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Juridicae Edinburgi
THE MODERN PART OF THE UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from ORIGINAL WRITERS;

BY THE AUTHORS of the ANTIENT.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it

A Complete Body of HISTORY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Περὶ πρώτης ἁρχῆς ἡ ἑπερατία μὴ κατατείχε, ἐν αὐτῇ ἦρθε ἡ ἑρμήθεια ἐκπάθει, ὡς ἐπὶ ἑτεροίς συνεργαζόμενοι

Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

VOL. VII.

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M. DCC. LX.
MODERN HISTORY:
BEING A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXI.

CHAP. XVI.

SECT. VI.

Containing the Geography, with a Description of the Towns, Rivers, &c. on the Ivory Coast. The Manners of the different Nations; and a particular Account of the Kingdom of Guiomere. A Description of the Country west from Cape Apollonia; of the Animals, Produce, and People; with their Manners, Religion, and Government, &c.

a. GEographers and seamen are divided in their opinions concerning the Geography of extent and limits of the Ivory Coast; some confining it between the Rio de Suero da the Ivory Cofa, where the Gold Coast begins, and Groza, two miles east of Cape Palmas.

Others again stretch its boundaries from Cape Palmas to Cape Tres Puntas, all that shore being known to mariners under the appellation of the Tooth Coast. The first subdivide it into three provinces, viz. the Ivory, the Malagente, as the French call it, and the Quaura Coast; but the Dutch give all three the general appellation of Tand Kaft, distinguishing it only by the nature and disposition of the natives, as the coast of Good Men, and that of Bad Men. However, the most precise and accurate limits are contained within Cape Apollonia to the east, and Cape Palmas to the west, in which manner we find it laid down in the Atlas of the Sieur Robert, and distinct charts of that judicious compiler Prevost. The Hollanders have called the easterly part of this coast by the name of Quagua, because the natives, on the approach of a ship, are continually repeating that word, which Villain imagines expresses a kind of welcome; observing, that the matter of an entertainment usually repeats it to his guests (A). But that we may not engage in endless controversy, we will begin with describing the situation of the towns and villages.


(A) Snook, a Dutchman, says, that he is unable to explain the etymology of the word; alluring us, that the natives call their country Ade. Smith again believes he has solved the difficulty, by affirning, that Quagua, in the language of the country, signifies teeth or ivory; but in support of this assertion he quotes no authority.

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The principal towns of the Ivory Coast, are, Grova, or Grava (B), Great Tabo, Little Tabo, Great Deswin, Batrou, Labo, Apollonia, and Vallo. Each of these stand at the mouths of those rivers whence they borrow their names; and as for the interior country, it is but little known, the natives refusing the Europeans leave to build settlements, or even to trade among them, except by means of the coast negroes, and even this with the most circumspect caution. Here the same commodities are found as in the former division, viz. gold, ivory, and slaves, the former in the greatest plenty; but no regular tariff or table of the different proportions of each was ever settled. Grova stands three miles east of Cape Palmas; Great Tabo thirty miles from Grova, east; Little Tabo four miles farther east, thence to Great Deswin eleven miles, thence to Batrou nineteen miles, to Labo leven, and from thence to Cape Apollonia twenty miles; the whole amounting to ninety-four miles. Although this coast be crowded with towns and villages, we shall describe only such as are frequented by Europeans. Great Tabo is known at sea by a remarkably high green cape in its neighbourhood, covered with wood. The current usually sets east-north-east, and sometimes south-south-east, on this coast. Little Tabo is known by mariners from a high rock, at a mile and a half distance from it. The cape in its neighbourhood is covered with high trees, dispersed in an irregular manner, and the road is about eighteen fathoms deep. Near the town flows a small river, called by the Portuguese Rio de San Pedro; having on the west certain mountains, to which they give the names of Santa Apollonia, Drincin, Drincin Petra, likeisyre called Great Deswin, standing upon the river St. Andrew. It is known at sea by some buildings on a rising ground, at a great distance; also by several groups of trees dispersed up and down the coast. Besides the town, three villages, about a quarter of a mile distant from each other, are plainly seen from the ships; all of them plentifully stocked with cattle, with which the fields seem covered. The inhabitants of this district have the reputation of being the most savage and barbarous on the whole coast; and some writers scruple not to call them Anthropophagi, affirming, that their teeth are sharp, and pointed like a bodkin. Barbéot advises mariners to touch with caution on this shore; the natives, says he, bring on board some ivory, as a bait to draw the feamen on shore, and perhaps to devour them. This is more probable, from their keeping their goods at so high a price, as will assuredly ever prevent Europeans from purchasing it, although they ask for everything they fee, and are greatly incensed if they meet with a refusal. Their d suffocation and jealousy are predominant qualities; insomuch that, on the least noise, they will precipitate themselves headlong into the sea, and swim to their canoes.

The river St. Andrew is a fine deep stream, and increased near its mouth by the falling in of another river, both joining to form a large road. The entrance is surrounded with lofty trees, beautiful verdant meadows, and rich fields of great extent. Nature lends to have intended this place for a fortress, without any other defence than its situation. About 500 paces from the mouth of the river, a peninsula runs a great way into the sea, joined to the continent by a slender neck of land, not above five or six fathoms broad. The whole peninsula is a high level rock; having a platform four hundred feet in circumference, and commanding all the neighbouring country. On every side it is surrounded by the sea, the rock perfectly steep, and truly inaccessible on the south, east, and west sides; the neck of land also being so easily defended, that a battery of five guns would render it impregnable; to this account of Des Marchais, Villaut subscribes; and subjoins, that at the foot of a little eminence, north of the neck of land, there is a fine fresh water spring, capable of supplying a large garrison, and of being fecured by the cannon of the fort.

The land-marks are here so distinct, that it is impossible for ships to mistake them. Here are lofty, thick, and shady trees, with three or four large villages, that strike the eye all at once, within less than half a mile of each other; besides several other marks, which we shall leave to the writers of voyages to recite. All the fields and meadows round the mouth of the river are watered by pleasant meandering streams, that fertilize the ground, and render it fit for producing every species of grain, fruits, and roots; but especially maize, milled, rice, peas, yams, and melons, which grow with surprising increase. Fine natural groves of oranges, limes, coco-nut trees, citrons, &c. grow here, their boughs

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2 VILLAUT, p. 117. SMITH, p. 113. F BARBOT, ibid.

(1) Vid. ann. supra citat.
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a So closely intermingled, that you might imagine all those several fruits were the produce of one large tree. Here the sugar-cane, with a thousand other plants, which spring up without cultivation in the greatest perfection, are abandoned to the ravages of the elephant, and as haunts for wild beasts. In a word, whatever the Gold Coast produces, is also found here, in greater abundance and perfection; and, indeed, the fruits and vegetables of the warmer climates, seem all to be united on the Ivory Coast.

b As to the natives, the men wear a loofe dress, resembling a surplice, which hangs down to the knees; and the women, a narrow cloth wound round their waists, and turned in at the sides. Many of them indeed go perfectly naked, and seem to pride themselves on showing what nature dictates to the rudest barbarians to conceal. However, the richer of both sexes have a paan of fine cloth; and the men a poniard or long knife by their sides. The women are small, but neatly proportioned; their features are regular, their eyes lively, and their teeth white, small, and even. The men are likewise well built; nor are they deficient in courage or understanding; but the European traders having carried off some, they become so suspicious, that nothing can prevail on them to set foot on board, before the captain of the ship has gone through the ceremony of putting a drop of sea water into his eye. This they look upon as their protection, and a solemn engagement that no injury shall be offered them; however, they cannot be prevailed upon to go under hatches, or enter the cabin. They are extremely fond of bracelets of iron and ivory, mounted with little bells, which they put round their arms, and the small of each leg. Those bells inspire them with additional joy in dancing, of which they are passionately eager, as indeed are all the negroes. Every canton or district has its particular mode of dancing, different contortions and grimaces, which they prefer to their neighbours customs; and our own European manners would in this country pass for awkward and clumsy, and might, indeed, find some aptitudes and poverties among the negroes, which might improve their art. The women in general have a fine, easy, graceful air, when they dance; but this dignity is frequently intermixed and broken, by some ridiculous and burlesque grimaces.

c East of the river St. Andrew, are at least a dozen of craggy, broken, and ragged mountains, which stretch for three or four miles along the coast; yet are the intermediate fields rich and fruitful, watered in this short space by near twenty little rivulets; and indeed were the inhabitants a little more civilized, no country on earth bids fair for a profitable trade and useful commerce. The elephants must be of an enormous size, many of their teeth weighing above 200 pounds. Slaves and gold are likewise in great plenty, but Europeans can never learn in what manner the maritime natives procure the latter, which they preserve an inviolable secret; or if they are pressed to explain themselves, they point their finger to the mountains on the north-east, intimating that it comes from thence. It is probable, however, that some part of it is found in their rivers, washed by them from the mountains. But all those advantages are lost, through the barbarous disposition of the natives, who are in no respect to be trusted, their courtesy being merely the effect of design, and a snare to draw the mariners on shore. Barbot carries his notions of their savage disposition to a ridiculous extreme; nor is their cunning inferior to their cruelty. He relates a variety of instances of their savage nature, by which ships, that have stepped to wood and water on their coasts, have had their men kidnapped and murdered. In the year 1677, an English merchantman lost three of her crew by this means; the following year a Portuguese trader had nine men murdered; and soon after a Dutch ship met with the same fate, all her crew on shore being kidnapped, murdered, and they suppose eaten by those savages, to the number of fourteen men. From this bloody disposition of the natives, the Portuguese have given on the name Malagoute to the Ivory Coast; and, far from attempting to drive a commerce, they do not venture ever to approach it even for wood and water, without arming the seamen, and giving strict charge that they keep close to their boats.

d From hence we may judge how little this coast is known to Europeans, and how imperfect all the relations of the geography, produce, laws, and manners, of the country and natives must prove.

e Villaret describes a village, which he calls Dromsa Petri, probably Little Drewin, as seven miles distant from the river St. Andrew. It is situated, lays he, between the levant and eighteen red mountain, and known at sea by a tree of great height and bulk. As to the inhabitants, they are not so brutal and savage as all the others of the coast. In this general way do voyagers speak of a country, of which they think themselves under the necessity of giving some account. Between this and the river Coiro or Kerun (C), he could see no other villages; from which circumstances, and finding no canoes on the coast, he infers


(C) The river Coiro, Kerun, or Kerun, runs to the east of the river Images, and is probably the same which Smith and some other mariners call the Black River, either from its depth, or the mudiness of its waters.
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inference that this district is but thinly peopled. Two miles east of Ketro stands the town of a Labo, near the cape of that name. It is known at sea by this cape, which is a low point, projecting into the sea, and covered with wood; among which may be distinguished one high tree, that rears its lofty head far above the rest, serving thereby for a landmark. According to Des Marchais, Cape Labo is situated in five degrees ten minutes north latitude, equally distant from Cape Palmas and Cape Tres Puntas, and the western frontier of this district, called the country of the Good People.

Here the ivory is large, good, and in great abundance. Barbot speaks of the town of Labo, as a large and populous place, extending the matter of a league along the coast, the shore being composed of a beautiful yellow sand, against which the sea beats with great violence. The neighbouring country affords all kinds of provisions, better and cheaper than on the coast of St. Andrew and Dessau. The natives are of a mild, tractable, and gentle disposition, but ready to catch at every opportunity of raising the price of their ivory, according to the demand, and the number of ships they observe on the coast. They are visited by interlopers of all nations: the free ships of England, Holland, Denmark, and the Hanse Towns; whence the occasions of raising their price occur too frequently, as is experienced to the cost of the fair trader, who pays an extraordinary rate for his goods; and is also UNDERLORD in Europe, by merchants who trade at a far less expense than a company possibly can.

Boxman mentions a large river, that runs about a mile west of Labo, dividing itself into two branches, one of which falls into the river St. Andrew, and the other continues its course eastward for several leagues, before it empties itself into the sea; but this we are unable to reconcile with any of the charts we have seen, which running from east to west, the river must flow upon a parallel line for several leagues; a direction extremely unusual. Snoek adds, that Labo is planted, like Asim, with a great number of coco-trees; and that if the coast were as bold, and the shore embellished by a fort, it would be difficult for mariners to distinguish the one from the other, so strong a resemblance have the neighbouring countries of both districts.

Passing Cape Labo, the coast falls in directly north-east, forming a fine bay, at the head of which opens the mouth of the little river, called Jackson Lake, or Das Balbas, running directly north and south, but not navigable. Seven miles south-east, or rather east-south-east of this, stands the village Wallo, Vallock, or Watatolu, which has some little trade in ivory. Next follows Jack a Jack, a village; and close by that eastward, Korbi Labo, the little pool, called the Bottomless Pit, standing between the two last places. The English and Dutc have both given this little space of salt water its name from its extraordinary depth, several unsuccessful attempts having been made to find it; but at length it was found to be no more than sixty fathoms, its supposèd depth arising from a tide at the bottom, which carried away the lead faster than they could furnish line. This current driving to the south-west, Uri and Akins advize mariners from quitting Jacka Lake, before they have a fair wind, capable of surmounting the difficulty; as, excepting the pool, there is no anchorage for several leagues along the coast. The best method, say those writers, is to cast anchor before Guina, in the district of Ada; or at Korbi Labo, or in the mouth of Rio de Suero da Costa, this last road, especially, being equally convenient for the inhabitants of either places to come on board with the produce of the country, viz. cloths and stuffs of Guineas, ivory, and provisions. We are told of none of the qualities of these negroes, besides their great skill in swimming and diving; it being the common diversion of the European sailors to throw bits of iron, coral, glass, and the like, over-board, after which the negroes will dive with such rapidity, as to catch them before they reach the bottom.

