

PART III.

Voyage through the Indian Seas, and Historical Accounts of Western Asia.

Chinese Navigation to India—Description of Japan—Expedition sent thither by Kublai—The Oriental Archipelago ; its Produce of Gold and Spices—Visit to Tsiompa—War between the King and Kublai—Account of Java—Malacca—Arrival at Sumatra—Voyage round the Island—The different Kingdoms—Savages of the Interior—Produce of Palm-toddy, Camphor, Sago—The Andaman and Nicobar Islands—Ceylon ; its Pearls and Rubies—Superstitious Legends of the People—Coast of Maabar or Coromandel—Various Customs and Superstitions—Masulipatam ; its fine Cloths—The Diamond Mines—Madras and the Legend of St Thomas—The Bramins and their various Orders and Observances—Cail, Coilon ; Comari (Cape Comorin)—Eli or Dely—Malabar Coast—Dreadful Piracies—Tana and Cambaia—Sumnaut (Guzerat)—Mention of Mekran—Polo gives Reports collected respecting Africa—Socotra ; Whale-fishery—Madagascar ; fabulous Rumours—Confounded with Southern Africa—Zanguabar ; why considered an Island—Abyssinia ; its Description—Wars with Adel—Arabia, Aden, Shaher, Dofar, Kalhat—Return to Ormus—Undertakes to relate the Revolutions of Western Asia—Kaidu, Prince of Samarcand—His Wars with Kublai—Exploits of his heroic Daughter—His Contest with Argon, Prince of Persia—Various Adventures of Argon, who is defeated and made Prisoner, but afterwards raised to the Persian Throne—His Death—Reigns of Quiacatu and Baidu—The latter vanquished by Ghazan, Son to Argon—Tartar Kingdom in Siberia ; Dog-sledges ; fine Furs—Region of Obscurity in the North—Russia—Black Sea and neighbouring Countries—Succession of Tartar Princes on the Volga—Great War between Barka and Hoolaku—Another between Toctai and Nogai—Conclusion.

I.—India and the Ships navigating thither.

HAVING described so many inland provinces, I will now enter upon India, with the wonderful objects in that

region. The ships in which the merchants navigate thither are made of fir,* with only one deck, but many of them are divided beneath into sixty compartments, in each of which a person can be conveniently accommodated. They have one rudder and four masts; while some have two additional, which can be put up and taken down at pleasure. Many of the largest have besides as many as thirteen divisions in the hold, formed of thick planks mortised into each other. The object is to guard against accidents which may cause the vessel to spring a leak, such as striking on a rock or being attacked by a whale. This last circumstance is not unusual; for during the night the motion of the ship through the waves raises a foam that invites the hungry animal, which, hoping to find food, rushes violently against the hull, and often forces in part of the bottom. The water, entering by the leak, runs on to the well, which is always kept clear; and the crew, on perceiving the occurrence, remove the goods from the inundated division, and the boards are so tight that it cannot pass to any other. They then repair the injury and replace the articles. The planks are double, fastened with iron nails, and plastered without and within, but not secured by pitch, of which the people are destitute. They therefore take lime, beat it into fine powder, and mix it with an oil from trees, so that it becomes equal to glue. These vessels carry two hundred mariners, and five or six thousand loads of pepper; they are moved by oars, on each of which four hands are employed. Every one of them has two barks, large enough to carry a thousand loads, and forty seamen well armed, who often assist in dragging the large ships.

* Mr Marsden does not believe that timber of this species can be accessible to the Chinese shipbuilder. He does not perhaps duly consider, that amid the elaborate cultivation, forests are allowed to grow only on the loftiest mountain-ridges. These, in the south especially, reach quite an Alpine height, and must have a cold climate suited to northern trees. The produce is easily conveyed down to the coast by the numerous rivers and canals.—*Historical Account of China* (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. i. p. 19; vol. ii. pp. 232, 233.

Ten small boats are also kept for fishing and various other services ; two being attached to each bark. When the ships have sailed a year, and stand in need of repair, a fresh plank is fastened above the two others, then nailed and cemented, till they sometimes acquire a depth of six planks.* Having thus described the merchant-vessels that go to India, I will tell you of the country itself ; but first I must mention the many isles in this sea lying to the eastward ; and first, of one named Zipangu.

II.—Island of Zipangu, and Tartar Expedition thither.

This is a very large island, fifteen hundred miles from the continent.† The people are fair, handsome, and of agreeable manners. They are idolaters, and live quite separate, entirely independent of all other nations. Gold is very abundant, and no man being allowed to export it, while no merchant goes thence to the mainland, the people accumulate a vast amount. But I will give you a wonderful account of a very large palace, all covered with that metal, as our churches are with lead. The pavement of the chamber, the halls, windows, and every other part, have it laid on two inches thick,‡ so that the riches of this palace are

* The division into compartments completely detached from each other, and the use of a cement composed of lime and oil, is still the system upon which Chinese junks are constructed. *Historical Account of China* (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. ii. pp. 239, 240. The mention of whales, and of the proceedings in case of a leak, are found only in Ramusio. The advantage stated in the latter case is obvious and important ; but we are not aware of accidents from whales being usual in the Chinese Sea.

† This is evidently Japan. The nearest part of the northern island is reckoned by Mr Marsden (p. 572), rather seemingly too low, at only 500 miles. Chinese *li* (about a third of a mile) may have been meant ; or the writer might refer to the most central part of the group.

‡ The extent and productiveness of this empire, with the studied exclusion of foreigners, are circumstances well known. The gold mines are described as very considerable, and monopolized by the sovereign. The modern palace is not represented as so richly covered with gold ; but authorities, both European

incalculable. Here are also red pearls, large, and of equal value with the white, with many other precious stones.* Kublai, on hearing of this amazing wealth, desired to conquer the island, and sent two of his barons with a very large fleet containing warriors, both horsemen and on foot. One was named Abatan, the other Vonsanicin, both wise and valiant. They sailed from Zai-tun and Kin-sai, reached the isle, landed, and took possession of the plain and of a number of houses; but they had been unable to take any city or castle, when a sad misadventure occurred. A mutual jealousy arose amongst them, which prevented their acting in any concert. One day when the north wind blew very strong, the troops expressed to each other apprehensions, that if they remained, all the vessels would be wrecked. The whole then went on board and set sail. When they had proceeded about four miles, they found another small isle, on which, the storm being violent, a number sought refuge. Others could not reach it, many of whom suffered shipwreck and perished; but some were preserved and sailed for their native country. Those who had landed, 30,000 in number, looked on themselves as dead men, seeing no means of ever escaping; and their anger and grief were increased, when they beheld the other ships making their way homeward.

The sovereign and people of the large isle rejoiced greatly when they saw the host thus scattered and many of them cast upon the islet. As soon as the sea calmed, they assembled a great number of ships, sailed thither and landed, hoping to capture all those refugees. But when the latter saw that their enemies had disembarked, leaving the vessels unguarded, they skilfully retreated to another quarter, and continued moving about till they reached the ships, and went on board without

and Chinese, state this ornament to have been formerly employed much more profusely.—Marsden, pp. 572, 573.

*Count Boni quotes Thunberg and Olivier de Nort, both for the abundance of pearls in Japan and for their red colour. This tint is observed even in a few of those found in Ceylon.—Marsden, p. 573.

any opposition. They then sailed direct for the principal island, hoisting its own standards and ensigns. On seeing these, the people believed their own countrymen had returned, and allowed them to enter the city. The Tartars, finding it defended only by old men, soon drove them out, retaining the women as slaves. When the king and his warriors saw themselves thus deceived, and their city captured, they were like to die of grief; but they assembled other ships, and invested it so closely as to prevent all communication. The invaders maintained it seven months, and planned day and night how they might convey tidings to their master of their present condition; but finding this impossible, they agreed with the besiegers to surrender, securing only their lives.* This took place in the year 1269. The great khan, however, ordered one of the commanders of this host to lose his head, and the other to be sent to the isle where he had caused the loss of so many men, and there put to death. I have to relate also a very wonderful thing, that these two barons took a number of persons in a castle of Zipangu, and because they had refused to surrender, ordered all their heads to be cut off; but there were eight on whom they could not execute this sentence, because these wore consecrated stones in the arm between the skin and the flesh, which so enchanted them, that they could not die by steel. They were therefore beaten to death with clubs, and the stones, being extracted, were held very precious.† But I must leave this matter and go on with the narrative.

* Both in the Chinese and Japanese annals, this expedition is related, and represented as having been rendered abortive by disastrous shipwreck. In particulars, however, they differ from each other; while our traveller, having been in China when the news arrived, had the best opportunities of gaining information. There is no reason to suppose, therefore, that his more detailed account may not be generally correct.

† The delusion of supposing persons rendered invulnerable by the use of amulets, is stated by Mr Marsden (p. 575) to be common in the oriental islands; and an instance is mentioned when the Portuguese were imposed upon by it.

III.—Idolatriy and Cruelty of the Japanese.

The idolaters of Cathay, of Manji, and of these isles, have all a uniform worship ; their idols have heads respectively of the dog, the hog, the sheep, and various other animals. Some have a head and four faces, others three heads, one in the proper place, and one on each shoulder. Certain images have four, ten, and even a thousand hands, and these last are held in peculiar reverence. When the Christians ask them why they form idols in so strange a manner, they reply,—“ Our ancestors left them to us, and we will leave them to our children.” The actions of these beings are so various and diabolical, that they must not be mentioned in this book, because it would be a wicked thing in Christians to read them.* I shall only mention, that any idolater of these isles, when he captures an enemy, who cannot procure a ransom in money, invites his friends, who cook and eat the prisoner, reckoning his flesh the most delicate food that can be obtained.†

IV.—Sea of China, and numerous Islands.‡

You must know, that the gulf containing this island

* The religion of Boodh, long the most popular in China, has also been extensively diffused through Japan, so that the superstitions of the two countries are correctly represented as similar. The deformed and multiform idols, either native or introduced from India, are also common. Thunberg mentions many in the temples at Miaco, each brandishing from twenty to forty-six arms.

† This report, though probably quite unfounded, is not unlikely to have arisen during the embittered war waged between the Tartars and Japanese.

‡ Ramusio begins this chapter thus : “ Departing from the port of Zai-tun, and sailing a westerly course inclining to the south, for 1500 miles, you pass the gulf named Keinan, the navigation along the northern shore of which occupies two months. It bounds the southern part of Manji, and then approaches the countries of Arica, Toloman, and many others already mentioned.” Mr Marsden admits that the period of two months is too large, and that the numerous and distant coasts mentioned in the chapter are improperly stated as within the gulf, whereas they evidently include all those belonging to the Indian archipelago. Neither of these errors appears in

is called that of Zin, meaning in their language the sea opposite to Manji. According to skilful and intelligent mariners, who have made the voyage, it contains 7448 isles, mostly inhabited. In all these there grows no tree which is not agreeably fragrant, and also useful, being equal or superior in size to the *lignum aloes*. They produce also many and various spices, including pepper white like snow, as well as the black. They yield also much gold, and various other wonderful and costly productions;* but they are very distant and difficult to reach. The mariners of Zai-tun and Kin-sai, who visit them, gain indeed great profits; but they spend a year on the voyage, going in winter, and returning in the summer; for the wind in these seasons blows only from two different quarters, one of which carries them thither, and the other brings them back.† But this country is immensely distant from India. You may observe, too, that though the sea be called Zin, it is really the ocean, just as we say the sea of England, the sea of Rochelle.‡ The great khan has no power over these islands. Now let us return to Zai-tun, and resume our narrative.

V.—Of Cianba, and Expedition thither.

On leaving that port, and sailing west and somewhat south-west 1500 miles, you reach a country named Cian-

our text, taken from the early editions. The mention, however, of Keinan (evidently Hai-nan) shows some kind of information in the person who inserted the passage in Ramusio.

* The number stated is doubtless fanciful and exaggerated; yet when we consider the various groups composing the oriental archipelago,—many consisting of numerous islets,—the whole amount must be very great. They are, as here justly noticed, productive beyond any other part of the world in aromatic and odoriferous plants, also very rich in gold.

† The distance would not be very formidable to a British mariner, but is otherwise to the ruder Chinese navigator; while this sea, too, is tempestuous and dangerous. The junks still perform only one voyage in the year; and, as here correctly stated, sail in the winter with the north-east monsoon, and return in summer with the south-west one.—Marsden, p. 582.

‡ The object seems here to be, to distinguish the ocean and its branches from a great lake or enclosed sea, like the Caspian. In Ramusio we have the Egean Sea, instead of that of Rochelle.

ba,* which is very rich and extensive. The people are idolaters, have a language of their own, and a king, who pays tribute to the great khan, but only in fine elephants peculiar to the country. That monarch, seeking to subdue him, sent, in 1278, one of his barons with many men, horse and foot, who began to lay waste the country. The sovereign, who was very aged and much afraid of such powerful warriors, did not venture to engage them on the open plain, remaining secure in strong cities and fortresses; but all the lands and houses were wasted and destroyed. Grieved at the desolation of the territory, he sent messengers, who said to the great khan, "Sir, the King of Cianba salutes you as his liege lord, and states himself to be a man of great age, who has long preserved his kingdom in peace. He offers to be your vassal, and pay a liberal tribute in elephants, and beseeches that your baron and army will cease to ravage his kingdom." The khan, having heard this message, took pity upon him, and ordered his general to withdraw, and conquer another country; and he has ever since received this tribute of the largest and most beautiful elephants.† In this kingdom, no handsome girl can be married till the king sees her, when, if pleased, he takes her to wife; otherwise, he gives her money, with which she can be married to a nobleman. In 1285, when I, Marco Polo, was there, the king had 326 sons and daughters, of whom 150 were men that

* *Ziamba, Ramusio.* This is evidently Tsiompa, called also Ciampa, a maritime country between Cochin-china and Cambodia, and which, projecting beyond the former, terminates the deep gulf of which itself, Tonquin, and Southern China, are the boundaries.

† It is sufficiently evident, even from our author's narrative, which was doubtless that current at the court of Kublai, that the issue of this expedition was the reverse of triumphant, and that the emperor granted such lenient terms solely because he could not push his demands farther. It appears by Chinese history, that the war was still more disastrous than is here represented, their army being closely hemmed in, and with difficulty effecting its retreat.—Marsden, p. 588. In the *Crusca MS.* the tribute is said to have consisted of *twenty* elephants.

could carry arms. Besides elephants, the country abounds in lignum aloes, and the wood called ebony,* which is very black, used in making chess-boards and writing-desks. I now proceed to a great island named Java.

VI.—The Island of Java.

Departing from Cianba, and going south and south-east 1500 miles, you come to this island. Good mariners, who know it intimately, describe it as the largest in the world, with a circuit of more than 3000 miles. The people are subject to a powerful king, are idolaters, and pay no tribute to any other prince. The territory is very rich, yielding pepper, nutmegs, galanga, cubebs, cloves, and all the richest of spices. Many merchants from Zai-tun and Manji come and carry on a great and profitable traffic. Its treasure also is so immense, that it can scarcely be estimated.† On account of the long and difficult navigation, the great khan never could acquire dominion over it.

VII.—Kingdom of Lochac.

Leaving this island, and sailing between south and south-west 700 miles, you find two isles, a large and a

* Elephants abound in all the countries between India and China, and Mr Marsden quotes the *Flora Cochinchinensis* for the copious supply of ebony, and its adaptation to ornamental furniture.

† The dimensions here assigned are much greater than those of Java Proper; whence Zurla contends that Borneo is the island described; but Count Boni seems to state sufficient reasons against this opinion. I incline, however, decidedly to concur with a suggestion slightly made by Mr Marsden, that the great Java of our traveller included both these islands. It is impossible otherwise to make even an approach to the dimensions here stated, and the calling Sumatra *Little Java* would be preposterous. It is also very unlikely that he should have omitted all mention of Borneo, which lay so completely in his way. The pepper and other spices were evidently procured in Java Proper, including, indeed, several that are raised in the Moluccas and other islands to the eastward; but Java has always been the chief mart, where the Chinese apparently found them assorted for sale. The great abundance of gold (meant by treasure) could only be found in Borneo.

small, called Sondur and Condur.* Departing thence, and going south-east still 500 miles, you find a very extensive province named Lochac.† The people are subject only to a native king, are idolaters, with languages of their own. They are tributary to no power, being so situated that no invader can reach their land ; otherwise

* These appear evidently to be Pulo Condore, a small group off the coast of Camboia, and a common rendezvous of vessels navigating these seas. But there is an extraordinary error in the direction S. S. W., which, instead of bringing a ship from Java hither, would carry it into the heart of the Southern Ocean. It is found alike in the earliest editions and in Ramusio. The Basle gives no direction ; and Muller, intimating no difference, seems to imply the same in the Berlin MS. of Pipino ; but I suspect the learned editor has neglected the collation, as the Museum MS. and the printed edition agree in making it south-west. I have no doubt Mr Marsden points out the real cause. Java was not in the line of the voyage, but described, as indeed is pretty distinctly intimated, from the report of mariners at Tsiompa. Having given the description, he returns to that country and reports the trip thence to Pulo Condore, which is exactly in the direction of south-west. In Pipino, both MS. and printed, the expression is : “ *Dimissa insula Java ;* ” which can quite bear the sense, “ Ceasing to treat of ; ” and probably a term of this import was in the original, which the other copyists and translators have misunderstood, and made it to imply departure from, &c.

† The distance in Ramusio is fifty miles ; and Mr Marsden concludes that it must be Camboia, the capital of which is by an early writer called Loech. But all the best editions,—the French, Paris Latin, Crusca, Pucci, and Pipino, make the distance 500 miles, so that the country reached must be the eastern coast of what is now termed Malacca. There is, however, the great error of making the direction south-east instead of south-west ; and this is common to the early editions and to Ramusio. It is probably a mistake in copying bad manuscript. Sceloc and Garbin sound very unlike ; yet the number of letters is the same ; a bad G might be mistaken for S, and b for l. Gryneus, who gives no direction in the preceding route, states here the right one, south-west. It is the same in the French edition of 1556. The learned editor of the *Novus Orbis* might, from other information, perceive this mistake. Pipino, too, having made the route to the two islands south-west, intimates here its continuance (*ultra quas ad quingenta milliaria est Lorach*). This correctness of the middle editions, while both the early and late ones are erroneous, appears curious. Pipino translated at a time when he might have access to excellent MSS. ; and being a learned man, might interpret them better than the other copyists or translators.

it would soon be subdued by the great khan. Brazil-wood is in abundance, and gold in almost incredible quantities. There are elephants and other animals for hunting; and from this place is derived all the porcelain that is circulated as money through the provinces now described. I have only to add, that the country is difficult to reach; the king himself does not wish to be visited by strangers, and thus no one knows his treasure and condition.*

VIII.—Pentam and other Islands.

When a man goes 500 miles southward from Lochac, he finds an island named Pentam, very wild, all covered with odoriferous woods. Thence he navigates between these two islands about sixty miles, drawing only four paces of water, so that large vessels in the passage must remove their rudder. He then goes on south-east about thirty miles, and reaches an island also named Pentam, with the noble and rich city Malaur, having much traffic in spices and other articles. The people have a king and languages of their own.†

* This country, as above observed, must have been the eastern coast of Malacca, which the Malays had only recently reached, and not yet given their name. It is difficult to find one resembling Lochac, unless it be in Ligor, the seat formerly of a great trade; *ch* and *g* being always interchanged. The coast is still little known or frequented, and from the same causes, being out of the common route of navigation, and the people very rude. Gold dust is mentioned as an export from all its havens. Elephants' teeth are also noticed, and timber is plentiful (Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 320-341). The only mistake appears to be about the shells used for money (cowries), which are found on the adjacent coast of Borneo; but perhaps a quantity of imported ones had been here seen. The words "for money" are wanting in the French,—probably an omission, as the *Crusca* has them. Ramusio mentions "a fruit called *berchi*, in size resembling a lemon, and of delicious flavour." This is wanting in the early editions, and Mr Marsden cannot find any confirmation of it; generally, however, the fruits of the country are said to be good.

† The navigation in this chapter is intricate; yet I think it may be traced. The first 500 miles is evidently along the coast of Malacca, terminating at the island of Buitang. The next 60 must then have been through the Straits of Singapore, which

IX.—Island of Little Java (Sumatra).

Departing from Pentam, and going 130-miles south-east, you find the island of Java the Lesser; but notwithstanding this title, it is above two thousand miles in circuit, with eight kingdoms, and the same number of crowned sovereigns.* I will tell you the whole truth about it. The people are idolaters, and each nation has a language of its own. There is a very great abundance of treasure and costly spices, as well as of lignum aloes and many other woods unknown in our country. What

Mr Horsburgh (vol. ii. p. 177-182) describes as difficult, and in many parts very shallow. He might then come to the island of Pantjoor, adjacent to Sumatra, and which he also names Pentam. Possibly, however, it might be Batang, and the 30 miles be along its south-western coast. We have seen our author's fondness for identifying names that are at all similar. Ramusio's text is here very defective and confused, rendering it impossible for Mr Marsden to form any idea of the course. He makes the 60 miles south-east, and the 30 without direction; and he has nothing to show that there are two Pentams.

