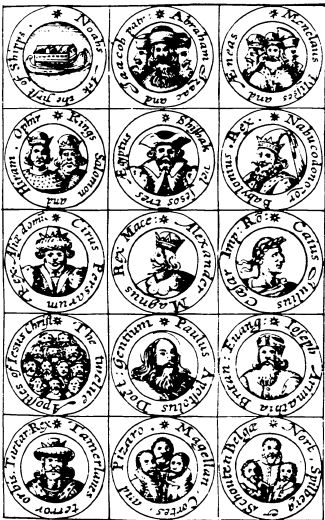




He shewed his word vnto Jacob and he hath not dealt so with any nation. Psal: 147.

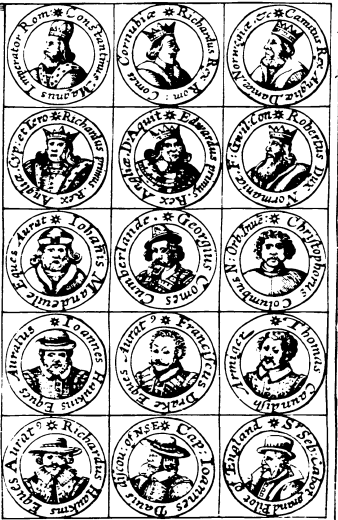


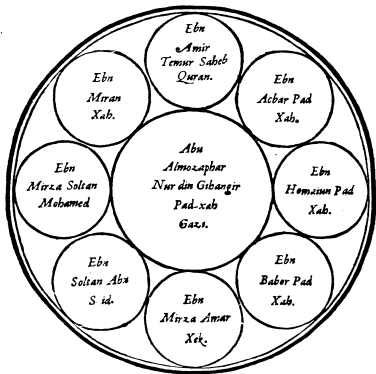
HUNC TANTUM NOBIS FACTA OSTENDERE, NEC ULTRA ESSE SIVNT.



HAKLVTVS POSTHVMVS
 or
PVRCHAS HIS PVGRIMES
 Contayning a His tory of the World, in Sea voyages, & lande Trauells by Englishmen & others. Wherein Gods Wonders in Nature & Providence, The Artes, Arts, Varieties, & Vanities of Men, wth a world of the Worlds Rarities, are by a world of Euyntise Authors, Related to the World. Some left written by V. Hakluyt at his death, More since added, his selfe perused, & perfected. All examined, abridged, & Illustrated wth Notes, enlarged wth Discourses, Adorned wth pictures, and Expressed in Maps. In four Partes. Each containing five Bookes.

By **SAMVEL PVRCAS B.D.**





CHAP. XVII.

A Letter of M. THOMAS CORYAT, which traualled by Land from Ierusalem to the Court of the Great Mogol, written to M. L. WHITAKER. To which are added pieces of two other, to entertayne you with a little Indian-Odcombian mirish.

Most deare and beloved Friend, Master L. W. An me deiduum me.

From the Court of the most mightie Monarch, called the Great MOGOL, resident in the Towne of Ameer, in the Orientall INDIA. Anno 1615.

Ordiall salutations in the Author of saluation, IESVS CHRIST. where I writ unto you last, I remember well, even from Zobih, as the Prophet SAMUEL calleth it (1. Booke, Chap. 8. vers. 2.) that is, Aleppo, the principall Emporium of all Syria, or rather of the Orient World; but when in truth I have forgotten, for I keepe not Copies of my Letters, as I feare that my Country-men doe, in whatsoeuer place of the World I soile them. Hencebeit, if my conscience doe not much faile mee, I may affirme that it was about fifteene months since, about a month after, I returned unto Aleppo from Ierusalem, after which time, I remained there three months longer, and then departed to residence in a Caravan into Persia, passing the noble River Eufrates (the chiefeft of all th' irrigated Paradise, where-hence, as from their originall, the three other Rivers were deriv'd) about foure dayes journey beyond Aleppo: on the further side of which, I entered Melopotamia, also Chaldaea, for the E. pirates in that place determinate b Syria and Melopotamia. There-hence I had two dayes journey to Vr of the Chal-deans, where Abraham was borne, a very delicate and pleasant Citie. There I remayned some dayes.

Gen. 12. G. n. 11. 33.

dayes, but I could see no part of the ruines of the house, where that faithfull servant of God was borne, though I much de desired. From thence, I had foure dayes journey to the River Tygris, which I possesed also; but in the same place where I crossed it, I found it so shallow, that it reached no higher than the crosse of my legges: for I waded over it afoote. Now I well perceive by my ocular experience, that Chaldea is named Melopotamia, for that it is watered with the foresaid Rivers. Thence I entered Armenia the greater: After that, Media the lower, and resided fixe dayes in the Metropolis thereof, herefore called Eubatana, the Summer seat of Cyrus his Court, a Citie of some mentioned in the Scripture, now called Tauris, more w. full ruines of a Citie (saung that of Troy and Cyzicum in Natolia) never did mine eyes beheld. When I reverently contemplated those ruines, the dolefull testimonies of the Turkish deuastations, I called to minde Ouis Verfe:

Ludic in humanis diuina potentia rebus.

And that of HESIOD,

Tà δ' ἀνθρώπων σφίσις Σίστη ἄνθρωποις.