From the Rio de Suero da Costa, to Cape Apollonia, the coast is low and even, extending itself for a course of twelve miles eastward, bordered with large trees, and covered with villages, the chief of which are, Bougan, Ilina Peguena, Great Ilini, Albians, Jibo, and Akamymima. The first stands at a small distance from the shore, near the mouth of the river Do Costa, surrounded by woods, and pleasantly situated. Ilina Peguena and Great Ilini, are both situated on the sea coast, at the distance of three or four miles, and between them are a number of villages, three of them very considerable, but their names unknown. Great Ilini is built at the entrance of a small river, which during the dry season is lost in the sands, but discharges itself into the sea during the rainy months. This town was pillaged and burnt in the year 1681, by the inland negroes; but it has since revived its splendor, and rather exceeds what it ever had been, by the addition of a great number of houles and inhabitants. Where the river empties itself in the sea, it forms a small island, very commodious for building a fort; but our European companies have hitherto made no attempts of that nature, dreading perhaps the vicinity of those ill-disposed neighbours to

* Des March. t. i. p. 117.  
* Barbot, p. 138.  
* Snoek, apud De Bruy, p. 491.
a the westward (D). Great Ifini is celebrated for the purity of its gold, which probably comes from the kingdom of Alassa, at the source of the Rio de Suero da Costa, a country rich in gold, but little known to the Europeans, as we have already observed.

East of Ifini are the little districts and towns of Albiani and Tabo, the former six miles, the latter ten from it, both surrounded by high groves of palms, seen at a great distance at sea, and pretty much frequented by European shipping. A mile farther east, and half a mile west of Cape Apollonia, stands the village Akaiminas, on a rising ground; and commanding an extensive sea and land prospect. The interior country between Bagon and this village is high, rugged, and mountainous, but affording some fine gold, ivory, and a few slaves. The gold dust of these two places is found commonly in fix fathoms deep, for two

b miles along the coast; and the negroes mix it with pulverized copper so expertly, that it requires touching to discover the fraud.

Near Cape Apollonia is the kingdom of Guiomere, governed in the year 1703 by a queen, called Adjoumoucou, a princess much respected by her neighbours, and beloved by her subjects. She was to have been succeeded in the throne by her brother; for being of an active and warlike humour, she disliked the authority of a husband, spent her whole time in the camp, and headed her own armies. Such was her good fortune and bravery, that she was never unsuccessful in any enterprise, nor was the smallest advantage ever gained over her troops, either by the negroes or Europeans. She was passionately fond of the French, and entered into a treaty with the chevalier D MMM, which continued without the least interruption, during the greater part of her life. So great an admirer was she of the lively and polite humour of this nation, that she frequently declared she had rather be a subject of France, than the sovereign of any other European state; a proof that her majesty's penetration into human nature was not deep, and that, like her sex, she judged by external appearances. This kingdom of Guiomere has but narrow limits towards the sea, but stretches itself a great way towards the inland parts; it is well peopled, rich, and renowned by its commerce. Gold and ivory are in considerable quantities found here; and her majesty's perpetual wars always produced a good market of slaves.

According to Des Marchais, Cape Apollonia stands in four degrees fifty minutes of north latitude, half way between the Rio de Suero da Costa, and Cape Fere Pontes (E). It is remarkable for its height, and the lofty trees with which it is covered. The natives have formed themselves into a kind of republican government, under the protection, or rather tyranny, of the Dutch, who prohibit their trading with any other nation; and hence it is, that this coast is so little known to the other Europeans, and so inaccurately described by the Hollanders, who find their interest in concealing the nature of the produce and wealth of the country. Scudder allows, however, that the country between Ifini and Cape Apollonia is well peopled, and covered with large and small villages. It had its name, says he, from the Portuguese, who discovered it upon St. Apollonia's day: it points a little southward, but appears low and strait along the coast or shore, rising itself to three high mountains behind, which are seen from a great distance at sea, in clear weather. Upon each of these mountains are several distinct and separate groves or groups of trees, that give the prospect a very cool and agreeable look; and in the intermediate valleys are three or four pretty villages, built close to the sea side; but the continual beating of the waves upon a flat and sandy shore, renders landing difficult, and a commerce here extremely inconvenient, which nothing could balance besides the great advantages derived from it.

In general, if we except a few capes, all the coast from Cape Palmas to Cape Apollonia appears not only so low, but so equal and strait, that it is very difficult for ships to distinguish gulph places; and indeed, besides these capes, the only distinct land-marks are the heights and mountains round Dresan. The landing all along the coast is dangerous, on account of the high surf and swelling waves that roll in from the vast southern ocean, and break with such violence upon the sands. The negroes alone are perfectly acquainted with this sea, and brave enough to combat all the fury of its winds, tides, and waves, in their little canoes.

From Cape Palmas to Cape Apollonia these canoes are employed in loading and unloading the shipping, that dare coming near the shore, and being shattered in pieces by the waves; nor are they always safe by keeping at a distance from the shore, as the ground is so rough that they frequently lose their anchors. Here the fourth winds blow the moat

(D) Barbot says, that the French in 1701, built a fort here; which not answering their expectation, they abandoned it in 1714 (1); but this is a circumstance we find mentioned by no other author.

(E) Phillips places it about six miles east of Great Ifini, representing it as formed by three great mountains, with two or three villages to the west. With these he attempted entering upon a trade, but in vain (2).

(1) Barbot, p. 140.  
(2) Phillips, p. 200.

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frequently, stopping the land breezes, and those strong and unhealthy fliches that proceed from the villages of almost all negros.

**Round Cape Apollonia** there are large tracts of fallow land, in which the negroes now grow Indian corn, a species of grain which they believe was imported hither by the Portuguese. The complexion of the natives is so black, that Akinis compares it to the finest jet: in their temper they are lively, enterprising, and indefatigable in commerce. Their huts are nearer and cleaner than those of their neighbours, and their dress more elegant, it being fest off with ornaments of gold, ivory, and korvis. The hair or wool of their heads is divided into an infinity of small tresses, which they adorn with bits of oyster shells and other shining baubles. On the left cheek they have a scar, of the figure of a poniard, and frequently the rest of the body is marked in the same manner, to denote the warlike disposition of the person; a custom of great antiquity here, and communicated to several other negro nations, serving to distinguish the inland from the maritime natives; the former of which are often reduced to slavery by the latter. Those slaves they sell at four ounces of gold dust per head, and, allowing 100 per cent. on goods, they will be thus purchased at 8 l. sterling each, out of which the cabaceros demand twenty shillings duty, and the palae

From Cape Apollonia to the river Manauess, where the province of Asim, the first division of the Gold Coast begins, are two or three fine villages. Two in particular are beautiful, situated midst groves of palm and coco trees; but the trade, for which they stand advantageously, is neglected. From hence to Asim the shore takes its course south-south-east, and near the village of Boggia the river Manauess empties itself into the sea, at the mouth of which the negroes find a considerable quantity of gold. This is all we know of the Ivory Coast; no author having pretended to give a description of their towns, or an exact chart of the topography and distances of places. To this we shall subjoin all that can be extracted out of voyagers, of the produce and manners of the people and country in general, nothing at all being known of their laws and policy.

Every country within the limits of the Ivory Coast is fruitful in rice, pease, beans, gooseberries, citrons, oranges, and coco-nuts; and the natives bring frequently on board large rich sugar-canes, which intimates, that this commodity might be cultivated to advantage here. In a word, the Ivory Coast is one of the finest divisions of Guinea; the prospect of the mountains, and valleys filled with villages, is delightful, most of those little towns being surrounded with lofty palms and coco trees. The soil of the high land is a redcliff earth, which, with the perpetual verdure of the trees, forms an agreeable mixture of colours. Cotton and indigo are the spontaneous growth of the provinces of Great Drevin and St. Andreu, which are indeed the richest of the whole. Palm wine and oil are plentiful; together with a species of fruit, growing on a port of palm tree, which the natives call Tonbo, or Bourbon. This the negroes eat with great pleasure, drinking at the same time a wine, drawn from the same tree, mixed with water; its strength rendering it unfit for use alone and unqualified.

All sorts of tame animals, sheep, cows, goats, and hogs, are so numerous, that they are sold for almost nothing; a few shillings being sufficient to keep a whole family in beef, mutton, and pork for several days. As to fish, the coast supplies them in as great abundance and variety; but the most remarkable are the sea bull; zingana, in America called pantonfhir; and the sea devil, so termed by Des Marchais. The first, called also the bared fish, is about three feet long, exclusive of his tail. His body is square, of an unequal thickness at both extremities, being every where about five feet in circumference. His skin is rough, strong, and filled with pointed knobs, but not prickly or covered with shells, every where spotted with different colours, a mixture of grey, violet, and white. The head resembles that of a hog, but terminating in a proboscis, like an elephant; the animal having no other passage for his aliment than through his trunk. In his stomach nothing besides sea-weeds and some small fishes was found. His eyes are large, and fringed with a kind of strong, hard hair, and his forehead armed with two horns, bony, strong, rough, and pointed at the extremity, about six inches in length. On his back rose two excrescences, about three inches high, which run from the base of the horns almost to the tail. The tail seemed to be composed of two parts, the one fleshy, and covered with a continuation of the skin of the body, being in fact a part of the vertebra of the back, but more flattened and pliant; the other a thick fin, of a brown colour, streaked with parallel white lines, serving for a kind of defence, as well as a rudder to the animal.

*Vid. auct. citat. ibid.*

As
As to the zingana, it is a voracious animal, with a flat head, large, red, and fiery eyes, two rows of strong teeth, the body round, and terminating in a strong tail, covered with a tough skin, not feebly but spotless. The fins are strong, and affix the animal to dart with incredible rapidity at his prey. Nothing comes amiss to the voracious appetite of this monster; but above all it is delighted with human flesh.

The third monster described by Des Marchais is the sea devil, about twenty-five feet long, and proportionately thick. The most remarkable parts of this animal are, projecting angles from his body, of a hard, horny substance, and so sharp, that a stroke of them is extremely dangerous. The tail, which is long, and taper like a whip, is armed with a sharp, keen point, with which he frequently darts backward, and his back covered with hard excrescences, two inches high, and pointed like a hook. He head is large, joined immediately to the body, without the smallest appearance of a neck, and furnished with flat, cutting teeth. Nature has bestowed on this monster four eyes, two near the gills, large and round, and two others on the forehead, of a smaller size; but all of them distinct. On each side the gullet are three horns, of an equal length and thickness. That on the right side, which stands between the other two, measures about three feet in length, and an inch and a half in circumference at its termination, terminating gradually in a sharp point; but as it is yielding and flexible, it is capable of giving but little offence, or affording any protection to the animal. To conclude, the flesh is tough and ill-tasted, though eagerly sought after by the negroes, perhaps for no other reason than that it is scarce.

As to the people, they are rather above the common stature, clean limbed, and well proportioned; but their features on the first glance are hideous, yet, notwithstanding the prejudices conceived from their unhappy aspect, Villain and Des Marchais agree in calling them the most rational, civilized, and polished people in all Guinea, and the same character they bear among all their neighbours. The reader must observe, that we speak of the natives of the Quagga Coast, that is, from the river Drewin to Cape Apollonia; for as to the others, all authors represent them as the most barbarous, cruel, and savage of all nations. “However savage the aspect and external appearance of the negroes of this coast (speaking of the Quagga Coast) may appear, they are,” says Barbot, “gentle in their nature, honest in their dealings, sociable, and well disposed: a picture the very reverse of what Smith has drawn. This writer calls them so brutal and thieving as not to be paralleled by any people on the face of the globe. If they see anything on board a ship, which they have no opportunity of feasting, they will beg it; and, if it be denied them, they fly into a rage, swim ashore, and put a stop to all trade. Smill would not venture to send his boat on shore for provisions, but with an armed crew, and after he had cast anchor so near the shore that his cannon could cover the men. From descriptions so different we must either conclude, that these two writers mean different nations, or that Smill met with some accident that prejudiced him against the whole people. Villain, forgetting what he affirms a little before, or speaking of a different people, accuses them of eating the Europeans; adding, in proof of this assertion, that in the space of a few years they had eaten about fourteen Dutchmen: a fact greatly to be doubted, according to Sneve; and, if true, applicable only to the natives to the westward, near Cape Palmas. Villain further affords, that they constantly seize upon all the white men, who wood and water on their coast, without any provocation, and merely from a brutal fondness for human flesh: however, says he, happily, no nation on the coast has such a dread of fire-arms. Smill calls them an accursed race of canibals. The same prejudices, according to him, have been unjustly conceived against some other nations of Guinea, for eating monkies, dogs, and allegators; but this alone defers the appellation of savage, from that diabolical lust they have after mens flesh: whereas Des Marchais, after enlarging upon the humanity and refinedness of their manners, subjoins, This people drink a sort of beer, called pito, and wine drawn from the Bourbon palm, with which they mix water, to prevent the effects of its intoxicating quality. Drunkenness is a crime of so odious a nature among them, that the laws have prohibited it under the severest penalties, and on pain of death. Their maxim is, that to destroy one’s health or reason, is to put man upon a level with brute creatures, to prejudice society, by robbing it of its useful members, and to destroy the effects of all law and government; for a man void of reason cannot be influenced by laws, as he is ignorant of the propriety of his actions.

Their diet, according to Atkins, is coarse and indelicate; their best dishes being what is called fieber sauce, a term probably given by the English, bonimi, and a kind of black soup. The first is composed of rice, fish, fowl, kid, and elephant’s flesh, all of them kept till they rink, and this haches, boiled with oboe (F) and palm oil, is deemed a royal dish.

Bomini is made of fish, dried without salt in the sun, the more forcet the better. This they

(F) We are at a loss for our author’s meaning here. Surely the natives did not boil the mineral we call oboe with their food, which is so rejected even as a medicine, and could never communicate any degree of flavor to their food. All the argillaceous earths of this kind are equally inedible.

fry
fry with palm oil and rice, and greedily snatch it up with their fingers. As for the black feast, it is a favourite dish all over Guinea, both among Europeans and negroes. The Europeans make it of flesh or fowl, with pepper, vinegar, fat, and some sweet herbs peculiar to the country; but the negroes add fish, oil, and palm oil.