* The name of Lesser Java is evidently given, though it is admitted with no strict propriety, to the large island of Sumatra. Its extent, its products, its people, are described with very great correctness. The local details are more difficult to trace, as the author has given neither distances nor directions, names are much altered, and its turbulent little kingdoms are liable to such constant revolutions, that the most powerful in one age ceases to exist in another. Yet I cannot but wonder that Mr Marsden (p. 600) should pass a general censure against our traveller's description, and prefer to it the meagre one of Barbosa. I am convinced, however, that the learned editor has misconceived the whole scope of this voyage, which he supposes to have been through the Straits of Malacca, and along the northern coast of the island. It appears to me, on the contrary, that they went through the Straits of Sunda, and then along the western side. This was, no doubt, a circuitous route; yet many motives might bias them. It appears from Mr Horsburgh (vol. ii. p. 139) that the Malacca channel is dangerous to those unacquainted with it, as the Chinese were. Knowing the island evidently by way of Java, they might prefer the route familiar to them. We find them setting out with a course of 130 miles in the best editions, and 100 in others, to the *south-east*; a strange aberration from a track lying due north-west through the Malacca channel. One or two errors of direction have been lately observed; but these are rare, and the versions in that case differ; but here they all agree. Other and perhaps more decided proofs will be developed in examining the details.

will appear very wonderful is, that this isle lies so far south, that the north star is never seen. Now I will tell you of each kingdom by itself.

X.—Kingdom of Ferlech.

In that of Ferlech are Saracen merchants, who come with their vessels, and have converted the people to the law of Mohammed ; but only in the city, for those in the mountains live like brutes, eating the flesh of men and of the vilest animals. They worship various objects, particularly the first thing they meet after rising in the morning.*

XI.—Kingdom of Basman.

Leaving Ferlech, you enter Basman,† a kingdom by itself, whose people have a language of their own, and live without law, like beasts. They own the supremacy of the khan, but pay him no tribute, because the great distance prevents his troops from reaching them ; yet they sometimes make him a present of strange objects. Here are wild elephants, and unicorns not much smaller, being double the size of a buffalo. They have a large

* Mr Marsden, observing that the Arabs convert the Malay *p* into *f*, considers this place as Perlak, at the north-eastern point of the island. Yet Tanjong Perlak is merely Diamond Point, nor is there any record of a kingdom or even city bearing the name. Our views would place it about the middle of the eastern coast, particularly in the kingdom of Siak, and the name is not very unlike, though certainly with no striking resemblance. The cannibals are the Battas, inhabiting the interior of the country, and who have always borne that reputation. The Saracen religion was about this time established in Malacca, and was therefore very likely to have partially made its way into Sumatra.—Marsden's History, pp. 261, 262.

† Mr Marsden finds this kingdom in Pasé, formerly called Pacem, a short distance west of Diamond Point. Count Boni, urging that the sovereignties could not well be so crowded together, supposes Pasaman to be on the western coast. Our views would point to Pasaumah, in the interior from Palembang, near indeed to the western coast, yet communicating by a large river with the eastern, to which its power, formerly greater, may at this time have extended. On the whole, there is certainly nothing decisive in these two stations ; but perhaps the next may be otherwise.

black horn in the middle of the forehead, and beneath the tongue sharp prickles, which can inflict severe wounds. Their heads resemble that of the wild boar, yet they carry them bent to the earth. They are very ugly, and fond of wallowing among mire.* It is not true, as asserted among us, that they allow themselves to be taken by a virgin, but quite the contrary. There are here good and serviceable falcons, black like crows; also a prodigious number of monkeys of various forms and habits. But you must know that those who bring the little men from India practise a great deception. I assure you the figures to which they give that name are manufactured in this island in the following manner:—There is a species of small monkey, with a face resembling the human, which they catch, skin, and shave off all the hair except on the beard and chin; having then moulded them into a human semblance, they dry and preserve them with camphor and other articles. But it is a gross deception; for neither in India, nor in any other country, however savage, are there men so small as these pretended ones.† Now let us tell of a kingdom called Samara.

XII.—Kingdom of Samara.

When a man departs from Basman, he finds the kingdom of Samara, in which I myself, Marco Polo,

* The rhinoceros, an animal then probably unknown in Europe, is here described with considerable accuracy. We may observe, that the southern part of the east coast, where we suppose our traveller now to be, is described on Mr Marsden's map as fenny, and subject to inundation; the situation best fitted for this animal, which would be out of place amid the mountainous tracts in the north.

† We have here a curious mention of a fraud practised on our ignorant ancestors. The belief of a nation of pigmies in the east was prevalent in that age, and is countenanced in the travels of Oderic and Mandeville. The former describes them on report; the latter avers that he saw them. The merchants, it appears, took advantage of this delusion, by preparing and selling, probably at high prices, specimens of this pretended variety of mankind. Our traveller's good sense and accurate observation enabled him to expose the trick.

remained five months, because the bad weather did not allow us to sail. Here neither the north star nor the constellation of the Greater Bear appeared. The people are savage idolaters, governed by a rich and powerful king, and owning a nominal submission to the great khan. During our stay, we landed and erected castles of wood and twigs, where we remained through the fear of these wicked men, who eat their fellow-creatures.* The best fishes in the world are found here. The people have no wheat, living on rice ; and they make no wine. You must know there is a kind of tree, of which they cut a branch, and place a pot beneath, when, during the night, the vessel is filled, and very good wine is thus produced, both red and white. The tree resembles a

* Mr Marsden considers this place as Sama-langa, a port on the northern coast, and Count Boni appears to acquiesce. I am convinced, on the contrary, that it is the Bay of Samangka (Samanca, *Horsburgh*), at the southern extremity ; and this position, it is apprehended, forms a main key of the voyage. It is mentioned that not only the north star, but those of the Wain or Greater Bear had become invisible. This last could not be strictly true, but of course they were seen more partially the farther south he went. At all events, the disappearance of these northern stars is noticed more emphatically, and as taking place to a greater extent, than in the middle part of the island, opposite the Straits of Singapore. Does not this imply that he was now on the southern coast, in about 5° S. lat. not on its opposite one, above 10° northward ? Again, in turning the western point of this bay, he would come upon the ocean, and encounter in all its force the north-west monsoon, which, from October to April, blows with great violence, accompanied with thunder and lightning (*Horsburgh*, p. 47). If they arrived at the beginning of this period, the detention is easily accounted for. But this monsoon blows chiefly south of the equator ; indeed, both Mr *Horsburgh* (*Introd.* p. 4), and Mr *Wright* (*Nautical Directory*, p. 17), consider its range as not extending beyond 12° S. and 4° N. lat. It could not therefore reach the northern coast of this great island, though stated to blow with peculiar force on the western. Mr Marsden (*History of Sumatra*, p. 297) describes the shores of this bay as occupied by a ferocious people named *Orangabung* who had been the terror of all their neighbours till lately, when their villages were destroyed. The *Crusca* gives the name *Samarcha*, which comes still nearer to *Samara*. There is thus a concurrence of circumstances showing this to have been the port described, and, consequently, the expedition to have passed through the Straits of Sunda.

small date-palm, with four branches, and when it ceases to give out more wine, they water its root, which causes it to produce again.* They have great quantities of very large Indian nuts, and eat all kinds of flesh, good and bad. Now let us tell you of a kingdom which is named Dagroian.

XIII.—Kingdom of Dagroian.

This kingdom has a language of its own ; the people are very savage, subject to a king, but owning the supremacy of the great khan.† They are savage idolaters, and have the following very bad custom :—When a man falls sick, his relations send for the magicians, and inquire if he will recover, as these deceivers profess to know, by their enchantments and idols, whether he will live or die. In the latter case, the friends send for persons who place something over his mouth, by which he is suffocated. They then cook the body, and all the kinsmen come and eat his flesh, taking care not to leave the smallest portion ; which they believe would breed worms, and thus seriously afflict the soul of the deceased. They next collect the bones, and place them in a large and beautiful chest, which they carry to caverns in the mountains, beyond the reach of wild beasts or any other injury. When they take any man belonging to another country, who cannot redeem himself, they kill and eat him in like manner. This is a very bad practice.‡ I must now, however, tell you something of Lambri.

* Mr Marsden (History, p. 88) mentions palm-trees, of several species, from which the natives, in the manner described, extract the liquor called toddy, which in a few hours ferments and becomes intoxicating. The cocoa-nut, mentioned in the following sentence, is equally plentiful.

† Dragoyan, *Ramusio*.—Mr Marsden supposes this to be Indragiri, on the eastern coast. On the contrary, we look to the western, where the name most similar appears to be Ayer Aje (Ayer Rajah or Indrapour, *Milburn*), in about 2° S. lat., and near the highest mountains of the island.

‡ Mr Marsden has been able to find no confirmation of this peculiarly barbarous custom. The Battas, however, a numerous

XIV.—Kingdom of Lambri.

Lambri is a kingdom having a sovereign of its own, who owns the supremacy of the khan. The people are all idolaters; they have a great abundance of camphor and other spices; likewise brazil-wood.* This they sow, and when it has grown to a little twig, they transplant it to another place, and at the end of three years root it up.† We brought some of this seed to Venice, but it did not spring at all on account of the cold. I will tell you another very wonderful thing; for there are men in this kingdom who have tails like dogs, larger

people in the interior, are believed to eat the flesh, not only of their enemies, but of condemned criminals. It appears also (Marsden's *Sumatra*, p. 388), that at the death of relations, a great feast is held, and numerous animals killed, the blood of which is partially sprinkled over the coffin. A groundwork is thus afforded, which a credulous fancy might work up into the story here narrated.

* Mr Marsden proceeds on the supposition of this being Jambi, on the eastern coast, yet repeatedly admitting that it has no correspondence except the imperfect one of name. He himself alludes to what we must agree with Count Boni in considering the real site. De Barros, the early historian of the Portuguese conquests, gives a list of kingdoms in their order: Daya, Lambri, Achem, and others. The first and last of these being at the north-west extremity of the island, Lambri must be in the same quarter. It might seem, indeed, to be between them; but the historian concludes thus: "Barros, Quinchel, and Mancopa, which falls upon Lambri, which is near to Daya, the first that we named." This distinctly implies that Lambri was more distant than Acheen, and hence farther south than Daya. Accordingly, in about 4° N. lat. Delisle's map has, in conspicuous characters, Labou. Mr Marsden has here Nalabu, which he describes (*History*, p. 185-188) as the seat of a considerable trade. Mr J. Arrowsmith has it Analaboo; still evidently the same with the Labou of Delisle, and, as I apprehend, the Lambri of De Barros and our traveller. Now his fleet was here, since, in the chapter after next, it is mentioned as thence finally setting sail. This is surely a strong confirmation of the voyage being along the western coast; for had their tedious detention been on the northern, it was little likely they should then sail 100 miles southward, without any object, and merely to return.

† Ramusio represents this process as taking place with another vegetable resembling the brazil-wood, which Mr Marsden conjectures to be indigo. Our text, taken from the early editions, makes the plantation to be of the brazil itself. Indigo is afterwards described under its own name.

than a palm, and who are covered with hair. They remain in the mountains, never visiting the towns.* There are unicorns, with various beasts and birds for hunting. Now let us depart and tell you of Fansur.

XV.—Kingdom of Fansur.

The people of Fansur are idolaters, have a king, and nominally acknowledge the great khan. Here grows the best *canfara fansuri*, which is much more valued than any other; indeed it sells for its weight in gold.† Wine is drawn from trees, in the manner described above: another wonder is, that, in this province, meal is obtained from them. These are large, the bark thin, and the interior all full of meal. The inhabitants take

* It is rather mortifying, after Marco had repelled one fable of this description, that he should have given heed to another so similar. Mr Marsden mentions reports he had heard of savage men covered with long hair, and shunning all communication with the other inhabitants. I cannot help thinking it very probable, that the orang-outang or pongo of Borneo may lurk in some wild mountainous recesses of this adjacent island. Count Boni mentions, that Carletti, whose travels he had seen in MS., states his having heard a story exactly similar to this from his Chinese pilots.

† *Facfur, Pipino.* Fanfur, *Ramusio.* Mr Marsden supposes this to be Kampar, on the eastern coast, in which the Italian editor seems to acquiesce. I cannot but think the real site perfectly evident, though in a very different quarter; for it *must* be the district which yields that very fine camphor, for which the island is celebrated, bearing twenty times the price of that of Japan. This is completely ascertained to be in the interior from Barus or Baroos, on the western coast, whence it is called over the east *Camphor-Barus* (Crawfurd's Indian Archipelago, vol. i. p. 517). The very similar expression in the text seems to show that the two places, though with names somewhat dissimilar, are in fact the same. Count Boni quotes from Abulfeda the notice of Fansur as distinguished for this article, named *Fansurensis*. According to Captain Low, it is found 250 miles N. from Ayer Bongey, on the western coast only, being scarcely ever seen on the opposite side of the mountains (Journal Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. p. 45). It will be observed that the fleet had sailed on to Lambri, whence in the next chapter we shall see it departing. It was therefore by a detached excursion, or by diligent inquiry, that Marco gained his information respecting this important seat of commerce.

it out, and make a very good paste, of which we often ate.* Having told you of the kingdoms in this part of the isle, I will say nothing of the two others, because we did not visit them. I will now, therefore, go to another small island called Gavenispola.†

XVI.—Islands of Necuveran and Angaman (Nicobar and Andaman).

Departing from Java and the kingdom of Lambri, and travelling northward about 150 miles, you find two islands, one of which is called Necuveran.‡ The people have no king, and live like brutes, both men and women going quite naked. They are idolaters, and have forests of noble and valuable trees; among which are sandal-wood, the Indian nut, clove, brazil, and many others.

Angaman is a very large island, without a king; the people idolaters, resembling savage beasts; indeed they are a most extraordinary race, having a head, teeth, and jaws like those of a mastiff dog. They are very cruel, and eat all the men of every other nation whom they

* This is manifestly the sago, a food now well known and valued in Europe. Ramusio has a passage stating that the wood is as hard as iron, and sinks when thrown into water; that it is capable of being split evenly from one end to the other, like the bamboo; that the natives make it into lances, which, when hardened in the fire, are superior to those of iron. This Mr Marsden observes to be quite an erroneous statement, as applied to the sago, being applicable only to a palm of a quite different species. There is not the least trace in the early editions of such a paragraph, which has evidently been interpolated by some inaccurate observer.

† In the Crusca, *Nenispolā*. It is curious that this island is never again mentioned, and occurs only in it and the French edition. Count Boni suggests that it may be Puloway.

‡ In Ramusio, it is added:—"The other Angaman." This is evidently interpolated by some one who was ignorant of the latter being too distant to admit of its being the island meant, which is evidently another of the Nicobar group plainly designated under the name of Necuveran. The rude yet harmless character of the people, and the noble trees with which the soil is clothed, are fully confirmed by good subsequent authorities.

can seize.* They have great abundance and variety of spices, with fruits different from ours, but live chiefly on flesh and milk. Having told of these various people, I will now mention another island.

XVII.—Island of Seilan.

When you depart from Angaman, and sail about a thousand miles westward, a little to the south, you reach the island of Seilan,† the very best of its size in the world. It is 2400 miles in circuit; yet I must tell you that anciently it was larger, being 3600, as appears by the old maps of the mariners on that sea; but the north wind blows with such violence, that a great part has been carried away by the water.‡ The people have a king called Sendemain, and are tributary to none; they are idolaters, and go quite naked, except a small covering round the middle. They have no grain but rice, living on it and on flesh. I will now describe the most precious thing in the world; for here are noble and beautiful rubies, which can be procured nowhere else; also the sapphire, the topaz, the amethyst, and various other precious stones. The king has the most beautiful ruby that ever was or can be in the whole world. It is the most splendid object on earth, and seems to glow like fire; it is of such value as money

* The group of the Andamans is here manifestly pointed out. All accounts agree as to the ferocious and intractable disposition of the inhabitants; Mr Colebrook considers them as perhaps the least civilized race in the world. It is even strongly reported, though seemingly not proved, that they are guilty of cannibalism. The resemblance to the canine race is too strongly stated; yet they belong to that of the Papuas or oriental negroes, whose generally deformed visage, with a projection in the lower part of the face, gives a considerable similarity to the animal mentioned.

† This is evidently the well-known island of Ceylon, and both the distance and direction are here extremely correct.

‡ The maps of Ptolemy, to which the Arab navigators were accustomed to pay great regard, represent the island of Taprobane under very exaggerated dimensions. Finding these erroneous, yet not willing to believe him mistaken, they probably reconciled the difference by the unfounded theory stated in the text.

could scarcely purchase.* The great khan sent his messengers to him, wishing to buy it, and offering the value of a city. The monarch replied, that he had received it from his ancestors, and would for no earthly consideration part with it. The people are not men-at-arms, but unwarlike and cowardly ; when they need soldiers in war, they send for those of another country, commonly for Saracens.

XVIII.—Origin of the Boodhist Religion in Seilan.†

I have also to tell you that in this island there is a great mountain, of which the rocks are so broken that it can be ascended only by chains of iron suspended, whereby men may mount to the summit. Here, according to the Saracens, is the monument of Adam our first father ;‡ but the idolaters consider it as that of Sergamon Borcam. They describe this last as the first man whose image they worshipped, and as the best that ever lived in their country. He was son to a great, rich, and powerful king, yet refused to succeed to the throne, or to attend to any worldly concern. The monarch, who had no other son, was both grieved and angry. He made him large promises, offering even to resign, and raise him immediately to the throne ; but the youth would listen to no such proposal. The father was like to

* Ceylon is described as peculiarly distinguished for the number and variety of its precious stones, but not, as our traveller represents, for their excellence. Rubies are particularly mentioned in the foremost place, and though they are usually small (Milburn, vol. ii. p. 360), there seems no improbability of some one very fine specimen having been found. Count Boni refers to a notice of the present one in Haithon's History of Armenia, ch. vi., a good and quite independent authority.

† This chapter, in the French, Crusca, and Ramusio, is introduced some time after, as giving particulars previously omitted. We have thought it more satisfactory, after the example of the Paris Latin, to introduce it here as its proper place.

‡ The principal mountain in the island, and one of great altitude, was really named Adam's Peak by the Arabs, before the arrival of Europeans. It is of very difficult ascent ; and Mr Davy actually mentions the use of chains in reaching its summit.—Marsden, p 671

die of grief, but bethought himself of a plan for bringing him back to the world. . He lodged him in a very fine palace, and appointed 30,000 beautiful damsels to serve and amuse him. The prince, however, remained insensible to their seductions, and led a more virtuous and chaste life than before. Now his habits had been so reclusive that he had never seen a dead person, or one not perfectly sound in his members. One day, happening to ride across the path where a man lay dead, he was utterly astonished, and asked of his attendants what that was. This being explained, he inquired if all men died, and being told they did so, he walked on, musing very deeply. Some time after, he saw one unable to walk, and with all his teeth decayed through extreme old age. Having asked, and being informed what that was, he declared he would no longer remain in this evil region, but would seek a place where men neither died nor grew old. He left the palace, and journeyed into great and trackless mountains, where he spent his whole life virtuously and chastely, observing rigid abstinence ; so that had he been a Christian, he must have been a very great saint. When he died, his corpse was carried to his father, who, on seeing the body of one whom he loved better than himself, was grieved to the heart. He made an image of him composed of gold and precious stones. All the people of the country adored him as a god, and they say that he died eighty-four times, becoming first an ox, then a horse, then a dog, and various other animals ; but that the eighty-fourth time he became a god, and they worship him as their best and greatest. These were the first idolaters, from whom all the others in Seilan were descended. But I assure you, many from the most distant countries come hither on pilgrimage, as Christians to the shrine of St James, and the monument on this mountain is said to be that of the prince, whose teeth, hair, and skull were preserved. But the Saracens say that it is that of Adam, our first parent. God knows which is right, but one cannot believe the latter, for the Scriptures of our holy church assure us

that he died in another part of the world.* Now it happened that the great khan, hearing that the tomb of Adam, with the other objects mentioned, was on this mountain, sent, in 1284, a numerous embassy, who travelled by land to the island of Seilan. They went to the king, and procured two of the grinding teeth, which were very large, also the hair, and the cup, of beautiful green porphyry. They then returned, and sent notice to their sovereign of what they were bringing, when he ordered his subjects to go forth and meet these relics of our first father. All the citizens of Kambalu came out; the chief men received the sacred objects, and brought them to his majesty, who welcomed them with great joy and reverence. I assure you, too, they found this cup to be of such virtue, that when food was introduced for one man, there would be enough for five; and the great khan declared he had tried this, and found it the truth.† Now having told you truly all this history, I will leave it and relate other things.