From that, I had two dayes journey to a Citie that in Strabos time was called Arfacia in Media the higher, now Casbin, once the Royall state of the Tartarian Princes, foure dayes journey from the Caspian Sea. From Casbin, I had three and twentie dayes to Spilian in Partia, the place of residence of the Persian King. But at my being there, he was in the Courtrey of Gurgutan, rescuing the poore Christians thence with great hostilitie, with Fire and Sword. There I remoynd two months, and so with a Caravan, trauelled into the Easterne India, passing foure months and odder dayes, in my trauell betwixt that (through parts of the true Persia, and a large tract of the noble and renowned India) and the goodly Coast of Lahor in India, one of the longest Coasts of the whole Vniuers, for it containeth at the least fiftene miles in compass, and exceedeth Quantitie in it selfe in greatnesse. But a dozen dayes before I came to Lahor, I passed the famous River Indus, which is as broad againe as our Thames at London, and bath his originall out of the Mountayne Caucasus, so much ennobled by the ancient both Poets and Historiographers, Greeke and Latine; which Plato for euersake sake, in his trauell of these parts ment to see. It hath not sure from that upon the Confines of S. ych a, now called Tartaria: My selfe also conceiuing some hope of seeing it before my small sojourn of India. I had almost forgotten one memorabile matter to impart unto you: About the middle of the way, betwixt Spilian and Lahor, wit about the Frontiers of Persia and India, I met Sir Robert Sherley and his Lady, traueiling from the Court of the Mogol, (where they had bene a very graciously receiued, and conuoyed with Treasures of great value) to the King of Per's Court; so gallantly furnished with all necessaries for their traualles, that it was a great comfort unto me, to see them in such a flourishing state. There did hee shew mee, to my singular contentment, both my Bookes neatly kept, and hath promised mee to shew them, especially mine Itinerarie, to the Persian King: and to interpret unto him some of the principall matters in the Turkish Tongue, to the end I may haue the more gracious access unto him, after my returne thither. For though Persia I haue deterrind (by Gods be) to returne to Aleppo. Besides other rarities that they carryed with them out of India, they had two Elephants and eight Antiepes, which were the first that euer I saw: but afterwards, when I came to the Mogols Court, I saw great store of them. These they meant to present to the Persian King. Both hee and his Lady refused mee with singular respect, especially his Lady, who bestowed fortie shillings upon mee in good money, and they seem'd to exult for my soe mee, but my returne from me in good grace with the Persian King, and that they will induce him to bestow some Princely benefite upon mee: this I hope will bee partly vnderstand by my Booke, for hee is such a vnder Prince, that hee will not bee much delighted with diuers of my fictitious prophets, if they are truly and genuinely expounded unto him.

From the famous Citie of Lahor I had twentie dayes journey to another goodly Citie called Agra, through such a delicate and even Tract of ground, as I neuer saw before: and doubt whether the like be to be found within the whole circumference of this habitable world. Another thing also in this way, being as yet memorable from the plains, is a row of Trees on each side of this way a three people do trauell, extending it selfe from the Towne-end of Lahor, to the Towne-end of Agra, the most incomparable show of that kind, that euer my eyes saw. The distance betwixt these two Citie is a Mountaine some ten dayes journey betwixt Lahor and Agra, but very scarce ten miles out of the way, on the left hand: the people that inhabit that Mountaine, observe a custome very strange, that all the brothers of any Family, haue but one and the selfe-same wife: so that one woman sometimes hath fiftie or fiftie men the like whereof I remember I haue read in Strabo, concerning the Arabians that inhabiteth Arabia felix. Agra is a very great Citie, and the place where the Mogoll did alwayes (saung within these two yeares) keep his Court: but in euery respect much inferior to Lahor.

From thence to the Mogols Court, I had ten dayes journey, at a Towne called Ameer, where I found a Cape Merchants of our English-men, with nine more of my Country-men, resident there upon termes of

of Negotiations for the right Worshippfull Company of Merchants in London, that trade for East-India. I spent in my journey betwixt Ierusalem and the Mogols Court, fiftene monethes and odder dayes: all which way I traversed a foote, but with divers paces of looser, having bene such a Proportiocke, (I will not call my selfe Peripateticke, because you know it signifieth one that maketh a perambulation about a place, *peripateticus* signifying to walke about) that is a walker forward on foot, as I doubt whether you ever heard of the like in your life: for the total way betwixt Ierusalem and the Mogols Court, consisteth two thousand and seven hundred English miles. My whole perambulation of this Asia the greater, is like to be a Passage of almost six thousand miles, by that time that in my returne backe thowen Petia, afterward also by Babylon and Ninive, I shall come to Catoon in Egypt, and from thence downe the Nilus to Alexandria, there to be one day (by Gods helpe) imbarqued for Christendome; a very immensible dimension of ground.

Now I am at the Mogols Court, I thinke you would be glad to receive some narration thereof from me, though succinctly handled: for I meane to be very compendious, lest I should otherwise preceptate that pleasure, which you may hereafter this reape by my personall relation thereof: his present Prince is a very worthy person, by name Selim, of which name I never read or heard of any more then one Mahometan King, which was Sultan Selim of Constantinople, that lived about a thirtie yeeres since, the same that conquered Ierusalem, Damalcus, Aleppo, Cairo, &c. adding the same to the Turkish Empire. He is fiftie and three yeeres of age, his nativite day having bin celebrated with wonderful pompe since my arrivall here: for that day he weighed himselfe in a paire of golden Scales, which by great chance I saw the same day (a custome that he observeth most invicibly every yeere) laying so much Gold in the other Scale as counter-baileth the weight of his bodie, and the same he afterward distributed to the poore. He is of complexion neither white nor blacke, but of a middle betwixt them: I know not how to expresse it with a more expresse and significant Epitheton then Olive: an Olive colour is his face presented: hee is of a severely composition of bodie, of a stature little unequall (as I judge) not without grounds of probability) to mine, but much more copulent then my selfe. The extent of his Dominion is very spacious, being in circuit little less then four thousand English miles, which very nere answereth the compass of the Turkes Territories: or if any thing be wanting in Geometrical dimension of ground, it is with a great pleasure supplied by the fruitfulness of his soyle: and in the two things he exceedeth the Turkes, in the first (as I have said) of his Land, no part of the World yielding a more fruitfull veine of ground, then all that which heeth in his Empire, saving that part of Babylonia, where the terrestriall Paradise once stood: whereas a great part of the Turkes Land is extreame barren and sterile, as I have observed in my peregrination thereof, especially in Syria, Melepotamia and Armenia; many long portions thereof being so wonderful fruitlesse, that it seemeth no good thing at all, or of any thing, there Intelix. Solium & Steriles dominantur aucte.

Secondly, in the continuation and union of all his Territories, together in one and the same goodly Continent of India, no Prince having a foot of Land with him. But many parts of the Turkes Countries are by a large distance of Sea, and otherwise, divided asunder. As yet so his Revenue he exceedeth the Turke and the Persian his Neighbour by twofold halfe: for his Revenue are forty Millions of Crowes of six shillings value by the yeere: but the Turkes are no more then fiftene Millions, as I was certainly informed in Constantinople; and the Persian five Millions, plus minus, as I heard in Spahan. It is said that he is unconquered, wherein he differeth from all the Mahometan Princes that ever were in the World.