Those negroes detest the custom Europeans have of embracing each other, after a long absence, or on parting: this they regard as an unnatural action, and an affront to the fair sex. Their teeth are of the canine kind, and perfectly sharp, from the continual habit of pointing them; but in general they are crooked and irregular. They look upon long nails as a great ornament; and dress their hair into tresses, which they keep separate by a pathe of palm oil and a kind of red earth. So fond are they of a quantity of hair, that they borrow large locks from the women, which they add to their own, forming a kind of peruke; and b their bodies they anoint every day with the same kind of paste which they apply to their hair. They are continually chewing betel, with the juice of which, mixed with their spittle, they flatter over their neck and chin, imagining, that it gives a fine varnish and beautiful lustre to the skin. Round the small of the leg they wear large rings of iron, some of them, according to Barbot, weighing near fifty pounds; a circumstance almost incredible. They are charmed with the jingling sound of those rings and bells suspended to them, in the multitude of which confit all their grandeur and dignity. In a word, says the same author, they are a people highly disgusting at first sight, from the nature of their features, the manner of their dresls, and the headdress of some of their cuftoms; to which may be added the strong, rank, and foetid effluvia from their bodies, which can never become supportable by habit to an European eye.

The common people wear only a piece of cloth round the waist, out of decency; but the more opulent sort are covered with a fold of cloak, or furlace, with long sleeves, which they wrap around their shoulders and hang down below their knee; and by their side they wear a hanger or short sword. As to the women, they cut off their hair, in order that the men may have a superfluous quantity. About Little Drewin the females have the curiosity to come down with their children to the shore, when the Europeans are watering, whom they seem to behold with great satisfaction. Villain says, that setting aside their complexion, which is jet-black, they would pass for beauties in Europe, so regular are their features, and so brilliant their eyes. He had seen above fifty, out of which number there was not one but was tall, slender, genteel, and handsome in the face; in a word, a fine woman; notwithstanding the men are for the most part gross and fat, though well made. Some of the women who wear their hair, adorn it with little plates of pure gold; in making of which there is the greatest emulation among the workmen and goldsmiths. These pieces are sometimes large, but in general thin, small, and of little value; however, some women wear such a number of trinkets, that the whole amounts to a considerable sum. A young and beautiful girl soon gets a husband, who by contract has no power over her jewels, though in other respects his authority is absolute and despotic. Even in this particular he falls upon means to gain a superiority, by denying her money to purchase other necessaries, till she pledges her ornaments with him; and no sooner is he in possession, than he diverts them to the Europeans. The only dresls of the women is a cloth, without any particular form, that falls over the fore part of their bodies, the hinder parts being left entirely naked: and indeed there is hardly a people in the whole coast of Guinea, so primitive and simple in this particular, as the natives of the Ivory Coast, and particularly of Qugua.

Their form of salutation they have in common with all negroes; that of laying hold of the fingers, making them crack, and repeating the word Qugua several times, in a low voice. Here it is a constant rule, that the fon follows the profission of his father; the fon of a weaver is bred a weaver; that of a smith, a smith; and the same in all other occupations. This regulation is so firmly established, that the whole country, perhaps, does not furnish a single instance to the contrary: a custom that is attended with many inconveniences, though upon the whole founded on reason, and the supposition that a son has better opportunities of becoming acquainted with his trade under a father than with any other master. Yet, after all, they are exceeding bunglers in the mechanic arts; and Atkins says, that a common door lock is so great a curiosity, as to draw a whole country together to see it; a watch still increaseth their admiration; and making paper speak, as they express it, is a perfect miracle. If they are sent with a note, and told the contents before, they frequently make the experiment whether the Europeans are deceiving them, in pretending they can interpret the thoughts of an absent person by those crooked characters: this they do by asking the contents when they have read the paper, in a jeering manner, as if they had caught them in a lie; but their surprize is inconceivable, when they are told literally the whole businees the note contains; this being an act of which they can form no conception, and that gives them a very advantageous idea of the white men, believing they must necessarily have some familiar daemon, that acts as factor or broker on this occasion.

The
a. The grounds of their religion are much the same with what we have related of the Gold Religion. Coafa, it being founded wholly upon superstition and ignorance. If they revere their princes and priests, their respect arises less from their esteem of the order, than of the opinion they entertain of the dignity annexed. They are fully persuaded, that magic and forcery are qualities and powers inseparable from majesty and priesthood. The king of Saka, a country near Cape Labo, passes, in particular, for the greatest magician in the universe. He observes annually a certain mysterious ceremony in honour of the sea, which is the tutelary deity of the kingdom. It begins in December, and continues till April following; during which time he sends, by intervals, some of his courtiers in a canoe to Asim, Sama, Commando, and some other towns on the Gold Coafa, to sacrifice to the ocean a quantity of old rags, different kinds of bones, and horns filled with powder, with which they blow up the rest of the offering. A priest attends the noblemen, and is in a particular manner entrust with the care of the ritual ceremony, which he executes by pronouncing certain words, in a low voice, to obtain of the sea a calm and serene summer season, which of consequence will be favourable to commerce and navigation. As soon as the first canoe is returned, he dispatches another, which, going through the same ceremonies, is succeeded by another, and in this manner alternately for the space of four or five months. When the first canoe leaves Karbi Labo, the is instantly followed by the negro factors of that port, who in canoes carry their fluffs and goods to be sold in the very place where the king has made his offering. On their return other merchants and factors follow the second canoe; and thus they go on sacrificing and trading for the seafon. Wonderful regularity is observed throughout this religious ceremony; and all the merchants find means to dispose of their flocks. Towards the month of April the worshiper priest leaves the sea at full liberty to stor, foam, and swell, as it thinks proper; and the merchants, fearing left the ocean, fatigued with long restraint, may embrace this liberty, make all the hafte they can to their several ports.

b. Whatever judgment authors may think fit to pass on the natives of Quagua, in point of religion and manners, certain it is, that their extreme regard to trade, and the affability with which they cultivate it, are no bad proofs of their understanding and felible political notions. When they first discover a ship on the coast, they diligently attend to the actions of the crew; and as soon as they believe their security confirmed by their apparent manners, they crowd on board with all the produce of their country, gold, ivory, provisions, and slaves; although they generally oblige the captain to pass through the ceremony of putting sea water in his eye; firmly persuading themselves, that if he violates this solemn engagement, the sea will punish him with the loss of that organ. On their side, they enter upon no promises; and, for this reason, European seamen are generally on their guard, to prevent sudden attacks or frauds, admitting only a certain number of negroes upon deck at a time. This is Villalac's assertion; but Barbot observes, that they voluntarily perform the same ceremonies they require of the European captain, dipping their hands in the water, and letting it drop in their eye: meaning thereby, that they with the loss of the eye, if they be guilty of a breach of faith. Atkins relates this obligation with circumstances somewhat different. According to him, the captain pretends himself to the chief perfon in the canoe, who immediately puts one leg on the side of the ship, while the other remains on the gunwale of the canoe. In this posture he takes up as much water as he can hold in the palm of his hand, and throws it in the captain's face, by which he gives the strongest proof possible of his friendship and fidelity; and if attacked are they to this superstition, that without it be duly performed they will never enter a ship. It is pretended, that before the natives of the bad country, as it is called, west of Great Drewis, neglected this custom, no people on earth adhered more religiously to their engagements: now they are the most treacherous, base, and perfidious of mankind, owing entirely to the disrepute into which this ceremony is fallen. It now subsists only in cape Lobo, the river St. Andrew, and Cape Apollonia. In other provinces the negroes content themselves with curiously examining the ship, her strength, and the number and countenances of the crew: sometimes they spit a mouthful of sea water into the captain's face, which polite compliment they expect he should return, if his sincerity be unquestionable: but, according to the French writers, if the natives can distinguish the language spoken on board to be French, then they wave all other trial, and flock on board without hesitation.

c. The European factors divert themselves with seeing canoes filled with men crowd round them, every mouth uttering the same sound, quagua, quagua. As soon as any of them are hoisted on board, the anxiety of the rest is lively to an extreme; they move their heads and eyes backward and forward, with the utmost impatience, as if waiting the fate of their companions; and it is with the utmost difficulty they are all prevailed on to come on board. The best method to overcome their fears is the ceremony we have mentioned; but Barbot says, that he has sometimes unsuccessfully tried this. It is probable, that some outrages committed
committed by the European shipping has ever since inspired these timid creatures with that dread and suspicion of injuries, particularly from the English, says De Marchais: and indeed this reflection is in some measure confirmed by Smith, who relates, that, stopping at several towns and ports on this coast, and firing cannon as a signal of his arrival, he never could discern a single canoe coming towards him, or the slightest appearance that the natives proposed trading with him. "It is certain," says he, "that they never approach an English vessel, without dread of being carried away into slavery:" whence it is probable, that some attempt of this nature has been made. He acknowledges, that they repose the greatest confidence in the French of any European nation: they even allow them to erect a standard on shore; use the French language in bargains; and not only trade with them at an easier rate, but also furnish them plentifully with fresh water and all manner of provisions: an acknowledgment that does great honour to the civilized manners and prudence of that nation, however small the advantage is which they draw from the preference given them.

The negroes of the Quaquas coast come generally five or six in a canoe along the ship's side; but it is seldom that above one or two have resolution to come on board, before they have been in what manner their companions are treated. They most frequently enter the ships two at a time, with a couple of elephants' teeth and some other goods; the rest returning to the canoe, before the rest leave it. Those who come first narrowly inspect the state of the ship, whether the sailors be armed, and the number there is upon deck. When they have sold their goods they return, and acquaint their friends with the usage they have received. No intruders can prevail on them to go below deck, notwithstanding they pretend they think themselves perfectly secure, and express great curiosity. So much do they dread firearms, that they all flung themselves into the sea upon Smith's firing a gun to bring to a ship he discovered in the offing: and he observed, that if they discover the least appearance of arms on board, they immediately scud away to the shore, with all the haste they are able.

One may easily apprehend the difficulty and tediousness of trading with a nation so timorous and jealous; whose language is unintelligible to Europeans, and all the European languages still more to them (for what the French say of trading in their language is attested by no other authority). Every thing is transacted by signs and gestures, or by placing a certain quantity of merchandise near the ivory or gold that is wanted in exchange. In general the negroes are eagerly fond of presents, however trifling, as if they looked upon these as pledges of esteem and affection. A knife not worth six-pence, a copper ring, a glass of quaffqua, or a bicuit, are things which the richest negro thinks worth his acceptance, and on which he sets the highest value. However, as their avarice seems to grow with the liberality of the Europeans, Smith recommends great caution in the manner of making those dagbees, or presents. "It is a pernicious custom," says that writer, "which had its rise from the policy of the Dutch, who wanted to destroy the credit of the Portuguese, and establisb their own, by those instances of generosity, for which they have since suffered, by the purchase of cargoes bought at double their value. Now every trade must be begun by dagbees, to be renewed not only by every ship of a nation, but every day by the same ship, and by every individual on board. Thus one stroke of Dutch policy has ever since been a perpetual tax on all other Europeans, as well as on themselves, and the presents now amount to as much as formerly would purchase a cargo." The same custom prevails on the Gold Coast; but with this difference, that there presents are made after a cargo is completed, and goes by the name of dagbi-midafe: but on all the lower coasts, to the river Gambie, the negroes must have their dagbees in advance: nor do they ever come near a ship, but that is the general cry among them.

The usual trade carried on here consists of cotton cloths, ivory, gold, and slaves. According to Villaut, the negroes manufacture a sort of strong stuff, striped blue and white, three quarters wide, and about four ells long. These sell well on the Gold Coast, and Europeans purchase them purely for this market. From the river Babes to the Rio de Suero da Costa the country produces great abundance of good cotton, which the negroes of the interior countries manufacture with great industry. The cotton pieces made here are extremely fine and beautiful in the colours, especially the blue stripe, which, says Barbot, cannot be equalled even in France. The maritime negroes act as brokers to the inland negroes, sell their stuffs for them, and receive a certain sum per cent. by way of commissioh. Some of these brokers told our author, that, besides the trade carried on with the coast, the inland negroes drive a very considerable commerce with a white people that inhabit the very center of Africa, and come hither for cotton cloths with droves of quails or affes, with which they return loaded. They are described as accoutred with short fowlers or scymitars; whereas, it is probable, they are no other than the Arabian of Zara, on the banks of the Niger. The Quaquas manufacture a kind of plant, resembling hemp, into a strong cloth, to which they give beautiful colours, and some pretty flowers and designs, that speak them no bad artisans in this way. They also have a considerable trade in salt with their inland neighbours.
The history of the Ivory Coast.

The incredible quantity of ivory found in Ququa.

All the countries behind Ququa furnish large store of elephants teeth, the most beautiful ivory in the world. It is confinantly bought up as soon as brought to the coast, by the English, Dutch, French, and sometimes by the Danes and Portugueze: but, at the same time that the commerce of this country is free to all nations, the English and Dutch enjoy the greater part of it, and the enumeration between these has occasioned the negroes to raise the price of their commodities, without reflecting how they diminish the quantity of the exports by this, and the alteration of fashions in Europe. In such quantities did this country afford ivory, that, in Barkot’s days, it was no uncommon thing to see a hundred quintals sold in a day; and the negroes report, that the inlands, especially the mountains, are so stocked with elephants, that the natives are forced for security to bury themselves among rocks and caverns at night. They fall upon every possible contrivance to defend their plantations against the ravages of these jagacious monsters, and frequently lay traps for them, in which they catch a great many: but, if we may credit the relations of the negroes, and indeed the most probable accounts, the great plenty of ivory is owing to the elephant’s curving his teeth every third year. This is Des Merebois’s account; and Barkot and Villault confirm it by similar testimonies. They add, that, notwithstanding the perpetual war waged against them by the negroes, the elephants are so numerous, that the natives are forced to dig their habitations a great way under ground. However, of late years, their number has been greatly diminished, by a distemper that crept among them, and made terrible havoc, as well as by the constant endeavours of the negroes to extirpate them, though the foundation of their commerce.