* Sergamon, in Ramusio Sogomon, is a corruption of Sa-
kya-muni, a common appellation of Boodha, known as the chief
object of veneration in Ceylon, as well as Burmah. Mr
Marsden (p. 672), refers to an "Account of the Incarna-
tion of Buddha," translated from the Burman by Mr Carey.
In accordance with our author, he is described as a young
prince flying into the wilderness, and in vain tempted by his
father with every species of splendour, and particularly with
female attractions, to return into the world. It is amusing to
observe how Marco, following the ideas of his age, is struck
with admiration at the senseless ascetic life led by this ob-
ject of Indian idolatry. The doctrine of transmigration here
alluded to, also characterizes that creed. The French edition
in this part followed is more copious than that of Ramusio;
and such is frequently the case with the remainder of the narra-
tive; whereas the latter had hitherto contained usually all the
passages found in any other edition, with others peculiar to
itself.

† If, however, the modern inhabitants may be believed, the
khan did not monopolize these precious relics. They still pre-
serve in the great temple at Candy a tooth of that sacred per-
sonage, in honour of which a splendid festival and procession
are annually held.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol.
iii. p. 161.

XIX.—Kingdoms of Maabar.

When you depart from Seilan, and go westward about sixty miles,* you come to the extensive province of Maabar, on the mainland. It is called India the Greater, and is indeed the noblest and richest country in the whole world.† In this province there are five kings, who are brothers, and the one that reigns here is called Senderbandi Davar. The largest and finest of pearls are found in a gulf between this continent and the island, having nowhere more than ten or twelve paces depth of water, and in some places only two. Vessels, large and small, resort thither from the beginning of April to the middle of May, and cast anchor in a place called Bettalar, about sixty miles out at sea; they then go in boats and begin the fishery. Many merchants, formed into companies, hire and pay the men employed. They gave a tenth to the king, and a twentieth to the Abraiamain, who enchants the fishes, depriving them of the power to injure the persons who dive under water for the pearls; indeed he can enchant also all kinds of beasts and birds. The charm, however, lasts only during the day; at night the

* This is exactly the distance from Aripo, the most northeasterly part of Ceylon, to the nearest part of the continent; but Mr Marsden, in making this remark, refuses to claim any credit on that ground for the author, on account of his alleged general want of precision on these points; but we have endeavoured to show that most of his supposed mistakes have been in fact those of his learned editor himself, or of the corrupt texts to which he had access. He imagines the port sailed from to be Columbo; but gives no reason, nor can we discover any, for a locality which would convert Marco's very accurate statement into one much the reverse.

† Maabar must not be confounded with Malabar, though it has been so, and the latter term, in Ramusio's text, is erroneously substituted. Signifying "the passage," it appears to apply to that chain of sand-banks and coral-reefs named Adam's Bridge by the Arabs, and Rama's Bridge by the Hindoos. Mr Marsden has quoted several writers, both Arab and Indian, applying the term Mabbar, or Mabbar, to this district, which appears to include Tanjore and the Carnatic. The term India, as we may observe more fully afterwards, was applied in that age generally to the southern countries of Asia, among which Hindostan is justly distinguished as the greatest and finest.

animals enjoy full liberty. When the men in the boats have found water four to twelve feet deep, they plunge to the bottom, and get shells called sea-oysters, and within whose flesh are found pearls of all sizes and shapes. These are brought up in very large quantities, and distributed over the world,—the king drawing from them a great revenue.* During the rest of the year they are not found here; but at a place 300 miles distant, where they are taken from September to the middle of October.

XX.—Hindoo Customs and Superstitions.

Now, in all this province of Maabar, there is not a tailor, for the people go naked at every season. The air is always so temperate, that they wear only a piece of cloth round the middle. The king is dressed just like the others, except that his cloth is finer,† and he wears a necklace full set with rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and other precious stones, worth a great treasure. He has also suspended from his neck a silken cord, reaching a pace down, and containing 104 of the largest pearls and most valuable rubies. It is worn because he repeats every day, morning and evening, 104 prayers in honour of his idols. To this he is bound by his faith and religion, by the example and injunction of his ancestors.‡ He wears also round three parts both

* This account of the place, the period, and the mode of taking the pearls, is accordant with the best modern observations. The king still claims the same right, but prefers to make it available by farming the privilege to the merchants engaged. The operatives, however, are paid by shares of the produce. Among these the enchanterers are considered as indispensable as ever, to secure the divers against the sharks, who are the ravenous fishes here alluded to.—Marsden, p. 627-630.

† Mr Marsden quotes Sonnerat and Barthema in confirmation of this statement. We may add, that Dubois (*Manners and Customs of India*, 4to, pp. 204, 205) represents this as still the genuine Hindoo dress, though those connected with the Mohammedan courts have adopted from them in addition the turban and the muslin robe enveloping the person.

‡ The use of such chaplets or rosaries, to accompany prayers, is common among the votaries of the Bramin and Boodhist religions, as well as of the Catholic. According to Mr Mars-

of his arms and legs, bracelets of gold, full of goodly stones and pearls. In short, the number of his jewels is surprising, being of more value than a handsome city, and no wonder, since they are all produced in his own dominions. No man is allowed to export either a pearl or stone of great value, but must produce it to him, and as he gives double its cost, they do so very willingly, whence he has collected so ample a store. Now I must tell you of other marvellous things: he has 500 wives; and as soon as he sees a beautiful lady, takes and keeps her for himself.* He did the same in the case of a very handsome wife of his brother, who, being a prudent man, submitted, and did not quarrel on that account.† The king has certain faithful adherents, who attend him on horseback wherever he goes, and hold great commands under him; nay, what is wonderful, they serve him both in this and in the other world. Whenever he dies, and his body is thrown into a great fire, these vassals throw themselves after him, that they may accompany and serve him still in the future state.‡ It is the national custom that, when the king dies, and leaves a great treasure, his son will not spend it for the world; saying, I have all my father's kingdom and people, why should I not support myself as he did. Thus the treasure collected in this kingdom becomes immense.§

den's best information, the number of beads is 108,—a small discrepancy. In Ramusio (only), it is added that the daily prayer consists in the repetition of the word *pacauca*.

* Ramusio says, "at least a thousand;" but the present number only is stated in the French, Crusca, and other early versions, and is surely amply sufficient.

† In Ramusio, this forbearance is ascribed to the interposition of their mother; which, in the early versions, is introduced elsewhere, and in more general terms.

‡ The examples of the servants of Indian princes burning themselves along with their masters, are stated by Mr Marsden to be numerous; and he quotes from Barbosa and the early Arabians instances of its being done by a previous voluntary engagement.

§ The accumulation of treasure, so rare in Europe, is a general policy of oriental princes.

In this country no horses are reared, and hence the greater part of the revenue is employed in obtaining them from foreign regions. The merchants of Curmos, of Quisci, of Dufar, of Soer, and of Aden, whose provinces contain many steeds of fine quality, purchase, embark, and bring them to the king and his four princely brothers, selling them for 500 sagi of gold, worth more than 100 marcs of silver. I assure you, this monarch buys annually more than 2000, but, by the end of the year, they are all dead, from wanting the medicine necessary to keep them in health. The merchants who import them wish this to happen, and are therefore careful not to introduce the cure.* Another custom is, that when a man has committed a crime, and is condemned to die, he expresses a wish to devote himself in honour of a certain divinity, to which the king consents. Then his relations and friends place him on a wagon, giving him twelve knives, and lead him through the city, calling out, "This brave man is about to kill himself for the love of the great idol." When they come to the place of execution, he takes a knife and cries aloud, "I kill myself for the love of such a deity." He then, with different knives, strikes himself in one arm, then in the other, next in the stomach, and so on till he expires, when the relations burn his body with great joy.† I must tell you another custom of this

* Mr Marsden finds undoubted testimonies, from Abulfeda to Dr Buchanan, that no horses are bred in the southern part of the peninsula ; but all those used are imported. Count Boni (p. 172) has found in Tavernier and the *Lettres Edifiantes*, that frequent *medicine* and peculiar care are requisite to keep them in health.

† The prevalence in India of the dark practice of religious suicide is well known. There is no other authority for confining it to criminals, or even considering it customary in their case. The traveller may have witnessed an instance of the kind, and applied it too generally. Mr Ward, however, observes that the practice prevails chiefly among those exposed to incurable diseases, distress, or contempt. He reckons the number who thus perish in Bengal at 500. The cutting with sharp instruments is mentioned by modern writers, not as a mode of producing death, but as an exhibition made by superstitious mendicants.

country, that when a man is dead, and his body burned, his wife throws herself into the fire with her lord ; she is then much praised by the people, and many ladies follow the example.* The men also of this kingdom adore idols, and many worship the ox, saying, he is a valuable animal, and on no account would they kill him, or eat his flesh. Yet there is a race named *gaui* who eat it, but as they dare not slay the animal, they use only those that die a natural or accidental death. All the people, too, anoint their houses with its dung.† It is the custom also that the king, barons, and other persons sit upon the ground, and when asked why they decline a more honourable seat, they say, " We came from earth, and must return to it, and cannot too much honour this common mother." These *gaui* who eat beef are the persons by whose ancestors St Thomas the apostle was killed ; hence none of this lineage can enter the place where he lies buried, nor could twenty men force them in, nor ten hold them there, on account of the virtue of that sacred body.‡

* The reader is probably familiar with the *Suttee*, or custom of Hindoo widows burning themselves on the funeral-pile of their husbands, now happily abolished by the British government. In Ramusio, it is represented as peculiar to the widows of the criminal suicide ; but the early versions more correctly report it as a general practice.

† The degrading homage paid to this animal, as also the filthy manner in which it is expressed, are well known ; and Mr Marsden has accumulated abundant evidence on the subject. Dubois (p. 121) mentions that it is death to kill a cow, and expresses his astonishment that the natives should not rise in insurrection at the view of Europeans slaughtering and devouring in such numbers these adored divinities. That they merely deplore it in silence is considered a striking evidence of their tame and passive disposition.

‡ These *gaui* are evidently the outcast and despised race named *Pariahs*, who, being excluded from all intercourse with the higher castes, observe none of those restrictions as to food in which the latter take pride. They are supposed to form a fifth of the population of Southern India. See Account of British India (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. ii. pp. 333, 334. The odious character attached to them probably suggested to the Christians of the country the legend respecting

In this country there grows no grain but rice. It is remarkable that large fine horses in process of breeding produce only ponies with twisted legs, unfit for riding, and good for nothing. The people go to battle with lance and shield, entirely naked; yet are they not valiant and courageous, but mean and cowardly. They kill no animals of any description; but when they wish to eat their flesh, make them be slain by the Saracens and other nations, whose laws and customs are different. Both men and women wash the whole body in water twice every day, morning and evening, and till then will neither eat nor drink. He who omits this observance is regarded as we do a heretic.*

Very severe justice is executed upon those who commit murder or any other trespass. When a creditor has repeatedly applied for payment and been deceived by fallacious promises, he takes the following course. He draws a circle round the debtor, who dares not move beyond it, till he has either made payment or given good security; and should he attempt to escape, he becomes liable to capital punishment. Marco himself, when returning homeward through this country, was eyewitness to a remarkable transaction of this nature. The king owed a sum of money to a foreign merchant, and being frequently solicited, he put him off with empty promises. One day, when his majesty was riding out, the creditor took the opportunity of describing such a circle round his person. On seeing what had been done, the monarch immediately stopped, and did not move from the spot till the demand was satisfied. The people viewed with admiration this conduct, and pronounced their sovereign well entitled to the epithet of just.†

St Thomas, and the absurd statement here made, which our traveller too lightly believed.

* The practice of ablution, so well suited to the climate, is very general in India, and used as a religious observance.—Marsden, p. 642.

† This paragraph, with the exception of the first sentence, is

Most persons abstain from drinking wine, and reject the testimony or guarantee of those who indulge in it ;* also of mariners, accounted a reckless and desperate race. Dissolute conduct is practised without censure. The heat is wonderful, and is the cause of their going naked. No rain falls except in June, July, and August, and were not the air cooled by showers during these three months, it would be impossible to live. Many are skilled in an art which they call physiognomy, which consists in knowing men or women, their qualities good or bad, by merely seeing them. They regard augury beyond any people in the world ; for, I assure you, if a man sets out on a journey, and meets an omen deemed unlucky, he often turns back.† Whenever a boy or girl is born, the father or mother causes the nativity to be written out, the day, month, and hour, and these are interpreted by astrologers learned in enchantment and the magical art.

As soon as a son attains the age of thirteen, he is set at liberty, and no longer allowed to remain in his father's house. He receives from twenty to twenty-four groats of their money, and is then considered capable of earning his own subsistence by some trade. These boys, accordingly, run about in all directions throughout the day,

exclusively in Ramusio. The drawing of the circle is an authentic Hindoo custom. Mr Marsden admits the king's conduct to bear an air of romance. We have formerly observed that the name of Marco is studiously introduced into these apocryphal passages.

* All accounts agree in the detestation with which drunkenness is regarded by the Brahminical orders. Ramusio *alone* uses the qualified expression, wine from grapes ; which we can scarcely consider genuine in regard to a country where at that time it could scarcely be known.

† Ramusio here says : " In every day of the week there is one hour which they regard as unlucky, and this they name *choiach* : For instance, on Monday, the hour *mezzaterza* ; on Tuesday, that of *terza* ; on Wednesday, that of *nona* ; and during these hours they make no purchases nor transact any business, believing it would be unfortunate. In the same manner, they ascertain by means of their books the qualities of every day throughout the year." This passage does not occur in the early editions, and Mr Marsden has been able to find only slight confirmation of it.

buying and selling. During the pearl-fishery, they frequent the beach and purchase from the fishermen five or six small ones, which they carry to the merchant, who, on account of the heat, has remained seated in his house. They tell him what they have paid, and demand a reasonable profit, which he usually gives. The day's business being over, they carry provision to their mothers, who prepare and dress it for their dinner ; but they do not depend at all on their father for a maintenance.*

Here, and throughout all India, the birds and beasts are different from ours, except one bird, which is the quail. They have also bald owls, which fly in the night ; they have neither wings nor feathers, and are as large as an eagle. The eagles are black like crows, larger than ours, expert both at flying and hawking. Another thing worth mentioning is, that they feed their horses with flesh and many other dishes cooked with rice. Their monasteries are filled with idols, to whom many young girls are devoted by their parents. They must go to the monastery whenever required by the superior, which is usually several times a-week. They there sing, dance, and make great rejoicings. These young ladies also prepare savoury dishes of flesh and other food, which they carry to the sanctuary, and place before the idol as much as would make a good meal for a great lord. They then dance, sing, and rejoice, till time has been given for him to feed on the substance of the meat, when they take and eat it themselves, with great rejoicing. These ladies, who are very numerous, continue the same mode of life till after their marriage.† Having

* This paragraph, with the exception of the first sentence, is only in Ramusio. Mr Marsden gives evidence, that Indian boys, at a very early period, are actively employed in earning a subsistence for themselves.

† These *Cunsheny*, or dancing-girls, are a well-known appendage to Hindoo temples. Dr Buchanan assures us, that there is none of any consequence in the south to which a number of them are not attached. He and other writers represent them as leading very irregular lives, which is not expressly stated here, yet seems implied in a subsequent passage.

given you this full account of the manners, customs, and doings of this kingdom, we shall depart and tell of another, named Mutfli.

XXI.—Masulipatam—Diamonds of Golconda.

At this kingdom we arrive after departing from Maabar and travelling northward about a thousand miles. It is subject to a queen of great wisdom, whose husband died forty years ago, and her love to him was such that she has never married another. During this whole term, she has ruled the nation with great equity, and been beloved beyond measure by her people.* They are idolaters and independent; they live on rice, flesh, and milk. In this kingdom, you must know, is found the diamond; there are several mountains, among which, during rain, water flows with great turbulence, and through wide caverns; and when the shower ceases, men search through the ground previously inundated, and find the gems. In summer, there is not a drop of water, and the heat can scarcely be endured, while fierce and venomous serpents inspire great fear; yet those who venture thither discover valuable diamonds. There is also an extensive and deep valley, so enclosed by rocks as to be quite inaccessible; but the people throw in pieces of flesh, to which the diamonds adhere. Now you must observe, there are a number of white eagles, which, when they see the flesh in the bottom of the valley, fly thither, seize and carry it to different spots. The men are on the watch, and as soon as they see the bird with the spoil in its mouth, raise loud cries, when, being terrified, it flies away and drops the meat, which they take up, and find the diamond attached. Even when the prey has been swallowed, they watch where the excrement is voided, and obtain in

* This place, called in Ramusio Murphili and Monsul, is Masulipatam, a flourishing town, the chief of the northern Circars. The distance and direction here given are correct. The queen is not mentioned in Ramusio; but is introduced on the authority of the two Paris and the Crusca editions.

this way not a few jewels. Now this is the only country in the world containing these precious stones ; and do not suppose that the best come to our christian countries ; they are carried to the great khan and other lords of those regions, whose ample treasure enables them to purchase.* I must mention, too, that here are made the most beautiful and valuable cotton cloths in the world ; also the thinnest and most delicate, resembling our spiders' webs.† They have abundance of animals, and the largest sheep in the world, with plentiful subsistence of every kind. I must now describe the place containing the body of the apostle St Thomas.

XXII.—St Thomas (Madras), Legends respecting him.

This is in a small town of Maabar, containing few inhabitants, and seldom visited by merchants, there being little trade, and the roads difficult. Many Christians and Saracens, however, resort thither in pilgrimage : the latter esteem him a great saint, and even assert that he was a Mohammedan. But I will now relate a wonder. The Christians, who repair to that shrine, take from the place a red earth, carry it into their country, and give a small portion to any person sick of a fever, who is presently cured. But I have now a miracle to tell ; for about the year 1288, a baron of this district had a great

* The diamond mines of Golconda, in the interior, are celebrated throughout the world. This and Pannah, another not very remote district of Hindostan, are the only quarters, previous to the discovery of Brazil, in which this most valued of the precious stones was found. The territory is rugged and rocky, though not in the degree here described ; and it really is in the moistened soil, after the inundation caused by the periodical rains has subsided, that the diamonds are mostly found. The story of the eagles must be classed as fabulous ; yet there is no reason to suppose it of our author's invention. It is found in the Arabian Nights, where it seems only adopted from the general belief of Asia. Count Boni met with it in a scientific treatise on Precious Stones, recently translated by Signor Rainieri from the Turkish of Ahmed Teifachite.

† Masulipatam is well known as the chief mart for the fine cotton cloths made on the coast of Coromandel.

quantity of rice, and filled with it all the houses around the church. The pilgrims having thus no place to lodge, prayed him much to desist ; but being fierce and proud, he paid no regard to their entreaty. Next night, accordingly, Messer St Thomas appeared to him with a fork in his hand, which he thrust forcibly against his throat, causing severe pain, and saying, " If you do not forthwith empty my houses, you shall die an evil death." He disappeared, and the baron rose early in the morning, related the apparition, and caused all the buildings to be emptied. The Christians greatly rejoiced, and honoured this great apostle. I could relate other wonderful cures effected on persons labouring under various bodily infirmities ; but I will now merely describe his death. He had left his hermitage in the wood, and was engaged in prayer, while around were a number of peacocks, which are more numerous here than elsewhere in the world. Now an idolatrous Gaudi, aiming at one of these birds, let fly an arrow without seeing the saint, whom, however, it struck on the right side ; and finding himself thus wounded, he very mildly adored his Creator, and soon after expired. But before coming hither, he had converted many people in Nubia,* as I will afterwards narrate.

When a child in this province is born, they anoint him every day with the oil of sesamé, which makes him

* There can be no doubt, that, from the earliest ages of Christianity, there resided here a body of Christians, who, with or without reason, believed that they were converted by St Thomas, and that he here suffered martyrdom. Meliapour, a few miles from Madras, always, with the earliest European travellers, bears his name ; even the Arabs called it Beit-tuma or Temple of Thomas. Some learned writers maintain, that it was not the apostle, but a Syrian monk of the same name, who penetrated into this region ; but the contrary is the general belief of the East. The events here narrated are stamped with the credulity of the age ; yet in fact there is nothing in them actually supernatural. The death of the apostle, as related, might easily happen by mere accident ; and in the case of the nobleman, there is merely a dream, which the representations of the Christians, though repelled at the moment, might easily excite in his mind

become blacker than at birth ; for whoever is most deeply tinted is honoured in proportion. Indeed, these people paint their god and all their idols black, and their devils white as snow. The men, when they go to battle, place such faith in the ox as a holy thing, that they take the hair of the wild bull, and if they fight on a horse, attach it to the neck ; if on foot, to their shield ; thinking themselves thus better secured against every danger. Hence, the hair of this animal sells at a considerable price.*

XXIII.—Lar ; the Bramins.

