Calif caused himself to be baptised in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen, and became a Christian, but in secret. Howbeit, when he died they found a little cross hung round his neck; and therefore the Saracens would not bury him with the other Califs, but put him in a place apart. The Christians exulted greatly at this most holy miracle, and returned to their homes full of joy, giving thanks to their Creator for that which He had done.[{1}]

73

And now you have heard in what wise took place this great miracle. And marvel not that the Saracens hate the Christians; for the accursed law that Mahommet gave them commands them to do all the mischief in their power to all other descriptions

of people, and especially to Christians; to strip such of their goods, and do them all manner of evil, because they belong not to their law. See then what an evil law and what naughty commandments they have! But in such fashion the Saracens act, throughout the world.

Now I have told you something of Baudas. I could easily indeed have told you first of the affairs and the customs of the people there. But it would be too long a business, looking to the great and strange things that I have got to tell you, as you will find detailed in this Book.

So now I will tell you of the noble city of Tauris.

NOTE 1.—We may remember that at a date only three years before Marco related this story (viz. in 1295), the cottage of Loreto is asserted to have changed its locality for the third and last time by moving to the site which it now occupies.

74 Some of the old Latin copies place the scene at Tauris. And I observe that a missionary of the 16th century does the same. The mountain, he says, is between Tauris and Nakhshiwan, and is called *Manhuc*. (*Gravina*, *Christianità nell' Armenia*, etc., Roma, 1605, p. 91.)

The moving of a mountain is one of the miracles ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus. Such stories are rife among the Mahomedans themselves. "I know," says Khanikoff, "at least half a score of mountains which the Musulmans allege to have come from the vicinity of Mecca."

Ramusio's text adds here: "All the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians from that time forward have maintained a solemn celebration of the day on which the miracle occurred, keeping a fast also on the eve thereof."

F. Göring, a writer who contributes three articles on Marco Polo to the *Neue Züricher-Zeitung*, 5th, 6th, 8th April, 1878, says: "I heard related in Egypt a report which Marco Polo had transmitted to Baghdad. I will give it here in connection with another which I also came across in Egypt.

"'Many years ago there reigned in Babylon, on the Nile, a haughty Khalif who vexed the Christians with taxes and corvées. He was confirmed in his hate of the Christians by the Khakam Chacham Bashi or Chief Rabbi of the Jews, who one day said to him: "The Christians allege in their books that it shall not hurt them to drink or eat any deadly thing. So I have prepared a potion that one of them shall taste at my hand: if he does not die on the spot then call me no more Chacham Bashi!" The Khalif immediately sent for His Holiness the Patriarch of Babylon, and ordered him to drink up the potion. The Patriarch just blew a little over the cup and then emptied it at a draught, and took no harm. His Holiness then on his side demanded that the Chacham Bashi should quaff a cup to the health of the Khalif, which he (the Patriarch) should first taste, and this the Khalif found only fair and right. But hardly had the Chacham Bashi put the cup to his lips than he fell down and expired.' Still the Musulmans and Jews thirsted for Christian blood. It happened at that time that a mass of the hill Mokattani became loose and threatened to come down upon Babylon. This was laid to the door of the Christians, and they were ordered to stop it. The Patriarch in great distress has a vision that tells him summon the saintly cobbler (of whom the same story is told as here)—the cobbler bids the rock to stand still and it does so to this day. 'These two stories may still be heard in Cairo'—from whom is not said. The hill that threatened to fall on the Egyptian Babylon is called in Turkish *Dur Dagh*, 'Stay, or halt-hill.' (*L.c.* April, 1878.)"—*MS. Note*, H. Y.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE NOBLE CITY OF TAURIS.

TAURIS is a great and noble city, situated in a great province called YRAC, in which are many other towns and villages. But as Tauris is the most noble I will tell you about it.{1}

The men of Tauris get their living by trade and handicrafts, for they weave many 75
kinds of beautiful and valuable stuffs of silk and gold. The city has such a good position that merchandize is brought thither from India, Baudas, CREMESOR,{2} and many other regions; and that attracts many Latin merchants, especially Genoese, to buy goods and transact other business there; the more as it is also a great market for precious stones. It is a city in fact where merchants make large profits.{3}

The people of the place are themselves poor creatures; and are a great medley of different classes. There are Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, Persians, and finally the natives of the city themselves, who are worshippers of Mahommet. These last are a very evil generation; they are known as TAURIZI.{4} The city is all girt round with charming gardens, full of many varieties of large and excellent fruits.{5}

Now we will quit Tauris, and speak of the great country of Persia. [From Tauris to Persia is a journey of twelve days.]

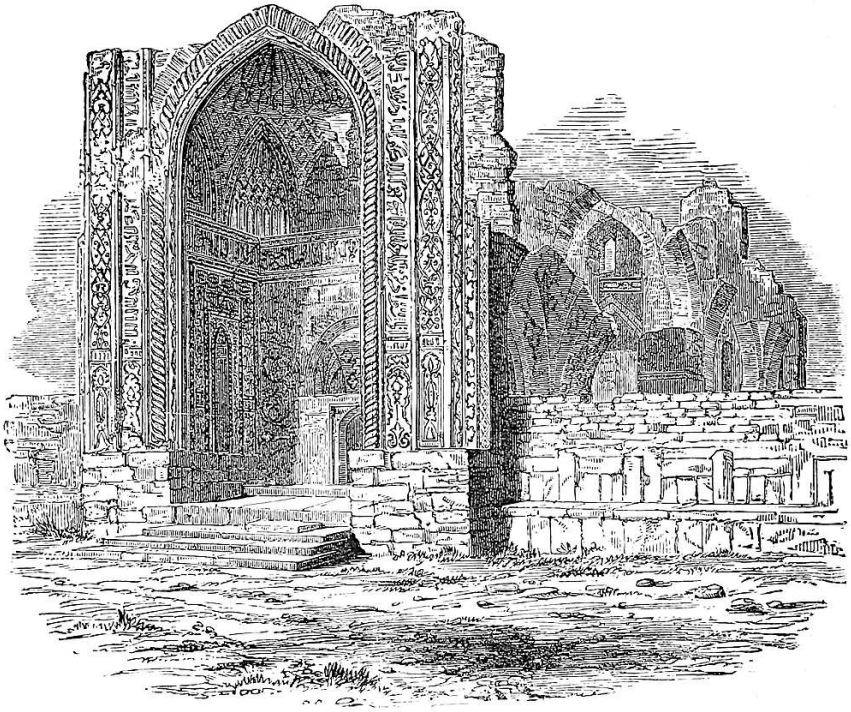
NOTE 1.—Abulfeda notices that TABRÍZ was vulgarly pronounced *Tauriz*, and this appears to have been adopted by the Franks. In Pegolotti the name is always *Torissi*.

Tabriz is often reckoned to belong to Armenia, as by Hayton. Properly it is the chief city of *Azerbaiján*, which never was included in 'IRÁK. But it may be observed that Ibn Batuta generally calls the Mongol Ilkhan of Persia *Sáhib* or *Malik ul-'Irák*, and as Tabriz was the capital of that sovereign, we can account for the mistake, whilst admitting it to be one. [The destruction of Baghdad by Hulaku made Tabriz the great commercial and political city of Asia, and diverted the route of Indian products from the Mediterranean to the Euxine. It was the route to the Persian Gulf by Kashan, Yezd, and Kermán, to the Mediterranean by Lajazzo, and later on by Aleppo,—and to the Euxine by Trebizond. The destruction of the Kingdom of Armenia closed to Europeans the route of Tauris.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—*Cremesor*, as Baldelli points out, is GARMSIR, meaning a hot region, a term which in Persia has acquired several specific applications, and especially indicates the coast-country on the N.E. side of the Persian Gulf, including Hormuz and the ports in that quarter.

NOTE 3.—[Of the Italians established at Tabriz, the first whose name is mentioned is the Venetian Pietro Viglioni (Vioni); his will, dated 10th December, 1264, is still in existence. (*Archiv. Venet*. XXVI. pp. 161–165; *Heyd*, French Ed., II. p. 110.)—H. C.] At a later date (1341) the Genoese had a factory at Tabriz headed by a consul with a council 76
of twenty-four merchants, and in 1320 there is evidence of a Venetian settlement there. (*Elie de la Prim*, 161; *Heyd*, II. 82.)

sects; people of Cathay, of Máchín, of India, of Kashmir, of Tibet, of the Uighúr and other Turkish nations, Arabs and Franks." Ibn Batuta: "I traversed the bazaar of the jewellers, and my eyes were dazzled by the varieties of precious stones which I beheld. Handsome slaves, superbly dressed, and girdled with silk, offered their gems for sale to the Tartar ladies, who bought great numbers. [Odoric (ed. Cordier) speaks also of the great trade of Tabriz.] Tabriz maintained a large population and prosperity down to the 17th century, as may be seen in Chardin. It is now greatly fallen, though still a place of importance." (*Quat. Rash.*, p. 39; *I. B.* II. 130.)