Villault, after wondering how the negroes come by such quantities of pure gold as the Or gold women wear for ornament, thinks himself at liberty to conclude, that the country certainly contains mines that furnish virgin native gold: for he supposes the inhabitants incapable of bringing it to that degree of fineness by fire. He says, that, upon repeatedly questioning them where they procured the precious metal, they always cast their eyes towards the mountains; and the natural inference in that case was, that they dug it themselves out of those mountains.

The European commodities, which the negroes accept most readily in exchange for their own, are of much the same nature as in other parts of Goting; with this difference, that here the bracelets and rings for the legs, whether of copper or iron, must be of an intolerable weight. Barkot advises, that small ships be only tent on this trade, the number of places to be called at rendering the heaving large anchors extremely tedious and troublesome; besides, the negroes come more readily on board, when they see no great preparations, or a number of cannon mounted, and decks crowded with sailors. But the utmost caution is necessary against treachery, and not above a certain number of negroes to be admitted on board at a time. The sufferings of the Portugueze furnish examples of the necessity of keeping a strict watch. To conclude this short account of the Ivory Coast, we will observe, that although it be divided into a variety of petty states and kingdoms, yet they have scarce any separate interests; for among themselves war happens seldom, and, of consequence, the slave trade here bears but a small proportion to that traffic on the Gold and Slave Coasts.

Authors have observed, that the Exomphalus Hernia wobulosalis, or preternatural tumour of the abdomen at the navel from a rupture, is a disorder extremely common on the Ivory coast; but how to account for its frequency we are at a loss. All other deformities of the body are as rare as this is common; and out of an infinity of negroes which Barkot had conversed with, he never saw but two who had any reason to complain that nature was unkind, one of whom squinted, and the other was born without a nose. These are all the particulars we have been able to collate out of authors concerning the Ivory Coast. If the reader should find them less full and entertaining than he might expect, he will attribute it to the little acquaintance which Europeans have with these negroes, with whom they only converse on board ships; seldom or never going on shore, but to wood and water, and never venturing upon any kind of land tour. They have, from two or three accidents, conceived such prejudices against the natives, that, till these are removed, we can never expect any distinct relation of the produce of the country, civil or political laws, manners, religion, or customs of the people.

a Vide Auff. citat. in locis citatis.
The history of the Grain Coast.

Book XXI.

S E C T. VII.

Containing the geography of the Grain or Malaguetta Coast; a description of its towns, climate, natural produce, and trade; of the manners of the natives, their language, religion, and government; together with a description of the country round the river Seftos, of its inhabitants, &c.

AUTHORS are greatly divided both about the name and the limits of this coast. Lemeray and Prevost are of opinion, that the French term for Guiney pepper is derived from Melega, a town of Africa; but how or in what manner this commodity was imported into France they do not inform us; so that no inference can be fairly drawn from their assertion, admitting it to be true. Villauts, Barbot, Smith, and Des Marchais, think, with more reason, that the Europeans gave this coast its appellation, from observing, that it produced this species of pepper in greater abundance than any other part of Guiney; and we think it no weak proof of their conjecture, that the names of all the other coasts were imposed from the chief commodities they afford. The Slave Coast, for instance, is so called from its furnishing a greater number of slaves than any other country; the Gold Coast, from the abundance of that metal found here; and the Ivory Coast, from the prodigious cargoes of elephants’ teeth bought up every year by the Europeans. It is true, that all these divisions produce much the same commodities; but as some particular species of merchandise was the staple or prevailing traffic of the country, from whence it took its name, and is characterized. But, waving all such ufeles and dry disquisitions, we proceed to lay down its extent and geography.

Strictly speaking, the Grain Coast is contained between the Rio Seftos and Grova, a village two or three miles west of Cape Palmas, extending for a space of fifty-five miles along the shore. Villauts says, that it begins at the river Sanguin, and stretches to Cape Palmas, which enlarges its limits to about sixty miles. Within these frontiers are the towns and villages of Seftos or Seffro, west of the river Sanguin, Battaway, Sino, Seffro Krau or Kra, Wappo, Bado, Great Seffro, Little Seffro, Guvavo, Garraway, and Grova, which last properly belongs to the Ivory Coast, with a number of intermediate towns and villages, whose names are not mentioned by voyagers. As we do not find all these places described by any authors, the reader must rest satisfied with the imperfect accounts they afford. Little Seftos stands about four leagues east of the river of that name, a space that is occupied by a ridge of rocky mountains, or rather one long extended height. The negroes of this place fish and trade, free of all customs to their princes and governors, which is all that is known of their history. About three leagues farther east is the village Sanguin, at the mouth of a river of that name, that discharges itself in the sea fourth-fourth-east, and capable of being navigated for twelve miles up by small vessels, notwithstanding the channel is narrow, and bordered by lofty trees, that cast a shade all over the water. This town contains about an hundred houses, and formerly the English had a settlement here, which the bad disposition of the natives forced them to relinquish. The king of this district is subject to the sovereign of Seftos. He is usually dressed in a blue robe, after the Moorish fashion, and takes great pleasure in visiting the European shipping in the road. Formerly the Portuguese and Dutch drove a great trade here; but the prodigious offers of white merchants at length raised the price of pepper and ivory, that the market funk, and is now in a very declining condition. Upon emergencies this is a convenient port to wood and water at, and also to take in provisions, which are rather plenty than good of the kind. About a mile eastward stands Baffa, or Bafa, a neat village, where abundance of ivory is kept in readiness for the first shipping that calls; nor is it deficient in pepper. It is easily distinguished by a long sandy point, surrounded with rocks, that project into the sea. The language they speak is a corrupted Portuguese, or rather a mixed language, or a kind of Lingua Franca. Next stands Sutuna, two miles from Baffa to the eastward, a village that trades largely in pepper and ivory. A mile farther Battaway presents itself, and is easily known at sea, by two large rocks, that stand two miles from shore to the westward, and also by some high mountains behind the town. This is one of the best built places on the coast, populous and rich; but the natives much addicted to thieving. It trades extensively in the above commodities; but is greatly exceeded by Sino, a town four miles to
The history of the Grain Coaft.

a the east. This latter place is richly flocked with pepper, which the negroes greedily exchange for plates of copper, bars of iron, perpetuans, and some other European commodities. They readily come on board any shipping they discover in the road; but, like their neighbours at Batteawy, are such expert thieves as to require a strict eye over them. Six miles east from Sina stands Sefre Krou, a pleasant, large town, plainly distinguished at sea by a Sefre Krou high cape, formed by three black hills, the west fides of which are covered with wood. Wappo, situated upon a small river, stands five miles from Sefre Krou. Here as well as at Wappo. Sefre Krou the elephants teeth are large and white, and the pepper in the greatest plenty and perfection. Between Wappo and Great Sefro stand two large villages, called Drea and Nifé, each producing such quantities of pepper, that, for a bar of iron, Barbot purchased three hundred pounds weight. The natives of these villages, and all the country round Wappo, are more civilized, genteel, and tractable in their disposition, than any other on this coast; but extremely covetous of slaves, or presents, before they enter upon the most trifling bargains. Their language is almost unintelligible to their nearest neighbours, but seems more articulate and soft than most of the others. From Wappo to Sefro Paris, or Great Sefro, on the river Efaros, the coast runs straight south and south-east. This large, handsome, and populous town, stands close upon the river, which is about a quarter of a mile broad at the town, but narrower at the entrance, where it is divided by two islands, some six fathoms, which renders the navigation troublesome, and only practicable to small vessels. The town received the name of Sefro Paris from the Diepers, who had a factory here; because it was the largest and best inhabited town within the frontiers of the ing.

Grain Coaft (A). The houses are built after a different model from those of the other towns; for here they raise them, either square or round, four feet from the ground, ascending by a flight of steps to the door. At this height stands the first story, which is referred as a chief apartment to eat, drink, or sleep in. It is lined with mats, made of the bark of trees, and in the middle is a chimney, where, in cold weather, they burn charcoal, and dry the victuals of the family; besides which it serves the farther purpose of drying their rice and Indian corn fit to grind. The second story, that runs up in a pyramidal form, is used as a store or lumber room, and is generally thirty feet high; which gives the town a very beautiful look. Hundreds of spires raising themselves into the skies within so small a distance of each other. Such are the conveniences of private families; besides which, the town has a palatier room, or council-chamber, where the chief deliberates on public affairs. This is a large apartment, raised high from the ground, and in the middle kind of stage or orchestra erected, where those sages debate the affairs of society. Here the king and meanest slave drink and smoke without distinction of persons, as soon as business is ended; for with that the sovereign lays aside all the badges of majesty, and reduces himself to a private station. Here likewise it is usual to afford and value merchandise; and this, indeed, constitutes the chief part of the national business.

d The last place we meet with on the Grain Coaft is Grova; though, strictly speaking, it belongs to the Ivory Coaft, if we reckon the eastern frontier of the Grain Coaft from Cape Palmas, so called from the great number of those trees with which it is covered.

e To give the reader the best idea of this division which our scanty materials will admit of, Of the climate, we shall observe, that the continual exhalations raised by the action of the sun from the waters and sea-coaft, are supposed to occasion certain inflammatory disorders, and malignant putrid fevers, almost always fatal to Europeans. This noxious disposition of the air prevails in a very high degree at Cape Palmas, and is sensibly felt at the distance of several miles from shore; an intolerable stink blowing off the land in the evening, when the north-east winds set in.

The productions of the earth are peaee, beans, gourds, lemons, oranges, bananas, and of the natural kind of nut with an exceeding thick shell, a most delicious fruit, for which neither the produce. of Europeans have a name. The palm wine and dates of this country are in the greatest perfection of, perhaps, any part of the globe. Cows, hogs, sheep, and goats, are also in great plenty; but what constitutes the chief worth of the Grain Coaft, is the abundance of Guiney pepper it produces; which draws a great trade, not only with all the neighbouring inferior nations, but with the Europeans also. According to Barbot, it is called by the negroes of Seflos by the name of waiisizaz, and by those of Cape Palmas, emanegbea. The plant on which this elegant production grows differs in size, according to the nature of the soil and other circumstances: in general it shoots out to the height of a shrub, attaching itself, like ivy, to some neighbouring tree. What grows upon the plant thus supported

(4) From the name, as well as many other vestiges to be met with in the place, De Marcais concludes, that no doubt can arise of the French having been the first Europeans who touched here. Many of the customs}

of the negroes plainly confirm it; and to this day, says he, they prefer their affection for their old friends, notwithstanding the Diepers first settled here in the year 1536 (1).

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(1) Vol. i. p. 149.

E 13
of a finer flavour, more pungent and hot to the taste than what grows wild in the fields, and spreads to a great extent. The leaf is twice as long as broad, pointed, soft, and of a delicate smell in the rainy season, soon after which it fades, and loses all its beauty and flavour. Bruised between the fingers, the leaf and buds have an agreeable aromatic flavour, like that of a clove. Under the leaves, and indeed along the stalk, are small filaments, by which it joins itself to the nearest tree; but its flower cannot be described, as it buds in those seafon when no commerce is carried on with the coast: however, it is certain that it does flower, the fruit succeeding in the form of angular figs, of various sizes, according to the quality of the air and soil. It is covered by a rind, which the negroes believe to be poisonous, and is no other than a thin film, that soon dries and crumbles. Such is the description of this fruit given by Des Marchais, which differs in nothing material from what b is related by Barbé: At Rio Sãoos the fruit is large, and the plant so tall, spreading, and thick, that at the first view it resembles a wood.

Of the trade.

**Bosman** affirms, that, besides the Guinée pepper, this country produces another species of fruit, extremely like cardamoms both in taste and figure, and, in effect, the same in quality: adding, that in the interior countries there is found a species of pepper differing in nothing from that of the spice islands and Moluccas. This is the pimento, of which we have already spoken: sufficient it is that we add some particulars regarding its abundance and cheapness here. The Dutch purchase it in great quantities; probably to prevent its interfering with their East India trade, in consequence of an agreement between the East and West India companies: they freight whole ships with it; and we have been credibly informed, that a fleet of five or fix sail have left the coast, with little or none other merchandize on board. At present, however, this trade is greatly on the decline, their Molucca spices being so well established, as to their credit, that such artifices are thought unnecessary. Their example has been followed by other nations; though we are told the English still preserve some part of their former spice trade. Now the chief commerce of the Grain Coast consists in ivory and slaves. Marmol relates, that before the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Africa, the merchants of Barbary used to traverse the continent, and trade largely with the Grain Coast in Guinea pepper, exporting it again to Italy, and all the southern parts of Europe.

Of the manners of the nation.

The natives of this division are guilty of no excess in eating or drinking, or indeed of d intemperance in any kind of luxury. They admit the Europeans into all their families with their women; and even invite them to love banquets with their own wives and daughters; nay, some of them prostitute their wives to their own children; and when reproached by the Europeans for such a treachery upon decency, and the law of nature, they smile and call it a trifle. One quality they have in common with all negroes, which is a propensity to steal whatever they come near, especially from strangers and foreigners, though they never omit the opportunity whatever the person be. Sons will steal from their fathers, and they again procure from their children; even the things they may have for asking or commanding, they chuse to possess themselves of by dint of genius and address. If they are received on board of a ship, nothing comes minus; they steal the heads of old rusty nails, rather than go away empty handed; yet are they clamorous for presents or долг.

Of the language.

The language of this people is so difficult and peculiar in the idiom, that it is not only utterly unintelligible to Europeans, but to the nearest neighbouring nations, none of whom are able to act as interpreters. All trade is carried on by signs and tokens, not the most decent; the Europeans are forced to make love to the negro women by tokens, which, with the affability of a lively imagination, they soon make shift to comprehend. In general they are well shaped, and handsome in their persons and features. The common dress is a paan, or unshaped piece of cloth round the waist. They are extremely subject to szoriti bermahs and ruptures, but for what reason cannot so easily be determined, without a more thorough acquaintance with their manners; and Barbé has seen them of fo extraordinary a kind, that the szoriti hung down as low as the knees. When any of them chances to travel out of his own little district, and is met by a stranger, they mutually embrace, pressing each others shoulders closely, and pronouncing the word tooa. Then they begin and rub each others arms up to the elbow, still repeating tooa; after which they apply to each others fingers, which they crack, and finish their extraordinary salutation, with crying out enfanumate, enfaminate! that is, my dear friend, how do you?