He keepeth very reverently of our Saviour, calling him in the Indian Tongue, Hixaret Eela; that is, the great Prophet, Jesus: and all Christians, especially to English, he respecteth benevolently, as no Mahometan Prince the like. He keepeth abundance of wilde Beasts, and his of a new sort, as Lions, Elephants, Leopards, Bears, &c. of which I have bene witness at his Court, the strongest beasts of the World: they were brought hither out of the Countrey of Bengala, which is a Kingdome of most singular fertilitie within the compass of his Dominion, about foure Marches journey from this, the midland parts thereof being watered by divers Channells of the famous Ganges, which I have not as yet seen, but (God willing) I meane to visit it before my departure out of this Countrey, the nearest part of it being not above twelve dayes journey from this Court. The King presenteth himselfe thrice every day without faile in his Nollers, at the rising of the Sunne, which he adoreth by the elevation of his hands; at noone, and at sine of the clocke in the evening: but he standeth in a roome aloft, alone by himselfe, and looketh upon them from a window that hath an embroidered sumptuous coverture, supported with two silver Pillasters to hold it up: and hee every weeke, Elephants hee before him, the strangest spectacle in the World: many of them are thirtene foot and a halfe high; and they seeme to suffer together like two little Mountaines, and were they not parted in the middle of their fighting by certaine fire-workers, they would exceedingly gore and cruminate one another by their murtherous teeth. Of Elephants the King keepeth thirte thousand in his whole Kingdome at an unmeasurable charge: in feeding of whom and his Lions, and other Beasts, he spendeth an incredible masse of Money, at the last tenn thousand pounds sterling a day. I have rid upon an Elephant since I came to this Court, determining one day (by Gods leave) to haue my Picture expressed in my next Booke, sitting upon an Elephant. The King keepeth a thousand women for his owne body, whereof the chiefest (which is his Queene) is called Nimal. You may remember to relate this unto your Friends, that I will now mention as a matter

Of his Revenue and of all other things of this State, reads Captain Hewson his Relations, who had better means and judgement to know them. The Vincennes are no other but the Rhinoceros.

very memorable: I spent in my tenn Monethes travell betwixt Aleppo and the Mogols Court, but three pounds sterling, yet far od reasonable well every day, vituals being so cheap in some Countries where I traueled, that I observeth lived competently for a penny sterling a day: yet of that three pound I was cozened of no lesse then tenne shillings sterling, by certaine lewd Christians of the Armenian Nation: so that indeed I spent but fiftie shillings in my tenn Monethes Travails. I have bin in a Caste in this Countrey, called Detee, where Alexander the Great sign'd Battell with Porus King of India, and conquered him: and in token of his victorie, he firste a Brasse Pillar, which remaineth there to this day. At this time I haue many Irons in the fire; for I learne the Persian, Turkish, and Arabian Tongues, having already gotten the Italian (I thank God) I haue bene at the Mogols Court three Monethes already, and am to tarrise here (by Gods body permission) five Monethes longer, till I haue gotten the foresaid three Tongues, and then depart hence to the Ganges, and after that, directly to the Persian Court.

Your assured louing Friend till death,

THOMAS CORYATE.

From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of *Asmere* in the Easterne India, on *Michaelmas* day. Anno 1615.

I Doe enuy at this time at pancreaticall and athleticall a health, as ever I did in my life: and so thus done ever since I came out of England, saving for three dayes in Constantinople, where I had an Ague, which with a little letting blood was cleane banished, the Lord bee humbly thanked for his gracious blessing of health that he hath given unto mee. I was robbed of my money, both gold and silver (but not all, by reason of certaine claudisime corners where it was placed) in a Caste called Diatbeck in Melepotamia, the Turkes Countrey, by a Spabee, as they call him, that is, one of the Horse-men of the Great Turke; but the occasion and circumstance of that misfortune, would bee too tedious to relate. Notwithstanding that losse, I am not desirous of money I thinke God. Since my arrivall here, there was sent unto this King one of the richest Presents that I have heard to bee sent to any Prince in almy life time: it consisted of divers parcels, one being Elephants, whereof there were one and thirtie, and of those two so gloriously adorned, as I never saw the like, nor shall for the like againe while I live. For they were foure chaires about their bodies all of beaten gold: two chaires about their legges of the famous Fawntire for their buttockes of pure gold: two Lions upon their heads of the like gold: the ornaments of each, amounting to the value of almost eight thousand pound sterling: and the whole Present was worth ten of their Leakes, as they call them; a Leake being ten thousand pound sterling: the whole, a hundred thousand pound sterling.

To the High seneſchall of the Right Worlhipfull Fraternitie of Sireniacall Gentlemen, that meete the first Friday of every month, at the signe of the *Mercmaid* in Bread-street in London, give theſe: From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of *Asmere*, in the Easterne-India.

Right Generous, Ioniall, and Mercoriaril Sireniackes, I have often read the Greeke Trouber, *xy* This Letter by M. Rogers was delivered to my selfe. R *xy* Right worthy, that if one hand wretched another, and the Latine, *Mulus Mulum scabit, one Mule scratcheth another*; by which the ancient is signified, that courtesies done unto Friends, ought to be requited with reciprocal offices of friendship. This serious consideration hereof hath made me to call to minde that incomparable elegant safe-conduct, which a little before my departure from England, your Fraternitie with a generall selfe-ſe gave me for the securitie of my future Peregrination, accompanied by the pleasant wit of that inimitable Astrucan of sweet Elegance, the moyste of my heart, and the quoniam Seneſchall of the Noble Society, Master L. W. Therefore since it is requisite that I should repay some what for the same, according to the Lawes of humanitie: Such a poore retribution as I sent unto you from Aleppo, the Mesopotamian Cite of Syria, by one Master Henry Allart of Kent, my Fellow-pilgrime there-hence to Ierusalem; I meane a plaine Epistle, which I hope long since came unto your hands: I haue sent unto you by a man no lesse deare unto mee then the former, one Master Peter Rogers, a Kentish man also from the most famugered Region of

of all the East, the ample and large India: assuring my selfe, that because I am not able to requite your love with any essentiall gratulations, either then word and scripall, you will as lovingly excuse my poore Letter, being the certaine manifestation of an ingenious minde, as if I should send unto you the severall riches or Drugges of the Noble Countrey.