Lar is a province lying westward of this place, and thence came originally all the Abraimain in the world. These are the best and most honest of all merchants, and would not on any account tell a lie.† They neither

* The inhabitants of this southern part of India are of a very dark colour, and they have the custom of frequently anointing their bodies with oil ; but there is no reason to suppose the two circumstances connected in the manner here supposed. Many images of the Hindoo deities are formed of a species of black granite, and some of their *asuras* or demons are painted white ; here, too, the motive assigned is probably fanciful. The hairs of the wild bull are doubtless those of the yak or Thibetian ox, which, under the name of chowry tails, are considered by Hindoo grandees one of the most valued ornaments. The superstitious importance attached to them is nowhere else mentioned ; yet is not impossible. Probably, however, Marco had little opportunity of confidential intercourse with the natives ; so that, while he correctly observed their actions, he had not equal means of penetrating into their motives.

† The origin of the Bramins, who are evidently the order here alluded to, has baffled the most learned inquirers ; and it could not be expected that our traveller, in this cursory visit, should throw much light upon the subject. Yet it is curious that Ptolemy has placed in this quarter the Brachmani Magi ; and Dr Buchanan mentions that the Bramins here consider themselves a separate and superior race to those of the north ; looking down with contempt even on such as serve the sacred shrines of Benares.—Buchanan, vol. i. p. 308.

The position of Lar or Lac, to the west of Madras, carries us to Arcot and Conjeveram, the last noted for its splendid pagodas ; and here, in fact, D'Anville, in his "*Antiquité de l'Inde*," places the Brachme of Ptolemy. The appearance of simplicity and austerity might easily impose on our author,

eat flesh nor drink wine, are faithful to their wives, and lead every way very virtuous lives. They take nothing from any one, and do nothing that could be considered a sin.* They are all known by a silk thread worn over the shoulder, and tied beneath the opposite arm, so that it passes across both the breast and back.† They have a rich king, who readily purchases precious stones, and enjoins that the merchants shall offer to him all the pearls brought from Maabar, for which he pays double the cost. They therefore procure them in large quantities. They are idolaters, and regard omens from birds and beasts more than any other nation in the world. I will tell you one of their customs: when one wishes to treat for any merchandise, he rises and observes his shadow in the sun; and if it be of the due length, on that day, according to certain rules, he makes his bargain; but if it be not long enough, he will not buy a single article. If they go to a house for this purpose, and see one of the animals named tarantula, which here greatly abound, they observe if it comes to them from a lucky quarter, in which case they buy; but if otherwise, they give up the

who would have little opportunity of observing the frauds with which this order are charged. See Account of India (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. ii. p. 329-331. The mention of them as merchants does not exactly accord with our ideas, and Count Boni suspects they may be confounded with Banians; but the latter are chiefly confined to the great cities on the western coast. Dubois informs us, that in this part of India many Bramins pursue that avocation; and we learn from Buchanan (as above) that there are two classes, Vaidika, devoted to spiritual services, and Lokika, who follow secular employments. The latter are regarded as decidedly inferior; yet they do not lose caste, and may intermarry with the others.

* Ramusio alone has an additional sentence: "When any foreign merchant, unacquainted with the customs of the country, introduces himself, and intrusts his adventure to one of them, he carefully attends to his interest, and renders him a faithful account, not even demanding any recompense, unless it is courteously proffered." This editor also differs in saying that they eat meat, and drink the wine of the country. Count Boni is so convinced, and with reason we think, of this being an error, that he has altered it in his reprint.

† The *zennar*, or sacred cord, is a well-known appendage of the Bramin.—Marsden, p. 666.

transaction and go away. Nay, I assure you, if one leaving his house hears a man sneeze in a manner that does not appear lucky, he stops and re-enters. Even if on his road he sees a swallow approaching from the right or left, in an unlucky manner, he returns.* Their teeth are very good, through the use of an herb, which makes them look extremely well, and is very salutary.† They never bleed from the vein or any other part, yet perfectly preserve their health.

There are among them an order named cuigui, who live to an extraordinary age, even 150 or 200 years, yet can perform all the service of the monastery and idols as well as younger men. This is owing to their great abstinence in eating and drinking; for they subsist mostly on rice and milk. They mingle also quicksilver and sulphur, making a beverage which they drink from their infancy, saying that it lengthens their lives.‡ There is also in this kingdom a religious order of more rigid cuigui, observing the strictest abstinence, leading a very rude and severe life, and going perfectly naked. They adore the ox, and many wear on their forehead a

* We cannot better illustrate this passage than by the following extract from Professor Wilson's Hindoo drama, a work richly illustrative both of the poetry and manners of India. It is a speech which the native poet puts into the mouth of a peculiarly sage and philosophic character :—

“Facing the sun, on yonder blighted tree,
The bird of evil augury is perched.
Ha ! on my path the black snake sleeping lies :
Roused from his slumber, he unfolds in wrath
His spiry length, and threatening beats the ground
With bulk inflated, whilst his hooded neck
Expands, and from between his venom'd fangs
Protrudes his hissing tongue. I slip, yet here
No plashy mire betrays my heedless feet.—
Still throbs my left eye, and my left arm trembles ;
And still that bird in flight sinistral cries
To warn me of impending ill.”

† The chewing of the betel-leaf, a habit universal in India, is here evidently alluded to. Ramusio has it not in this place, but introduces it afterwards at much greater length.

‡ This sentence appears only in the French and Crusca, and I have not been able to find any authority for the practice.

small effigy of one in copper or bronze gilded. They also burn the dung, and reduce it to a powder, with which they reverentially anoint many parts of their body, as Christians use holy water. They eat neither from spoon nor platter, but from large leaves, mostly of the apple of paradise. Even these must be dry; for if green, they are said to have a soul, which it would be sin to kill; and they would rather die than commit towards any animal an action believed unlawful. When asked why they feel no shame in going naked, they say, because they wish to have nothing belonging to this world, which they entered without clothing; and committing no sin, they have no reason to be ashamed. Besides, they kill no living creature, neither fly nor flea, nor hog nor worm, considering they have souls. They will sleep on the earth without any covering, whence it is a great wonder they do not die, much more that they enjoy so long a life. They fast the whole year round, drinking only water.* Some reside in the monastery to serve the gods; but before admission they undergo the following trial. The young girls offered to the idols caress these new candidates, and endeavour variously to entertain them. Such as appear to take any pleasure in these endearments, are rejected as unworthy; but if they show themselves totally indifferent, they are then retained.† Such are the customs of these cruel and

* The term in Ramusio is *tingui*; but that of *cuingi* in the early editions comes much nearer to that of *jogi*, or *yogi*, by which, as well as that of *sannyasi*, and sometimes *fakirs*, is designated a much-noted class of Hindoo ascetics. Their rigid abstinence, rejection of clothes, and scrupulous tenderness as to animal life, have been observed from the earliest ages. The leaf here noticed is that of the plantain, which really is of extraordinary size, and used by the natives to hold their boiled rice.

† This odd trial is found only in the French and Crusca (not in Ramusio), and I have not been able to trace any actual confirmation of it. It is, however, distinctly stated that the *sannyasi*, when raised to the rank of great gurus or teachers in the temples, are required, from that moment, to renounce all the pursuits and pleasures of life, and most especially the society and even sight of the female sex.—Dubois, p. 353. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 22; vol. iii. p. 79.

perfidious idolaters, who burn the bodies of their dead, because otherwise they would breed worms, which after eating the flesh would starve, and thus involve in great sin the soul to which the body belonged. But I will now cease saying any more about them.

XXIV.—City of Cail.

Cail is a great and noble city, belonging to Asciar, eldest of the five brother-kings. Its port is frequented by all the ships from the west, Curmos, Quisci, Aden, and the whole of Arabia, laden with merchandise and horses. The merchants bring them hither as to a good market, frequented by purchasers from other quarters.* The king possesses immense treasures, and wears many precious stones. He rules his nation very justly and uprightly, for which cause the merchants frequent it, and afford him great profit. He has three hundred wives and upwards, holding it a high honour to increase their number. When discord arises among the five brother-kings, their mother, who is still alive, rushes between them, and will not allow them to fight. Often, when they

* Cail or Kael is mentioned by different early travellers as an important haven. Mr Marsden finds the name in Valentyn's map, near Tutacorin, in the Tinnevely country. This, as will appear in the following chapter, would entirely derange our traveller's itinerary; which, however little it may be regarded by him, we reluctantly admit. The term, signifying pagoda, is found attached to different spots. We would suggest Point Calymere, called by D'Anville Callamera Pagode. In fact, Milburn (vol. i. p. 364) mentions that there are here two remarkable temples; a circumstance affording strong presumption of there having formerly been an important city; and at half a mile's distance is still a large village, with considerable trade. Here the passage from Ceylon is shortest, and the small distance formerly stated shows this to be the vicinity to which they crossed; and there has never hitherto been the least mention of any movement southward. In the Crusca, and in an Italian MS. of the French library, the name is *Caver*, at once suggesting the great river Cavery, which falls into the sea not far from Point Calymere. We cannot, it may be said, take the benefit of both names; yet it seems impossible not to attach importance to this curious circumstance. If we place Cail here, it will be presently shown that the traveller's itinerary becomes perfectly correct.

will not yield to her prayer, and are about to engage, she takes a knife and says, "If you will not renounce this quarrel, I will kill myself presently, and cut away the paps with which I gave you milk." When the sons see this great piety in their mother, they feel themselves bound to make peace. But as soon as she is dead, they cannot fail to quarrel and destroy each other.

All the natives here, as well as generally throughout India, have continually in their mouths the leaf called *tembul*. It affords them gratification, and its use has become quite habitual; after chewing they spit out the moisture. The rich mix it with camphor and other aromatic drugs, and even with quick-lime. When any one wishes to insult another in the grossest manner, he spits this juice in his face. The injured party then hastens to the king, and declares his wish to decide the quarrel by combat. His majesty furnishes him with a sword and small shield; and all the people assemble as spectators of the conflict, which is only terminated by the death of one of the parties. They are not, however, allowed to strike with the point of the sword.* Now let us depart and tell you of the kingdom of Coilon.

XXV.—Kingdom of Coilon.

After departing from Maabar, and going south-west 500 miles, you arrive at Coilon.† The people are ido-

* This paragraph is only in Ramusio, where the sentence referring to betel in the earlier editions has been expunged, in order to prepare for it. The custom of mixing it with spices, and even quick-lime, is correctly stated. In regard to the other particulars, the only confirmation which Mr Marsden could find is, that judicial duelling is practised at Onore, on the opposite coast of Malabar.

† Koulam, *Ramusio*. Mr Marsden naturally enough supposes this to be Coulan, on the western coast, about 100 miles beyond Cape Comorin. Count Boni, however, has clearly shown that the place of that name described by Marco and other early Europeans lay to the east of that great promontory, from which D'Anville makes it 15, and Rennell 60 miles distant. Milburn has it still in his map. Coilon being thus fixed here, and taking Cail at or near Calymere, the route of 500 miles south-west becomes perfectly correct, instead of the enormous errors other-

laters, yet among them are Christians and Jews. They have languages of their own, and a king tributary to no one. In this territory grows extremely good brazil-wood, called coilomin. Pepper greatly abounds, being collected in the months of May, June, and July; the trees are carefully planted and irrigated. Indigo also is very plentiful and good, being made of an herb which they place in a great vessel, then pour in water, and leave it till the juice is given out. Being then placed in the hot sun, it boils, acquires consistence, and becomes what we see. In this country the heat of the sun can scarcely be endured; if you put an egg into any river, it will be boiled before you have gone any great distance. Hither resort many merchants from Manji, Arabia, and the Levant, bringing quantities of goods, and carrying away those of the country. There are various animals different from all others in the world; such as a black lion, without either spot or mark; parrots of numerous kinds, some white as snow, with red beak and feet; others red and white, most lovely; and some extremely small, and also very beautiful. The peacocks are much larger, handsomer, and of a different species from ours. The domestic fowls are also peculiar; in short, they have all things, fruits, beasts, and birds, dissimilar to ours, and both handsomer and better. They have no grain but rice, and make a wine from sugar, which is good, and intoxicates sooner than that from grapes. Every thing necessary to support life abounds. Here are a number of skilful astrologers and physicians, who know how to preserve the human body in health. Both sexes are completely black, and wear no covering except a fine cloth about the middle.* Their behaviour to each

wise imputable, and which would have been a heavy blot in respect to a space which he himself actually traversed.

These details resemble those formerly given, and are generally correct. This being the most southern quarter of India, the heat is of course peculiarly intense. The rude process of manufacturing indigo is said to be very tolerably described. By the lion, the traveller usually means the tiger; and this species, as well as the panther, is stated by Paolino to be here of a very dark colour.

other shows little sense of propriety. A man will marry his cousin-german, the widow of his father, and even of his brother; this is the custom among all the people of India.

XXVI.—Comari (Cape Comorin).

Comari is a country of India, remarkable in this respect, that the north-star, which we had not seen since leaving Java, appeared to us when thirty miles out at sea, rising about a cubit above the horizon. There are few domestic, but abundance of wild animals, particularly monkeys of various shapes, some of which would almost seem to be men. There are cats of a very peculiar and wonderful species, lions, leopards, and ounces in great numbers.* I will now proceed to Eli.

XXVII.—Eli or Dely.

Eli is a kingdom, about 300 miles west of Comari. The people are subject to a king, idolaters, with a peculiar language, and independent of foreigners. I will tell you fully their customs and manners, which you will understand better, as we approach nearer home. There is no port except a large river, with a good entrance. Pepper grows in great abundance, and there is a considerable produce of ginger and other spices. The king is very rich, but not powerful in men; yet his dominions have such strong approaches, that he has no dread of invasion. If any vessel destined for another port is driven hither by stress of weather, the people seize and possess themselves of all its cargo, saying, "You were going to another place, but God sends you and yours to me." In this they think themselves quite guiltless. Ships come

* Comari is evidently the country around Cape Comorin, the southern promontory of India. While Coilon was supposed to be westward, it appeared entirely misplaced; but when the former is fixed in the east, the cape comes quite in its place. The adjacent territory is really described as rude and thinly inhabited. The former disappearance of the north-star, which seems to mean the Greater Bear, must have been owing to the season of the year, not, as he seems to suppose, to his place on the earth, for his track had for some time been considerably farther north.

from Manji and other parts in the summer, load in eight days, and depart as soon as possible, there being no port, but dangerous sandbanks. Those of Manji are least apprehensive, being provided with large wooden anchors. There are here lions and other wild beasts, with good hunting.*

XXVIII.—Melibar or Malabar.

Melibar is a great kingdom towards the westward, with a sovereign and languages of its own.† The people are idolaters, and subject to no foreigner. Here the north-star, at its greatest height, appears two cubits above the water. From this and an adjacent province named Gozurat, there issue annually a body of upwards of a hundred vessels, who capture other ships and plunder the merchants. Being sea-robbers, they carry with them their wives and children, and remain together all the summer, doing great injury to trade. These wicked corsairs form what they call a ladder on the sea; twenty of them place themselves five miles from each other, and thus command a hundred miles in extent. When a merchantman comes in view, a light is kindled,

* Eli or Dely is evidently derived from Mount Dely, a small space north of Cananor. A little southward it is a broad river, with a port anciently flourishing; but Paolino found it, even in his time, almost closed up, the trade being probably transferred to Cananor and Calicut. The distance is very correct; but the traveller here and all along this coast, has given the direction too much to the cardinal point of west, omitting to notice the great declination southward.

† This name is Malabar; but Mr Marsden imputes a very great error in beginning it here, while the small tract called by the natives Malayalam lies wholly south of Mount Dely. Marco, however, would naturally take the information from his Arab pilots; and that nation, followed by modern Europeans, invariably ascribe to it a much greater extension. The very term is Arabic, and, as well as the native one, means mountain-country, which is applicable to the whole range of this western coast. It is admitted that Abulfeda uses it in this extended sense; and Linschoten, ch. xlii. p. 77, states the Malabars as extending from Goa to Cape Comorin; which would, we apprehend, nearly coincide with the popular ideas in modern Europe.

which is repeated by one after another ; so that no vessel sailing here can escape them. The mariners, however, knowing well their wicked customs, come well armed and prepared, and fight a desperate battle, often beating them off with loss ; but at other times fall into their hands. The pirates then take the ship with all the goods, but do no injury to the men, saying to them, " Go and collect another cargo, that we may have a chance of getting it too."*

In this country is a vast abundance of pepper, and also of ginger, with a good supply of cinnamon and other spices, also cubebs and cocoa-nuts. Cotton cloths, the most beautiful and delicate in the whole world, are here manufactured, with other valuable articles.† To purchase these goods, the merchants from other quarters bring copper, which they use as ballast ; cloths of silk and gold, sandal-wood, and other spices. Ships come even from the great province of Manji ; and the dealers here convey the goods to various quarters in the west, whence the most valuable are forwarded to Alexandria. Having told you now of Melibar, we shall go to Gozurat, but it would be too tedious to inform you of all the cities of these countries, they are so very numerous.

XXIX.—Kingdom of Gozurat.‡

Gozurat, too, is a great kingdom to the west, having

* Nothing can be more accordant with the tenor of history than the piratical habits which the author ascribes to this and the adjoining province. The rude temper of the mountaineer tribes, and the numerous small harbours along the coast, have led in almost every age to this enormity. Even Ptolemy has designated it the coast of the pirates ; and Pliny complains of the losses there sustained by the East India trade. The only exception perhaps is at the present, when it has been nearly put down by the superior navy of Britain. In our traveller's time, there appears to have been no dominant power to keep the marauders in check.

† This coast is well known as the chief quarter whence Europe is supplied with pepper ; and it is rich in other spices, though of less importance. The cotton manufacture also flourishes, but the author is rather hasty in using again the superlative degree, already applied to those of Masulipatam.

‡ It is impossible not to be startled by finding the name of

languages and a king of its own, and subject to no other. Here the north-star rises to the apparent height of six cubits. The greatest pirates in the world live here, and have a most wicked custom ; after taking a merchant, they make him drink tamarinds and sea-water, then examine carefully if he voids any pearls or precious stones, which are alleged to be usually swallowed on such emergencies.* There is in this land a great quantity of pepper and indigo, with a good deal of ginger. Cotton also abounds, and the trees which bear it, when twenty years old, rise to the height of six paces ; but the produce is then unfit to be spun, and can only be used for quilting. Before twelve years, it is well fitted for the former purpose.† An immense quantity of dressed leather is prepared from the skins of the goat,

Guzerat applied to this coast, under which it is never recognised by Europeans, while he will be found not applying the term to that so named by us. On this last point, however, Mr Elphinstone (History of India, vol. i. p. 550) states, that the name is not known to the natives, who use those of Soreth and Kattivar. Mr Hamilton (Gazetteer of India, vol. i. p. 601) remarks, that the greater part of Malwa and Khandeish was formerly named Guzerat. Indeed, this must have been the original application of the term, only extended to the peninsula by its becoming part of the same viceroyalty. This brings it very close to the district here mentioned ; and the same power may at the time have ruled over both. Linschoten, chaps. ix, x, mentions, that all the ports on this coast contained numerous Gozuratis, whom he combines with the Banians as the most active merchants. Abulfeda agrees with our author in stating Malabar and Guzerat as confining with each other.

* This coast, which includes the tract called the Concan, really is still more infamous for piracy than the one farther south. At Gheria, in the last century, Angria had established a kind of piratical kingdom, which the utmost efforts of the British navy were required to extirpate.—Account of India (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. ii. p. 119-121.

† The species described here is not the common cotton shrub, which is an annual, but the *bombar* or silk-cotton tree. In Ramusio, it is said to be "suitable for muslins and other manufactures of extraordinary fineness." Mr Marsden reasonably suspects this to be a corruption ; and, in fact, the French and other early editions merely say, as in the text, "well fitted for spinning." Even this is going too far ; and the author seems to have been led into confusion by supposing the annual plant to be the bombax in a young state.

the buffalo, the wild ox, unicorn, and various other animals, and it is largely exported to Arabia and adjoining regions. Coverlets of red leather are also framed, with representations of birds and beasts, most delicately interwoven with gold and silver thread. They are wonderfully beautiful, and being used by the Saracens for sleeping upon, are worth ten marcs of silver. There are also cushions woven with gold, valued at ten marcs. In short, this leather is embroidered for royal use, more delicately than in any other part of the world.*

XXX.—Tana (Bombay).