They have some excellent mechanics among them; particularly smiths, who perfectly understand the art of tempering steel and other metals, and making arms, and all steel instruments, to the highest proof; nor are they deficient in shipwrights, who build their canoes of different sizes, upon certain regular principles. Experience hath taught them g many useful improvements in husbandry, particularly in respect to the means of cultivating

*Marmol, tom. i. lib. i. c. 5.*

4 rice,
Chap. 16. The history of the Grain Coast.

a rice, millet, and Guinea pepper; the chief instruments of their subsistence and trade. Their Of their Taka, Taka folye, or as others call him, Taka fai, or king, exerts an arbitrary power and despotic authority over his subjects, and never appears abroad but with the utmost pomp and magnificence. His people raise his power by certain implicit sentiments of a natural submission, and that awe, with which they would regard a superior Being. Their ignorance attaches them to paganism; but natural reason dictates a future state, as appears by the ceremonies performed to the souls of the deceased, which they pray they may meet happy in another world. They welcome the new moon with songs, dancing, and diversions of every kind; and their superstitious regard for forcerers is extreme.

As the country round the river Senes is more accurately examined by Europeans than Of the country the Grain Coast, we shall extract whatever we can find in authors devolving notice. Phillips being round the river Senes.

b seems to have taken great pains in sounding the depths of all the different bays, creeks, and branches, towards the mouth of the river, and as far as up as shipping of any burthen can enter; concluding, with Des Marchais, that the anchorage is every where good and secure, but that the sea is rough, and the currents strong towards the south-east and north-west of the channel. It is besides blocked up by blind rocks, covered with six feet water, and two that raise their tops in sight, which is the principal reason why this navigation is dangerous to shipping, but safe enough to small craft and light vessels. The true channel is between that rock, standing in the middle of the largest eastern branch; here the breadth is half a cable over, and the depth thirty-seven fathoms, beyond which the river is broad and beautiful, the ships of an hundred tons may anchor securely; within a cannon shot are some springs of excellent fresh water, from which the women of the country supply ships with any quantity, while their husbands are hewing down wood for the same purpose. The river has its source high up the country; but whence it is not ascertained; however, some voyagers affirm, that barks and small craft can penetrate above twenty-five miles; after which it is filled with rocks and flats, which render it impassable, only by canoes. All its banks are adorned with fine trees, richly planted with villages, and refreshed with cooling streams of fresh water, that tumble down from the higher grounds and fall into the river. All the country on both sides is fertile, wild fowl are abundant, and rice and millet the commonest commodities of trade. But with all the wealth of this beautiful country, the climate is extremely unhealthy to strangers, and usually subjects them to dangerous and long diseases, many of their acute fevers terminating in some chronic distemper. Here is found a beautiful kind of flint or pebble, more transparent than agate, hard as a diamond, and almost equal in lustre when well cut. At the distance of an hundred paces from the mouth of the river stands a negro town, consisting of above an hundred houses, neat, well built, and commodious; which may be seen at sea three miles from land. Des Marchais describes two other towns, a little above, of almost equal dimensions, and separated by a pond of fine clear fresh water. The first of these stands on a peninsula, that helps to form the bay, towards the entrance of the river, and is the principal seat of commerce.

c Barbot, who visited the king of this country in the year 1687, describes the feat where the monarch resided, as a little town of thirty or forty houses, on the banks of a pleasant rivulet, built with mud, and surrounded by an earthen rampart. Every house is at least one story above the ground floor, some three, and all of them whitened with a lime made from calcined shells. Their floors are made with rough beams, or branches of palm, laid close to each other, which renders it difficult to walk across the chamber without stumbling; and the roof composed of the same materials, covered over with banana and palm leaves. In the council chamber, Barbot was surprised to see cut out in bafio relieve the figure of a woman, holding an infant in her arms, about three feet in length. On each side of the block of wood were cut out little platters to hold meat and drink for the fetiche; for such it appeared to be. In this chamber, and before this idol, it was that the negroes performed all oaths, binding them to the execution of any contract or promise.

d This prince’s name was Bajato, or Peter, a man of an agreeable aspect, soft disposition, but of a weak judgment, bordering upon folly. Of this I had sufficient experience, says our author, during my residence, as he never parted an hour from me during my stay here. He adds, that the town has hardly any other inhabitants besides the women, children, court, and slaves of the king. He had thirty women, wives and concubines, but the author had only seen six, one of which was beautiful to an extreme, though advanced in years. Her arms, legs, and other parts of the body, were marked with the figures of birds and beasts, seared on the skin with a hot iron, and at a little distance appearing to be in bas-relief; an ornament that is reckoned strikingly beautiful in this country. The king and all his children wear a cap made of the twigs of offer, the only badge which distinguishes them from their subjects; for, in other respects, the children labour in the same vocations and employments as the meanest negro. When Barbot at any time made a trip of
of pleasure on the water, he was always attended by some of those young princes, who performed the office of watermen, and rowed the canoe. Both Barbot and Des Marchais remark, that although his power was absolute, capital punishments were rare, as the king found it more his interest to fell the criminals as flies; and indeed this was partly owing to the clemency of his nature, and the good disposition of his subjects, who were seldom guilty of crimes of so heinous a nature, but constantly employed in the domestic cares of their families, or in trade and fishing.

It is the observation of the last-mentioned writer, that the negroes of Sefos, are the most obliging and civil that he had ever met with; a glass of brandy being a sufficient inducement or reward for the most important services; but whether we are to ascribe their civility to their love of brandy, or their natural disposition, is what can only be determined by trying what good offices they will do for a stranger, without any reward or expectation. They are rather of a tall stature, well made, robust, and of a martial air; their courage corresponding with their aspect, as appears by their frequent incursions into neighbouring inland countries, in quest of slaves. Very few merchants, or rather factors, reside here; for the perpetual state of hostility in which they live with their neighbours breaks off all commercial intercourse, and renders gold but little known in Sefos.

The sole employment of many of the negroes of this country is fishing, and every morning presents large fleets of canoes ranged along the shore, upon this busines. Their common method of fishing is by a hand line and hook, which they seldom draw empty out of the water.

While Snoek sailed in the country, he heard no mention nor saw any appearances of war, except with a neighbouring nation, that had entered the country and burnt some villages. This occasion was, however, sufficient to confirm the relations of former authors concerning their warlike disposition; for they attacked and drove the enemy, though superior in number, before them, flew a great many, and made a multitude of prisoners, which they sold to Snoek and other European merchants.

Des Marchais relates, that the natives of Sefos never wear any covering on their head, or hardly on any part of their bodies, in the most torrid heats of the year, and heaviest rains. In this particular they surpass all the nations of Guinea; neither men nor women wearing any more than a small rag before to cover their nakedness. Nor is their diet less simple than their dress, their chief nourishment being from vegetables, notwithstanding they breed great quantities of cattle and fowls, in order to supply the shipping that touch on the coast. He adds, that from the French they borrowed the custom of taking Christian appellatives, such as John, Thomas, Paul, James, &c. though it is restrained to their captains and leaders, being given to them as a distinguishing name. If an European has engaged their affection either by his virtues or vices, they request leave to bestow his name on their children, and granting their petition is esteemed the highest favour; and for a century together those names have been found hereditary in their families, descending regularly from father to son. Their method of saluting differs but little from that which we have mentioned is practised among the surrounding nations, and other people on the Coast of Africa. They have but few ceremonies previous to marriage; indeed, the only material one is a sum paid to the parents, after which the lover may carry off his mistress when he pleases; he drinks a few bottles of spirits with the relations, and then conducts the bride to his hut, where she is received by other women, who prepare everything for celebrating a wedding. The night she passes with her husband; after which all distinctions cease, and she goes to labour with the rest of the women, receiving the honour of her husband's embraces in her turn, or at his pleasure. Such wives as bring their husbands the first child, and confer on them the honourable title of father, have peculiar privileges ever after; they are the favourites of their spouses, and the chief persons in the family, which is entirely directed by them; yet in the end this felicity costs them dear, for they are buried alive with them, if they happen to die first. The captain or chief of the village, dying either a natural death, or of the consequences of a debauch in drinking strong spirits, immediately his wives set up loud lamentations, that warn the whole neighbourhood of the event; upon which all the other women in the place flock to the house to mingle their howlings with those furies. The favourite distinguishes herself by the violence of her plaints, which are perhaps the only sincere expressions among the whole, as she alone has cause. The parents of the deceased come and condole with the widow, and bid her the last farewell; the marabouts examine the body, and declare it fully and naturally dead; then, after wafting, they anoint it, affixed by other priests, with a kind of fat or grease, from the head to the feet; in which condition it is placed on a mat in the middle of the house. All the women take their fees round the corpse, and the favourite places herself with a good grace at the head, as the post of honour; the stranger females making another circle round the former. They endeavour to rival each other in the violence of the howlings or shrieks of their cries, and the mad fury
Chap. 16. The history of Sierra Leone.

a fury with which they tear their hair. All of a sudden, a pause of silence interrupts this
difmal noise, and the virtues and the noble actions of the deceased are recited by one of
them, by way of interlude; after which they resume their cries with redoubled vehemence.
After this infernal music has continued for the space of two hours, a couple of stout negroes,
without speaking a word, enter the chamber, and laying the body upon a litter composed
of the branches of trees, they carry it away on their shoulders, running through the town,
and counterfeiting despair and drunkenness, with gestures so highly ridiculous, as cannot be
equalled but by the women from whom they have taken the corpse. This absurd circuit
being performed in the space of an hour, the body is taken down from the litter, and laid
upon the ground where it is to be deposited, when the cries of the women again begin.

b While this howling employs the company present, the marbut is buffeted in digging
a grave large enough for the two bodies. He kills a goat, sprinkles the grave with the
blood, and makes an elegant repast of the entrails, part of which he gives to the favourite
widow, now to become a sacrifice to her husband's affections. At length, when the marbut
thinks it time to close the ceremony, he takes her by both arms, and delivers her to two
negroes, who lay hold of her in a rude disrespectful manner, and tie her hands behind.
In this situation they throw her on her back, lay a plank along her breast, upon which they
mount one behind another, and crush her almost to death; after this they throw her half alive
into the same grave with her husband, and immediately fill it up with earth and stones, all
the spectators standing rather in a stupid admiration at the spectacle, than filled with that
horror which might naturally be expected to take place in the human frame. During the
whole of this barbarous transaction, a profound silence reigns through the whole assembly;
and as soon as it is concluded, every one departs with the same tranquility as if nothing
extraordinary had happened.

Travellers inform us, that though there are ingenious workmen in iron and metals in
every part of the Grain Coast, yet that at Sefos they are peculiarly expert, having first learnt
the art from the French, and since greatly improved it; insomuch that in tempering steel
they greatly exceed any European nation.

The Portuguese were the first who disposed of the French of their trade here, as well as in
other parts of Guinea (if they really ever had the trade which their historians affirm). For
the country, a number of years after they exercised a despotic authority over the poor natives; but the great
advantages they have derived from this commerce, having excited the emulation of the
Englisli and Dutch in 1664, their power began to give way to the more warlike and
commercial spirit of their rivals. They lost gradually all their settlements, and being
forced to retire into the interior countries, they resolved, as the last effort, to unite
themselves with the natives by marriage; whence sprung that mixed progeny of mulattoes,
more numerous here than in any part of Guinea. From policy, and perhaps from natural
national affection, the Portuguese entrusted them with the care of the small remnant of trade
they now have, give them the appellation of phidalges or gentlemen, reconcile them to the
church of Christ, may even admit them into holy orders, and render them useful in propa-
gating Christianity and the gospel.

These African Portuguese have established an extensive power in many parts of Africa;
their complexion and alliances gaining them everywhere the liberty of commerce. They
have penetrated into the interior countries, north of the kingdoms of Gage, Benin, Maningo,
and the remotest parts of Ethiopia, superior and inferior. Thence settled on the banks of
the rivers Sierra Leone, Sefos, and Sangoon, carry on a trade with the rivers Gambi, Kafa-
manja, Rio St. Domingo, and Rio Grande. It is certain, that the many advantages those
mulattoes enjoy, and especially the credit they have with the negroes, would put them in a
condition of driving perhaps the richest commerce in the world, if they were regularly
supplied with European commodities and merchandise.

f The ships employed in the slave trade touch at Sefos to take in rice, which they buy at
the rate of two hillings per quintal in exchange. The European merchants send to the
council room of Palavac their merchandise, such as copper vessels, lead, and powder,
which they exchange for goats, fowls, and other provisions. Half an ounce of powder will
more than purchase a fine fowl, nay often a goat, and other things are bought at an equally
reasonably low price.

We cannot refrain from mentioning, from Barbot, an account of two extraordinary personages
he met with at Sefos, though it does by no means relate to the general idea of the country
we intended to convey. One of these men was of a large robust stature, his complexion
almost white, but chequered all over with small black spots, that made him resemble a
tiger. The complexion of the other was, on the contrary, a black ground spotted with
white; but what rendered him fill more curious was, that his whole life had been consumed
without fearlessly stirring out of the same place, and employed solely in smoking tobacco.
His scrotum was of an incredible size, and the penis entirely sunk in its immensity. Barbot
Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.
was thrown the small passage through which he made urine, and he compares it to the juice passing through the prominence on the small end of a lemon; so diminished in comparison was the penis. He imagines, that, besides leprasis, these two men had been afflicted with leprosies from their birth, notwithstanding they felt no inconveniency from the discoloration of their skin, and discovered no other symptoms of this disease*. It is certain, that leprosies are so frequent in the country, as to countenance in some measure his conjecture; but then it appears with far more malignant and fatal symptoms; and Barbot seems in another place to be of opinion, that the natives did not believe them infected, as they converted familiarly with them; whereas they cautiously avoid the least communication with persons suspected of the smallest taint of the infection. It is probable, indeed, that their complaints were a kind of rubus nature, a variety in which nature sometimes delights, arising from some slight cause impervious to human reason.