Ghazan Khan's Mosque at Tabriz.—(From Fergusson.)

NOTE 4.—In Pauthier's text this is *Touzi*, a mere clerical error, I doubt not for *Torizi*, in accordance with the G. Text ("*le peuple de la cité que sunt apelés* Tauriz"), with the Latin, and with Ramusio. All that he means to say is that the people are called *Tabrízís*. Not recondite information, but 'tis his way. Just so he tells us in ch. iii. that the people of Hermenia are called Hermins, and elsewhere that the people of Tebet are called Tebet. So Hayton thinks it not inappropriate to say that the people of Catay are called Cataini, that the people of Corasmia are called Corasmins, and that the people of the cities of Persia are called Persians.

NOTE 5.—Hamd Allah Mastaufi, the Geographer, not long after Polo's time, gives an account of Tabriz, quoted in Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 132. This also notices the extensive gardens round the city, the great abundance and cheapness of fruits, the vanity, insolence, and faithlessness of the Tabrízís, etc. (p. 132 *seqq.*). Our cut shows a relic of the Mongol Dynasty at Tabriz.

CHAPTER XII.

77

OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. BARSAMO ON THE BORDERS OF TAURIS.

On the borders of (the territory of) Tauris there is a monastery called after Saint Barsamo, a most devout Saint. There is an Abbot, with many Monks, who wear a habit like that of the Carmelites, and these to avoid idleness are continually knitting woollen girdles. These they place upon the altar of St. Barsamo during the service, and when they go begging about the province (like the Brethren of the Holy Spirit) they present them to their friends and to the gentlefolks, for they are excellent things to remove bodily pain; wherefore every one is devoutly eager to possess them.[{1}]

Note 1.—Barsauma ("The Son of Fasting") was a native of Samosata, and an Archimandrite of the Asiatic Church. He opposed the Nestorians, but became himself still more obnoxious to the orthodox as a spreader of the Monophysite Heresy. He was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon (451), and died in 458. He is a Saint of fame in the Jacobite and Armenian Churches, and several monasteries were dedicated to him; but by far the most celebrated, and doubtless that meant here, was near Malatia. It must have been famous even among the Mahomedans, for it has an article in Bákúi's Geog. Dictionary. (*Dír-Barsúma*, see *N. et Ext.* II. 515.) This monastery possessed relics of Barsauma and of St. Peter, and was sometimes the residence of the Jacobite Patriarch and the meeting-place of the Synods.

A more marvellous story than Marco's is related of this monastery by Vincent of Beauvais: "There is in that kingdom (Armenia) a place called St. Brassamus, at which there is a monastery for 300 monks. And 'tis said that if ever an enemy attacks it, the defences of the monastery move of themselves, and shoot back the shot against the besieger."

(*Assemani* in vol. ii. *passim; Tournefort*, III. 260; *Vin. Bell. Spec. Historiale*, Lib. XXX. c. cxlii.; see also *Mar. Sanut.* III. xi. c. 16.)

CHAPTER XIII.

78

Of the Great Country of Persia; with some account of the Three Kings.

Persia is a great country, which was in old times very illustrious and powerful; but now the Tartars have wasted and destroyed it.

In Persia is the city of Saba, from which the Three Magi set out when they went to worship Jesus Christ; and in this city they are buried, in three very large and beautiful monuments, side by side. And above them there is a square building, carefully kept. The bodies are still entire, with the hair and beard remaining. One of these was called Jaspar, the second Melchior, and the third Balthasar. Messer Marco Polo asked a great many questions of the people of that city as to those Three Magi, but never one could he find that knew aught of the matter, except that these were three kings who were buried there in days of old. However, at a place three days' journey distant he heard of what I am going to tell you. He found a village there which goes by the name of Cala Ataperistan,[{1}] which is as much as to say, "The Castle of the Fire-worshippers." And the name is rightly applied, for the people there do worship fire, and I will tell you why.

They relate that in old times three kings of that country went away to worship a Prophet that was born, and they carried with them three manner of offerings, Gold, and Frankincense, and Myrrh; in order to ascertain whether that Prophet were God, or an earthly King, or a Physician. For, said they, if he take the Gold, then he is an earthly King; if he take the Incense he is God; if he take the Myrrh he is a Physician.

79 So it came to pass when they had come to the place where the Child was born, the youngest of the Three Kings went in first, and found the Child apparently just of his own age; so he went forth again marvelling greatly. The middle one entered next, and like the first he found the Child seemingly of his own age; so he also went forth again and marvelled greatly. Lastly, the eldest went in, and as it had befallen the other two, so it befell him. And he went forth very pensive. And when the three had rejoined one another, each told what he had seen; and then they all marvelled the more. So they agreed to go in all three together, and on doing so they beheld the Child with the appearance of its actual age, to wit, some thirteen days.{2} Then they adored, and presented their Gold and Incense and Myrrh. And the Child took all the three offerings, and then gave them a small closed box; whereupon the Kings departed to return into their own land.

NOTE 1.—*Kala' Atishparastán*, meaning as in the text. (*Marsden*.)

NOTE 2.—According to the Collectanea ascribed to Bede, Melchior was a hoary old man; Balthazar in his prime, with a beard; Gaspar young and beardless. (*Inchofer, Tres Magi Evangelici*, Romae, 1639.)

CHAPTER XIV.

WHAT BEFELL WHEN THE THREE KINGS RETURNED TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

AND when they had ridden many days they said they would see what the Child had 80 given them. So they opened the little box, and inside it they found a stone. On seeing this they began to wonder what this might be that the Child had given them, and what was the import thereof. Now the signification was this: when they presented their offerings, the Child had accepted all three, and when they saw that they had said within themselves that He was the True God, and the True King, and the True Physician.{1} And what the gift of the stone implied was that this Faith which had begun in them should abide firm as a rock. For He well knew what was in their thoughts. Howbeit, they had no understanding at all of this signification of the gift of the stone; so they cast it into a well. Then straightway a fire from Heaven descended into that well wherein the stone had been cast.

And when the Three Kings beheld this marvel they were sore amazed, and it greatly repented them that they had cast away the stone; for well they then perceived that it had a great and holy meaning. So they took of that fire, and carried it into their own country, and placed it in a rich and beautiful church. And there the

people keep it continually burning, and worship it as a god, and all the sacrifices they offer are kindled with that fire. And if ever the fire becomes extinct they go to other cities round about where the same faith is held, and obtain of that fire from them, and carry it to the church. And this is the reason why the people of this country worship fire. They will often go ten days' journey to get of that fire.{2}

Such then was the story told by the people of that Castle to Messer Marco Polo; they declared to him for a truth that such was their history, and that one of the three kings was of the city called SABA, and the second of AVA, and the third of that very Castle where they still worship fire, with the people of all the country round about. {3}

Having related this story, I will now tell you of the different provinces of Persia, and their peculiarities. 81

NOTE 1.—"*Mire*." This was in old French the popular word for a Leech; the politer word was *Physicien*. (*N. et E.* V. 505.)

Chrysostom says that the Gold, Myrrh, and Frankincense were mystic gifts indicating King, Man, God; and this interpretation was the usual one. Thus Prudentius:—

"Regem, Deumque adnunciant
Thesaurus et fragrans odor
Thuris Sabaei, at myrrheus
Pulvis sepulchrum praedocet." (*Hymnus Epiphanius*.)

And the Paris Liturgy:—

"Offert Aurum *Caritas*,
Et Myrrham *Austeritas*,
Et Thus *Desiderium*.
Auro *Rex* agnoscitur,
Homo Myrrha, colitur
Thure *Deus* gentium."

And in the "Hymns, Ancient and Modern":—

"Sacred gifts of mystic meaning:
Incense doth their God disclose,
Gold the King of Kings proclaimeth,
Myrrh His sepulchre foreshows."

NOTE 2.—"Feruntque (Magi), si justum est credi, etiam ignem caelitus lapsum apud se sempiternis foculis custodire, cujus portionem exiguam, ut faustam praeisse quondam Asiaticis Regibus dicunt." (*Ammian. Marcell.* XXIII. 6.)