Think it no wonder I pray you, that I have made no use in all this space since I left my native Countrey, of the superexcellēt Commēte; for I have spent all my time hitherto in the Mahometan Countrey, and am like to spend three yeeres more in these Muleman (as they call them) Regions of Asia, after of Europe, before I shall arrive in Christendome. For this cause I left it in Aleppo, with my Countymen, there to receive it from them againe, after that I shall have ended my Indian and Perian perambulation: and there-hence to come in once more to Constantinople, and that by the way at Iconium, Nicaea, Nicomedia, and in the Countrey of Natolia, a journey of furtie dayes. From that finally thorow the heart of Greece, by the Cities of Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Lacedaemon, Thebalonica, and to the City of Ragouze, heretofore Epitaurus, so sacred for the Image of Æsculapius in the Countrey of Sclawonia, once called Illyricum; from thence I have three dayes journey to the inestimable Diamond-stone in the Ring of the Adriatique Gulfe, (as once I said in the first Harangue that ever I made to Prince Henric of blessed memorie, translated since my departure from London, from the Terrestriall Tabernacles, to the Celestiall Habitations) venerable Venice, the Sovereigne Queene of the Mare superpetum: if the great Iehouah shall be so propitious unto me, as to grant me a prosperous arrivall in that Noble City, I will there beguine to shew your safe conduct, and to decantate, you and to blazon your prayer for the same: and after in every other place of note, wher I shall arrive in glorious London, communicate it to the most polite, with that the Cities will yield, thorow which my laborious feete shall carrie me, it would bee superfluous to commendate unto you the almost incredible extent of Land, I travsersed from Ierusalem to the Court of the Great Mogoll in India, where I now reside; with the variable Regions and Provinces inter-sacent betwixt them; and the manifold occurrences and observations of speciall worke in this vaste Tract; for it would bee such a fastidious Discourse, that it could not be well comprehended in a large sheete of Paper: but Master Whitaker, I hope, I will not faile to import unto you a few compendious Relations, which I have acquainted him with, in a particular Letter to himselfe: of which, if I should have written againe to you, it would have proued Crambe bis cocta.

The Gentleman that bringeth this Letter unto you, was Præcher to the English Merchants, consuler at the Court of the aforesaid mighty Monarch, in the Towne of Aimerie in this Easterne-India: and in divers loving offices hath bene so kind unto me, that I intreat your Generosities to entertaine him friendly for my sake, to exhilarate him with the purest quintessence of the Spanish, French and Rhenish Grape, which the Mermaid yeeldeth; and either one in the name of you all, or else the totall universallitie of the one after another, to thank him heartily, according to the quality of his merits. Farewell, Noble Sirenaickes.

Your Generosities most obliged Country-man, ever to be commended by you, the Hierosolymitan-Syrian-Mesopotamian-Armenian-Medean-Parthian-Perjato-Indian Legge-Stracher of O'ldcomb in Somerset,

THOMAS CORYATE.

Pray remember the recommendations of my dutifull request; to all those whose names I have bene expressed, being the lovers of Vertue, and Literature; and so consequently the well-willers (I hope) of a prosperous issue of my designments, in my laborious pedestriall perambulations of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Written with mine owne hand, at the Court of the Great Mogoll, Slaugh Selim, resident in the Towne of Aimerie, in the omblicke of the Orientall India, the eight day of November, being Wednesday, Anno Dom. 1615.

Inprimis, to the two Ladies Varney, the Mother and the Daughter, at Bolwell House without Temple-barre.

Item, to that famous Antiquarie, Sir Robert Cotten, at his House in the Black-Friers. Pray tell him that I have a very curious white Marble bead of an ancient Heros or Giant-like Champion, found out very casuall by my diligent perusigation amongst the ruines of the once renowned City of Cyzicum, mentioned by Cicero in his second Oratation (if my memory doth not faile me) amongst Vertues, situate in an Peninsule of Bithymia, in the goodly Countrey of Natolia, neere the Sea-Propontis: to this bead will his best Antiquities whatsoever well become.

Item,

Item, to that courteous, sweet, and elegant-mind'd and nurtur'd Gentleman, Master William Ford, Præcher to our Nation at Constantinople, if you happen to meet him in any part of England; one that deserveth better of me, then any man is in this Catalogue: for of him have I learned whatsoever superfluous skill I have gotten in the Italian Tongue: pray reacquaint me my commendations unto him.

Item, to Master George Speake, my generous and ingenious Countrey-man, the Same and here appears of Sir George Speake, in Somersetshire; him you are like to find in any Terme, either at the Middle-Temple, or in some Barbers house neere the Temple.

Item, to Master John Donne, the Author of two most elegant Latine Booke, Pseudo-martyr, and Ignatij Concluse: of his abode either in the Strand, or else where in London, I thinke you shall be easily informed by the means of my friend, Master L. W.

Item, to Master Richard Martin, Consuler, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple, but in the Terme-time, scarce else.

Item, to Master Christopher Brooke of the Cite of Yorke, Consuler, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne, or neere it.

Item, to Master John Hoskins, alias Equinochiall Pastoraill, of the Cite of Hereford, Consuler, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple.

Item, to Master George Garrat; of whose being you shall understand by Master Donne aforesaid.

Item, to Master William Hackwell, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne.

Item, to Master Benjamin Iohnson the Foot, at his Chamber at the Black-Friers.

Item, to Master John Bond my Countrey-man, chiefe Secretarie unto my Lord Chancellor.

Item, to Master Doctor Mocket, resident perhaps in my Lord of Canterburie's house at Lambeth, where I left him.

Item, to Master Samuel Purchas, the great Collector of the Lucubrations of sundry Classickall Authors, for description of Asia, Africa, and America. Pray commend me unto him and his ungenerous Master Cooke, by the same token, that he gave me a description of Constantinople, and the Thracian Boiphorus, written in Latine by a French-man, called Petrus Gillius; which Booke, when I carried once in an after-noon under mine arme, in walking betwixt our English Ambassadors House in Paris, on the opposite side to Constantinople, and the Flemish Ambassadors house, I left it very unfortunately to my great griefe, and never found it againe, &c.