This is all we know of their manners; and how travellers come to know so much, we are at a loss to conjecture; as they all profess themselves ignorant of the language, and little conversant with the people; but we have ventured to relate these particulars on the faith of writers, in some degree of repute for integrity and intelligence. To conclude our account of this coast, of which we know so little, we shall observe, that the months most favourable to trade, are February, March, and April; that small vessels are more convenient than large ships, on account of entering the rivers and falling up the country; and lastly, that the south-south-east winds begin to blow in the month of May, bringing constantly along with them heavy rains and tornadoes, extremely dangerous to shipping, with thunder and lightning that is terrible.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing a geographical description of the country of Sierra Leone; the rivers Scherbro and Sierra Leone, with the trade carried on by means of them; the government, religion, drage, language, and customs of the natives; with a short account of the kingdom of Bolk; and several other particulars.

The next country we come to is Sierra Leone, a name given to some of the mountains on this coast by the Portuguese, on account of the great number of lions bred there. Others derive this name from the terrible noise made by the beating of the sea against the shore, which they have compared to the roaring of a lion, with what propriety we cannot say. The Moors call this division Bulombel, signifying a great country; and indeed, in its largest extent, it seems to merit the appellation. Geographers, however, are not at all unanimous about its precise boundaries, though the most distinct limits, as laid down by Roberts, in his Atlas Geographique, are from the Grain Coast on the south-east, to Cape Verga, or as Labat calls it, Cape Vega, on the north-west; comprehending within these frontiers an infinity of different kingdoms and states, of which we know not so much as the names. Labat again extends the Grain Coast to the river Scherbro, which he calls the south-east frontiers of Sierra Leone, and Cape Verga the north-east. Other writers still reduce these limits, and confine the country strictly called Sierra Leone, between the Cape Lede, or Tagrin, and Verga, these two promontories forming that spacious bay into which the river Scherbro discharges itself. Towards the inland, its limits are uncertain; though Barbot has ventured to affirm, that the lake Comoegudi and the great kingdom of Mandingo form the northern frontiers, by this means comprehending under the division of Sierra Leone, a tract of country altogether prodigiously.

The great river Scherbro, which by some writers is called Madre Bomba, by others Rio Selhoba, and by others Rio das Palmas, separates the country called Seftos from that region strictly called Sierra Leone; having its source a prodigious way up in the superior Ethiopia, and emptying itself in the sea on the frontiers of Bolk Moun, or Monos, forming there a great number of large marshes. Large ships go up as far as Bages, twenty five miles from the mouth of the river, where the English formerly had a factory, and vessels of sixty and eighty tons burthen as far as Ketoam, above two hundred miles from the sea, and indeed to the borders of the kingdom of Mandingo; whence it is probable, that the Scherbro is a branch either from the river Gambia, out of the lake Saper, or from the river Sengal, both of them stretching eastward at right angles to it. As you penetrate above Ketoam, the channel grows gradually narrower, and in many places would seem to be blocked up by the branches of large trees croffing it; otherwise, in the months of April and May, during the rainy season, when vessels cut down the timber called cam, the channel is ten feet deep, and even in the

* Vid. Barbot, Villaut, Snoeck, Ogilvy, Atkins, Dapper, &c. as quoted.  
* Vid. Finch.  
IABAT, c. ii. Relations d'Afrique occiden.  
Barbot, & Villaut, ubi sup.  

g dry
dry seaons has freld less than five or six feet foundings. The navigation of the Scherbro, as it is chiefly in the rainy seaon, is frequently interrupted with tornadoes, on the approach of which the vessels are obliged to fasten themselves strongly with cables to the large trees on the banks.

At the mouth of the river stands an island, by the English called Scherbro, by the Portuguese, Forilha or Forilha, by the Dutch, Moalta Ruaja, and by the French, Corbera; stretching south-east and north-west along the coast, and forming a large bay between it and the continent. On the west point of Scherbro are three small islands, called Teta, in a direct line with it, to which the English have given the name of Plantain Islands, from the quantity of that fruit they produce. As to the island Scherbro, it extends ten miles south-east, producing great abundance of rice, maize, yams, bananas, potatoes, Indian figs, ananas, citrons, oranges, water melons, the nut called kola, with a variety of other fruits and roots. Fine pearls are found in an oyster bred on the shore; but the fishing for them is dangerous, on account of the numbers of crocodiles, alligators, and sharks, that infest all the mouth of the river. Wild fowls and elephants are also found here in such plenty, as could not be expected in an island of so small dimensions. The inhabitants are idolaters, notwithstanding which they practice the Jewish rite of circumcision.

On a little island to the north-east of Scherbro, called York Island, the English erected a fort, which they mounted with twenty pieces of large cannon, and at the distance of twenty paces from the fort on the same bank, they raised two large parapets, each defended by five pieces of artillery. All these works were built of stone, and the garrison consist of thirty-five Europeans, and fifty or sixty negroes. Before the building of this fort, the English had a lodge on the continent, close to the sea, and fronting the eastern point of Scherbro; but both this and York Fort were relinquished in the year 1727, the factors retiring to Jamaica, a little island so called, four miles west of York Island: now they are all abandoned, the company maintaining no factory at all on the island or river Scherbro.

Altho' the Scherbro is the first river of distinction between the Rio Sefo, and the river Sierra Leone, there are a number of intermediate streams and rivers of less note, some of which are navigable for several miles up, particularly Junco, the most easterly river of the whole, the Rio de St. Paul, Rio de Galinas, and the Rio Magnuba or Nunca; and north-west of the Scherbro, besides the river Sierra Leone, there are also navigable by small vessels, the Rio St. Ana, Rio Pajemo, Rio de Caper, and the Rio des Pedras, all of them succeeding in a regular course north-west.

We shall begin our description of this country with Cape Monte, the first place of note of the natives we meet with north-west of Sefo, or Cape Maturado, except the inland kingdom of Folga, or Cape now conquered by the king of Mono. This cape, to which the natives call Wea Kings, is seen several leagues at sea, having the appearance of an inland or great mountain, surronded by the sea, in ten degrees five minutes north latitude; but, according to M. D'Avallo's charts, in seven degrees forty minutes north. It is a true peninsula, stretching eaffouth-east, and west-north-west into the sea, affording secure anchorage in two fine bays on the west side. There is a small river of the same name, that falls into the bay within half a mile of it, and supplies the shipping with good fresh water. On the banks of this river is a plain several leagues in extent, and covered with villages, and all kinds of quadrupeds, as oxen, cows, goats, sheep, hogs, deer, hares, antelopes, with an infinite number of others; being in this particular one of the richest and most beautiful spots in the universe. Fowls of all sorts are found here in the utmost abundance; nor is the earth less prolific in fruits, roots, maize, rice, and millet. Here are pine-apples, citrons, lemons, oranges, and all the rich fruits of Europe, Asia, and America. The palm-wine is excellent, the air moderate, and the spring waters cool and refreshing; in a word, the country round Cape Monte is, except in the rainy season, the paradise of this part of Guinea.

Des Machais describes the inhabitants as not underderving of to happy a situation, for their manners, they are mild in their nature, generous and fecable, handsome in their persons, indolent, disinterested, their labour being the result of reaon, not of avarice. Smilling conveys the same idea of this happy people, and indeed launches out into the highest ecomiums on their virtues. Their chief occupations consist in cultivating rice, grain of all kinds, and making salt; certain portions of which are paid as a tribute to their monarch the king of Ruaja, who holds them in the most absolute subjection, but without diminishing their felicity, as his authority is entirely reigned by their fervile awe, rather than any extraordinary power he exerts. They are little acquainted with war, preferring peaceable negociations to arms, in all disputes with their neighbours. The men are permitted to keep as many women as they can maintain; and as the females are no less laborious than the males, they find their interest in the multiplicity of their women; nor are the husbands at all jealous of the freedoms which strangers take with their wives. The supreme power under the king, and the courts of justice, are in the hands of the caboveree, who deliberate upon all public affairs,
and decide by a majority of voices. The officers of state are at the same time captains of villages, and it is their fidelity, prudence, and courage, which obtain them those honourable employments.

Children of both sexes go naked till they arrive at the age of thirteen or fourteen years, when people of distinction wear a little cotton paan, and the common people remain in their primitive nakedness. None besides the king, his court, and officers of the household, go always cloathed. The women of a middle degree wear girdles of rushes or palm leaves, at a certain time of life, when nature dictates that nakedness would be indecent; and these are prettily woven, hanging down to their knees, bordered with a fringe of rushes, or flounced with palm leaves. They likewise wear bras, copper, or iron bracelets round their wrists, and large rings of the same metals upon their legs, to which they hang silver bells, which make a sound not disagreeable when they dance; an exercise of which, like all other negroes, they are passionately fond, especially of imitating the European manner. In other respects they are more chaste, more modest, and industrious, than the generality of negro women; and their husbands more jealous, says Villainit, contrary to the testimony of Barbot, Sweck, and Des Marchais, as well as Labat, who bestows the highest praise on the indulgence of the men in this instance; perhaps because they found it convenient.

But the most common dress among people of condition of both sexes is the moumi, made of woollen cloth, r, manufactured by themselves. The women tie this round the waist, letting it fall to the knee; but the men fix it before, and bring it betwixt their legs, tying it to the girdle behind. Both sexes take great delight in dressing their hair, or the wool of their heads, intermingling with it little plates of gold and other ornaments, an employment in which they bestow all the time they can spare from their other amusements and necessary avocations. Besides this, the women have another passion, that is, in making what they call a fétiche, and dressing themselves out in the manner most engaging to the men. Their chief ornament on this occasion consists of a line of paint, either white, yellow, or red, drawn across their forehead, which, being laid on wet, falls down in streaks to the eyebrows and cheeks before it dries. They have likewise circles of paint round their arms, legs, and waist, the negroes discovering extraordinary beauty in this diversity of colours. The ornaments among the men are much of the same kind, only differing in the size of the rings and bracelets, with which their arms, legs, fingers, and toes are loaded. Hardly the meanest negro goes without some of these, and the number increases with the wealth and vanity of the wearer.

In their hovels, which are of the same model we shall have occasion to describe when we come to Senegal, they are neat and cleanly. The royal palaces and the houses of the great are an oblong square, with one story floored with beams in the manner we have mentioned in our account of Sefos, and covered with palm leaves so closely united, that it withstands the heaviest rains, and most scorching beams of the sun. The floor they divide into a number of apartments, allotted to different purposes; the first being a chamber of audience, surrounded with fophas, railed about a foot above the floor, and covered with mats of palm leaves, beautifully united and diversified with a thousand elegant colours. Here it is that the great pass most of their time, stretched along those couches, with their heads resting in the laps of their favourite women; here they eat, drink palm-wine, and smoke tobacco, when they receive strangers; another apartment answering those purposes when the family is alone. In their manner of eating they are more civilized than most other negroes; for here they eat off plates of a hard wood, and dishes of ivory neatly turned, and kept white with abundance of care. They use wooden spits for roasting; and that their elegance may be more uniform and consistent, their kitchens are entirely separated from their hovels, to prevent their being incommoded by the heat, smoke, or fumes of the victuals.

It is observable, that the language of the negroes alters gradually as you pass along from east to west. Arts and sciences being entirely unknown among them, their language is formed by a few words, sufficient to express the necessaries of life; that is, all the ideas they have; and hence perhaps reigns that silence observable in all their public meetings and entertainments, their ideas being insufficient to enliven conversation, and furnish a constant fund of discourse. Voyagers observe, that the same sounds frequently occur, even in a short discourse; and that their fongs are only a repetition of five or six words. Villainit relates, that in his time a corrupt Portuguese mixture was in great vogue among them; nor need we be surprized at this, considering the number of mulattoes spread all over that part of Africa, who have formed to themselves a language, by blending together the Portuguese and negro tongues.

With regard to their religion, the same author observes, that it is difficult for Europeans to procure a distinct idea of it, it being a mixture of Mohammedanism, borrowed from the Moors who cross the continent, of idolatry, ignorance, and superstition. He was once seriously told that the white men worshipped God, but the black men were votaries to the devil.
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A devil; and Des Marais affirms us that they pay great regard to this being. They pray and sacrifice to him, but without acknowledging his divinity or loving him; and Snaek remarks, with great appearance of truth, and from many instances, that their religion consists in paying an intire submission to the will of their king and governors; in this is contained the sum of all virtue; as for what paifies above, they give themselves no trouble about it.

All the French writers affirm, that the Roan company carried on a regular trade hither, about the year 1526; although the seat of their factory can be discovered by no remaining monuments. When the Eng. India company sent some ships to Cape Monte, in the years 1666, 1669, the king of the country, probably the king of Syby, received the admirals with all possible marks of respect, granting the freedom of all his ports, and an exemption from every kind of duty or impost. The reigning prince at that time was considerably advanced in years, of a noble, majestic deportment, tall in stature, and full of sweetness and engaging manners. His name was Fullam Bure, and he greatly delighted in the sprightly manners of the French nation.

All the Europeans who trade hither, the Engls, Dutch, &c. buy up great quantities of Trade mats, cotton cloths, and ivory, which is nothing inferior to what they find on the Ivory Coast; however, what the natives purchase from the northern negroes is of a yellower color, and of less value, though larger than what they produce in their own country. Here also are purchased the skins of lions, tigers, panthers, and other fierce animals, with which all the mountains are filled. This coast likewise affords five or six hundred slaves yearly; but they are such as they buy, or get in exchange for their commodities from the king of Mandoing, and the interior regions of Africa; for custom forbids their enslaving any other besides criminals, which are sold for the king's emolument. Cape Monte furnishes as much gold, Des Marais believes, as would support the expenses of a factory, although it is drawn from the interior countries. Besides all these articles of commerce, the woods abound with trees useful for dying, which the negroes cut down and carry in logs to the shore, in pieces of about five feet in length, ready to be shipped. This is the wood which our merchants call cam, and prefer in many respects to brazili wood. Atkins observes, that the timid disposition of the natives is almost the only obstruction to an advantageous trade with this coast. They fortify the ships in canoes, which they row with great dexterity, and sing all the while out of respect, if they happen to have a colacora on board. Before they board the ship they examine her closely, and after they mount deck betray their fears, by a certain impatience and anxiety visible in every countenance, which makes them hurry on business, and upon the slightest accident throw themselves into the sea. When a cabocoro comes on board, he immediately presents to the captain a certificate from the last European ship that touched there, in testimony of the honour and kindnes with which she was treated; a custom of great use, if practised with discretion and judgment; but if followed indiscriminately, through good nature, of bad consequence, as it only furnishes the negroes with the fairer opportunity of plundering and feasting.