NOTE 3.—Saba or Sava still exists as SÁVAH, about 50 miles S.W. of Tehrân. It is described by Mr. Consul Abbott, who visited it in 1849, as the most ruinous town he had ever seen, and as containing about 1000 families. The people retain a tradition, mentioned by Hamd Allah Mastaufi, that the city stood on the shores of a Lake which dried up miraculously at the birth of Mahomed. Sávah is said to have possessed one of the greatest Libraries in the East, until its destruction by the Mongols on their first invasion of Persia. Both Sávah and Ávah (or Ábah) are mentioned by Abulfeda as cities of Jibal. We are told that the two cities were always at loggerheads, the former being Sunni and the latter Shiya. [We read in the *Travels* of Thévenot, a most intelligent traveller, "qu'il n'a rien écrit de l'ancienne ville de Sava qu'il trouva sur son chemin, et

où il a marqué lui-même que son esprit de curiosité l'abandonna." (*Voyages*, éd. 1727, vol. v. p. 343. He died a few days after at Miana, in Armenia, 28th November, 1667). (*MS. Note.*—H. Y.)]

As regards the position of AVAH, Abbott says that a village still stands upon the site, about 16 miles S.S.E. of Sávah. He did not visit it, but took a bearing to it. He was told there was a mound there on which formerly stood a Gueber Castle. At Sávah he could find no trace of Marco Polo's legend. Chardin, in whose time Sávah was not quite so far gone to decay, heard of an alleged tomb of Samuel, at 4 leagues from the city. This is alluded to by Hamd Allah.

Keith Johnston and Kiepert put Ávah some 60 miles W.N.W. of Sávah, on the road between Kazvin and Hamadan. There seems to be some great mistake here.

Friar Odoric puts the locality of the Magi at *Kashan*, though one of the versions of Ramusio and the Palatine MS. (see Cordier's Odoric, pp. xcv. and 41 of his Itinerary), perhaps corrected in this, puts it at *Saba*.—H. Y. and H. C.

We have no means of fixing the *Kala' Atishparastán*. It is probable, however, that the 82
story was picked up on the homeward journey, and as it seems to be implied that this castle was reached three days *after leaving* Sávah, I should look for it between Sávah and Abher. Ruins to which the name *Kila'-i-Gabr*, "Gueber Castle," attaches are common in Persia.

As regards the Legend itself, which shows such a curious mixture of Christian and Parsi elements, it is related some 350 years earlier by Mas'udi: "In the Province of Fars they tell you of a Well called the Well of Fire, near which there was a temple built. When the Messiah was born the King Koresh sent three messengers to him, the first of whom carried a bag of Incense, the second a bag of Myrrh, and the third a bag of Gold. They set out under the guidance of the Star which the king had described to them, arrived in Syria, and found the Messiah with Mary His Mother. This story of the three messengers is related by the Christians with sundry exaggerations; it is also found in the Gospel. Thus they say that the Star appeared to Koresh at the moment of Christ's birth; that it went on when the messengers went on, and stopped when they stopped. More ample particulars will be found in our Historical Annals, where we have given the versions of this legend as current among the Guebers and among the Christians. It will be seen that Mary gave the king's messengers a round loaf, and this, after different adventures, they hid under a rock in the province of Fars. The loaf disappeared underground, and there they dug a well, on which they beheld two columns of fire to start up flaming at the surface; in short, all the details of the legend will be found in our Annals." The Editors say that Mas'udi had carried the story to Fars by mistaking *Shíz* in Azerbaiján (the Atropatenian Ecbatana of Sir H. Rawlinson) for *Shiraz*. A rudiment of the same legend is contained in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy. This says that Mary gave the Magi one of the bands in which the Child was swathed. On their return they cast this into their sacred fire; though wrapt in the flame it remained unhurt.

We may add that there was a Christian tradition that the Star descended into a well between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Gregory of Tours also relates that in a certain well, at Bethlehem, from which Mary had drawn water, the Star was sometimes seen, by devout pilgrims who looked carefully for it, to pass from one side to the other. But only such as merited the boon could see it.

(See *Abbott* in *J. R. G. S.* XXV. 4–6; *Assemani*, III. pt. 2, 750; *Chardin*, II. 407; *N. et Ext.* II. 465; *Dict. de la Perse*, 2, 56, 298; *Cathay*, p. 51; *Mas'udi*, IV. 80; *Greg. Turon. Libri Miraculorum*, Paris, 1858, I. 8.)

Several of the fancies that legend has attached to the brief story of the Magi in St. Matthew, such as the royal dignity of the persons; their location, now in Arabia, now (as

Eastern Turkestan; the notion that one of them was a Negro, and so on, probably grew out of the arbitrary application of passages in the Old Testament, such as: "*Venient legati ex Aegypto*: AETHIOPIA*praevenit manus ejus Deo*" (Ps. lxviii. 31). This produced the Negro who usually is painted as one of the Three. "*Reges*THARSIS*et Insulae munera offerent: Reges*ARABUM*et*SABA*dona adducent*" (lxxii. 10). This made the Three into Kings, and fixed them in Tarsia, Arabia, and Sava. "*Mundatio Camelorum operiet te, dromedarii Madian et*EPHA: *omnes de*SABA*venient aurum et thus deferentes et laudem Domino annunciantes*" (Is. lx. 6). Here were Ava and Sava coupled, as well as the gold and frankincense.

One form of the old Church Legend was that the Three were buried at *Sessania Adrumetorum* (Hadhramaut) in Arabia, whence the Empress Helena had the bodies conveyed to Constantinople, [and later to Milan in the time of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. After the fall of Milan (1162), Frederic Barbarossa gave them to Archbishop Rainald of Dassel (1159–1167), who carried them to Cologne (23rd July, 1164).—H. C.]

The names given by Polo, Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, have been accepted from an old date by the Roman Church; but an abundant variety of other names has been assigned to them. Hyde quotes a Syriac writer who calls them Aruphon, Hurmon, and Tachshesh, but says that some call them Gudphorbus, Artachshasht, and Labudo; whilst in Persian they were termed Amad, Zad-Amad, Drust-Amad, *i.e*. *Venit, Cito Venit, Sincerus Venit*. Some called them in Greek, Apellius, Amerus, and Damascus, and in Hebrew, Magaloth, Galgalath, and Saracia, but otherwise Ator, Sator, and Petatoros! The Armenian Church used the same names as the Roman, but in Chaldee they were Kaghba, Badadilma, Badada Kharida. (*Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers*. 382–383; *Inchofer, ut supra; J. As*. sér. VI. IX. 160.) 83

[Just before going to press we have read Major Sykes' new book on *Persia*. Major Sykes (ch. xxiii.) does not believe that Marco visited Baghdád, and he thinks that the Venetians entered Persia near Tabriz, and travelled to Sultania, Kashán, and Yezd. Thence they proceeded to Kerman and Hormuz. We shall discuss this question in the Introduction.—H. C.]

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE EIGHT KINGDOMS OF PERSIA, AND HOW THEY ARE NAMED.

NOW you must know that Persia is a very great country, and contains eight kingdoms. I will tell you the names of them all.

The first kingdom is that at the beginning of Persia, and it is called CASVIN; the second is further to the south, and is called CURDISTAN; the third is LOR; the fourth [SUOLSTAN]; the fifth ISTANIT; the sixth SERAZY; the seventh SONCARA; the eighth TUNOCAIN, which is at the further extremity of Persia. All these kingdoms lie in a southerly direction except one, to wit, Tunocain; that lies towards the east, and borders on the (country of the) Arbre Sol.{1}

In this country of Persia there is a great supply of fine horses; and people take them to India for sale, for they are horses of great price, a single one being worth as much of their money as is equal to 200 livres Tournois; some will be more, some less, according to the quality.{2} Here also are the finest asses in the world, one of

them being worth full 30 marks of silver, for they are very large and fast, and acquire a capital amble. Dealers carry their horses to Kisi and Curmosa, two cities 84
on the shores of the Sea of India, and there they meet with merchants who take the horses on to India for sale.

In this country there are many cruel and murderous people, so that no day passes but there is some homicide among them. Were it not for the Government, which is that of the Tartars of the Levant, they would do great mischief to merchants; and indeed, maugre the Government, they often succeed in doing such mischief. Unless merchants be well armed they run the risk of being murdered, or at least robbed of everything; and it sometimes happens that a whole party perishes in this way when not on their guard. The people are all Saracens, *i.e.* followers of the Law of Mahommet.{3}

In the cities there are traders and artizans who live by their labour and crafts, weaving cloths of gold, and silk stuffs of sundry kinds. They have plenty of cotton produced in the country; and abundance of wheat, barley, millet, panick, and wine, with fruits of all kinds.