There is another and later Letter of his to his Mother, written the last of October 1616: part of which for the Odomben stile and Coryaticall Itraine, I have hither transcribed. Great pity it is, that his voluminous Observations of his foot Pilgrimage, longer then perhaps of any man ever hath bin in that kind, are either lost, or at least not come to some discreet hand, which might, no doubt, distill good instructions thence for the publicke, as sweet fresh water out of the huge salt Ocean.

Some written Notes of his, it pleased Sir Thomas Roe to give me, whence (omitting such things as before you have had in Sir Thomas Roes owne Observations) I have inferred a few, following this Letter.

From Agra, the Capitall Cite of the Dominion of the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, the last of October 1616.

Most deare and well-belov'd Mother, though I have superfer'd my Letter from Aimerie, the Court of the greatest Monarch of the East, called the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, which I did to this end, that those that have the charge of conveyance thereof, perceiving such a title may be the more careful and diligent to convey it safe to your hands; yet in truth the place from which I wrote this Letter is Agra, a Cite in the said Easterne India, which is the Metropolitan of the whole Dominion of the aforesaid King Mogoll, and ten dayes journey from his Court at the said Aimerie. From the same Aimerie I departed the twelfth day of September An. 1615, after my abode there twelve months, and sixtie dayes, which though I confesse it were a too long time to remaine there some reasonable time: yet for two principall causes it was very expedient that I should stay so long. First, to leave the Languages of these Countreies, namely the Persian, Turkish, and Arab; which I have in some competent measure attained unto by my labour and industry at the said Kings Court, matters as a-though I have not money to my Præse, as being the chiefest, or rather only means to get me money, if I should happen to be a Justice, a matter very incidentall to a poore Foot-man Pilgrim, at my selfe, in these 27. dayes and some more than Countreies, thorow which I travell. Secondly, that by the hope of one of these 27. dayes I might be able to procure some money, which I might be able to give the King, and be able to

expresse my mind unto him about the matter for the which I should have occasion to discourse with him. These were the reasons that moved me so long to tarry at the Mogols Court, during which time, I abode in the house of the English Merchants, my deare Countrey-men, not spending one little piece of money either for dyet, washing, lodging, or any other thing. And as for the Persian tongue, which I studied very earnestly, I attained to that reasonable skill, and that in a few monthes, that I made an Oration unto the King, before many of his Nobles, in that language, and after I had ended the same, discoursed with his Maestie also in that tongue very readily and familiarly; the Copy of which speech, though the tongue is selfe will, come to an English-man very strange and uncooth, as having no kind of affinity with any of our Christian languages, I have for monette sake written out in this Letter, together with the translation thereof in English, that you may see it to some of my learned friends of the Clergie, and also of the Temporarie, in Euill, and elsewhere, who beinge, will take some pleasure in reading so rare and unusuall a tongue as this is. The Persian is this that followeth.

The Copie of an Oration that I made in the Persian tongue to the Great Mogol, before diners of his Nobles.

Hazret Aallum pennah salamet, fooker Daruces ve talaungesta haslam kemia emadam az wellagets door, ganne az milk Inglizan: kekefianation pethen muhacas cardand ke wellagets, mazcoor der akers magrub bood, ke mader hamma nezzarts dunnaft. Sabebbe amadane mari mia boothi char cheez ait aual be dedane mobarreckedeadis. Hazret ke fete caramat: ba hamma Trankeitar feedaait ooba tamam milk Mulfumman der ihenedan awlaffe. Hazret daurela amadam be dedane aslawne akdas mulharat g'gestim dium kray dedane feilay Hazret, kin chum jamoos der hech mulk ne dedam fea in bray dedane namwer clayze thumma Gauze, ke Serlare hamma darayis dumier. Chaharum en ad, keyze fermawne alilition amayer fermoyad, ke betwaman der wellagets Vzbeck rastan ba shahre San arand, bray Zeerat cardan calibe mobarreche Saleb crawnul awlaffe tang oo mofa: here oo der tamam aallum me shooraft belk der wellagette Vz be eencalar methoo nesei chunan che der mule Inglizan aft digar, bishare eliteaac daram be dedane mobarre melare Saleb crawnica bray en sabeb, che awne faman che fshahr malcoor coia che padhaw Eezawiwan che namel Manuel bood che Saleb crawnica culh mehmannee afem carda bood, ba ad as grifiane Sulten Batalfetra as iange afem che thuda bood nas dec shahre Burfa, comma che Saleb crawn Sulten Batalfetra de Zencera teliao be stand, oo der cates nahadon een char chees metra as mulche man um buned ta mia, as mile. Room oo Arac preada gehita, as door der een mulk refestdam, che char batar phurafang raw dital, behare derd oo moluet caftedam che hech ches der een dunnia een eader moluet ne caftedat bray dedane mobarre de laire Halaretet awn roos che be taette haughn ne: fhaughe mulharat fermoodand.

The English of it is this.

Ord * Protector of the World, all hail to you: I am a poore Traveller and World-seer, which am come hither from a farre countrey, namely England, which ancient Historians thought to have bene situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the Queene of all the Lands in the World. The cause of my coming hither is for foure respects. First, to see the blessed face of your Maestie, whose wonderful fame hath resounded over all Europe, and the Mahometan Countreys. When I heard of the fame of your Maestie, I hastened hither with speed, and travelled very cheerfully to see your glorious Countrey. Secondly, to see your Maesties Elephants, which kind of beasts I have not seen in any other Countrey. Thirdly, to see your famous River Ganges, which is the Captayne of all the Rivers of the World. The fourth is this: to entreate your Maestie that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious Passe, that I may travell into the Countrey of Tartaria to the Citie of Samarcand, to visit the blessed Sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners (this is a title that is given to Amberlaine in this Countrey, in this Persian language: and whereas they call him the Lord of the Corners, by that they meane, that he was Lord of the corners of the World, that is, the highest and Supreme Monarch of the Universe;) whose fame, by reason of his Wares and Victories, is published over the whole World: perhaps hee is not altogether so famous in his owne countrey of Tartaria, as in England. Moreover, I have a great desire to see the blessed Tombs of the Lord of the Corners for this cause: for that when I was at Constantinople, I saw a notable old building in a pleasant Garden neere the said Citie, where the Christian Emperour that was called Emanuel, made a sumptuous great Banquet to the Lord of the Corners, after he had raken Sultan Bajazet in a great battell that was fought neere the Citie of Brusia, where the Lord of the Corners bound Sultan Bajazet in fetters of gold, and put him in a Cage of yron. These foure causes moved me to come out of my native Countrey thus farre, having travelled afoote throug Turkie and Persia, so farre have I traced the World into this Countrey, but my Pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand miles, wherein I have suffered much labour and toyle, like wherof no nor all men in this World did ever performe, to see the blessed face of your Maestie, since the first day that you were inaugurated in your glorious Mozambull Throne.