It would be endless to treat of every separate kingdom within the division of Sierra Leone, and indeed unnecessary, as the natural productions and manners of the people have nothing strikingly different; it may not however be improper to give a short account of the kingdom of Mejurado, before we proceed to the north-west end of Sierra Leone. Notwithstanding this country comes first in order in course from the south-east to the north-west coast, yet we have deferred our account of it, as of less importance, and in some measure dependent on the former.

Between Cape Mejurado and the river Socos, is Rio Tunco, a beautiful river, called likewise Rio del Punto, under five degrees fifty minutes north latitude, about 500 paces wide at its entrance, the banks cloathed with a perpetual verdure, from groves of oranges, limes, and all manner of fruit trees. Six miles east from heave is the river Jabe, on which stands a fine village, large and well peopled. Near this it was, that the merchants of Dippo established a factory, some vestiges of which still remain; enough indeed to allure us, by Des Marais, that the Normans traded hither. As to Cape Mejurado and the adjacent country, Snaek affirms, that the chief wealth of the natives arises from the excellent palm-wine produced in this country, in great abundance; and that rice holds the second rank in trade. The natives take in exchange bijis and kowris, the most valuable of all possessions in their opinion; inasmuch that Phillips, for about half a pint of these shells, bought thirty pounds weight of rice. They are also fond of bars of iron and scarlet cloths, but the country produces nothing worth while to carry a cargo thither. Des Marais on the contrary affirms, that Cape Mejurado furnishes 1500 or 2000 slaves yearly, 500 quintals of ivory, gold in proportion to the address and diligence of the factor employed, and as much dying wood as can be required.

The country is populous, and the villages stand so thick along the coasts, that they resemble one continued town. The women are so remarkably prolific, that one is amazed.
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how the country finds sustenance for such a number of children. Although the laws of proportion are but little regarded in building particular houses, yet their towns are laid out with the strictest order, and in a manner so analogous, that they can hardly be distinguished from each other, but by the surrounding country. The king's palace differs in nothing but extent and the number of apartments from other houses; only that here he has a magnificent state room; magnificent at least, for the simplicity of their manners, and ignorance of all the arts of refinement and luxury. In the middle of each village stands, upon pilasters about six feet from the ground, a town hall, what the natives call a kaledé, or conversation chamber. As the doors of this hall always stand open, you may enter at any hour, and meet with company and palm-wine. Here they transact bargains, talk over their narrow politics, drink, and smoke tobacco. At Cape Mejardao there is one piece of luxury practised, but little known in any part of Guinea, from Cape de Trés Pintas to Senegal, and that is a kind of litter or palanquin of palm-leaves, in which persons of condition are carried on the shoulders of slaves. Phillips had occasion to go to Andrea, the capital and residence of the then reigning prince, who was called Peter; a name that had defended for generations, from king to king of this country. It stands about eight miles up the little river Mejardao, surrounded by wood, and entirely hid till you are ready to enter it. Like all the other villages and towns of the kingdom, it is walled round by a strong high earthen parapet and ditch, which entirely conceals the houses, and defends them. Instead of gates are little holes in the wall, just enough to creep through, that being their method of fortifying. Their mats on which they sit are elegant, and prettily diversified with red, white, yellow, green, and a variety of other colours. One thing remarkable in their buildings, especially the kitchens, is, that they are open to the contrary side to what the wind blows. If they have an easterly breeze, they throw open the west side, if a south breeze, they receive the cool air from the north; having by this means a fresh draught of air, without the inconvenience of a brisk wind. In general those houses resemble theatres, more than dwelling houses. Besides these, the negroes have large buildings, intended for granaries, and for the most part well stocked with rice, millet, pulse, palm-oil, and aqua vitae. Every week's provision is given out to the women by the master of the family, and then the magazine is locked up. An admirable order and regularity is preserved in all domestic concerns, every woman having her particular province appointed her; they take care of their children, render mutual good offices to each other, neither ambition or jealousy raising heats and contentions to disturb the tranquillity of the family; but all living rather with the harmony of fishers, than with the rancour of rivals, in the affection of their lord.

The religion of the country is the grossest idolatry, confused, and without any certain principle; their fetiches altering with their humour, and according to their caprice. The most constant object of worship is the sun, to which glorious luminary they make sacrifices and offerings of palm-wine, oil, fruits, and different sorts of animals. Formerly they used to sacrifice human victims; a barbarous custom! that has ceased, since commerce pointed out to them that their true interest consisted in the multiplicity of their slaves and prisoners, whom they fell to the Europeans. These offerings are made by the hands of the high priest or marbas, who shares with the king all that is valuable in it, the rest being left to the populace. The doctrine of Mohammed has never yet had footing among this people, altho' the name given their high priest seems to countenance this opinion; whence it is probably a name applied by the Europeans, and received into their language by the negroes.

Of the river North-west of Sefebro is the great river Sierra Leona, by some called Mitimba, and by others Tagrin, or Tagrim. This river derives its origin from a lake in the kingdom of Mandinga, according to some geographers; while others maintain it to be a branch of the river Senegal, or rather of the Niger; neither of which opinions are supported by unexceptionable proofs. The mouth, or first opening of the river, is three miles, some say three leagues wide; but four or five miles up its breadth is reduced to one mile. The entrance is not above two fathoms deep, except a narrow chanel close under the mountains, which varies from fix to ten fathoms; a circumstance that greatly affects the trade and navigation of this fine river. It abounds with fish, but is infested with crocodiles as far as it is known by the Europeans, probably indeed to its very source. It is bordered, without a single breach, with fine large trees, and filled with little islands all covered with wood, particularly the palm, whence the natives make incredible quantities of wine. When Villainet was here in 1666, the English had a factory in one of the most fertile and beautiful of these islands. Their house was built of brick and hewn stone, defended by four pieces of cannon, and a small garrison.

Barbot observes, that the north side of the river being low and flat, it is the southern country which is filled with high mountains, that, properly speaking, is called Sierra Leona: however, most voyagers give all that coast from Sefebro to Cape Verga this general appellation. In the open and plain country, although the heat of the sun be intolerable before
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before a breeze rise, yet a refreshing gale always springing up towards the middle of the day, renders the country supportable enough, except it be woody and mountainous. In general it must be allowed to be an unhealthy climate to Europeans, as but too many instances of loaves sustained by this nation evidently confirm. The continual thunder and rain, with a close, stifling, and malignant heat, that prevails for fix months, and especially for four months of the year, bring on such a corruption of air, that myriads of insects are produced, and all animal food reduced in a few hours to a state of thorough putrefaction. People are confined for several days together in their chambers, to avoid as much as possible the pestilential infection of the atmosphere. Sometimes tornadoes produce a scene the most frightful and astonishing, day is turned into night, the most horrible darkness overcasts mid-day, and the face of nature seems all of a sudden to be changed. However this may feize strangers with amazement and terror, it is seldom attended with conseqences that are fatal, or in the least dreadful to natives: so powerful is custom and habit.

Sierra Leone is inhabited by two nations, the one called Vieux Capez, as the French Of the Capez spell it; the other Kombo Menze. The former pass for the most polished people in Afric, the latter for a barbarous, bold, warlike, and refleafs nation; esteemed men-eaters, or anthroopophagi, as we are told the word Menze imports in the negro language. The Portugese of Ceigo and Angola, look upon the Capez and Menze as the same race with the Gogos and Gales, who inhabit the east and north-east parts of Ceigo, and who have long been the terror of all their neighbours. They are all beloved to be sprung from the Galae Menze, populating those interior lands at the source of the river Sefos, as from one common root. The Capez and Menze nations were at perpetual war, till the year 1505, when the latter, leaving the inland countries, resolved to settle on the coast, of which the former were the natural inhabitants, taking the cruel resolution to ruin their country, and fell to it the Portugese, who had about that time settled on the western coast of Guinea. After their arrival, they found the soil so rich and fertile, that they determined to remain there, and to fell all the Capez prisoners they could make to the Portugese, and eat all those who perished in battle. Despair however animating the Capez nation, and giving vigour to their arms, the enemy found it impracticable to compass their design of wholly subduing or rather extirpating them. They maintained a part of their territories, while these barba- rians poiffed the rest; continual wars ensued, which lasted to the time Barbots was on that coast, in 1678. At that very time the Menze were preparing for a vigorous defence, and the others for a no less vigorous resistance; whence it may be conjectured, how destructive to both nations those inconsiderable hostilities in so long a course of years must have proved. The Capez were the greatest sufferers, being depopulated of a part of their fine territories, their arts and commerce disturbed, the nation depopulated, and every thing kept in constant confusion by the alarms of those formidable and cruel neighbours. Their battles began however to be less bloody than formerly they had been: both sides were exhausted, and nothing hardly remained but the desire of hurting, the ability being spent. It is affirmed, that now they both are subject to the king of Quoja, who has his residence at Cape Monte.

Flanfin, one of the predeccessors of those princes, having conquered them, his posterity have ever since continued to govern them by viceroyys, called dougbas; in time, however, these dougbas erectes themselves into a kind of independent princes, and were, at the time Akins was in the country (1727), at war among themselves, the younger brother with the elder. The younger, called Tom, then about sixty years of age, refided at Tombey, within a mile of Bages, at a place where the English shipping usually come to an anchor.

The north side of the river Sierra Leone, towards its mouth, is poiffed by two petty Of the king- kings, the monarchs of Burri and Boln, the first to the south, the other to the north. The king of Burri commonly refides at a village of the name same, which consists of about three huts, and five hundred inhabitants fit to bear arms. As to the king of Boln, we are told that he and severall of his court have been converted to Christianity by the Portugese missioners; how enlightened they may be we are not informed. In the language of the country, according to Barbots, Boln signifies low ground, which some pronounce Bolom and Bolum, adding Bera or gera, from which they make out the name Bulombers, by which the whole country of Sierra Leone is sometimes designated. The coast of Boln is low and flat in comparison of that of Burri, behind which lie the famous mountains, the Portugese call Sierra Leona, forming a chain of the highest hills, except the Ambos, of any on the south or north of Guinea. Within these mountains are such a number of dens and caverns, that a cannon fired in the bay, makes a frightful echo here; nor had thunder a less dreadful effect, the first time it was heard in this country. Hence it was, that the Portugese called them Montes Claras.

To return to the river Sierra Leone: it is filled with islands and little rocks, that rememble a number of hay ricks. The chief islands are Togu, Tesso, Bong, in the lat of which,
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the English had a factory and little fort, fronting the palace of captain Tem. The fort was built of stone, flanked with parapets, mounted with five pieces of heavy artillery, with an intermediate curtain and platform mounted with ten cannon. The garrison was usually composed of twenty white and thirty black men, free negros, who lived in huts covered by the cannon of the fort. In 1704 it was taken without resistance by two French men of war, under the command of the Sieur Guerin. At that time the garrison amounted to an hundred men, all of whom, except a gunner and six soldiers, abandoned the fort, headed by their commander, on the approach of the shipping. After pillaging the fort, and making prize of four thousand elephants teeth, together with other merchandize proper for the country, the French razed it to the ground. As for the fort on the isleand of Taffe, it was destroyed by De Ruyter in the year 1664.

A small distance from the head of the bay of France, a creek near the entrance of the river, Barbot takes notice of a bafoon of fresh water, which tumbling down the mountains is collected in this resevoir in such a quantity, that an hundred tons may be filled in an hour by a few hands. Nothing can exceed in beauty this delightful spot, surrounded with hills covered with wood, which afford a perpetual shade, in a country parched with the sun, the numberless cascades gliding down the mountains in gentle murmurs, or rushing with an impetuous stream and noise, which either lull orrouse the attention, just as you happen to apply the object, or assist to give an additional coolness to the scene. In this agreeable retreat it was, that our author used to dine, and spend whole days, when his business would permit. In a wood, at a small distance from hence, is the house of captain Tem, or rather the residence, composed of a number of little huts, round which he has a well cultivated plantation, filled with delicious fruits. He exacts a duty of two or three crowns from shipping, for the privilege of wooding and watering here. The whole country on every side the river is rich in rice and millet, which makes the chief sustenance of the inhabitants. The women grind the rice and form it into little balls or cakes, while the men fish it into water, and eat it greedily without any other preparation. Lemons, oranges, citrons, and bananas, are produced in great plenty and perfection; but they have but little Guiney pepper, that however being excellent that the country affords. Farther up the river, all the above fruits, together with ananas, Indian figs, water melons, wild pears, cafíava, white grapes, manishe, different sorts of pulse, and the nut kola, are in extreme abundance. These provisions they carry upon their shoulders to the shore for the use of shipping in the road.

Besides fruits, roots, and the spontaneous productions of the earth, there are in great abundance, fowls, hogs, hares, and deer, which mariners may purchase for a little aqua vitae, of which the natives are extravagantly fond, preferring it to the best palm-wine. The mountainous parts are well stocked with elephants, lions, tigers, wild boars, different sorts of apes and monkeys, together with serpents of so monstros a fize, that, if we may credit writers, each of them is capable of swallowing a man whole. The negroes pretend to have a plant of sovereign virtue against the poision of this animal; but as it is scarce, the natives frequently suffer of their wounds before it can be procured. Monkeys are so plentiful, that, forming themselves into bodies, they make incursions into all plantations, which they ravage and spoil with that cagernets for mischief peculiar to this ugly animal. One kind of them they call barry is of a monstrous height, and amazing docility. When young they learn to walk; create, and seldom chufe any other posture: they grind their rice or millet, steep it in water, carry it in vessels on their heads, and turn the spit when meat is roasting. Nothing is too difficult for this imitative animal; they will even open oysters, of which they are great lovers, with a knife. Here the negroes are fond of their flesh, preferring it to that of all other animals, except the elephant. The woods furnish a retreat to an infinite number of parrots, paroquets, pigeons, and other birds, of the most beautiful kinds, but they are not easily taken, on account of the thickness and clovenfeet of the trees. The sea and rivers afford the fame fish as the other parts of Guiney, and a constant supply of fresh provisions to the European mariners; for the negroes here are too indolent, says Barbot, to make the instruments of fishing, and catch no other fish but what is left by the sea among the rocks.