[Some one may say, "But the Saracens don't drink wine, which is prohibited by their law." The answer is that they gloss their text in this way, that if the wine be boiled, so that a part is dissipated and the rest becomes sweet, they may drink without breach of the commandment; for it is then no longer called wine, the name being changed with the change of flavour.{4}]

NOTE 1.—The following appear to be Polo's Eight Kingdoms:—

I. KAZVÍN; then a flourishing city, though I know not why he calls it a kingdom. Persian 'Irák, or the northern portion thereof, seems intended. Previous to Hulaku's invasion Kazvín seems to have been in the hands of the Ismailites or Assassins.

II. KURDISTAN. I do not understand the difficulties of Marsden, followed by Lazari and Pauthier, which lead them to put forth that Kurdistan is not Kurdistan but something else. The boundaries of Kurdistan according to Hamd Allah were Arabian 'Irák, Khuzistán, Persian 'Irák, Azerbaijan and Diarbekr. (*Dict. de la P.* 480.) [Cf. Curzon, *Persia pass.*—H. C.] Persian Kurdistan, in modern as in mediæval times, extends south beyond 85
Kermanshah to the immediate border of Polo's next kingdom, viz.:

III. LÚR or Lúristán. [On Lúristán, see Curzon, *Persia*, II. pp. 273–303, with the pedigree of the Ruling Family of the Feili Lurs (Pusht-i-Kuh), p. 278.—H. C.] This was divided into two principalities, Great Lúr and Little Lúr, distinctions still existing. The former was ruled by a Dynasty called the *Faslúyah* Atabegs, which endured from about 1155 to 1424, [when it was destroyed by the Timurids; it was a Kurd Dynasty, founded by Emad ed-din Abu Thaher (1160–1228), and the last prince of which was Ghiyas ed-din (1424). In 1258 the general Kitubuka (Hulagu's *Exp. to Persia*, Bretschneider, *Med. Res.* I. p. 121) is reported to have reduced the country of Lúr or Lúristán and its Atabeg Teghele.—H. C.]. Their territory lay in the mountainous district immediately west of Ispahan, and extended to the River of Dizfúl, which parted it from Little Lúr. The stronghold of the Atabegs was the extraordinary hill fort of Mungasht, and they had a residence also at Aidhej or Mal-Amir in the mountains south of Shushan, where Ibn Batuta visited the reigning Prince in 1327. Sir H. Rawlinson has described Mungasht, and Mr. Layard and Baron de Bode have visited other parts, but the country is still very imperfectly known. Little Lúristán lay west of the R. Dizfúl, extending nearly to the

Plain of Babylonia. Its Dynasty, called Kurshid, [was founded in 1184 by the Kurd Shodja ed-din Khurshid, and existed till Shah-Werdy lost his throne in 1593.—H. C.].

The Lúrs are akin to the Kurds, and speak a Kurd dialect, as do all those Ilyáts, or nomads of Persia, who are not of Turkish race. They were noted in the Middle Ages for their agility and their dexterity in thieving. The tribes of Little Lúr "do not affect the slightest veneration for Mahomed or the Koran; their only general object of worship is their great Saint Baba Buzurg," and particular disciples regard with reverence little short of adoration holy men looked on as living representatives of the Divinity. (*Ilchan*. I. 70 *seqq*.; *Rawlinson* in *J. R. G. S*. IX.; *Layard* in *Do*. XVI. 75, 94; *Ld. Strangford* in *J. R. A. S*. XX. 64; *N. et E*. XIII. i. 330, *I. B*. II. 31; *D'Ohsson*, IV. 171–172.)

IV. SHÚLISTÁN, best represented by Ramusio's *Suolstan*, whilst the old French texts have *Cielstan* (*i.e*. Shelstán); the name applied to the country of the *Shúls*, or *Shauls*, a people who long occupied a part of Lúristán, but were expelled by the Lúrs in the 12th century, and settled in the country between Shíráz and Khuzistán (now that of the Mamaseni, whom Colonel Pelly's information identifies with the Shúls), their central points being Naobanján and the fortress called Kala' Safed or "White Castle." Ibn Batuta, going from Shiraz to Kazerun, encamped the first day in the country of the Shúls, "a Persian desert tribe which includes some pious persons." (*Q. R*. p. 385; *N. et E*. XIII. i. 332–333; *Ilch*. I. 71; *J. R. G. S*. XIII. Map; *I. B*. II. 88.) ["Adjoining the Kuhgelus on the East are the tents of the Mamasenni (qy. Mohammed Huseini) Lúrs, occupying the country still known as Shúlistán, and extending as far east and south-east as Fars and the Plain of Kazerun. This tribe prides itself on its origin, claiming to have come from Seistán, and to be directly descended from Rustam, whose name is still borne by one of the Mamasenni clans." (Curzon, *Persia*, II. p. 318.)—H. C.]

V. ISPAHAN? The name is in Ramusio *Spaan*, showing at least that he or some one before him had made this identification. The unusual combination *ff*, *i.e*. sf, in manuscript would be so like the frequent one *ft*, *i.e*. st, that the change from Isfan to Istan would be easy. But why Istan*it*?

VI. SHÍRÁZ [(*Shir* = milk, or *Shir* = lion)—H. C.] representing the province of Fars or Persia Proper, of which it has been for ages the chief city. [It was founded after the Arab conquest in 694 A.D., by Mohammed, son of Yusuf Kekfi. (Curzon, *Persia*, II. pp. 93–110.)—H. C.] The last Dynasty that had reigned in Fars was that of the Salghur Atabegs, founded about the middle of the 12th century. Under Abubakr (1226–1260) this kingdom attained considerable power, embracing Fars, Kermán, the islands of the Gulf and its Arabian shores; and Shíráz then flourished in arts and literature; Abubakr was the patron 86
of Saadi. From about 1262, though a Salghurian princess, married to a son of Hulaku, had the nominal title of Atabeg, the province of Fars was under Mongol administration. (*Ilch. passim*.)

VII. SHAWÁNKÁRA or Shabánkára. The G. T. has *Soucara*, but the Crusca gives the true reading *Soncara*. It is the country of the Shawánkárs, a people coupled with the Shúls and Lúrs in mediæval Persian history, and like them of Kurd affinities. Their princes, of a family Faslúyah, are spoken of as influential before the Mahomedan conquest, but the name of the people comes prominently forward only during the Mongol era of Persian history. [Shabánkára was taken in 1056 from the Buyid Dynasty, who ruled from the 10th century over a great part of Persia, by Fazl ibn Hassan (Fazluïeh-Hasunïeh). Under the last sovereign, Ardeshir, Shabánkára was taken in 1355 by the Modhafferians, who reigned in 'Irák, Fars, and Kermán, one of the Dynasties established at the expense of the Mongol Ilkhans after the death of Abu Saïd (1335), and were themselves subjugated by Timur in 1392.—H. C.] Their country lay to the south of the great salt lake east of Shíráz, and included Niriz and Darábjird, Fassa, Forg, and Tárum. Their capital was I′g or I′j, called also Irej, about 20 miles north-west of Daráb, with a

authority, with Mongol administrators. In consequence of a rebellion in 1311 the Dynasty seems to have been extinguished. A descendant attempted to revive their authority about the middle of the same century. The latest historical mention of the name that I have found is in Abdurrazzák's *History of Shah Rukh*, under the year H. 807 (1404). (See *Jour. As*. 3d. s. vol. ii. 355.) But a note by Colonel Pelly informs me that the name Shabánkára is still applied (1) to the district round the towns of Runiz and Gauristan near Bandar Abbas; (2) to a village near Maiman, in the old country of the tribe; (3) to a *tribe* and district of Dashtistan, 38 farsakhs west of Shíráz.

With reference to the form in the text, *Soncara*, I may notice that in two passages of the *Masálak-ul-Absár*, translated by Quatremère, the name occurs as *Shankárah*. (*Q. R*. pp. 380, 440 *seqq*.; *N. et E*. XIII.; *Ilch*. I. 71 and *passim; Ouseley's Travels*, II. 158 *seqq*.)

VIII. TÚN-O-KÁIN, the eastern Kuhistán or Hill country of Persia, of which Tún and Káin are chief cities. The practice of indicating a locality by combining two names in this way is common in the East. Elsewhere in this book we find *Ariora-Keshemur* and *Kesmacoran* (Kij-Makrán). Upper Sind is often called in India by the Sepoys *Rori-Bakkar*, from two adjoining places on the Indus; whilst in former days, Lower Sind was often called *Diul-Sind*. *Karra-Mánikpúr, Uch-Multán, Kunduz-Baghlán* are other examples.