* This is the ordinary title that is given him by all strangers.

After I had ended my Speech, I had some few more discourse with him in the Persian Tongue, who amongst other things told me, that concerning my travell to the Citie of Samarcand, he was not able to doe me any good, because there was no great army betwixt the Tartarian Princes and himselfe, so that his commendaury Letter would doe me no good. Also he added, that the Tartars did so deadly hate all Christians, that they would certainly kill them when they came into their Countrey. So that he earnestly desired me from the money, if I loved my life and well fare; at last he concluded his discourse with me by a summe of money, that he threw downe from a window, wherof which he looked out into a street tied up by the fauce corner, and hanging very neere the ground, an hundred pieces of silver, each worth two shillings sterling, which counterwaile ten pounds of our English Money: this business I carried so secretly by the helpe of my Persian, that neither our English Ambassadors, nor any other of my Countrey-men (saving one Jesuall, priuate, and intresticall friend) had the least intelling of it, till I had thoroughly accomplished my designe: for I well knew that our Ambassadors would have stopped and barracaded all my proceeding therein, if they might have had any notice thereof, as indeed hee signified unto me, after I had effected my purpose, saving up this, forsooth, for his reason, why hee would have hindred me, because it would redound somewhat to the dishonour of our Nation, that one of our Countrey should presume to use so much boggery and poore felonie to the King, out of an insatiable humour, to crave Money of him: But I answered, our Ambassadors in that stout and sordid manner, after I had ended my business, that he was contented to cease nibbling at me, neuer had I more need of Money in all my life, then at that time: for in truth I had but twentie shillings sterling left in my Purse, by reason of a mischance I had in one of the Turkes Cities called Emert, in the Countrey of Mesopotamia, where a Misjerant Turke stripped me of almost all my Monies, according as I wrote unto you in a very large Letter the last yeare, which I sent from the Court of this mighty Monarch, by one of my Countrey-men that went home by Sea in an English ship, laden with the Commodities of this India, which Letter, I hope, came to your hands long since. After I had bene with the King, I went to a certaine Noble and Generous Christian of the Armenian Ray, two dayes journey from the Mogoll Court, to the end to discourse certaine remarkable matters in the same place, to whom, by means of my Persian Tongue, I was so welcome, that he entertained me with civill and courteous complement; and at my departure gave me very honourably twenty pieces of six shillings of Money as the King had done before, counterwaile for six shillings sterling. About twentie dayes after that, I departed from Almire, the Court of the Mogoll Prince, to the end to begin my Pilgrimage, after my long rest of fiftene Moneths, backe againe into Persia, at what time our Ambassadors gave me a piece of Gold of this Kings Coyne worth foure hundred shillings, which I will save (if it be possible) till my arrivall in England: so that I have received for benevolence, since I came into this Countrey, twentie markes sterling, saving two shillings eight pence, and by the way, upon the confines of Persia, a little before I came into this Countrey, three and thirtie shillings, foure pence in Persian Money, of my Laide Shertley at this present I have in the Citie of Agra, where hence I wrote this Letter, about twelven pounds sterling, which according to my manner of living upon the way, at two pence sterling a day, (for with that provision I can live pretty well, such is the cheapness of all outside things in Asia, drinkable water costing nothing, for seldom doe I drinke in my Pilgrimage any other liquor then pure water) will maintaine me very competently three yeeres in my travell, with meate, drinke and cloathes. In this Citie of Agra, where I am now, I am to remaine about six weekes longer, to the end to expect an excellent opportunity, which then will offer it selfe unto me, to go to the famous River Ganges, about fiftie dayes journey from this, to see a memorable meeting of the gentle people of this Countrey, called Baniams, wherof about foure hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shawe themselves in the River, and to sacrifice a world of Gold to the same River, partly in stamped Money, and partly in masse great lumps and meales, throwing it into the River as a Sacrifice, and doing other strange Ceremonies most worthy the observation. Such a notable spectacle it is, that no part of all Asia, neither this which is called the great Asia, nor the lesser, which is now called Natolia, the like is to be seen, this few dayes they make once every yeare, coming thither from places almost a thousand miles off, and honour their River as their God, Creator and Saviour: Superstition and impiety most abominable in the highest degree of these heathen Ethnicks, that are aliens from Christ and the Common-wealth of Mankind. After I have seen this thing, I will with all expedition repaire to the Citie of Lethor, twentie dayes journey from this, and so into Persia, by the helpe of my blessed Christ, &c.

Your dutifull, louing and obedient Sonne, now a desolate Pilgrime in the World,

THOMAS CORYATE.

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Certaine

Certain Observations written by THOMAS CORYAT.

Infertile Ma- rianae. Whereas the Beggars hege in this Country of a Christian in the name of *Bibee Maria*, and not of *Hecana Esfa*, thereby we may gather that the *Jesus* have preached *Mary* more then *Jesus*.

Noble ex- ample of A- theisme. A great *Kaia* a Gentle, a notorious Atheist, and contemner of all Deitie, glorying to professe he knew no other God then the King, nor beleiving nor fearing none: sitting dallying with his women, one of them plucked a haire from his brest, which being fast rooted, plucked off a little of the skinne, that blood appeared; this small skarre festered and gangrened incurably, so that in few dayes he despaired of life, and being accompanied with all his friends and diuers Cour- tiers, he brake our into these excellent words: Which of you would not have thought that I be- ing a man of Warre, should haue ayed by the stroke of a Sword, Speare or Bow? but now I am inticed to confesse the power of that great God, whom I haue so long despised, that hee needs no other Lance then a little haire to kill fo blaipheous a wretch, and contemner of his Maie- stie, as I haue bene.