Tana is a great kingdom in the west ; the inhabitants idolaters, with a language of their own, under a sovereign subject to no other. It does not produce pepper, or such spices as the other provinces ; but yields incense, not white, but of a brown colour.† There is a great trade in leather finely dressed, also in good cotton, both raw and made into cloth. The merchants import gold, silver, brass, and other goods necessary for these kingdoms, receiving various articles in return. But I have a bad thing to tell you ; for many pirates issue hence, scouring the sea, and greatly injuring the sailors ; and the king sanctions their conduct, having made an agreement, that they bring to him all the horses captured, which are very numerous, being in great request over all India. But gold, silver, precious stones, and the rest of the cargo, belong to themselves. Now this is bad and very unjust conduct. Let us leave this country and speak of Cambaia.

* We are not accustomed to view this as an Indian manufacture ; yet Linschoten describes it in nearly the same terms ; so that it appears to have flourished at an early period. The practice of dyeing skins still prevails.

† The name in Ramusio is Kanan ; in others Chana and Caria ; but Mr Marsden justly infers that the real one is Tana, on the island of Salsette near Bombay ; and this name is really found in the French and Crusca editions. Marco is correct in stating that no pepper is here produced. The incense described is gum benzoin ; but Mr Marsden infers that it must have been imported from Sumatra, and only seen in the warehouses here.

XXXI.—Kingdom of Cambaia.

This is a great kingdom to the west ; the people idolaters, with a language of their own, and a ruler subject to no other. Here the north-star appears more fully, as it always does the farther you go westward. This region is rich and productive, particularly in excellent indigo ; also cotton, both raw and manufactured, which is exported to many other countries. I may add, many hides are dressed, and worked with a skill nowhere surpassed ; also other articles too tedious to enumerate. The foreign merchants bring mostly gold, silver, and brass. The people are not pirates, but honest ; living by trade and manufacture.* And now I will tell you of Semenat.

XXXII.—Kingdom of Semenat (Sumnaut).

This is a great country to the westward. The inhabitants are idolaters, with languages of their own, and a monarch subject to no other. They are not pirates, but live by trade and industry, as good men ought to do. The country is rich, and frequented by many merchants. The people, however, are fierce and cruel idolaters.†

Kesmacoran is a kingdom with a sovereign and languages of its own. The people are idolaters, and raise abundance of rice, on which and on flesh and milk

* This is evidently Camboia, an important kingdom, the capital of which is situated at the head of the gulf of that name. The latter bounds the peninsula of Guzerat, of which probably a considerable part is here included. The shores of this inlet being out of the great maritime route, were not a natural seat of piracy, with which indeed this country has never been reproached.

† This is evidently Sumnaut or Puttan Sumnaut, celebrated for its splendid temple, destroyed in 1024 by Mahmoud the Ghiznevide. See Account of British India (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. i. p. 194-196. The name is here generally applied to the territory which we call Guzerat. The bad character of the people is supposed by Mr Marsden to have been dictated by religious antipathies ; but it appears in fact that the *Kattees* or natives of Kattiwar are peculiarly barbarous and ferocious, exceeding in this respect their neighbours the Rajpoots, themselves fiercer than the other Hindoos.—Trans. Bombay Literary Society, vol. i. pp. 265, 273, 274.

they subsist. There is a great trade by sea and land, but nothing else worth mentioning.* Now this is the last province found in India, in proceeding between west and north-west ; and all the kingdoms already described, from Maabar to this, belong to that India which is called the Greater, and is the first of any in the world. I have, however, only mentioned those on the seacoast, since to treat of the inland ones would have been too tedious. I shall therefore proceed to notice certain islands, also belonging to India, and first two called Male and Female.

† XXXIII.—Islands called Male and Female.

The isle called Male is full 500 miles out at sea, south of Kesmacoran. The people are baptized Christians, attached to the law and customs of the Old Testament ; they are very reserved in their intercourse with their wives. All the latter, indeed, dwell in another isle which is called Female. The men go and reside there three months in the year—March, April, and May—when they

* Mr Marsden states that he felt difficulty as to this name, till he applied to Major Rennell, who suggested that it was the same with Kidg-Makran, usually applied in India to Mekran, the most southern province of Persia. Kidg he supposed to have been an ancient metropolis, whose name, according to a usage prevalent in India, was joined to that of the country. Pottinger, accordingly, found Kedge to be the actual capital of Mekran. Having sailed along this extensive coast, Marco would enter the Persian Gulf, and conclude his voyage ; but we shall find him now describing on hearsay the extensive regions on the western shores of the Indian Ocean.

† We have observed that the Poli, with their fair charge, would undoubtedly steer from the coast of Guzerat to the Persian Gulf, with the view of landing at Ormus. In undertaking, therefore, to give us a view of the western borders of the Indian Ocean, Marco could only be guided by the reports of his Arab pilots. Though daring and skilful in their vocation, they could not be men of highly cultivated minds, and were probably deeply imbued with that taste for the marvellous, indicated by the publication, during that century, of the celebrated fiction of the Arabian Nights. Mr Crawford has remarked the probability that at Sumatra he would be obliged to take on board pilots of this nation, the influence of whose spirit may perhaps be remarked during the whole of the subsequent voyage.

return to their own residence, and spend the remaining nine months in labour. In this isle is found very fine and beautiful amber. The people live on rice, milk, and flesh, and excel in fishing, capturing enough both for their own food and for exportation. They have no ruler except a bishop subject to the Archbishop of Scotra, and have languages of their own. The isle where their wives reside is thirty miles distant; but they could not live if they spent the whole year with them. The sons remain with their mothers till the age of fourteen, when they go to join their fathers in their separate abode.*

XXXIV.—Isle of Scotra.

About 500 miles south from these isles you find that of Scotra, the people of which are baptized Christians, and have an archbishop. Ambergris is very plentiful, being voided from the entrails of whales, which are pursued most actively, in order to obtain this precious article. They strike into the animal a barbed iron so firmly that it cannot be drawn out. A long line attached enables them to discover the place where the dead fish lies, and drag it to the shore, when they extract from its belly the ambergris, and from its head several casks of oil.† Fine cotton cloth is made; and

* Mr Marsden supposes the islands here meant to be those named Abd-al-curia or the Two Sisters, lying to the west of Socotra; and Count Boni coincides. I cannot but remark, however, that they are placed midway between Mekran and this last, 500 miles from each, and the total 1000 is necessary, and indeed not quite sufficient, to make up the distance. The two islands would, by the above supposition, be on the opposite side of Socotra, and very near it, while the whole description seems to indicate them as remote from any other land. Count Boni, indeed, was informed by M. Zurla, that in the Soranzo MS. the distance is made only forty miles; but this codex, being proved to be of secondary importance, can scarcely stand against the united voice of all the others. I cannot help suspecting the whole to be a mere flight of Arabian fancy. Mr Marsden has found in Barbosa, and Count Boni in De Barros, representations of the females of Socotra as somewhat Amazonian, both as to valour and separation from the other sex.

† This passage, though only in Ramusio, gives a tolerably

abundance of good salt fish prepared. The people subsist on rice, milk, and flesh ; and go naked after the manner of the other idolatrous Indians. To this island come many ships and merchants ; and indeed all those destined for Aden touch there. The archbishop has no connexion with the See of Rome, but is subject to a primate resident at Bagdad, who appoints him, as well as sends mandates to bishops and prelates in other quarters of the world. Hither, too, repair many corsairs with their ships, to sell their booty, and find a ready market, because the Christians, knowing it to have been abstracted from idolaters and Saracens, scruple not to purchase.*

I can tell you, moreover, that these Christians are the most skilful enchanterers in the world. The archbishop, indeed, forbids and even punishes this practice, but without any avail ; for their ancestors, they say, followed it before them, and they will continue. For instance, if a ship is proceeding full sail with a favourable wind, they raise a contrary one, and oblige it to return. They can make it blow from any quarter they please, and cause either a dead calm or a violent tempest.†

correct account of the capture of the spermaceti whale. The opinion here given of the origin of ambergris has been controverted, but is the one now generally received. See Macculloch's Commercial Dictionary, p. 30.

* Socotra is not much frequented now, when vessels studiously steer through the open ocean ; but in an age when they kept close to the coast, it became necessarily a main thoroughfare for those passing between the respective shores of Asia and Africa. Mr Marsden has successfully proved its having then been so, from the best early authorities. The same situation would naturally render it the haunt of pirates ; indeed Abulfeda actually charges the people as themselves engaged in that enormity. There is also abundant proof of their having embraced Christianity under a schismatic form, the Nestorian or Jacobite.

† A power over the winds is often claimed by sorcerers ; and in this solitary island, surrounded by a stormy ocean, the pretension would be both *natural* and profitable. However little our readers may be inclined to admit it, there is ample proof of its being generally believed in by the early Portuguese navigators.

They perform many other marvellous enchantments, which it would be wrong to relate ; they would excite such amazement. We shall therefore leave them, and describe the island of Madagascar.

XXXV.—Madagascar.

This is an island towards the south, about a thousand miles from Scotra. The people are Saracens, adoring Mohammed ; and they have four sheiks, or old men, who rule the entire country. This is really one of the noblest and greatest islands in the world, being reputed 4000 miles in circuit. In no region are so many elephants bred, and their teeth sold, as here and in Zanghibar.* No flesh is eaten but that of camels, of which an incredible number are killed every day ; and being supposed better and more wholesome than any other, it is used if possible during the whole year.† The red sandal grows here to the height of our forest trees, and is sold with advantage to foreigners. Ambergris also abounds, from the number of whales which, as you know, yield that

* The present is believed to be the first notice conveyed to Europe of this great island. Its dimensions are exaggerated, even if we take Ramusio's estimate of 3000 ; but in the earlier editions it is as here, 4000. Considering this, with the mention of the elephant and the giraffe,—animals not found in this island,—I have little doubt that the Arabs combined with their idea of Madagascar a large portion of the adjacent continent. Comparing the present with the following chapter, it will be seen that they had not traced in any continuous manner the coast of Eastern Africa, but had reached only detached portions, which they conceived to be large islands. From what is stated respecting the currents, they evidently had not penetrated through the Mozambique channel, and might easily suppose the numerous islands in the northern part to belong to a mass of land. The Moslem religion and Arab social system do not now exist ; but there is full proof of their being formerly established, though expelled after the decline of that nation in Eastern Africa, where, even at the arrival of the Portuguese, they were found holding great sway.

† Camels are not found here ; and though Marsden mentions instances of their flesh being prized as food, there can I think be no doubt that the animal alluded to is a peculiar species of ox or bison, with a hump on the shoulder, which Flacourt reports having been by some mistaken for a camel.

substance. There are leopards, ounces, and lions; likewise various other animals, such as stags, wild goats, and deer, some of great size. The birds are equally various, several wonderfully different from ours. Many ships arrive with abundance of goods, as cloths of silk and gold, which are profitably exchanged for those of the country. Mariners, however, cannot reach the other islands lying south of this and of Zanghibar, owing to the violence of the current running in this direction. It is such, that while vessels can come hither from Malabar in twenty days, they spend three months in returning.

Now I must mention, that in these southern isles, the birds called griffon are reported to exist, and to appear at certain seasons; yet they are not formed as we describe and paint them, half-bird, half-lion, but exactly like the eagle, only immeasurably larger. They are represented so huge and powerful, as to take up the elephant and carry him high into the air, then let him drop, whereby he is at once killed, and they feed upon his carcass. It is asserted that their wings are twelve paces long, and when spread out, extend thirty paces across; they are thick in proportion. I must add, that the khan sent messengers to obtain information about the country, and also the release of one of his subjects who had been made prisoner. They and the captive related to him many great wonders of these strange isles, and brought teeth of a wild boar, inconceivably large: I assure you, he found them to weigh fourteen pounds. You may thus judge as to the size of the boar; and indeed some are equal to a buffalo. There are also giraffes and wild asses, and other beasts and birds wonderfully different from ours. To return to the griffon; the people of the island do not know it by that name, but call it always *ruc*; but we, from their extraordinary size, certainly conclude them to be griffons.* Having nothing more to tell of this island, I will go on to that of Zanghibar.

* The bird mentioned in this curious paragraph appears to be either the albatross, which, though proper to more southern latitudes, may have occasionally visited the shores of Mada-

XXXVI.—Coast of Zanghibar.

This is a very great and noble island, about 2000 miles in circuit.* The people are all idolaters, have languages and a king of their own, and are subject to no other power. They are not very tall, but so broad and thick, that in this respect they appear like giants; and they are likewise immensely strong, bearing as large a burden as four other men, which is really no wonder, for they eat as much as five. They are perfectly black, and go naked, with the exception of a cloth round the waist. Their mouth is so wide, their nose so turned up, their lips and eyes so big, that they are horrible to behold,† and any one meeting them in another country

gascar, or else the condor of Southern Africa. The former has been known to measure from wing to wing 15 feet, the latter above 10. In either case the exaggeration is very great; the statement, however, varies much; for the extreme length, instead of 30 paces as here, in the *Crusca* is only 20, and in *Ramusio* 16. The latter adds the account of a feather 90 spans long, and the quill part two palms in circumference, which was carried to the great khan, by whom it was greatly admired. As nothing of all this is found in any early edition except the Italian Museum MS.,—not a first authority,—we may conclude it to be the unauthorized embellishment of some faithless translator. The statement rests only on the warm fancy of the Arabs, here peculiarly excited by the mention of such a gigantic bird in the *Arabian Nights*, from which in fact they have borrowed the name *rukħ*. Nay, there appears to be throughout Asia a superstitious belief of its existence. The identity with the griffon is admitted in the French version, here followed, to be a comment of the writer's own, for which I have no doubt we are indebted to the romantic studies of Rusticians; so that two schools of fable have been at work in producing this extraordinary paragraph.

The boar here mentioned appears to be the *boschwerk*, called by Linnaeus *sus ethiopicus*. It has four tusks, the two largest of which, nine inches long and five in circumference, project like horns, being turned up at the end, and rendering the animal truly formidable (*Barrow's Africa*, vol. i. p. 303). A large specimen might possess such a dimension as is here stated.

* This is evidently the part of the eastern coast of Africa usually called Zanguebar, which signifies country of the Ethiopians or Negroes. We pointed out under the last chapter that want of the knowledge of Africa, viewed as a continent, which probably led the Arabs to consider this and other districts as islands.

† We have here a picture of the negro, evidently drawn from

would believe them devils. Elephants abound, and a great traffic is carried on in their teeth ; likewise lions of a peculiar species, with ounces and leopards. In short, they have all kinds of beasts different from others in the world ; including sheep entirely white, with only the head black, and none of any other colour.* Here too is the giraffe, a most beautiful creature, whose shape I will describe. Behind, it is low, and the legs very short ; while those before, and the neck, are very large, so that its head rises three paces from the ground. The animal is small, and is quite harmless ; and its colour being red and white, in circles, it is very beautiful.† But there is a thing which I had forgotten about the elephant, that it caresses the female in the same manner as the human species. I must say, the women of this island are most ugly objects ; with large mouth, eyes, and nose, and their breasts four times the ordinary size ; in short, they are hideous. The people live on rice, flesh, milk, and dates, and though they have no vines, make a very good liquor of rice, sugar, and spices. There is a great trade, particularly in elephants' teeth ; and a good quantity of amber. The men are very brave in combat, and have little fear of death. They have no horses, but fight upon camels and elephants, placing on them castles well covered, with sixteen or twenty men mounted on them, bearing lances, swords, and staves, and making a very powerful force in battle.‡ They have no arms except leathern shields,

the life, yet very strongly caricatured. The traveller does not intimate whether he had ever seen one himself. Probably he had not, and received the description from his Arab shipmates.

* Mr Marsden finds this statement confirmed by Hamilton, a good authority.

† This elegant animal, now familiar in our menageries, is here correctly described.

‡ The traveller is correct as to the number of elephants, but appears mistaken in supposing them tamed and trained for war. They certainly were so by the Carthaginians ; but there is no account of such a practice in modern times. He probably had seen them so employed in India, and on learning that they were here equally numerous, too hastily concluded that the same course would be followed. He is correct as to the want of horses.

lances, and swords, with which they fight well. When leading the elephant to the combat, they give him to drink of their wine or liquor, which renders him more fierce and effective. I must now proceed to the great province of Abascia, but first wish to say something more of India in general.

XXXVII.—The Islands in the Indian Sea.

You must know I have described only its noblest kingdoms and isles; those that make the flower of the region, and to which the rest are mostly subject. No man could enumerate all the islands; they are estimated at 12,700, inhabited and uninhabited, according to the writings of the most skilful mariners. In the Greater India, which extends from Maabar to Kesma-coran, are thirteen very great kingdoms, of which I have described ten. The Lesser India, stretching from Zinaba to Montifi, contains eight, and this is exclusive of numerous others that are in the islands.*

XXXVIII.—Kingdom of Abascia.

Abascia is a very great province, called the Middle India.† The supreme monarch is a Christian; the other

* We have had occasion to observe the wide extension given to the name of India. Here are clearly distinguished three regions so named: the Greater, including Hindostan and Southern Persia; the Lesser, or the country beyond the Ganges; the Middle, meaning Abyssinia. Mr Marsden has found, in the early travellers, Conti and Barbosa, nearly the same limits and divisions applied to this celebrated name. Indeed, in the popular language of Europe, the term East Indies is still applied to all the southern coasts of Asia, exclusive of China; *East* being evidently added to distinguish it from the region since discovered and named the *West* Indies. The islands here mentioned are supposed by Mr Marsden to be the very numerous groups of the Maldives and Laccadives. He is doubtless so far correct; but considering the extension of the name eastward, it seems probable that the Oriental Archipelago is also included, especially when we find the mention of kingdoms in these islands. In Ramusio, Zinaba is Zampa (Tsiompa), the first kingdom reached after leaving China, while Montifi is Murphili, the name given in that edition to Masulipatam.

† This is evidently Abyssinia, and indeed the name here resembles more that of Habbesh, used by the natives. The Crusca has Nabasce.

six kings are subject to him, three being believers, and three Saracen. The christian people of this province have three marks upon their face, one from the forehead to the middle of the nose, and one on each cheek, made with a hot iron, and herein consists their baptism. There are also Jews having a mark on each cheek, and Saracens with only one on the forehead and nose.* The great king lives in the middle of the province; the Saracens towards Aden. In this district Messer St Thomas the apostle preached, and after converting the inhabitants, went to Maabar, where he died, and his body remains, as formerly mentioned. This country contains many good men-at-arms and well mounted cavalry, who are much needed; for wars are frequent with the Sultans of Aden† and Nubia, and with other powers. But I will tell you a memorable story of what happened in the year 1288. This king, who is lord over all Abascia, wished to go in pilgrimage to adore the sepulchre of Christ in Jerusalem. The barons represented the danger of the journey, and advised him to send a bishop or some other great prelate. The monarch having agreed, one of very holy life was chosen, who readily undertook the mission. He was equipped most handsomely as a pilgrim, and travelled by land and sea till he arrived at

* This practice of baptism by cauterizing is mentioned by Barbosa, Linschoten, and other early authors, being intended, it is said, to represent baptizing by fire. Ludolfus, a later but authentic historian, denies this on the authority of the Jesuit missionaries, and says that such marks, though sometimes made, are only as an imaginary preservative against cold. There seems, however, full testimony to their early existence as a rite, though perhaps it has fallen into disuse.

† This is evidently Adel, a great Mohammedan kingdom east of Abyssinia. The change from one liquid to another is easy, and indeed it is not improbable that the Arabian Aden might at one period have extended its name and power to this region. It is curious that in the Crusca, the one is called Adenti, the other E denti. The long wars between the two kingdoms are fully commemorated by historians; Bruce observing, that the precise period here referred to formed nearly a blank in the annals of that kingdom, so that it is impossible to find any confirmation of the military events now to be related.