The exact expression *Tún-o-Káin* for the province here in question is used by Baber, and evidently also by some of Hammer's authorities. (*Baber*, pp. 201, 204; see *Ilch*. II. 190; I. 95, 104, and *Hist. de l'Ordre des Assassins*, p. 245.)

[We learn from (Sir) C. Macgregor's (1875) *Journey through Khorasan* (I. p. 127) that the same territory including Gháín or Kaïn is now called by the analogous name of Tabas-o-Tún. Tún and Kaïn (Gháín) are both described in their modern state, by Macgregor. (*Ibid*. pp. 147 and 161.)—H. C.]

Note that the identification of *Suolstan* is due to Quatremère (see *N. et E*. XIII. i. *circa* p. 332); that of *Soncara* to Defréméry (*J. As*. sér. IV. tom. xi. p. 441); and that of *Tunocain* to Malte-Brun. (*N. Ann. des V.* xviii. p. 261.) I may add that the *Lúrs*, the *Shúls*, and the *Shabánkáras* are the subjects of three successive sections in the *Masálak-al-Absár* of *Shihábuddin Dimishki*, a work which reflects much of Polo's geography. (See *N. et E*. XIII. i. 330–333; Curzon, *Persia*, II. pp. 248 and 251.)

NOTE 2.—The horses exported to India, of which we shall hear more hereafter, were probably the same class of "Gulf Arabs" that are now carried thither. But the Turkman horses of Persia are also very valuable, especially for endurance. Kinneir speaks of one accomplishing 900 miles in eleven days, and Ferrier states a still more extraordinary feat from his own knowledge. In that case one of those horses went from Tehran to Tabriz, 87
returned, and went again to Tabriz, within twelve days, including two days' rest. The total distance is about 1100 miles.

The *livre tournois* at this period was equivalent to a little over 18 francs of modern French silver. But in bringing the value to our modern gold standard we must add one-third, as the ratio of silver to gold was then 1:12 instead of 1:16. Hence the equivalent in gold of the livre tournois is very little less than 1*l*. sterling, and the price of the horse would be about 193*l*.[1]

Mr. Wright quotes an ordinance of Philip III. of France (1270–1285) fixing the maximum price that might be given for a palfrey at 60 *livres tournois*, and for a squire's *roncin* at 20 livres. Joinville, however, speaks of a couple of horses presented to St. Lewis in 1254 by the Abbot of Cluny, which he says would at the time of his writing (1309) have been worth 500 livres (the pair, it would seem). Hence it may be concluded in a general way that the *ordinary* price of imported horses in India approached that of the highest class of horses in Europe. (*Hist. of Dom. Manners*, p. 317; *Joinville*, p. 205.)

With regard to the donkeys, according to Tavernier, the fine ones used by merchants in Persia were imported from Arabia. The mark of silver was equivalent to about 44*s*. of our silver money, and allowing as before for the lower relative value of gold, 30 marks would be equivalent to 88*l*. sterling.

Kisi or Kish we have already heard of. *Curmosa* is Hormuz, of which we shall hear more. With a Pisan, as Rusticiano was, the sound of *c* is purely and strongly aspirate. Giovanni d'Empoli, in the beginning of the 16th century, another Tuscan, also calls it *Cormus*. (See *Archiv. Stor. Ital*. Append. III. 81.)

NOTE 3.—The character of the nomad and semi-nomad tribes of Persia in those days —Kurds, Lúrs, Shúls, Karaunahs, etc.—probably deserved all that Polo says, and it is not changed now. Take as an example Rawlinson's account of the Bakhtyáris of Luristán: "I believe them to be individually brave, but of a cruel and savage character; they pursue their blood feuds with the most inveterate and exterminating spirit.... It is proverbial in Persia that the Bakhtiyaris have been compelled to forego altogether the reading of the *Fatihah* or prayer for the dead, for otherwise they would have no other occupation. They are also most dextrous and notorious thieves." (*J. R. G. S*. IX. 105.)

NOTE 4.—The Persians have always been lax in regard to the abstinence from wine.

According to Athenaeus, Aristotle, in his *Treatise on Drinking* (a work lost, I imagine, to posterity), says, "If the wine be moderately boiled it is less apt to intoxicate." In the preparation of some of the sweet wines of the Levant, such as that of Cyprus, the must is boiled, but I believe this is not the case *generally* in the East. Baber notices it as a peculiarity among the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush. Tavernier, however, says that at Shíráz, besides the wine for which that city was so celebrated, a good deal of *boiled wine* was manufactured, and used among the poor and by travellers. No doubt what is meant is the sweet liquor or syrup called *Dúsháb*, which Della Valle says is just the Italian *Mostocotto*, but better, clearer, and not so mawkish (I. 689). (*Yonge's Athen*. X. 34; *Baber*, p. 145; *Tavernier*, Bk. V. ch. xxi.)

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[1] The *Encyc. Britann*., article "Money," gives the livre tournois of this period as 18.17 francs. A French paper in *Notes and Queries* (4th S. IV. 485) gives it under St. Lewis and Philip III. as equivalent to 18.24 fr., and under Philip IV. to 17.95. And lastly, experiment at the British Museum, made by the kind intervention of my friend, Mr. E. Thomas, F.R.S., gave the weights of the *sols* of St. Lewis (1226–1270) and Philip IV. (1285–1314) respectively as 63 grains and 61½ grains of remarkably pure silver. These trials would give the *livres* (20 sols) as equivalent to 18.14 fr. and 17.70 fr. respectively.

CHAPTER XVI.

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CONCERNING THE GREAT CITY OF YASDI.

YASDI also is properly in Persia; it is a good and noble city, and has a great amount of trade. They weave there quantities of a certain silk tissue known as *Yasdi*, which merchants carry into many quarters to dispose of. The people are worshippers of Mahommet.{1}

When you leave this city to travel further, you ride for seven days over great plains, finding harbour to receive you at three places only. There are many fine woods [producing dates] upon the way, such as one can easily ride through; and in them there is great sport to be had in hunting and hawking, there being partridges and quails and abundance of other game, so that the merchants who pass that way have plenty of diversion. There are also wild asses, handsome creatures. At the end of those seven marches over the plain you come to a fine kingdom which is called Kerman.{2}

NOTE 1.—YEZD, an ancient city, supposed by D'Anville to be the *Isatichae* of Ptolemy, is not called by Marco a kingdom, though having a better title to the distinction than some which he classes as such. The atabegs of Yezd dated from the middle of the 11th century, and their Dynasty was permitted by the Mongols to continue till the end of the 13th, when it was extinguished by Ghazan, and the administration made over to the Mongol Diwan.

Yezd, in pre-Mahomedan times, was a great sanctuary of the Gueber worship, though now it is a seat of fanatical Mahomedanism. It is, however, one of the few places where the old religion lingers. In 1859 there were reckoned 850 families of Guebers in Yezd and fifteen adjoining villages, but they diminish rapidly.

[Heyd (*Com. du Levant*, II. p. 109) says the inhabitants of Yezd wove the finest silk of Taberistan.—H. C.] The silk manufactures still continue, and, with other weaving, employ a large part of the population. The *Yazdi*, which Polo mentions, finds a place in the Persian dictionaries, and is spoken of by D'Herbelot as *Ḳumásh-i-Yezdi*, "Yezd stuff." ["He [Nadir Shah] bestowed upon the ambassador [Hakeem Ataleek, the prime minister of Abulfiez Khan, King of Bokhara] a donation of a thousand mohurs of Hindostan, twenty-five pieces of *Yezdy* brocade, a rich dress, and a horse with silver harness...." (*Memoirs of Khojah Abdulkurreem, a Cashmerian of distinction ... transl. from the original Persian*, by Francis Gladwin ... Calcutta, 1788, 8vo, p. 36.)—H. C.] 89

Yezd is still a place of important trade, and carries on a thriving commerce with India by Bandar Abbási. A visitor in the end of 1865 says: "The external trade appears to be very considerable, and the merchants of Yezd are reputed to be amongst the most enterprising and respectable of their class in Persia. Some of their agents have lately gone, not only to Bombay, but to the Mauritius, Java, and China."

(*Ilch*. I. 67–68; *Khanikoff, Mém*. p. 202; *Report by Major R. M. Smith*, R.E.)