Eschewing! *Echar Shaugh* had learned all kind of Sorcery, who being once in a strange humour to shew a spectacle to his Nobles, brought forth his chiefeft Queene, with a Sword cut off her head, and after the same perceiving the haunneffe and sorrow of them, for the death of her (as they thought) cauled the head, by vertue of his Exorcismes and Coniunctions, to be set on againe, so no signe appearing of any stroke with his Sword.

Witely deli- cacy. *Sultan Curfano* hath but one Wife, for which one principall reason is, that during his impris- onment, the King intending to make a hunting Progresse of foure moneths, consulted how to keepe him safe in his absence; at last resolved to build a Towre, and immure him within it, without gates, doore or window, except some small holes to let in Ayre higher then he could come vnto; putting in all sorts of provision whatsoever, both fire, clothes, &c. with some seruants to abide with him for that time. While this was building, his Wife came and fell at the Kings feete, and neuer would let goe till shee had obtained leave to bee flut vp within him: the King much perfwading to enioy her libertie; she vterly refused any other comfort, then to be the companion of her Husbands miseries; amongst which this was the greatest, that if a- ny of those that were immured, being in number fiftie, should haue dyed in the Kings ab- sence, there was no meanes to burie them, for that no man was admitted to come neere the Towre.

Right and Re- as about finding a Fountaine. The Fountaine found the first day by one of my Lords people, Master *Herbert*, brother to Sir *Edouard Herbert*, which if he had not done, he must haue sent ten Courtes every day for water, to a Riuer called *Narbode*, that fallens into the Bay of *Camboge* at *Burshy*; the custome being such, that what soeuer Fountaine or Tanke is found by any great man in time of drought, hee shall keepe it proper and peculiar to himselfe, without the interruption of any man whatsoever. The day after one of the Kings *Haddys* finding the same, and struing for it, was taken by my Lords people, and bound all, &c. a great controuersie being about it, &c.

Charitie of Moores. Remember the Charitie of two great men, that in the time of this great drought, were at the charge of sending ten Camels with twentie persons every day to the said Riuer for water, and did distribute the water to the poore, which was so deare, that they sold a little skinn for eight Pils.

Echar pietie. *Echar Shaugh*, a very fortunate Prince and pious to his Mother; his pietie appearing in this particular, that when his Mother was carried once in a Palankeen betwixt *Labur* and *Agra*, he travelling with her, took the Palankeen vpon his owne shouldeers, commanding his greatest Nobles to doe the like, and fo carried her ouer the Riuer from one side to the other, and neuer denied her any thing, but this, that shee demanded of him, that our Bible might be longed a- bout an Asses necke, and beaten about the Towne of *Agra*, for that the *Portugals* hauing taken a ship of theirs at Sea, in which was found the *Alecan* amongst the *Moores*, eyed it about the necke of a Dogge, and beat the same Dogge about the Towne of *Ormuz*: but hee denied her request, saying, That if it were ill for that the *Portugals* to doe so to the *Alecan*, being it became not a King to requite ill with ill, for that the contempt of any Religion, was the contempt of God, and he would not be reuenged vpon an innocent Booke: the morall being, that God would not suffer the sacred Booke of his Truth to be contemned amongst the Infidels.

Prodiges lusti. One day in the yeere, for the salace of the Kings Women, all the *Trak* Lemens Wines enter the *Mahal* with some what to sell, in manner of a Faire, where the King is Broker for his Wo- men, and with his games that night makes his supper, no man present, (beside this: what soe- uer is brought in of virill shape, as in stance in Reddishes, so great is the deuotion, and so fre- quent the wickednesse of this people, that they are cut and ragged for feare of converting the same to some vnnatural abuse) by this meanes hee attaines to the sight of all the prettie Wen- ches of the Towne: at such a kind of Faire he got his beloued *Normahal*.

After

After *Shah Freed* had wonne the Battle of *Labur* by a stratagem, the Captaines being taken by the King, and hanged vpon Fiech-lookes and Stakes, made an entrance for the King to *La- bur*, his Sonne *Confarso* being then taken Prisoner, and riding bare-footed vpon an Elephant, his Father demanded him how hee liked that spectacle of his valiant and faithfull Cap- taines hanging in that manner, to the number of two thousand: hee answered him, that hee was faine to see so much Crueltye and Iniustice in his Father, in executing them that had done nothing but their dutie; for that they liued vpon his Bread and Salt: but hee should haue done right if hee had faised them, and punished him which was their Matter, and the Authour of the Rebellion.

For more cleere declaration of this excellent vertue vbraiding the coldnesse of our Charitie, you shall vnderstand a custome of this King, who sleeping in his *Galle-Care*, often when hee a- wakes in the night, his great men (except those that watch) being retired, calls for certaine poore and old men, making them sit by him, with many questions and familiar speeches passing the time, and at their departure clothes them, and giues them bountifull Almes often, what- soeuer they demand, telling the money into their hands.

For a clofe of this Discourse, I cannot forget that memorable Piesie, when at *Asuere* hee went afooe to the Tombe of the Prophet *Hod*, *Musab* there buried, and kindling a fire with his owne hands, and his *Normahal*, vnder that immense and *Heidbergian* *quallent* Braffe-port, and made Kitchere for five thousand poore, taking out the first Platter with his owne hands, and sending one, *Normahal* the second, and fo his Lashes all the reit. Cracke mee this Nat, all the Paps! Charitie vauaters.

An *Armenian* desirous to turne *Moore*, procured a Noble-man to bring him to the King, whom the King asked why hee turned *Moore*, whether for preferment? hee answered, No. Some few Monethes after crauing some courtesie of the King, hee denied it him, saying, That hee had done him the greatest fauour that could be, to let him saue his soule, but for his bodie hee himselfe should prouide as well as he could.