Jerusalem. Repairing to the sepulchre, he performed the due homage before an object so exalted; and having presented great offerings from the king, and well fulfilled his mission, he set out on his return. He passed through Aden, a country where Christians are hated as mortal enemies. The governor, learning that he professed this religion, and was a messenger of the sovereign of Abascia, warned him, that unless he embraced the law of Mohammed, he would suffer a shameful punishment. The bishop replied, that he would sooner die. The other, greatly enraged, ordered him to be forcibly circumcised, and then sent him away, telling him that this was meant as an affront to his master. The prelate was much grieved, but consoled himself by thinking that he had suffered for the law of his faith, and God would recompense him in the other world. As soon as he could travel, he proceeded to Abascia, and appeared before the king; who, having inquired about the sepulchre, and being told the whole truth, accounted it a most holy and pious visit. The bishop then related the affront put upon him by the ruler of Aden, when his majesty fell into such a transport of grief and rage, that he almost died. He called aloud in the hearing of all the bystanders, that he would never wear a crown, nor rule a province, till he had taken such vengeance as should be spoken of throughout the world. Presently he prepared a vast body of troops, on horseback and foot, also elephants with well-armed castles, having twenty men upon each. He then set out and marched directly onward to the territory of Aden. Its chiefs, with a great multitude of Saracens on foot and horseback, came to defend their country, and a most obstinate battle was fought; but the enemy could not withstand the force of the King of Abascia, because the Christians are more valiant. They fled and were slain in great numbers. The victor, entering the country in three or four places, greatly wasted and destroyed it, killing many of the inhabitants. He then thought the affront sufficiently avenged; and in-

deed I must tell you he could effect no farther devastation, the region being extensive, and full of dangerous passes, where a few men could greatly harass an army.*

I will now relate other matters of Abascia, which yields a great variety of all things necessary for subsistence. The people live on rice, flesh, milk, and sesamum, and have elephants, not bred there, but brought from the isle of the other India. Giraffes, however, are in great numbers; also lions, leopards, ounces, wild apes, and many beasts and birds different from ours. The domestic fowls are the most beautiful in the world; and the ostriches as large as asses. They have parrots, beautiful and various; also monkeys and cats of two species, with faces exactly like those of men. This Abascia contains numerous cities and castles, and is much frequented by merchants; many cloths of cotton and buckram are wrought there.† I might relate other things, but must now go on to the province of Aden.

XXXIX.—City and Kingdom of Aden.

This country is subject to a lord, called sultan. The people are all Saracens, adoring Mohammed, and wishing the greatest mischief to Christians. There are many cities and castles; for Aden is the port to which the Indian ships bring all their merchandise. It is then placed on board other small vessels, which ascend a river about seven days, at the end of which it is disembarked, laden on camels, and conveyed thirty days farther. It then comes to the river of Alexandria, and is conveyed down to that city. By this route alone its inhabitants

* In Ramusio, the king is represented as having taken and pillaged the capital. Mr Marsden is perplexed by finding no record of any such complete success. The text here given from the early editions exhibits it as only a partial and temporary inroad.

† This description of Abyssinia is tolerably accurate, considering the channels through which it was procured; though its features are not sufficiently distinguished from those of the southern and central parts of Africa. The isle alluded to is probably Zanzibar. In Ramusio, the country is described as extremely rich in gold; an error not in the early editions.

receive their pepper, spices, and costly goods.* From Aden, too, ships sail for India with various goods, especially very fine and valuable horses, which, as you know, are sold there for full a hundred marks of silver. The sultan draws a great revenue from the duties on these cargoes; and is thus one of the richest princes in the world. But, I assure you, he did great injury to the Christians; for when the governor of Babylonia attacked and took the city of Acre, committing much devastation, he was assisted by this prince with 30,000 horses and 40,000 camels. This aid was given rather out of hatred to believers than good-will to that prince.† But now I will tell you of another great city.

* The splendour and prosperity of Aden in this age is confirmed partially by the oriental writers, and more fully by Barbosa. Moore draws from it the image—

“Blooming as Aden in its earliest hour.”

This wealth was derived, as here stated, from its being then the main channel by which the Indian commodities reached Europe by way of Alexandria. At that time, it appears, large vessels did not venture upon the intricate navigation of the Red Sea, and their cargoes were discharged at this city. After the passage of the Cape, and the improved navigation by which they were enabled to ascend, Aden sunk into a mere place of refreshment for seafaring persons. In this view, and as subservient to steam navigation, the British government have recently purchased it, but find it difficult to maintain against the barbarous tribes of the interior.

In all the early editions, including Pipino and Gryneus, the Red Sea is by mistake called a *river*. The Arabic term *bahr*, water, is used indiscriminately in this sense, and in that of sea or lake. This circumstance often causes confusion, and might easily mislead our traveller. In Ramusio, it is properly called a gulf. He, or another modern editor, might easily have the information necessary to make this correction. The voyage is also stated at twenty days, a more suitable time.

† The sultan here alluded to is supposed to be Saladin, the celebrated ruler of Egypt; for Cairo was in that age called Babylonia, having, after the fall of Bagdad, become the capital seat of Mohammedan power (Boni, p. 467). The French, Crusca, and the Paris Latin give no date; but Pipino, Gryneus, and Ramusio have 1200. The true one was 1187; but they might be giving a round number, without attempting precision.

XL.—City of Escier (Shaher).

Escier is a very large town to the north-west (north), four hundred miles from Aden.* A count here rules with justice, but subject to the soldan of Aden; and the people are Saracens, adoring Mohammed. The port is good, frequented by many ships and merchants from India, who bring various commodities, and carry away others, particularly horses of great value, and yielding large profit. In this province grows a great quantity of fine incense, also of dates.† They have no grain except rice, and little of that; hence corn is profitably imported from other countries. Fish is caught in such plenty, that for a Venetian gros you may purchase two large tunnies. The people live on rice, flesh, and fish, and have no wine except what they make from sugar, rice, and dates. But I must tell you, too, that they have sheep without ears, or any opening for them; but where the ears should be, is a little horn; these are small and very beautiful creatures.‡ Another thing you will much

* There is a singular discrepancy here as to the distance; for while the Crusca and Paris Latin have four miles, Pipino and Ramusio have forty, and the early French 400. This last is undoubtedly correct, for Mr Marsden, notwithstanding his erroneous versions, clearly recognises here the Schähhr of Niebuhr, Sahar of D'Anville, situated at exactly 400 miles from Aden. Mr Wellsted describes it under the name of Shaher, as still the largest town on this part of the Arabian coast, extending a mile and a quarter in length (*Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 443). In this, however, and the two following routes, the early editions commit the heavy error of making the direction north-west instead of north-east. I incline to suspect a mistake of transcription; for *tramontane* (north) might easily, in bad MS., be mistaken for *vermaistre* (north-west). It is curious that Pipino, Gryneus, and the French of 1565, really have *north*, which is correct, allowing for the frequent habit of orienting to a cardinal point. We may refer to our observations in a former instance, in which these middle editions were correct, while the early and later ones were erroneous. Ramusio has a different mistake, making it south-east; while the Italian Museum MS. has *ostro* (south).

† The coast of Hadramaut, here described, is celebrated for its copious production of incense; and the valuable spice named *oliban* or *frankincense*, seems peculiar to it.—Marsden, pp. 730, 731.

‡ Mr Marsden has not been able to find any account of this pe-

wonder at is, that all the animals, sheep, oxen, and camels, eat fish, because there is no grass, for it is the most arid place in the world. These fishes are very small, caught in March, April, and May, in wonderful quantities. They are dried, lodged in houses, and given as food to the animals during the whole year. The people eat them also when quite alive and newly taken. There are also plenty of large ones, which being made into a kind of biscuit, by cutting them into small pieces and drying them in the sun, are preserved under cover during the whole year.* The incense, mentioned as so abundant, is purchased by their lord at ten golden bezants the cantar, and retailed to the merchants for forty, so that he makes a very large profit. Let us now leave this city, and tell you of Dufar.

XLI.—City of Dufar.

This is a beautiful, large, and noble city, 500 miles south-west from Escier.† The people are Saracens, adoring Mohammed, and ruled by a count, who is subject to Aden, to which, indeed, this city belongs. The

culiar species; but the varieties of the sheep are numerous. One reared in this arid country would of course be diminutive. The want of ears would doubtless be suggested by the absence or small size of the exterior appendage.

* Extremely little is known of this coast; but in regard to that on the Persian Gulf, which is exactly similar, Niebuhr and Chardin fully confirm the copious supply of fish, and the practice of feeding cattle with them. This, indeed, is a natural resource, where this food is so abundant, and vegetables so scanty. On the opposite side of the gulf, where circumstances are similar, the same particulars are noticed by Arrian, in his *Voyage of Nearchus*.

† Dufar, or Dofar, is a well-known port in Arabia, and the distance here stated (from the French) is just about the actual one from Shahr. The other editions commit strange errors; the *Crusca* and *Paris Latin* have five, *Ramusio* twenty miles. The direction is, as before, erroneous, doubtless from the same cause, whatever that may be. This chapter is omitted in *Pipino* and *Gryneus*; otherwise we may presume the right direction would have been there given. Mr Wellsted, in his late survey, found the district not very flourishing, with no port that could be reckoned more than a village. Dofar, however, was the principal one, surrounded by a well-cultivated country.—Vol. ii. p. 453.

port is very good, and merchants convey thence many very fine Arabian horses. Numerous cities and castles depend upon it, and the country yields much incense. The trees are about the size of a small fir, and incisions are made with knives in various places, whence flows the incense, which, indeed, through the great heat, often runs out of itself. I shall now proceed to relate of the Gulf of Calatu.

XLII.—Gulf and City of Calatu.

Calatu is a large city within the gulf of the same name, six hundred miles north-west from Dufar.* It is a noble seaport, inhabited by Saracens, who are subject to Cormos. When the melik of that city is at war with a more powerful prince, he retires to this place, which is strong by nature and art, and finds himself secure. The people have no grain but what they import. Many ships bring the goods and spices of India, which are distributed throughout the interior, and many fine horses sent in return. But I must observe, that this city is at the mouth of the Gulf of Calatu, so that the melik can prevent vessels from sailing in or out without his consent. This power he often uses against the sultan of Creman; for when that prince demands any exorbitant tribute from him or other vassals, they remove from Cormos to Calatu, and allow no ships to pass, whence the other prince suffers severely, and is obliged to abate his demands. The people of this country live on dates

* This is Kalhat, near a cape of the same name, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, on the western side. The distance from Dofar here given (from the French) is correct; in the other editions it is absurd,—in the Paris Latin six, in Ramusio fifty miles. The place has no longer any existence, and Mr Marsden imagines it must have included Muscat, probably at that time under its dependence; but this is impossible, the two sites being 100 miles distant. Mr Wellsted lately visited that of Kalhat, and found it covered by extensive ruins, fully confirming that early splendour and importance which our traveller ascribes to it. Only one mosque remained entire, and there was a small fishing-village to the north.—*Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 41.

and salt fish, which are abundant ; but many rich men are well supplied with better food.

XLIII.—Return to Cormos.

After departing from Calatu, and sailing three hundred miles between north-west and north, you find the city of Cormos ;* but if you take a direction from the former place between north-west and north, and sail five hundred miles, you come to Quis. However, we shall pass over this last place, and speak of Cormos, a large and noble capital, subject to a melik, who commands many towns and castles. The people are Saracens, and adore Mohammed. The heat is very great, on which account every house is provided with ventilators placed on the side whence the wind blows, which being thus admitted, renders the mansion tolerably cool. We gave an account of this place formerly, as well as of Quis and Creman, but have since made a circuit which brought us back to it. However, we will say no more, but proceed now to the description of Great Turkey.†

* *Ormuz*.—This voyage was probably performed by Marco himself, on his way from India to Persia ; and he is strictly correct as to distance and direction. The latter is erroneous in Ramusio,—north-east.

† In the *Crusca*, it is said :—"In now returning, we will relate all the particulars that we had omitted." This is more fully expressed in Ramusio :—"Before bringing the work to a conclusion, I shall step back and notice some regions lying towards the north, which I omitted to speak of in the preceding book." There is nothing of this in the French, which I am persuaded is here the genuine text, while the other editors have interpolated their own ideas on the subject. The reader who attentively peruses the following chapters will perceive that the ground gone over is by no means the same as formerly. Tartar kingdoms and countries were indeed treated of, but these were in the east and north-east of Asia, the original seat of Mongol power. We are now introduced to those in the centre and north-west of that continent. We have seen that the Poli, after landing in Persia, escorted the two princesses to Casan or Ghazan, then commanding in Khorasan. I apprehend that the succeeding information is that collected during the residence there.

The following chapters will be chiefly new to the English reader, and include an historical account of the most remarkable events in the history of central and north-western Asia,

XLIV.—Turkestan—Wars of Kaidu.

This country lies to the north-west as you go from Cormos to the river Gihon, extending towards the territory of the great khan. It is governed by a nephew (cousin) of his, named Kaidu, grandson of Ciagatai,* brother to that monarch. He is a very powerful lord, ruling many cities and castles. His subjects are Tartars, very able combatants, much inured to fighting, and he does not obey the khan, but is rather at perpetual war with him. This is because Kaidu demanded constantly from that monarch a share of his conquests, particularly in Catai and Manji. The latter said he would willingly grant it to him, as to his other descendants, if he would come to his court and council whenever summoned. But the other, afraid to trust his uncle, offered

during the thirty years preceding. Marco has not appeared to shine in respect to the early Mongol history; but we found reason to ascribe this to the ignorance prevalent at the court of Kublai. Ghazan, on the contrary, was a most accomplished and intelligent prince. He was the first who, by collecting the loose traditions, formed a written history of Gengis and his successors (Marsden, p. 198). De Guignes describes him as habitually studying the great actions of Cyrus and Alexander, and striving to imitate them. He formed a body of institutes in regard to all the branches of government, which are still observed in Persia, and have been translated into English by Colonel Kirkpatrick (Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 438). There seems ground, therefore, to suppose, that the information obtained from him respecting recent events and adjacent countries, would be generally correct.

Ramusio, hitherto so copious, has omitted all this historical matter; so that it is unknown to Mr Marsden, of whose learned aid the editor is thus deprived. Nor has he obtained much from Count Boni, who has nearly confined his illustrations to Ramusio's text. He hopes, however, to prove, that the events now narrated accord in their general outline with the most authentic oriental histories. If there is a discrepancy respecting some important details, it is not greater than is found in these histories themselves; and there may perhaps appear reason to think that, in some instances, Marco's statement is the most correct yet given to the world.

* According to Abulghasi, he was grandson to Ugadai or Okkoday; his father, named Kashi, having died of excessive drinking. In either case, he will be cousin, not nephew, to Kublai; but our traveller is not very precise in these genealogical matters.

to obey him where he was, but dreaded that if in his power he would be put to death. Hence arose this discord, and the khan drew his forces around the realm of Kaidu to guard against an invasion; yet that prince contrived to penetrate, and fought repeatedly with the armies of Kublai; for he could bring into the field 100,000 brave and skilful horsemen. He had with him also many lords of the imperial lineage. Each soldier carries to battle sixty arrows, thirty smaller for shooting, and thirty larger, pointed with heavy iron, to throw against the face or arms of the enemy, or cut the cords of his bow; and when they have discharged all these, they lay their hand on their swords, and strike most terrible blows. Now, in the year 1266, this king, with his cousin named Jesudar, assembled a very great army, and marched against two barons that were also his relations, but held their lands from the great khan. Kaidu and his cousin fought with these two chiefs, who had also a very large force, so that between them there were 100,000 horsemen. They contended hardly and long, and many fell on both sides; but at last Kaidu conquered; however, the two barons, being well mounted, escaped without injury. The victor then became still more proud and boastful; yet he returned home and remained two years in peace. Then he assembled a mighty host of cavalry, having learned that at Karakorum there was a great army under Nomogan, a son of the khan, and George, a grandson of Prester John. He marched thither with all speed, and the two chiefs being informed of his approach, courageously prepared to meet him with their horsemen, amounting to upwards of 60,000. Having reached the place where his men were ranged in tents on the plain, they skilfully established their own camp. Each party rested and made preparations for three days, when they advanced to the combat. There was little advantage on either side; both having about 60,000 mounted men well armed at every point, divided into six squadrons of 10,000. They waited only till they heard their lord sound the

naccar ; meantime performing loudly on various musical instruments. At length the signal was given, when the hosts rushed against each other, laying their hands on their bows. The arrows filled the air like rain ; men and horses were mortally wounded ; noise and cries arose so loud that the thunder of Jove could not have been heard. Truly this was an evil hour for many, who on both sides fell dead and dying. The arrows being discharged, they rushed on with sword and spear, giving and receiving most dreadful blows. You might see arms and hands cut off, and numbers of men rolling senseless on the earth. Kaidu displayed signal prowess, and his soldiers would have often been driven off the field, had he not encouraged and rallied them. On the other side, the two princes also firmly stood their ground, and it really was one of the most cruel battles ever fought between Tartar tribes. Yet though each strove with all his might to discomfit the other, neither could succeed, and the conflict lasted till evening. On this fatal day, multitudes of men fell, many wives were made widows, children made orphans, and households filled with tears and lamentations. But when the sun set, the struggle could endure no longer, and both parties returned to their camp overpowered with fatigue, happy to rest during the night. When morning dawned, King Kaidu, having received intelligence that the great khan was marching against him with a mighty host, deemed it unsafe to remain longer. Wherefore he and all his men mounted and rode off to their own country ; the two princes were so exhausted, that they did not attempt to follow, so that he with his people reached Samarcand, the capital of his kingdom.*

* We have been already introduced to Kaidu as the relation and embittered enemy of Kublai. As he seems never to have been recognised as a regular sovereign, the notices of him in oriental history are extremely slight. De Guignes, however (tome iii. p. 185-187), mentions his repeated inroads, and particularly his attempts to obtain possession of Karakorum, which would have thrown great lustre on his arms. On occasion of the principal conflict, he represents the army as commanded

The great khan felt much wrath at Kaidu for committing such ravages, and bethought himself, that had he not been his nephew, he would have seized his land and put him to a cruel death; but regard to his own flesh restrained him. Thus he escaped out of the hand of the mighty monarch. But I have wonderful stories to tell you about a daughter of this prince.

XLV.—Exploits of a Tartar Princess, Daughter to Kaidu.

This young lady was in Tartar named Aigiarm, which means in our language "brilliant moon." She possessed such strength that none of the youths or nobles in the whole kingdom could vanquish her, but were all beaten. Her father wished to marry her to a baron; but she refused ever to unite herself to any one who could not vanquish her in fair combat; and the king granted her this privilege. She rejoiced greatly, and published through various parts of the world, that if any gentle youth would come, try her in pitched battle, and gain the victory, she would accept him for her lord. This

by Bayam, the conqueror of Manji; but Kublai, unjustly jealous of that officer, sent his grandson Temur and another prince to supersede him; yet before their arrival, he had gained the victory. Our traveller, getting his information through Kaidu, might be mistaken on this point. De Guignes represents the seat of that prince's power as in Almaligh, to the north-east of Turfan, and among the tribes north of the Altai. Marco, on the contrary, here distinctly states it as immediately north of the Oxus, and Samarcand as his capital. All his particulars accord with this; the distance of forty days' journey to Karakorum; the combination with Barak in the invasion of Khorasan, and the accidental but evident notice of him in treating of Samarcand. Price, in fact, calls him (Keydu) Khan of Turkestan, and mentions an inroad by him into Khorasan (Mohammedan History, vol. ii. p. 605). I am convinced, then, Marco was right, and that the French writer merely, from the repeated attempts against Karakorum, concluded that his territory lay adjacent to that capital.

Kaidu continued thirty years powerful and formidable; but, in 1301, having been attacked by Temur, the successor of Kublai, he was defeated and died of grief, when his family submitted.—De Guignes, tome iii. pp. 194, 195.

news was spread wide through the surrounding countries, and I assure you many gentlemen came and made the trial, which was arranged in the following manner. The king, with many young nobles and ladies, assembled in the great hall of the palace, when the princess entered in a robe of cotton richly adorned, attended by youths similarly attired. The agreement was, that if the candidate prevailed and threw her to the ground, he should have her for his wife ; but if victory declared on her side, he was to give her a hundred horses. Thus she had gained above ten thousand steeds, because she could find no youth or damosel that could overcome her ; nor was this wonderful, for she was large, tall, and well-formed in her limbs, indeed almost a giantess. Now, about the year 1280, there came the son of a rich king, an extremely handsome young man, with a brilliant retinue and a thousand very fine horses. He addressed himself to Kaidu, who was very desirous of marrying him to his daughter. He therefore caused her to be privately dealt with, to allow herself to be conquered ; but she declared she would not do so for any thing in the world. One day then, the king and queen, with many nobles and ladies, assembled in the great hall ; the princess and prince then entered, and their handsome appearance struck all with wonder ; he was really so strong and powerful, that no one else could contend with him. When they were in the middle of the hall before this great assembly, the agreement was formally made, that the suitor, if vanquished, should lose his thousand horses. But all the company, as well as the king and queen, expressed their wishes that he should be successful. The two then rushed together, and wrestled violently, dragging each other in different directions : but at last the lady prevailed, and threw him on the ground, to the great grief of all the spectators ; he thus forfeited the thousand horses. But I have to inform you, that Kaidu led this daughter to many battles, and in no encounter could any warrior withstand her. On many occasions, she rushed among the enemy, seized one of

the chiefs, and dragged him over to her own army.* I will now, however, proceed to a great battle fought between her father and Argon, the son of Abaga, lord of the East.