Friar Odoric, who visited Yezd, calls it the third best city of the Persian Emperor, and says (*Cathay*, I. p. 52): "There is very great store of victuals and all other good things that you can mention; but especially is found there great plenty of figs; and raisins also, green as grass and very small, are found there in richer profusion than in any other part of the world." [He also gives from the smaller version of Ramusio's an awful description of the Sea of Sand, one day distant from Yezd. (Cf. Tavernier, 1679, I. p. 116.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—I believe Della Valle correctly generalises when he says of Persian travelling that "you always travel in a plain, but you always have mountains on either hand" (I. 462). [Compare Macgregor, I. 254: "I really cannot describe the road. Every road in Persia as yet seems to me to be exactly alike, so ... my readers will take it for granted that the road went over a waste, with barren rugged hills in the distance, or near; no water, no houses, no people passed."—H. C.] The distance from Yezd to Kermán is, according to Khanikoff's survey, 314 *kilomètres*, or about 195 miles. Ramusio makes the time eight days, which is probably the better reading, giving a little over 24 miles a day. Westergaard in 1844, and Khanikoff in 1859, took *ten* days; Colonel Goldsmid and

Major Smith in 1865 *twelve*. ["The distance from Yezd to Kermán by the present high road, 229 miles, is by caravans, generally made in nine stages; persons travelling with all comforts do it in twelve stages; travellers whose time is of some value do it easily in *seven* days." (*Houtum-Schindler*, *l.c.* pp. 490–491.)—H. C.]

Khanikoff observes on this chapter: "This notice of woods easy to ride through, covering the plain of Yezd, is very curious. Now you find it a plain of great extent indeed from N.W. to S.E., but narrow and arid; indeed I saw in it only thirteen inhabited spots, counting two caravanserais. Water for the inhabitants is brought from a great distance by subterraneous conduits, a practice which may have tended to desiccate the soil, for every trace of wood has completely disappeared."

Abbott travelled from Yezd to Kermán in 1849, by a road through Báfk, *east* of the usual road, which Khanikoff followed, and parallel to it; and it is worthy of note that he found circumstances more accordant with Marco's description. Before getting to Báfk he says of the plain that it "extends to a great distance north and south, and is probably 20 miles in breadth;" whilst Báfk "is remarkable for its *groves of date-trees*, in the midst of which it stands, and which occupy a considerable space." Further on he speaks of "wild tufts and bushes growing abundantly," and then of "thickets of the *Ghez* tree." He heard of the wild asses, but did not see any. In his report to the Foreign Office, alluding to Marco Polo's account, he says: "It is still true that wild asses and other game are found in the *wooded spots* on the road." The ass is the *Asinus Onager*, the *Gor Khar* of Persia, or *Kulan* of the Tartars. (*Khan. Mém.* p. 200; *Id. sur Marco Polo*, p. 21; *J. R. G. S.* XXV. 20–29; *Mr. Abbott's MS. Report in Foreign office*.) [The difficulty has now been explained by General Houtum-Schindler in a valuable paper published in the *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* N.S. XIII., October, 1881, p. 490. He says: "Marco Polo travelled from Yazd to Kermán *viâ* Báfk. His description of the road, seven days over great plains, harbour at three places only, is perfectly exact. The fine woods, producing dates, are at Báfk itself. (The place is generally called Báft.) Partridges and quails still abound; wild asses I saw several on the western road, and I was told that there were a great many on the Báfk road. Travellers and caravans now always go by the eastern road *viâ* Anár and 90
Bahrámábád. Before the Sefavíehs (*i.e.* before A.D. 1500) the Anár road was hardly, if ever, used; travellers always took the Báfk road. The country from Yazd to Anár, 97 miles, seems to have been totally uninhabited before the Sefavíehs. Anár, as late as A.D. 1340, is mentioned as the frontier place of Kermán to the north, on the confines of the Yazd desert. When Sháh Abbás had caravanserais built at three places between Yazd and Anár (Zein ud-dín, Kermán-sháhán, and Shamsh), the eastern road began to be neglected." (Cf. Major Sykes' *Persia*, ch. xxiii.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the Kingdom of Kerman.

Kerman is a kingdom which is also properly in Persia, and formerly it had a hereditary prince. Since the Tartars conquered the country the rule is no longer hereditary, but the Tartar sends to administer whatever lord he pleases.{1} In this kingdom are produced the stones called turquoises in great abundance; they are found in the mountains, where they are extracted from the rocks.{2} There are also plenty of veins of steel and *Ondanique*.{3} The people are very skilful in making

ladies of the country and their daughters also produce exquisite needlework in the embroidery of silk stuffs in different colours, with figures of beasts and birds, trees and flowers, and a variety of other patterns. They work hangings for the use of noblemen so deftly that they are marvels to see, as well as cushions, pillows quilts, and all sorts of things.{4}

In the mountains of Kerman are found the best falcons in the world. They are inferior in size to the Peregrine, red on the breast, under the neck, and between the thighs; their flight so swift that no bird can escape them.{5}

On quitting the city you ride on for seven days, always finding towns, villages, and handsome dwelling-houses, so that it is very pleasant travelling; and there is excellent sport also to be had by the way in hunting and hawking. When you have ridden those seven days over a plain country, you come to a great mountain; and when you have got to the top of the pass you find a great descent which occupies some two days to go down. All along you find a variety and abundance of fruits; and in former days there were plenty of inhabited places on the road, but now there are none; and you meet with only a few people looking after their cattle at pasture. From the city of Kerman to this descent the cold in winter is so great that you can scarcely abide it, even with a great quantity of clothing.{6} 91

NOTE 1.—Kermán is mentioned by Ptolemy, and also by Ammianus amongst the cities of the country so called (*Carmania*): "*inter quas nitet* Carmana *omnium mater*." (XXIII. 6.)

M. Pauthier's supposition that *Sirján* was in Polo's time the capital, is incorrect. (See *N. et E.* XIV. 208, 290.) Our Author's Kermán is the city still so called; and its proper name would seem to have been *Kuwáshír*. (See *Reinaud, Mém. sur l'Inde*, 171; also *Sprenger P. and R. R.* 77.) According to Khanikoff it is 5535 feet above the sea.

Kermán, on the fall of the Beni Búya Dynasty, in the middle of the 11th century, came into the hands of a branch of the Seljukian Turks, who retained it till the conquests of the Kings of Khwarizm, which just preceded the Mongol invasion. In 1226 the Amir Borák, a Kara Khitaian, who was governor on behalf of Jaláluddin of Khwarizm, became independent under the title of Kutlugh Sultan. [He died in 1234.] The Mongols allowed this family to retain the immediate authority, and at the time when Polo returned from China the representative of the house was a lady known as the *Pádishah Khátún* [who reigned from 1291], the wife successively of the Ilkhans Abaka and Kaikhatu; an ambitious, clever, and masterful woman, who put her own brother Siyurgutmish to death as a rival, and was herself, after the decease of Kaikhatu, put to death by her brother's widow and daughter [1294]. The Dynasty continued, nominally at least, to the reign of the Ilkhan Khodabanda (1304–13), when it was extinguished. [See Major Sykes' *Persia*, chaps, v. and xxiii.]

Kermán was a Nestorian see, under the Metropolitan of Fars. (*Ilch. passim; Weil*, III. 454; *Lequien*, II. 1256.)

["There is some confusion with regard to the names of Kermán both as a town and as a province or kingdom. We have the names Kermán, Kuwáshír, Bardshír. I should say the original name of the whole country was Kermán, the ancient Karamania. A province of this was called Kúreh-i-Ardeshír, which, being contracted, became Kuwáshír, and is spoken of as the province in which Ardeshír Bábekán, the first Sassanian monarch, resided. A part of Kúreh-i-Ardeshír was called Bardshír, or Bard-i-Ardeshír, now 92

Beg, King of Kermán, of A.H. 462, Mr. Stanley Lane Poole reads Yazdashír instead of Bardshír. Of Al Idrísí's Yazdashír I see no mention in histories; Bardshír was the capital and the place where most of the coins were struck. Yazdashír, if such a place existed, can only have been a place of small importance. It is, perhaps, a clerical error for Bardshír; without diacritical points, both words are written alike. Later, the name of the city became Kermán, the name Bardshír reverting to the district lying south-west of it, with its principal place Mashíz. In a similar manner Mashíz was often, and is so now, called Bardshír. Another old town sometimes confused with Bardshír was Sírján or Shírján, once more important than Bardshír; it is spoken of as the capital of Kermán, of Bardshír, and of Sardsír. Its name now exists only as that of a district, with principal place S'aídábád. The history of Kermán, 'Agd-ul-'Olá, plainly says Bardshír is the capital of Kermán, and from the description of Bardshír there is no doubt of its having been the present town Kermán. It is strange that Marco Polo does not give the name of the city. In Assemanni's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* Kuwáshír and Bardashír are mentioned as separate cities, the latter being probably the old Mashíz, which as early as A.H. 582 (A.D. 1186) is spoken of in the *History of Kermán* as an important town. The Nestorian bishop of the province Kermán, who stood under the Metropolitan of Fars, resided at Hormúz." (*Houtum-Schindler*, *l.c.* pp. 491–492.)