The King likes not those that change their Religion, he himselfe being of none but of his owne making, and therefore suffers all Religions in his Kingdome. Which by this notable example I can make manifest: The King had a Seruant that was an *Armenian*, by name *Seander*; to whom vpon occasion of speech of Religion, the King asked if hee thought either hee or the *Padar* had conuerted one *Moore* to be a true *Christian*, and that was fo for conscience sake, and not for money: who answered with great confidence, that hee had one which was a perfect *Christian*, and for no worldly respect would bee ether, whom the King caused pretyly to bee sent for: and bidding his Master depart, demanded why hee was become a *Christian*, who rendred certaine feeble, implicite, Isufficiall Reasons, and auowed that hee would neuer be ether: whereupon the King praftised by faire speeches and large promises, to withdraw him to the folly of *Mahomet*, offering him Penions, meanes, and command of Horse, telling him hee had now but foure Rupias a Moneth Wages, which was a poore Re- ward for quiting his prauced faith; but if hee would recant, hee would heape vpon him

many Dignities: the Fellow answering, it was not for so small Wages hee became *Christian*, for hee had limbe, and could earne so much of any *Mahometan*, but that hee was a *Christian* in his heart, and would not alter it. This way not taking effect, the King turned to threat- nings, and menacings of Tortures and Whippings; but the Profligate manfully resolving to suffer any thing, answered, hee was ready to endure the Kings pleasure. Vpon this rethor- tion, when all men expected present and future castigation, the King changed his tone, high- ly commending his constancie and honestie, bidding him goe and returne to his Master, and to serue him faithfully and truly, giuing him a Rupia a day Penion for his Integrity. About two Monethes after, the King hauing bene a hunting of wilde Hogges, a beast odious to all *Moores*, and accustomed to distribute that sort of Venison among *Christians* and *Rasbootes*, sent for this *Armenian*, Master of this conuerted *Catechumen* or *Mahometan*, to come and fetch part of his Quarte.

The *Armenian* not being at home, this his principall Seruant came to know the Kings pleasure, who commanded him to take vp a Hogge for his Master, which no *Moore* will touch, which hee did, and being gone out of the Court-gate, was fo hooted at by the *Mahometans*, that hee threw downe his Penion in a Ditch, and went home, concealing from his Master what had passed. About foure dayes after the *Armenian* coming to his watch, the King demanded of him whether the Hogge hee sent him were good meat or no; who replied, hee neuer heard of, nor see any Hogge: whereat the King remembering to whom this Hogge was deli- uered, caused the fellow to be sent for, and examining the matter, had it confessed how hee threw away the Hogge, and neuer carried it home: the King pressing to know the rea- son, the poore fellow answered how hee was mocked for touching it, and it being a thing odious to the *Moores*, for shame hee threw it away: at which hee replied, By your law there is no diffe- rence of meats, and are you ashamed of your lawes for to hatter the *Mahometans*, doe you in our- ward things to take it: now I see, thou art neither good *Christian*, nor good *Mahometan*, but a dis- tending

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sembling knaue with both, while I found thee sincere, I gave thee a pension, which now I take from thee, and for thy dissimulation doe command thee to haue a hundred stripes, which were presently giuen him in stead of his money, and bade all men by his example take heed, that seeing hee gaue libertie to all Religions, that which they choole and professe, they may flicke vnto.

I had thought at first to haue finished all these *Indian Voyages* in this fourth Booke: but perceiving it to grow into such greatnesse, and withall such great alterations as the *Turkish Trade* at *Maba*, and especially the *Persian at Isques*, haue caused in the *English Trade*, with the contrary Attempts of the *Portugals*, and chiefly the *Dutch*, (before no good Friends, and there the worst of Enemies) to the *English-Indian Trade*; I thought fit to make thereof a fifth Booke.

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NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, DISCOVERIES, OF THE ENGLISH NATION IN THE EASTERNE PARTS OF THE WORLD:

Continuing the *English-Indian Occurrents*, and containing the *English Affaires* with the Great *SAMORINE*, in the *Persian* and *Arabian Gulfes*, and in other places of the *Continent*, and *Islands of and beyond the Indies*: the *Portugall Attempts*, and *Dutch Disasters*, diuers *Sea fights* with both; and many other remarkable RELATIONS.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Memorials taken out of the Journall of ROGER HAWES, touching the proceedings of the Factory at Cranganor under the Great Samorine.



He Generall of this Fleet was Captaine William Keeling in the *Dragon*, Robert Boner Master: Captaine Christopher Harris in the *Peppercoarse*: Captaine Walter Payson in the *Expedition*. The fourth of March 1615, we chased a *Portugall Frigate*, which ranne into a creeke and escaped vs: and we making our way on towards Cape *Comorine*, there came a *Tony* aboard vs with Messengers from the *Samorine* to the Generall.

* You see his Journall before.

The next day the Gouverneur sent a Present, and entreated the Generall to go to *Cranganor*, which the day after we did, and the chiefe men sent from the *Samorine*: the Generall was desired to come ashore to speake with him, but in the going, certaine *Frigates* came and anchored neare the shoare, and caused him to goe aboard the *Expedition*. Some shots pulled, but little hurt.

On the eighth, the Generall went ashore with Master *Barkley*, Cape Merchant, and others, where they received kind viages, and concluded to settle a Factory. The Articles agreed on, were these:

60 Vnderseen Choete, the Great Samorine, &c. To JAMES by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, &c. Whereas your Seruant and Subiect William Keeling Esquire, arrived in my Kingdome in the month of March, Anno 1615, with three English ships at the Port of Cranganor, in latitude ten degrees fifteene minutes, and at my earnest solicitation came ashore to see me: there was concluded by me for my part, and by him for the English Nation, as followeth,

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fembling knave with both, while I found thee sincere, I gave thee a pension, which now I take from thee, and for thy dissimulation doe command thee to have a hundred stripes, which were presently given him in stead of his money, and bade all men by his example take heed, that seeing hee gave libertie to all Religions, that which they choose and professe, they may stick vnto.

I had thought at first to have finished all these Indian Voyages in this fourth Booke: but perceiving it to grow into such greatnesse, and withall such great alterations as the Turkish Trade at Mocha, and especially the Persian at Isfahan, have caused in the English Trade, with the contrary Attempts of the Portugalls, and chiefly the Dutch, (before no good Friends, and there the worst of Enemies) to the English-Indian Trade; I thought fit to make thereof a fifth Booke.

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