XLVI.—Great Battle between Barak and Argon.

Abaga ruled many provinces bordering on those of Kaidu, and it was where grows the tree called in the book of Alexander the *Arbor Secco*.† As that prince committed great ravages on his territory, he sent his son Argon, with a very large host of cavalry, into the country of the *Arbor Secco*, to the river of Gihon, where he took a station fitted to guard the country against the invader. Kaidu, however, assembled a great body of horsemen, and gave the command to a brother named Barak, very brave and skilful, desiring him to oppose the enemy. Barak, with his troops, rode on till they came to the river, and were ten miles distant from Argon. The latter, informed of the approach of his adversary, made diligent preparation; the two remained three days in their respective camps. When they were fully prepared, and the naccar began to sound, they no longer delayed, but rushed furiously against each other. The arrows might be seen flying on all sides, and the air was so full of them, that it seemed to rain; and when both parties had discharged them, and many men as well as horses had been slain, they seized their swords

* The editor is obliged to say, that he has in vain searched the records of the East for any notice of this Herculean fair one; nor does Count Boni appear to have been more fortunate. But our information respecting Kaidu himself is so excessively slight, and only as connected with the history of Kublai, that we could not reasonably expect any mention of an incident of this merely domestic nature.

† Abaga, in 1283, succeeded Hoolaku, the conqueror of Bagdad, as lord of the East, or “of the Eastern Tartars,” a rule which included the whole of Persia, with parts of Syria and Asia Minor. He is described as a wise and able prince. We have already observed, that the *arbor secco* means the plane-tree, considered characteristic of Khorasan, the most eastern province of Persia, and one of vast extent, reaching from the Caspian to the Oxus, called here Gihon.

and spears, and began a most fierce and cruel combat. Arms and legs were cut off, chargers killed, and many dreadful wounds inflicted; the noise and cries were such as would have drowned the loudest thunder. I assure you, in a few hours the ground was covered with dead and dying. Finally, Barak and his men could not endure the force of their adversary, and retreated across the river; while the victor pursued and killed a great number.* Thus Argon gained the day; and having begun to speak of him, I will relate his other adventures, and how he became sovereign lord after the death of Abaga, his father.

XLVII.—Argon and Acomat contend for the Persian Empire

Not long after Argon had gained this battle, he received news of the death of Abaga. He was much grieved, yet prepared with his whole host to return to the court, and take possession of the sovereignty; but he had forty days to march before arriving there. Now a brother of the deceased monarch, named Acomat Soldan, who had become a Saracen, having heard of the event, bethought himself, that since the heir was so distant, he himself might succeed. Having prepared a large body of men, he marched directly to the capital, and seized the supreme power. He found such an amount of treasure, that it could scarcely be counted. He lavished his bounty in a wonderful manner on the chiefs and barons, who declared him a good master, liked him, and wished for no other. He studied to be popular, and to please all men; yet the action he had committed was

* This inroad is related by De Guignes, tome iii. p. 260, and by Price, *Mohammedan History*, vol. ii. p. 576. The former calls the invader Berrak Khan, the latter Berauk. They describe the battle as having taken place near Herat, but differ from our traveller in one important particular, representing Abaga himself as having commanded the army. Yet as Price recognises Argon as having been in possession of the government of Khorasan, there can be scarcely a doubt, that he would at least be present in the engagement. If we are correct in supposing the information derived from Ghazan, son to that prince, this cannot be denied to be a good authority.

vile, and blamed by many. It was not long till he learned that Argon was marching against him with a very powerful force. He made no delay, nor showed surprise, but actively summoned his barons and troops; and in a week he had assembled a numerous body of cavalry, who all marched cheerfully against Argon, expressing their earnest desire to kill or take him.

Soldan Acomat having thus assembled 60,000 horsemen, set out and marched full ten days without interruption, when he learned that Argon, with an equal force, was five days' journey distant. He pitched his camp and awaited the enemy in a large and beautiful plain, which seemed well adapted for the combat. He then summoned his people, and thus addressed them:—"My lords, you know how well I am entitled to succeed my brother, being son of the same father, and having accompanied him in all his conquests. Because Argon is son to Abaga, some think he ought to succeed; but with all due respect to them, I consider this unjust. Even during my brother's life, I was reasonably entitled to half the kingdom, only through my mildness I allowed him the whole, but now I ought to succeed. I pray you then to defend my right against Argon, and preserve to us the rule; for I seek only the name and dignity, and leave to you the profit and possession of all. I need say no more to wise men, who love justice, and will do all things for the general honour and benefit." When the barons, chiefs, and soldiers heard this speech, they declared with one consent their resolution to adhere to him while they had breath, and defend him against all, and particularly Argon, whom they trusted they would capture and place in his hands.

When that prince learned that his rival was waiting for him with so great a multitude, he was much discomposed; he considered, however, how injurious it would be to show melancholy or fear, and the necessity of displaying valour and boldness. He sent for his lords and counsellors, and having assembled a great number, thus addressed them:—"My dear brothers and friends, you know well

how tenderly my father loved you, regarding you while he lived as kindred and children ; also how many great battles you fought with him, aiding him to conquer all his kingdom. Now I am the son of him who loved you so much, and to me you are equally dear ; I therefore trust you will aid me against the man who seeks, contrary to all right and reason, to disinherit me. Consider also, that he has forsaken our law and embraced that of Mohammed ; it were fitting indeed that a Saracen should rule over the Tartar nation ! Therefore, friends and brothers, I trust that you will willingly and heartily support me, and that each will display such valour, that the battle may be ours, and we may comfort ourselves by thinking that the right is on our side." After this speech, each lord and chief thought to himself, that he ought rather to die than not strenuously endeavour to gain a triumph. While the rest were silent, one great lord arose and said :—" Noble sire, we know fully the truth of what you have said, and I will now answer in the name of all now present, that while life remains in our bodies, we are ready to die rather than fail to conquer. Victory, too, appears to us certain, since we are so greatly in the right, and our enemies in the wrong. I advise, then, that we march as soon as possible against the foe, and pray all our companions to display such valour, that their deeds may be spoken of over the whole world." That brave man having concluded, all present assented, and eagerly desired battle. Next morning, Argon and his troops began their march, riding towards the plain on which their enemies were posted, and pitched their camp ten miles distant from that of Acomat.

Argon now chose two intelligent men, in whom he greatly confided, and sent them to his uncle. They mounted on horseback, went direct, and alighted at the pavilion of the soldan, whom they found with a numerous company of barons. Being well acquainted, they saluted him courteously, and received a cheerful welcome. After some time, one of them rose and said,— " Noble sire, your nephew Argon wonders greatly at

your seizing his kingdom, and coming thus to fight against him. This is not good conduct, nor due from an uncle towards a nephew; he therefore courteously prays you to abstain, and desiring neither war nor quarrel, will respect you as superior and father, both of himself and of the whole country." Acomat answered,—“My lords messengers, my nephew is entirely mistaken; the land is mine, I conquered it along with his father. If he will consent, I will make him a great lord, endowing him with spacious estates, treating him as my son and the highest under myself; otherwise, be assured, I will endeavour to put him to death.” The envoys then asked repeatedly, if they could hope for no other determination. He replied, never in his lifetime. They then departed, and rode to the camp of their lord, alighted at the tent, and told him his uncle's declaration.* Argon was greatly enraged, and said aloud in the hearing of all, that he would never live in comfort till the whole world had seen the signal vengeance he would take on his uncle. He said to his chiefs,—“Now let us without further delay march against these traitors and endeavour to destroy them.” The night was spent in busy preparation; and Acomat Soldan, being warned by his spies, was equally active.

XLVIII.—Great Battle between them.

Next day Argon, having made all his arrangements, advanced in good order; while his antagonist, not waiting his arrival, led on his troops to the encounter. They soon met, and the two great hosts, who had much desired the battle, rushed without delay against each other. Arrows flew like rain, chiefs fell to the ground, the air resounded with the cries and lamentations of the wounded and dying. Their arrows being exhausted, they rushed on with swords and spears; arms, hands, and heads were cut off, and the noise would have drowned the loudest thunder. In that day many brave men

* The Paris Latin version terminates here abruptly, in the middle of the narrative.

died, and many ladies were left disconsolate. Argon assuredly displayed great prowess, and set a gallant example ; but in vain,—fortune turned against him,—his men, compelled to flee, were pursued and slain in great numbers. Among the fugitives, he himself was captured, when the pursuers stopped and returned with him to their camp, rejoicing beyond measure. Acomat caused him to be imprisoned and carefully guarded ; then, being of a voluptuous disposition, he returned to court to enjoy the society of his numerous and handsome wives. He instructed the commander of the host to guard the captive as himself, and return at leisure that his troops might not be fatigued. He then departed, while Argon remained in chains, and so grieved, that death appeared to him desirable.

XLIX.—Final Issue of the Contest.

Now there was a great and aged Tartar baron, who felt much pity for the prisoner, and bethought him how wicked it was to keep their lord in this condition. He resolved, therefore, to attempt his deliverance. He argued to this effect with many other chiefs, who, esteeming his wisdom, and conscious that he spake the truth, entirely agreed with him. Then Boga, who had made the proposal, Elcidai, Togan, Tegana, Taga, Tiar Oulatai, and Samagar, all went to the tent of the captive prince. The first, as the eldest and the leader, addressed him thus,—“ Noble prince, we are now fully sensible of having acted wickedly towards you, and have determined to return to the right path ; we will therefore deliver and own you as justly our liege lord.” Argon, who thought they were mocking him, was both grieved and angry. “ My lords,” said he, “ you have done wrong enough in seizing your sovereign and making him a captive. Pray depart, and do not also make him a subject of mockery.” “ Illustrious prince,” said Boga, “ we positively speak the truth, and will make oath to it according to our law.” Then all the barons swore that they would obey him as their lord, while he in

return bound himself in no degree to resent past wrongs, but hold each of them as dear as Abaga his father had done. They then freed him from his chains, and did homage to him. He now ordered them to discharge their arrows against the tent of the melic; and that chief, named Soldan, who was the first after Acomat, and the commander of the whole host, was quickly slain.

Finding himself thus lord of all, he gave orders to march to the court, and was instantly obeyed. One day, thereafter, when Acomat was holding a splendid festival in his palace, a messenger came to him and said,—“Sire, I bring you with regret unwelcome tidings; the barons have delivered Argon, owned him as lord, and killed Soldan your faithful friend. They are coming now with their utmost speed to take and slay you.” He was then silent, but the other was completely amazed and terrified. However, as a bold and brave man, he ordered the messenger not to say a word to a living creature; then mounting on horseback, set out with a few trusty servants, to seek refuge with the Sultan of Babylon, leaving all in ignorance whither he had gone. After marching six days, he came to the only pass by which he could penetrate. The commander who guarded it knew him, and seeing him fleeing with only a few adherents, determined to seize him. Acomat entreated for mercy, and offered a great treasure as the price of liberty; but the other, being greatly attached to Argon, replied that the wealth of the world would not prevent his placing him in his master’s hands. He prepared a large company, and set out with his captive, watching him so carefully as to make escape impossible. They rode on to the court, where Argon had arrived only three days before, and been much vexed to find that his uncle had escaped; but when the guardian of the pass brought the fugitive before his presence, he felt the greatest possible joy. He received the latter sternly, telling him that he would meet with the treatment he deserved; and without asking any one’s advice, he commanded him to be led forth and slain. This mandate was speedily exe-

cuted, and the body was thrown into a place where it was never seen more.* Thus have you heard the whole affair of Argon and of Acomat his uncle.

L.—Reign of Argon.

Argon was thus master of the palace and of the kingdom, and the barons from every quarter came to render him due homage and obedience. After governing some time, he sent Casan his son with 30,000 men, to the country of the Arbor Secco, there to guard and secure his land and people. Argon began his reign in the year 1286, after Acomat had ruled two years. The former, after holding the sceptre six years, died, not without strong suspicions of poison.†

* This train of events is related by all the oriental authorities, but with considerable variations both from each other and from our author. D'Herbelot (*voc.* Argon) represents the prince, after the election of his uncle, as fleeing into Khorasan, then defeated, not by Ahmed (Acomat) in person, but by Alinak, his general; as not taken in battle, but fleeing to a fortress, where that officer by fair promises induced him to surrender, and then made him prisoner. His deliverance by the Emir Bougha, and the other events, pretty closely agree. The account given by De Guignes (tome iii. p. 264) is nearly similar to the above. Haithon represents the sultan himself (called Mahomet) as pursuing the prince into his mountain-fortress, capturing and delivering him to be guarded by his general. But Price (Mohammedan History, vol. ii. p. 578-582) gives the most detailed and, it should seem, most carefully investigated narrative; and it comes much closer to that of our traveller. He confirms his possession of the government of Khorasan, and the sultan having marched against him in person, but reports the prince as defeated by an advance-guard of 15,000 men, and made prisoner by Alinak (Ally Eynauk). The return of the sultan, the interview of *Bouka* with Argon, and his surprise of the general's tent, are related nearly as here. Ahmed, however, is represented (not very probably) as refusing to flee, and thus falling into the hands of his nephew, who delivered him to the sons of a chief whom he had killed, and who speedily put him to death. Considering these wide discrepancies in the best historical records, and the peculiar opportunities of Marco, I cannot think it at all improbable that his narrative may come nearer to the truth than any other.

† I do not observe these suspicions in any other narrative. It does, however, appear, that Argon had become unpopular, and his death was somewhat sudden. Ghazan, who viewed his

LI.—Reign of Quiacatu.

When Argon was dead, his uncle, named Quiacatu, brother to Abaga, immediately seized the throne, which was easily effected, as Casan was distant at the Arbor Secco. The latter, when informed of these events, was much grieved at the death of his parent, and still more incensed at Quiacatu having seized his inheritance. He was afraid, however, to march at once against him, but resolved, that at the proper time and place he would take as signal vengeance as his father had done on Acomat.* Thus Quiacatu obtained general obedience, except over the troops whom Casan immediately commanded. He married the wife of Argon his nephew, and indulged largely in the pleasures of the seraglio. At the end of two years, however, his death ensued, being occasioned by poison.†

LII.—Contest between Baidu and Ghazan.

Baidu, his uncle, and a Christian, then seized the sovereignty, and was generally obeyed, unless by Casan and his army. The latter, on learning these things, regretted much that he had not been able to punish Quiacatu, but determined to take such vengeance on Baidu, that the world might admire it. He marched without delay against

successors in a hostile light, might be disposed to be jealous on its subject.

* These feelings are not stated in the histories, and indeed, under the circumstances, would doubtless be concealed; but they are highly probable, and likely to be communicated to the Poli, with whom Ghazan was on so friendly a footing.

† This prince occurred to us formerly under the name of Kai-khatu, as receiving the Poli and their two fair charges, on their first arrival from China. He is characterized by De Guignes (who calls him Kandgiatou), as irreligious, perjured, and debauched, yet ruling with justice. After displaying at first some vigour, he abandoned himself to profligate habits, and so disgusted the chiefs, that a general confederacy was formed against him. His unpopularity rendered it impossible to make any serious resistance; he was taken and put to death (De Guignes, tome iii. p. 266. Price, vol. ii. p. 599-601). Poison was a very likely mode of effecting this object; though we do not find the assertion made any where else.

that chief, who, informed of his approach, assembled a great force, and marched ten days' journey to meet him, when he encamped, and awaited his adversary, earnestly exhorting and encouraging his troops. In two days Casan came up, and immediately a battle began, most bloody and desperate; but it was vain for Baidu to struggle, since, as soon as the contest commenced, many of his men went over and fought on the side of his opponent. He was accordingly discomfited, and killed. Casan, thus victorious, immediately marched to court and assumed the sovereignty, when all the barons paid him homage and obedience; and this was in the year 1294.* Thus have you heard the whole train of affairs from Abaga down to Casan. You must likewise know that Alau, who conquered Bagdad, and was brother to Kublai, was ancestor to all the princes now named; for he was the father of Abaga, grandfather of Argon, who was the parent of Casan, now reigning. Having told you all about these Tartars of the East, I might go on to treat of Great Turkey; but the truth is, I have done so already, mentioning all the acts of Kaidu, so that I have nothing more to say, and shall therefore now tell you of the provinces and people that lie to the northward.

LIII.—Of Conci and his Northern Kingdom.

In this quarter is a king named Conci. He and all his people are Tartars, and adhere to the rudest and most brutal customs of that nation, never having changed since the time of Gengis Khan.† They have a god of

* Baidu is stated in the histories to have been a grandson of Hoolaku, in which case he must have been nephew, not uncle to Kaikhatu; but we have found our author before not very precise upon these points. De Guignes and Price mention several negotiations between the two claimants; but both agree with our author, that the final downfall of Baidu was occasioned by the union of the chiefs against him, and in favour of his rival, whose more legitimate claim was already supported by a high reputation and brilliant talents.—De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 269. Price, vol. ii. p. 601.

† There is little or no doubt that this is the dynasty which De Guignes calls Touran, or of Siberia, tome i. p. 290, 291. He

felt, named Nacigai, to whom they also give a wife, calling these two lords of the earth, who guard all their corn, beasts, and landed property ; and when they get any victuals, they anoint with them the mouth of these deities. The king is independent, being of the imperial lineage of Gengis, and a near relation of the great khan. He has neither cities nor castles, but his people reside in vast plains, diversified with valleys and mountains. They are very submissive to him, and he successfully studies to preserve among them peace and union.* They have no grain, but live on milk and cattle, which abound, including camels, horses, oxen, sheep, and other animals. There are also bears, white all over, and longer than twenty palms, with foxes, large and black ; likewise a great number of sables, whose costly skins I have mentioned as worth each a thousand bezants. The rats of Pharaoh are plentiful, and very large, affording food to the people during the whole summer. In short, all kinds of wild beasts abound in this savage and trackless region. I must also mention, that this king has a country in which horses cannot travel, on account of the numerous lakes and fountains, and the quantity of ice and mud. This rugged tract extends thirteen days' journey, and at the end of each is a post-house to accommodate the messengers, with about forty dogs, almost as large as asses, to convey them from one post to the other. As wheeled carriages cannot travel here, they employ sledges, so formed as to move over the surface without

mentions that Baatu, after the conquest of Moscow, intrusted a body of troops to his son Scheibani, who established himself on the mountains of Arall (Ural), and thence extended his dominion over Siberia. The name here given does not occur in the list of its princes ; yet De Guignes mentions Conzi as one of the sons of Scheibani. Ramusio, after omitting the preceding chapters, has inserted the present one, but is led by the similarity of name into the strange blunder of confounding this peaceful prince with the fierce and restless Kaidu, on which Mr Marsden has founded some very misplaced comments.

* This sentence is not in the French edition, but being in the Paris Latin and Crusca, as well as Ramusio, appears genuine.

sinking ; such, indeed, as are used in this country to convey hay and straw when there is great rain and mud. On the sledge is spread a bear's skin, whereon the messenger sits, and the dogs drag it direct to the following post. The guardian mounts a similar carriage, and guides him by the best and nearest way. At the next post, they find another relay of sledges and dogs, and the one which conveyed them returns. The men dwelling in this wild country are very expert hunters, capturing many precious little animals, such as sables, ermines, and black foxes, whose skins yield a large profit. They have engines so well contrived that no animal can escape. But owing to the extreme cold, all their habitations are under ground.* Having nothing more to mention, we shall depart and treat of a place where there is perpetual twilight.

LIV.—The Region of Obscurity.

You must know, that beyond this kingdom is a province called Obscurity, because there never appears either sun, moon, or star ; but it is always dark, as with us during twilight.† The people have no ruler, but live like brutes. The Tartars, however, make occasional in-

* To those at all acquainted with Siberia, it need scarcely be remarked how very accurate is the description here given both of its pastoral and frozen regions ; the beautiful furs ; the white or polar bear ; the sledges drawn by large dogs ; the subterraneous habitations.

† Instead of this, Ramusio says, " during most of the winter the sun is invisible, and the atmosphere is obscured, as it appears to us at the dawn of day, when we see very imperfectly." He adds afterwards, " the inhabitants take advantage of the summer season, *when they enjoy continual daylight*, to catch," &c. These statements are in no early edition, and I cannot help thinking that they betray the additional information derived from voyages performed long after into the northern regions. The *Crusca* goes very far, representing the darkness as complete, and the night perpetual ; a statement which dismays Count Boni, and arose probably from some misunderstanding of the original. I incline to think the French the most correct, and that the constant twilight mentioned arises rather from dense fogs on the shores of the northern ocean, than from the position on the earth's surface.

roads in the following manner:—They ride on mares that have just brought forth foals, which last are left at the border. They then traverse the country, plundering whatever they can find ; and when they wish to return, the mares, seeking to find their young, know the way better than the riders.* The people are all hunters, and take great numbers of sables, black foxes, and other animals with costly furs. Those on their frontier meet them at a fixed period, purchase these skins, and sell them elsewhere with an ample profit. These people are tall and well made, but pale and colourless. The territory borders on one side upon Great Russia, of which I shall now proceed to speak.