There does not seem any doubt as to the identity of Bardashir with the present city of Kermán. (See *The Cities of Kirmān in the time of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi and Marco Polo*, by Guy le Strange, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* April, 1901, pp. 281, 290.) Hamd-Allah is the author of the Cosmography known as the *Nuzhat-al-Kūlūb* or "Heart's Delight." (Cf. Major Sykes' *Persia*, chap. xvi., and the *Geographical Journal* for February, 1902, p. 166.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—A MS. treatise on precious stones cited by Ouseley mentions *Shebavek* in Kermán as the site of a Turquoise mine. This is probably *Shahr-i-Babek*, about 100 miles west of the city of Kermán, and not far from *Párez*, where Abbott tells us there is a mine of these stones, now abandoned. Goebel, one of Khanikoff's party, found a deposit of turquoises at Taft, near Yezd. (*Ouseley's Travels*, I. 211; *J. R. G. S.* XXVI. 63–65; *Khan. Mém.* 203.)

["The province Kermán is still rich in turquoises. The mines of Páriz or Párez are at Chemen-i-mó-aspán, 16 miles from Páriz on the road to Bahrámábád (principal place of Rafsinján), and opposite the village or garden called Gód-i-Ahmer. These mines were worked up to a few years ago; the turquoises were of a pale blue. Other turquoises are found in the present Bardshír plain, and not far from Mashíz, on the slopes of the Chehel tan mountain, opposite a hill called the Bear Hill (tal-i-Khers). The Shehr-i-Bábek turquoise mines are at the small village Kárík, a mile from Medvár-i-Bálá, 10 miles north of Shehr-i-Bábek. They have two shafts, one of which has lately been closed by an earthquake, and were worked up to about twenty years ago. At another place, 12 miles from Shehr-i-Bábek, are seven old shafts now not worked for a long period. The stones of these mines are also of a very pale blue, and have no great value." (*Houtum-Schindler*, *l.c.* 1881, p. 491.)

The finest turquoises came from Khorasan; the mines were near Maaden, about 48 miles to the north of Nishapūr. (Heyd, *Com. du Levant*, II. p. 653; Ritter, *Erdk.* pp. 325–330.)

It is noticeable that Polo does not mention indigo at Kermán.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—Edrisi says that excellent iron was produced in the "cold mountains" N.W. of Jiruft, *i.e.* somewhere south of the capital; and *Jihán Numá*, or Great Turkish Geography, that the steel mines of Niriz, on the borders of Kermán, were famous. These are also spoken of by Teixeira. Major St. John enables me to indicate their position, in 93

["Marco Polo's steel mines are probably the Parpa iron mines on the road from Kermán to Shíráz, called even to-day M'aden-i-fúlád (steel mine); they are not worked now. Old Kermán weapons, daggers, swords, old stirrups, etc., made of steel, are really beautiful, and justify Marco Polo's praise of them" (*Houtum-Schindler*, *l.c.* p. 491.)—H. C.]

Ondanique of the Geog. Text, *Andaine* of Pauthier's, *Andanicum* of the Latin, is an expression on which no light has been thrown since Ramusio's time. The latter often asked the Persian merchants who visited Venice, and they all agreed in stating that it was a sort of steel of such surpassing value and excellence, that in the days of yore a man who possessed a mirror, or sword, of *Andanic* regarded it as he would some precious jewel. This seems to me excellent evidence, and to give the true clue to the meaning of *Ondanique*. I have retained the latter form because it points most distinctly to what I believe to be the real word, viz. *Hundwánív*, "Indian Steel."[1] (See *Johnson's Pers. Dict.* and *De Sacy's Chrestomathie Arabe*, II. 148.) In the *Vocabulista Arabico*, of about A.D. 1200 (Florence, 1871, p. 211), *Hunduwán* is explained by *Ensis*. Vüllers explains *Hundwán* as "anything peculiar to India, especially swords," and quotes from Firdúsi, "*Khanjar-i-Hundwán*," a hanger of Indian steel.

The like expression appears in the quotation from Edrisi below as *Hindiah*, and found its way into Spanish in the shapes of *Alhinde, Alfinde, Alinde*, first with the meaning of *steel*, then assuming, that of *steel mirror*, and finally that of metallic foil of a glass mirror. (See *Dozy* and *Engelmann*, 2d ed. pp. 144–145.) *Hint* or *Al-hint* is used in Berber also for steel. (See *J. R. A. S.* IX. 255.)

The sword-blades of India had a great fame over the East, and Indian steel, according to esteemed authorities, continued to be imported into Persia till days quite recent. Its fame goes back to very old times. Ctesias mentions two wonderful swords of such material that he got from the king of Persia and his mother. It is perhaps the *ferrum candidum* of which the Malli and Oxydracae sent a 100 talents weight as a present to Alexander.[2] Indian Iron and Steel (σίδηρος Ἰνδικὸς καὶ στόμωμα) are mentioned in the *Periplus* as imports into the Abyssinian ports. *Ferrum Indicum* appears (at least according to one reading) among the Oriental *species* subject to duty in the Law of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus on that matter. Salmasius notes that among surviving Greek chemical treatises there was one περὶ βαφῆς Ἰνδικοῦ σιδήρου, "On the Tempering of Indian Steel." Edrisi says on this subject: "The Hindus excel in the manufacture of iron, and in the preparation of those ingredients along with which it is fused to obtain that kind of soft Iron which is usually styled *Indian Steel* (HINDIAH).[3] They also have workshops wherein are forged the most famous sabres in the world.... It is impossible to find anything to surpass the edge that you get from Indian Steel (*al-hadíd al-Hindí*)."

Allusions to the famous sword-blades of India would seem to be frequent in Arabic literature. Several will be found in Hamása's collection of ancient Arabic poems translated by Freytag. The old commentator on one of these passages says: "*Ut optimos gladios significet* ... Indicos *esse dixit*," and here the word used in the original is *Hundwániyah*. In Manger's version of Arabshah's *Life of Timur* are several allusions of the same kind; one, a quotation from *Antar*, recalls the *ferrum candidum* of Curtius: 94

"Albi (gladii) Indici *meo in sanguine abluuntur*."

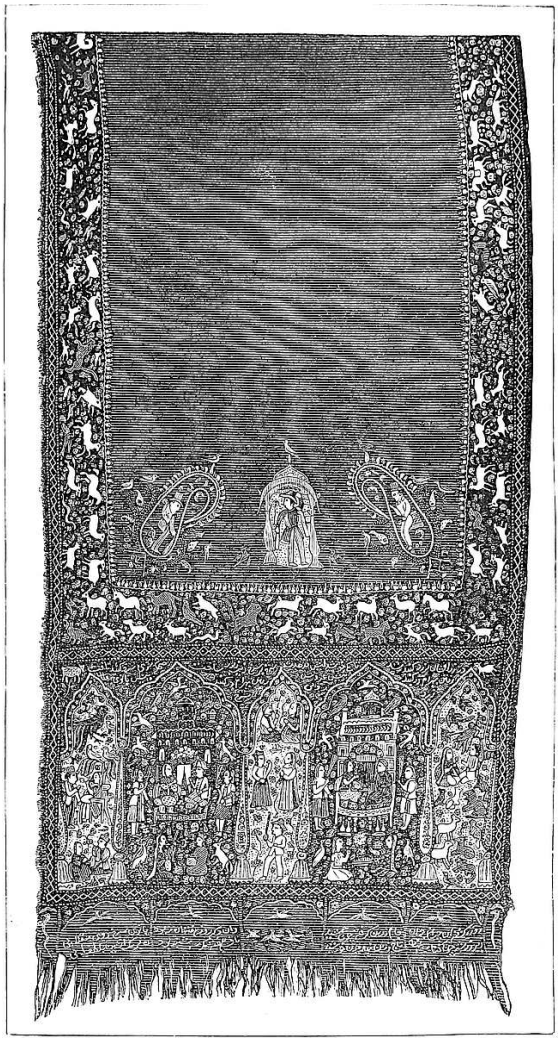
In the histories, even of the Mahomedan conquest of India, the Hindu infidels are sent to *Jihannam* with "the well-watered blade of the Hindi sword"; or the sword is personified as "a Hindu of good family." Coming down to later days, Chardin says of the steel of Persia: "They combine it with Indian steel, which is more tractable ... and is much more

to all the information I have obtained, I can assert that no mine of steel exists in that province. What is used for these blades comes in the shape of disks from Lahore." Pottinger names *steel* among the imports into Kermán from India. Elphinstone the Accurate, in his *Caubul*, confirms Dupré: "Indian Steel [in Afghanistan] is most prized for the material; but the best swords are made in Persia and in Syria;" and in his *History of India*, he repeats: "The steel of India was in request with the ancients; it is celebrated in the oldest Persian poem, and is still the material of the scimitars of Khorasan and Damascus."[4]