LV.—Description of Russia and several adjacent Countries.

Russia is a very great province towards the north, inhabited by Christians, who follow the Greek Church. They have languages of their own, and several kings. They are a very simple people, but extremely handsome, with a fair complexion. The entrances and passes into it are very strong ; they own some small allegiance to the Tartar king of the West, named Toctai. The country yields few commodities, except an abundance of the furs already described, equal to any in the world. There are considerable silver mines. But now let us leave it, and describe the Greater Sea, with the provinces around. But first let me tell you of a province lying between north and north-west, and bordering on Russia, named Lac, inhabited by a mixture of Christians and Saracens, and subject to a king. The people carry on merchandise and manufactures, and have a vast variety also of valuable furs.† But now I must go back to

* There is no modern record of such predatory inroads, but the country has been long held by Russia, a civilized and powerful government, which would not permit such lawless proceedings. Neither is there any other mention of this curious mode of finding their way back ; but, no doubt, under these circumstances, the animals would trace it better than the riders.

† Count Boni thinks Lac (Lacca, *Crusca*) to be Poland, the inhabitants of which, he says, own Lech for their progenitor.

Russia, and mention something that I had forgot. It is so very extensive as to reach the ocean, where are isles on which pilgrim-falcons and gerfalcons are found, and carried to various parts of the world. Now from Russia to Oroech is no great distance ; but the extreme cold renders the journey very difficult.* This would be the time to speak of the Strait of Constantinople and the mouth of the Great Sea ; but on considering that many others have written on the subject, we shall omit them, and proceed to treat of the Tartars of the West, and the lords by whom they are ruled.

LVI.—Succession of Western Tartar Princes.

The first lord of these Tartars was Sain, a very great and powerful king. He conquered Russia, Comania, Alania, Lac, Mengiar, Zic, Gucia, and Gazaria. The inhabitants had all been Comanian ; but having no unity or connexion, lost their country, and were driven into various parts of the world, while those who remained became servants of this conqueror. After him reigned successively Patu, Barka, Mungletemur, Totamongur, and Toctai, the present sovereign.† Having thus re-

Yet, though Poland was well known in that age, and traversed, as we have seen, by contemporary travellers, this name is never found applied to it. It is stated, too, to be partly inhabited by Saracens (Mohammedans), which might, it is said, refer to Baatu's expedition ; but his troops were not Mussulmans, and they retired in a body, leaving not one behind. The Count's version (the Crusca) wants the sentence about Constantinople, whence the position W.N.W. appears to be from Russia ; but this is here supplied from the French, and if genuine, Lac must bear that direction from the imperial capital. I incline to think it Moldavia and Bessarabia, not then subject to Russia, and to which Mohammedans might have penetrated.

* In the Crusca, it is Orbeche, in the Pucci, Osbech ; whence Count Boni supposes it to mean the Uzbeks. The French editor, however, has in the margin *Norvège* (Norway), with which suggestion I incline to concur. The country seems spoken of as one known to Europeans ; while the other would be too distant. Neither Lac nor Oroech are in Ramusio ; so that we have no aid from Mr Marsden.

† This list is tolerably correct, if we except a great error at the outset, by which Sain and Patu (Baatu) are represented as

counted the kings of the Western Tartars, I will now describe a great battle fought between Alau, lord of the East, and Barka, lord of the West, with the occasion which led to it.

LVII.—Dispute between Barka and Hoolaku.

You must know that about the year 1261 there arose a great discord between these two monarchs. It was about a province on their respective frontier which each desired and would not yield, but resolved to seize it and see who would oppose him. Thereupon they declared war, summoned their respective subjects, and made the greatest preparation almost ever known. I assure you, in six months each had assembled full 300,000 horsemen, well provided with every warlike implement. Alau, lord of the East, then set out with all his troops, and having rode many days, reached a wide plain between the Iron Gates and the Sea of Sarain. There he pitched his camp, which, I have heard, contained many rich tents, and made a splendid appearance. Being here on the frontier, he resolved to wait, and see if Barka would come. That prince having completed his preparations, and learned the approach of his foe, without delay began his march. He rode on till he came to the great plain where his enemy was posted, and pitched his camp at ten miles' distance. I declare to you, it was fully as beautiful as that of Alau, filled with tents and pavilions of cloth of gold. His army, too, was more

distinct princes ; whereas these are only different names of the same great warrior, with whom our readers must now be pretty well acquainted. De Guignes, tome i. p. 287, calls him Batou Sain ; Abulghasi, p. 195, Batu Sager. The appellations, however, are so strikingly dissimilar, that we cannot much wonder at their being considered applicable to different persons. De Guignes' list is as follows :—Batou Sain died in 1256 ; Bereke, 1266 ; Toudan Mangou, 1287 ; *Toulabouga*, 1291 ; Toghtagou (called by the Russians Toctais), 1313. The subsequent names, with the usual variations, agree with those of our author, except in the absence of Tolobuga ; but he will come in our way again, when we shall have occasion to make some curious observations respecting him.

numerous, amounting, without a lie, to 350,000 horsemen.* They rested two days in their tents, when Barka thus addressed his men :—" Noble chiefs, you know how, since coming to the sovereignty, I have loved you as brothers and sons ; you have accompanied me in many great battles, and aided in conquering much territory. Alau, a great and powerful prince, proposes wrongfully to fight against us ; but having the right on our side, we may confidently expect to conquer, especially since our army is more numerous. In this confidence, then, noble chiefs, and having come so far for battle, let us prepare in three days to engage, arranging so wisely, and displaying such valour, that our fame may spread over the world." He was then silent ; and we must now return to his antagonist, who, when he heard of his adversary's arrival with so great an army, assembled his principal men and said :—" Noble brethren and friends, you have throughout all my life supported and aided me, enabling me to conquer in many battles ; nor indeed ever fighting one in which we were not victorious. We have come here to combat the great Barka, who indeed has as many and even more troops ; but ours are braver, and I feel confident of victory. I rejoice, then, to hear by the spies, that he is coming to give us battle in three days, and I expect every one to be well prepared, with his accustomed bravery, rather to die on the field with honour, than to suffer disgrace and discomfiture."

LVIII.—Great Battle between them.

On the appointed day Alau rose early, summoned his men to arms, and ranged them very skilfully in order of battle. He formed thirty squadrons, each containing 10,000 horsemen, making in all the number of 300,000,

* These numbers are no doubt exaggerated ; but this I apprehend to be the case in all the histories of the middle ages, especially of the East. Haithon represents Hochtai (Toctai), a successor of Barka, as able to bring into the field 600,000 horsemen.

with able leaders and captains. By his order his squadrons then advanced at a moderate pace over the plain, till they arrived mid-way between the two camps, where they stopped and awaited the enemy. On the same morning, Barka similarly arranged his men, forming thirty-five squadrons of 10,000 each, with good officers and commanders. He then made his troops ride forward to within half a mile of the enemy, when they halted, and again proceeded till the hosts, being within two bow-shots of each other, stopped and arranged their squadrons. The plain was the largest and finest in all that country ; which, assuredly, was very necessary to afford a field of battle for such mighty armies, amounting to 650,000 men. Indeed Alau and Barka were the most powerful princes in the world, and were near relations too,—being both of the imperial lineage of Gengis Khan.

The two great kings with all their troops being thus marshalled, impatiently waited for the naccar as a signal of battle. When it sounded, the armies rushed forward and discharged arrows against each other. The air was filled, and the sky became invisible ; numbers of men and horses fell to the earth, which was covered with dead and dying. The arrows being exhausted, they struck dreadful blows with swords and spears ; assuredly there had not for a long time been a battle in the world fought by such numerous armies. Alau, most brave and powerful in arms, showed himself this day worthy of ruling a kingdom and wearing a crown. He displayed signal prowess in his own person, and by his example infused extraordinary courage into his men. His achievements, indeed, astonished both friends and enemies ; he appeared, not a man, but thunder and tempest. Barka, too, fought most bravely, and made himself worthy of the admiration of the whole world ; but it was all in vain ; his men were either killed, or so overwhelmed and exhausted, that they could endure no longer. When evening arrived, they fled with their utmost speed. The victor and his troops rapidly pur-

sued, and after committing dreadful slaughter returned, threw aside their arms, and had their wounds washed and dressed. They were, indeed, quite overpowered and exhausted. The night was spent in repose, and next day he ordered all the dead bodies both of friends and enemies to be burned. He then returned into his country with all the troops who survived the battle; for I assure you, although he conquered, he had lost a vast number, yet still more had fallen on the opposite side.* Having told you thus of Alau and his victory, we shall go on to treat of a battle between the Tartars of the west.

LIX.—Controversy between the Tartar Princes, Toctai and Nogai.

† You must know that in this quarter the great lord

* This war is narrated in all the oriental histories; yet it must be confessed with very wide variations. D'Herbelot (*voc.* Abaka) and De Guignes (tome iii. pp. 258, 259) mention no hostilities till after Hoolaku had been succeeded by Abaga, who sent his son Schamat to Derbend against Barka. That prince is said to have gained a signal victory, which did not, however, prevent his opponent from speedily returning with an immense force; but death put an end to his further proceedings. Yet these writers incidentally notice, that some years before Barka had formed an alliance with Egypt, and carried on operations which had led to severe losses on the side of Syria. Haithon of Armenia (*Purchas*, vol. iii. p. 117), whose local position makes him a good authority, states Hoolaku as personally engaged in a great battle against Barka. Mr Price relates a series of transactions conducted by that prince, who, after several encounters near Schamachie, on December 1264, surprised and defeated Barka, who then retreated. The army pursued; but, through want of caution, allowed themselves to be in their turn surprised; and, while retreating across the Terek, the ice broke and a number were drowned. But the date is 1264, three years later than our author's. Now Price mentions that Barka commenced his invasion in 1260, but that no steps were taken to check it till 1264 (*Mohammedan History*, vol. ii. p. 571). We cannot but think this very improbable, and that there must be here a blank in oriental history, which, indeed, respecting all this series of events, is extremely defective. This would be supplied by the present narrative, which represents Hoolaku, as might be expected, marching immediately against the invader, and giving him so severe a repulse as might make him discontinue all operations till 1264, when he might return with recruited strength.

† The following chapters are found in the early French ver-

of the Tartars was named Mongutemur, and he was succeeded by Tolobuga, a very young man. Totamangu, a powerful chief, aided by a king named Nogai,* killed that prince and succeeded to the sovereignty. He died, however, soon after, and in his room was elected Toctai, a very wise and able chief. Meantime, two sons of the slain monarch having grown up to manhood, and being wise and prudent, assembled a large body of troops, and marched to the court of Toctai. They went and threw themselves on their knees before him, when

sion, but not in any other printed one, nor in any manuscript to which we have had access, except the Italian in the Museum. A question may therefore be raised as to their genuineness. Besides, however, the high character of the edition, the style is exactly the same, though the statements are somewhat more loose and careless; but, indeed, they have been so during several preceding chapters. The outline of the information is confirmed, as elsewhere, by good oriental authorities. We have pointed out the motives which led transcribers and translators to the system of abridgment by simple omission, and how these became always stronger as the work drew to its close. The different editions, accordingly, have been dropping off one after another; and only the Crusca comes down to the present point. There is also an Italian MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, which, from the list of names published by the Geographical Society (p. 552), appears to do so. The Italian MS. in the Museum, besides containing an abridged narrative of the succeeding events, affords a strong corroboration of their having been included in the original narrative.

* De Guignes gives an account of the rise of the dynasty of Nogai (whom he calls Nogaia), and from whom probably a numerous tribe of Tartars derive their appellation. Being employed with a strong force to keep in check certain northern tribes, he threw off the yoke of his master, and having married a natural daughter of the Emperor Michel Paleologus, assumed the title and rank of a sovereign. This author agrees in making him accessory to the murder of Tolobuga; but he represents Toctai as his accomplice, and thereby placed on the throne, making Totamangu the predecessor of the murdered prince. On this subject, however, see the next note. That Toctai might become the bitter enemy of the person who had raised him to the throne is not without example in the annals of ambition; yet our author's account seems the more probable one. The two princes could never have come to solicit redress for their father's death from him who was its chief author. De Guignes, it is true, has no such incident; but there seems difficulty in supposing it to be a complete fiction.

he bid them welcome, and desired them to rise. The two youths then stood up, when the eldest began to speak thus:—"Noble sire, we come as sons of Totamangu, who was killed by Tolobuga and Nogai.* The former being dead, we can say nothing; but we seek vengeance on Nogai, and pray that you, as his rightful lord, make him appear and account for the death of our father." The youth was then silent, and Toctai, feeling that he had spoken truth, replied,—“My noble friend, I will willingly do what you ask.” He then sent two messengers with this injunction to Nogai, who laughed at it, and positively refused to come. They rode back and reported this answer, when their master, much enraged, said in the hearing of all around him,—“If God aid me, either Nogai shall obey my mandate, or I will march with all my men to destroy him.” He then sent two other messengers, who rode to the court of the Tartar, presented themselves, and saluted him. He bid them

* I am obliged to notice here a gross inconsistency in the French text. Before, it was Totamangu who killed Tolobuga; now it is the reverse; and this second version is carried through the whole succeeding narrative. According to it, the order of the sovereigns will agree with De Guignes, who places Totamangu first; and as this order is given in two different parts of his work, drawn from different authorities, it is probably correct (vol. i. p. 287; tome iii. pp. 346, 347). The transition in the original is curiously made:—"Or avint qe endementier deus filz de Tolobuga qe occis avoit esté, furent creu et estoient homes qe bien pooient porter armes. Il estoient sajes e provens: cesti deus freres, *ce furent les filz de Totamangu*." I cannot but suspect that this is a rough way of acknowledging his error, and taking up the real state of the case. The Museum MS. indeed carries out through the whole the first statement of Tolobuga as the murdered prince, and his sons as seeking redress. The French, however, is undoubtedly the earliest version, and the Italian transcriber, on seeing the discrepancy, might naturally seek to remove it by continuing the first statement, supposing it the most correct. There appears reason to think that the contrary is the truth; an opinion which seems farther confirmed by De Guignes' report (tome iii. pp. 346, 347), that Tolobuga had nearly usurped the supreme power even in the lifetime of Totamangu, who, unable to control his turbulent chiefs, resigned the crown. This is not very far from the statement of Marco; for in such a society, the abdication of a monarch and his death were not likely to be very distant.

welcome, when one of them said,—“ Noble sire, Toctai gives warning, that unless you come to his court to account for your conduct to the sons of Totamangu, he will march against you with all his people, and do you all the injury in his power ; therefore be careful what you do in this business, and what message you send.” The other wrathfully replied,—“ Gentlemen, return to your lord, and tell him from me, that I little dread the threatened war, and am ready to come and meet him half-way.” The messengers, on hearing this speech, without delay set out, and rode till they came to their master, and told him all that Nogai had said. Seeing that war was inevitable, he immediately sent his messengers to all his subjects, and summoned them to prepare and march against his adversary. And what shall I say ! He assembled the greatest armament in the world. When the Tartar prince heard this, he also made great preparations ; but his people being less numerous, he could not assemble an equal army ; however it was very powerful.

When Toctai was fully ready to take the field, he set out, leading with him, I assure you, two hundred thousand horsemen. He rode on to the large and beautiful plain of Nerghi, and there pitched his camp. Hither also came the two sons of Totamangu, with a noble company of men, to avenge the death of their father. Now let us turn to Nogai, who on learning his approach set out with all his troops, and, without doubt, they were upwards of 150,000 horsemen, all good and valiant, better men at arms than those of the enemy. Two days after, he arrived and pitched his camp at ten miles distance. On both sides were seen very rich tents and pavilions of cloth of gold, fully displaying the wealth of these kings. They then waited a short time on the plain for refreshment and repose..

LX.—Great Battle.

Toctai now assembled his people, and spoke as follows :—“ My lords, we have come to fight King Nogai, and with great reason, since all this feud and enmity

have arisen from his not coming to account for his conduct to the sons of Totamangu. Since then his behaviour is thus unreasonable, we must feel good courage and hope of conquest ; and I earnestly pray that each man be valiant, and strive to carry destruction and death among the enemy." The other, too, thus addressed his men :— " Noble friends and brethren, you know how many great and hard battles we have gained, and against better men than now oppose us ; therefore you may feel assured of victory. Besides, we are fully in the right, and he in the wrong ; for, as you know well, he is not my lord, nor entitled to call me to his court to give an account to others. I say no more, but pray every one to perform such exploits, that the whole world may admire them, and your name may always strike terror." The two kings, having thus spoken, made no delay in forming their order of battle. The first drew out twenty squadrons, and his enemy fifteen, of 10,000 men each, with good captains and conductors. Having rode on to within bow-shots, and the naccar having sounded, they rushed forward and discharged their arrows, when many horses and riders fell dead, loud cries arose, and tears were shed. Afterwards they all advanced with sword and spear ; hands, heads, and arms were cut off ; knights fell dead and wounded to the earth ; the cries, noise, and clashing of arms, would have drowned the loudest thunder. Never almost was there a battle in which such numbers fell ; but the greater loss was on the side of Toctai, for his adversary had better men-at-arms. The two sons of Totamangu displayed great prowess, striving to the utmost to avenge the death of their father ; but it was in vain. The battle, in short, was most bloody and dreadful ; many who in the morning were alive and vigorous, during the day fell slain, and many happy wives were made widows. Toctai strove with all his might to support his people and his honour, and displayed indeed a prowess worthy to be praised by the whole world. He rushed amid the enemy like one that cared nothing for life or death, striking to right and left, rescuing his

people when seized or taken. He did much injury that day both to enemies and friends ; of the one he killed a vast number, and the other, from his example, derived boldness to push against their foe, and thus met instant death. Nogai, on his side, equally acted the hero ; he rushed among the enemy as the lion does among other wild beasts, casting down and killing all whom he encountered. He threw himself among the thickest of the foe, and all fled before him like weak and timid animals. His troops emulated his valour ; but why make a long story ! The people of Toctai did every thing possible to support their honour, though in vain, for they had too good and stout men to deal with. They had suffered so much as to make it evident that if they remained they would all perish. They therefore took to flight as quickly as they could, the victor with his troops pursuing and killing them in great numbers. Thus have you heard how Nogai gained the battle, and be assured there died in it 60,000 men ; but the other king escaped, as well as the two sons of Totamangu.*

LXI.—Conclusion.

You have now been informed of all the actions of the Tartars and Saracens, of their customs, and of other countries throughout the world, so far as they could be searched out and discovered. We have only declined saying any thing of the Black Sea and the surrounding provinces, although we fully explored them, because it

* De Guignes relates the events of this war, but, as already observed, he does not introduce the two princes, sons of Totamangu or Tolobuga, but represents Toctai as impelled merely by jealousy of his neighbour or vassal, and a determination to humble him. There is a still more serious discrepancy ; for, instead of representing Nogai as victorious, he reports him as defeated and killed. Yet it is remarkable, that in another part of his work he mentions him, on the authority of Abulfeda, as having lived many years after, and died only in 1299. He notices himself the variation of the two accounts, but does not seem able to say which is right. We confess ourselves equally at a loss ; but it would be hard to decide against our author on such varying authority.

would seemingly have been useless, and a repetition of what others relate every day. The Venetians, the Genoese, the Pisans, and many other nations, are continually navigating it, so that every one knows the bordering countries. You have been informed in a chapter at the beginning, of our departure from the great khan, and the trouble and solicitation which Maffio, Nicolo, and Marco had in obtaining his permission. You have learned also the accident whereby it was procured, without which we should have found it very difficult to return into our country. But I believe it was the pleasure of God, that they might make known the great things that are in the world, and, as formerly declared in the preface, there never was a man, either Christian or Saracen, or Tartar or Pagan, who explored so much of the world as did Marco, the son of Nicolo Polo, that noble and great citizen of Venice.* Deo Gratias. Amen, Amen.

* This concluding address is given by Count Boni from the Crusca and Pucci editions, where alone it occurs, and with some variation of language. Considering how the other editions have dropped off before coming to this point, we cannot wonder at its absence in any of them except the French, which stops abruptly at the close of the preceding chapter. This circumstance, though difficult to account for, seems insufficient to make us reject a passage supported by two such valuable editions. We may observe a curious change in the last sentence, from the first to the third person. This, I apprehend, arises from Rusticians first writing as an amanuensis, then beginning in his own person, when he pronounces a panegyric upon Marco, which would not have come very gracefully from the traveller himself.