Klaproth, in his *Asia Polyglotta*, gives *Andun* as the Ossetish and *Andan* as the Wotiak, for Steel. Possibly these are essentially the same with *Hundwániy* and *Alhinde*, pointing to India as the original source of supply. [In the *Sikandar Nāma,e Bará* (or "Book of Alexander the Great," written A.D. 1200, by Abū Muhammad bin Yusuf bin Mu‚Ayyid-i-Nizāmu-'d-Dīn), translated by Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke (Lond., 1881, large 8vo), steel is frequently mentioned: Canto xix. 257, p. 202; xx. 12, p. 211; xlv. 38, p. 567; lviii. 32, pp. 695, 42, pp. 697, 62, 66, pp. 699; lix. 28, p. 703.—H. C.]

Avicenna, in his fifth book *De Animâ*, according to Roger Bacon, distinguishes three very different species of iron: "1st. Iron which is good for striking or bearing heavy strokes, and for being forged by hammer and fire, but not for cutting-tools. Of this hammers and anvils are made, and this is what we commonly call *Iron* simply. 2nd. That which is purer, has more heat in it, and is better adapted to take an edge and to form cutting-tools, but is not so malleable, viz. *Steel*. And the 3rd is that which is called ANDENA. This is less known among the Latin nations. Its special character is that like silver it is malleable and ductile under a very low degree of heat. In other properties it is intermediate between iron and steel." (*Fr. R. Baconis Opera Inedita*, 1859, pp. 382–383.) The same passage, apparently, of Avicenna is quoted by Vincent of Beauvais, but with considerable differences. (See *Speculum Naturale*, VII. ch. lii. lx., and *Specul. Doctrinale*, XV. ch. lxiii.) The latter author writes *Alidena*, and I have not been able to refer to Avicenna, so that I am doubtful whether his *Andena* is the same term with the *Andaine* of Pauthier and our *Ondanique*.

The popular view, at least in the Middle Ages, seems to have regarded *Steel* as a distinct natural species, the product of a necessarily different *ore*, from iron; and some such view is, I suspect, still common in the East. An old Indian officer told me of the reply of a native friend to whom he had tried to explain the conversion of iron into steel —"What! You would have me believe that if I put an ass into the furnace it will come forth a horse." And Indian Steel again seems to have been regarded as a distinct natural species from ordinary steel. It is in fact made by a peculiar but simple process, by which the iron is converted *directly* into cast-steel, without passing through any intermediate stage analogous to that of *blister-steel*. When specimens were first examined in England, chemists concluded that the steel was made direct from the *ore*. The *Ondanique* of Marco no doubt was a fine steel resembling the Indian article. (*Müller's Ctesias*, p. 80; *Curtius*, 95
IX. 24; *Müller's Geog. Gr. Min.* I. 262; *Digest. Novum*, Lugd. 1551, Lib. XXXIX. Tit. 4; *Salmas. Ex. Plinian.* II. 763; *Edrisi*, I. 65–66; *J. R. S. A.* A. 387 *seqq.*; *Hamasae Carmina*, I. 526; *Elliot*, II. 209, 394; *Reynolds's Utbi*, p. 216.)



Texture, with Animals, etc., from a Cashmere Scarf in the Indian Museum.
"De deverses maineres laborés à bestes et ausiaus mout richement."

NOTE 4.—Paulus Jovius in the 16th century says, I know not on what authority, that Kermán was then celebrated for the fine temper of its steel in scimitars and lance-points. These were eagerly bought at high prices by the Turks, and their quality was such that one blow of a Kermán sabre would cleave an European helmet without turning the edge. And I see that the phrase, "Kermání blade" is used in poetry by Marco's contemporary Amír Khusrú of Delhi. (*P. Jov. Hist. of his own Time*, Bk. XIV.; *Elliot*, III. 537.) 96

There is, or was in Pottinger's time, still a great manufacture of *matchlocks* at Kermán; but rose-water, shawls, and carpets are the staples of the place now. Polo says nothing that points to shawl-making, but it would seem from Edrisi that some such manufacture already existed in the adjoining district of Bamm. It is possible that the "hangings" spoken of by Polo may refer to the carpets. I have seen a genuine Kermán carpet in the house of my friend, Sir Bartle Frere. It is of very short pile, very even and dense; the design, a combination of vases, birds, and floral tracery, closely resembling the illuminated frontispiece of some Persian MSS.

The shawls are inferior to those of Kashmir in exquisite softness, but scarcely in delicacy of texture and beauty of design. In 1850, their highest quality did not exceed 30 *tomans* (14*l*.) in price. About 2200 looms were employed on the fabric. A good deal of

named in the text, including *pardahs* ("cortines") are woven in shawl-fabric. I scarcely think, however, that Marco would have confounded woven shawl with needle embroidery. And Mr. Khanikoff states that the silk embroidery, of which Marco speaks, is still performed with great skill and beauty at Kermán. Our cut illustrates the textures figured with animals, already noticed at p. 66.

The Guebers were numerous here at the end of last century, but they are rapidly disappearing now. The Musulman of Kermán is, according to Khanikoff, an epicurean gentleman, and even in regard to wine, which is strong and plentiful, his divines are liberal. "In other parts of Persia you find the scribblings on the walls of Serais to consist of philosophical axioms, texts from the Koran, or abuse of local authorities. From Kermán to Yezd you find only rhymes in praise of fair ladies or good wine."

(*Pottinger's Travels*; *Khanik. Mém.* 186 *seqq.*, and *Notice*, p. 21; *Major Smith's Report*; *Abbott's MS. Report* in F. O.; *Notes by Major O. St. John*, R.E.)

NOTE 5.—Parez is famous for its falcons still, and so are the districts of Aktár and Sirján. Both Mr. Abbott and Major Smith were entertained with hawking by Persian hosts in this neighbourhood. The late Sir O. St. John identifies the bird described as the *Sháhín* (Falco *Peregrinator*), one variety of which, the *Fársi*, is abundant in the higher mountains of S. Persia. It is now little used in that region, the *Terlán* or goshawk being most valued, but a few are caught and sent for sale to the Arabs of Oman. (*J. R. G. S.* XXV. 50, 63, and *Major St. John's Notes*.)

["The fine falcons, 'with red breasts and swift of flight,' come from Páríz. They are, however, very scarce, two or three only being caught every year. A well-trained Páríz falcon costs from 30 to 50 tomans (12*l.* to 20*l.*), as much as a good horse." (*Houtum-Schindler*, *l.c.* p. 491.) Major Sykes, *Persia*, ch. xxiii., writes: "Marco Polo was evidently a keen sportsman, and his description of the *Sháhin*, as it is termed, cannot be improved upon." Major Sykes has a list given him by a Khán of seven hawks of the province, all black and white, except the *Sháhin*, which has yellow eyes, and is the third in the order of size.—H. C.]

NOTE 6.—We defer geographical remarks till the traveller reaches Hormuz.

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[1] A learned friend objects to Johnson's *Hundwánáy* = "Indian Steel," as too absolute; some word for *steel* being wanted. Even if it be so, I observe that in three places where Polo uses *Ondanique* (here, ch. xxi., and ch. xlii.), the phrase is always "*steel and ondanique*." This looks as if his mental expression were *Púlád-i-Hundwáni*, rendered by an idiom like Virgil's *pocula et aurum*.

[2] Kenrick suggests that the "bright iron" mentioned by Ezekiel among the wares of Tyre (ch. xxvii. 19) can hardly have been anything else than Indian Steel, because named with cassia and *calamus*.

[3] Literally rendered by Mr. Redhouse: "The Indians do well the combining of mixtures of the chemicals with which they (smelt and) cast the soft iron, and it becomes *Indian* (steel), being referred to India (in this expression)."

[4] In *Richardson's Pers. Dict.*, by Johnson, we have a word *Rohan, Rohina* (and other forms). "The finest Indian steel, of which the most excellent swords are made; also the swords made of that steel."

CHAPTER XVIII.

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