Every part of the country is covered with wood and fruit trees, some wholeframe and congenial to the human constitution, others virulently poisonous. Finch, in his voyage, mentions a tree resembling a beech, which the negroes call ago: it bears an oblong fruit, like the pod of a bean, distinguished into three kinds from its fize, but all of the same malignit qualities. The negroes use them in poisoning their arrows, for which purpose nothing can be better contrived, the smallfeeff quantity of it, entering the humours of the body, being fatal. Within the pod are inclosed four or five square beans, almost like the seed of a tamarind, incircled with a hard rind, containing a yellow kernel, from whence the poison is extracted.
The inhabitants of this part of Sierra Leona, that is, on both sides the river, are not so black or flat-nosed as most of the other negroes. They adorn their ears with a great number of toys they call kazubes; and it is usual with them to mark their cheeks and noses with certain figures, railed by a red hot iron. Their fingers are loaded with iron rings, and their arms with bracelets. Both sexes go naked to the age of fifteen; at which time they begin to dreads in a little piece of cloth, wrap round the waist or the back, or leaves of trees formed into aprons. They also wear a leathern girdle or belt, to which hangs a long knife or poniard, but perfons of condition appear abroad in a long flowing robe of striped calico, like the Mowgb dreads, with this girdle buckled over it, or under, according as they intend to be more or less dreed.

As they are naturally malicious, turbulent, and jealous in their dispositions, they seldom continue exposed to their infuls, can contrive no better means of vengeance, than by burning their huts and ruining their plantations. On the other hand they are temperate and sober, from a dislike to glutony and drunkenness. They being beyond belief lovers of spirits, brandy, uquebaugh, &c. yet do they never drink to excess, deeming the loss of reason to be one of the most bittly viles a man can commit. They have likewise a quickness of apprehension, and a delicia of sentiment, particularly the Copez nation, not to be met with in other negroes; however they are, it must be acknowledged, extremely lascivious and effeminate; though their constant wars with the Mancob has somewhat exalted their courage, and improved their military skill. Every house in this country is provided with a public room or school, to which all parents send their daughters to be taught singing, dancing, and other accomplishments, under the eye of a matron of noble birth. After a year's residence here, the young ladies have a public ball, where they give proofs to all the inhabitants of the town of the proficiency they have made at school; and this may be called the school of love; for here young men chuse their wives, pay their first address, and are first attracted. No regard to birth or fortune is heard of here; but every one chuses the woman whose accomplishments he thinks are most likely to render him happy. A lover no sooner declares his affection, than he is already looked upon as married, provided his circumstances will admit of making certain presents to the parents of the young lady, and to the matron entrapped with her education.

Villaut affirms, that all sense of decency and modesty is confined to the men, the females being the most abandoned of all prostitutes. According to him, their women are all in common: a man takes a certain number of wives, or as many as he pleases, confining his embraces to a few; the rest he lets out upon hire to his neighbours or strangers. She who holds the first place in the affections of the husband, and properly bears the title of wife, is served with great favours by the rest, and her virtue narrowly watched by the husband. Their methods of punishment and purgation of crimes are similar to what we have described in our account of the Gold Coast. On a charge of adultery, murder, and the most heinous crimes, the accused must drink off a certain red water, prepared by his judges; that is, if his life has been disorderly, or strong presumptions appear that he bore malice to the deceased. Of this he drinks till he swells up and dies; it being prepared strongly on purpose: but when the judges intend to mitigate the punishment, they dilute the water plentifully, and weaken the force of the ingredients; which passes, from the effects, as proof of the innocence of the accused.

They have their palavers, or town-houses, where the chief persons of the village meet, to adjust differences among the inhabitants, or with Europeans. On coming into the great hall they salute each other, by bending the elbow and touching their forehead with their hand. After both parties are heard, and the case fully canvassed, the equity of their several claims is settled by a vote of the majority of the judges. Paying is a term for stealing men, or indeed any thing else. If a man has been defrauded by his neighbour, custom has established it into a law, that he may retaliate to the amount of his loss; but he must prove before the judges at the palaver court, that he is no gainer by the exchange of property. Atkins mentions a few peculiar customs omitted by Barbey, Villain, and Lebret. He says, that the migration of whole whole villages is frequent among them, if they dislike their situation, or prefer another to it: they soon clear ground enough for their new habitations and plantations; nor is this reckoned an encroachment on the property of a neighbouring village, as all uncultivated grounds are in common, and they become the lawful proprietors who render it first useful to the purposes of society. "Captain Toph," says our account, "a Christian negro, has lately shifted his residence from this place (at the mouth of the river Bullen), which was a neat, well-built town, higher up the river, where he has to begin "building aches." Their huts are generally of an orbicular form, a spacious area in the middle, the doors paved with oyster and cockle shells, two or three crosses erected in dif-
ferent parts of the house, and the whole surrounded with limes, papas, pine-apple, and a plantane trees, and beehives, which they make out of the trunk of a tree, and erect upon high poles (A).

Anointing their bodies, especially their arms and legs, with palm oil, is a daily practice with the negroes of both sexes; which cannot be omitted without the imputation of slovenliness. Some use civet, or musk, procured from an animal found here on the banks of the Sobrao, about the size of or larger than a cat, with a head resembling a fox's. This species of perfume cat we have already described.

As to their religion and government, Barbot observes, that they hold some particular tenets, no where else to be met with. Before the Casez and Manez had erected themselves into independent states, they were governed, as we have taken notice, by viceroys, who administered justice according to the laws of the country. They held their courts and other public meetings in a hall that surrounded their palaces, which they called fakos, at the upper end of which was seated the viceroy, as suprême judge, upon a throne railed high, and covered with a beautiful mat for a canopy; the falatesfiques, or counsellors, being placed round him on benches. Here the parties with their advocates are produced, and, after pleading their several causes, the viceroy sums up their arguments, which he refers to the counsellors, as to a jury. Sentence is pronounced according to the opinion of a majority, the judge having a casting vote, and immediately executed, whether it be a fine, or corporal punishment, or banishment. The advocates or lawyers are no less precipitous in their drefs than the gentlemen of the long robe in Europe; for they use clappers in their hands and bells on their legs, with which they would lay an emphais upon those parts of their pleadings which they would have particularly attended to by the judge, by jingling their bells and striking their clappers. They are drest in long robes, or a kind of caftock, adorned with large plumes of feathers, which to an European give them an air of extreme buffoonery; nor are the ceremonies accompanying the election of a falatesfique a whit less ridiculous. The candidate is seated in a wooden chair, drest in the manner of the country. After the viceroy has several times struck his face with the bloody entrails of a he-goat, killed for the occasion, he then rubs his body all over with the same piece, claps a red bonnet on the head of the candidate, and pronounces the word falatesfique. This disagreeable and uncleanly ceremony being ended, the new counsellor is carried in his chair three times round the fako, and for three days gives a public entertainment, celebrated with bonfires and the discharge of musqueteery; and, to close the ceremony, and be duly elected, he sacrifices an ox, which he cuts in pieces, and divides among all his brother counsellors.

Of their religion.

After the conversion of the king of Fatima, by father Barreira, a great number of negroes in all countries, we are told, followed his example, and received the light of the gospel. This conversion, of which the Jesuits boast so greatly, was effected in the year 1607; since which time the natives of the coast, and indeed interior countries, have relapsed into their former idolatry. In Sierra Leona, as well as in many other parts of Africa, the negroes wear on their arms, legs, or breasts, little figures, they call grigris, to which they pay constant worship and adoration. Whenever they eat or drink, they offer a part of their food to this little deity. Fully assured that this idol has a particular influence and authority over the element of water, they never enter their canoes, either on the sea or rivers, without being fecured from danger by this preservatives; and as they attribute the success of their voyage to the kind interposition of the fetiche, so they redouble their adoration, zeal, and acknowledgements for his favour, on their return from any expedition. Barbot once saw a grigris fetiche, or land deity, which represented a man's head in miniature, upon a pedestal. It was covered over with a little tent, to preserve it from the air; and he was informed by good authority, that in the provinces of Bolim and Timna, numbers of these are found in every house and upon every road, either in honour of the dead, or for the protection of the living. In worshipping them the negroes have been often heard to pronounce the words Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and some names mentioned in the gospels; probably a remnant of the instructions of the Jesuits. The same writer adds, that he never heard of a Mohammedan upon the coast, or within some hundred miles of the sea, that felt being established only in the interior countries, and about the Niger: however, he says, that all the inhabitants of Bolim, Timna, Sina, Kondo, Bongo, Folga, Calas, and, in a word, all this country of Sierra Leona, are circumcised; and, he might have subjoined, of all the

(A) It would appear from Arimin's account, that some houses have open areas; "for," says he, "I have "seen a large tree in the middle of the area or court, "with two longings mifs upon it (t)." These are built by a small familiar bird, that builds upon the flen-
dereft twigs, their nests floating suspended in the air, like fruit, and declaring the force of instinct, which prompts them by this ingenious contrivance to protect their young against monkeys, parrots, and squirrels; the branches being too small to sustain their weight.

(1) P. 51.
a interior and maritime provinces of Guiné, and every negro country; this practice being derived no more from the Mohanadesia than from the Jews; but a custom established among almost all primitive nations, particularly of warmer climates; and taking its origin, perhaps, from a mode of cleanliness, which it would be unnecessary to explain.

Labat is more particular in his description of the persons and religion of the negroes of Burri. Both men and women are tall and agreeably shaped, of an extreme black complexion, regular features, lively piercing eyes, and white teeth. There is not to be seen among them a flat nose, or thick lips, nor any of those blemishes of features, esteemed beauties among other negroes. The men have as many women as they are able to purchase by presents to the parents: but though they treat them with extreme regard, they are jealous only of one woman, who is in fact the wife, the others being rather on the footing of concubines, permitted to prostitute themselves to strangers for hire, which they share with the husband. Nor is there the least reproach annexed to their incontinence: on the contrary, they are looked upon as faithful servants, attached to the interest of their masters, and labouring diligently in their vocations. During pregnancy a husband has no commerce with his wife, nor for the term of four years after her delivery. The prince who reigned at Burri, in 1606, had embraced the Christian religion, and was baptized by the name of Philip; but he allowed his subjects liberty of conscience, not precluding their conversion, tho' he entertained the missionaries at his court, the one a Jesuit, the other a Capuchin. Labat says, that the zeal of those fathers had but little effect in checking the extreme passion of the natives for women and wine, the two most obstinate vices in the breast of a negro: yet the other writers extol them as mirrors of sobriety and temperance. In other respects, say the Jesuits, they are honest, sincere, humane, and hospitable to strangers. They still retain something of the manners of the Normans, who were once settled among them, if we may believe the French writers; who have an admirable talent in complimenting their own nation upon the most trivial occasions. The prevailing religion, says Labat, is idolatry; but without principle, order, festivals, or ceremonies. The number of their gods is indefinite, or rather infinite, every one creating his own deity, as caprice directs. One worships a horn, another a crab shell or claw, a third a nail, a bird's head, a cockle, or a stone; and all these objects of their devotion are called fetiches: in this respect differing in nothing from the more eastern provinces of Guiné. Their fetiches they wear in little bags round their necks, adorned with bits of glass, shells, &c. called covris, and other fich trinkets, and feed them morning and evening with their beast provisions. Such are the bounds of their religion: narrow indeed, and overarching with deep ignorance: "but still more happy in it than the savages of America," says Labat, "who are frequently beaten by the devil, whereas here they never receive any injury from their fetiches." A puerile remark, that shews how ignorant this author must have been of the manners he describes: for it is certain there are no negroes on the Guiné coast, who entertain the same notions as the savages of America of the devil, and complain, that they are frequently roughly treated by him.

Barbot informs us, that in the province or kingdom of Capez the royal dignity was hereditary in the same family, before they were conquered by the king of Lygos; the youngest son always succeeding to the crown: but in case of deficiency of heirs male, the next of blood was immediately invested on the throne, with force very peculiar customs. A number of the nobility visit him at his house, tie his hands behind, and in this condition carry him to the palace, amidst crowds of people, who scoff and insult him by the way, and have even the privilege of beating him with rods; intimating, that this is the last time he will ever see the real inclinations of the people. On his arrival at the palace he is invested with the badges of royalty in the jankos, or great hall, where he is attended by the saltatquequis, and nobles of the kingdom. The oldest counsellor then harangues the people on the necessity of chusing a prince, and enlarges in the praisis of the monarch elect; after which he puts a hatchet into the king's hands, signifying thereby the necessity of punishing crimes injurious to society. The prince is then crowned amidst the acclamations of the people, all of whom flock to the throne to offer their submission and fidelity.

The deceased kings are buried in the public road leading to the capital; in favour of which custom they observe, that persons so much elevated above the rank of other men in their life-time, should likewise be distinguished by some extraordinary ceremony at their deaths. All the other ceremonies resemble those we have mentioned in our account of the Gold Coast. Every one is buried with what he possessed most valuable, and a small opening is left at the head of the grave. The body is carried to the grave by a silent company of friends, more or less numerous, according to the quality of the defunct; and the hired mourners pour out their plaints and tears in proportion as they are paid.

We shall conclude this section with a short extract from Atkins, concerning captain Joseph, of whom we have made mention a little above. This little prince had removed from his
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village on account of the expence of living so near the English factory (B); and also for the convenience of panyarring. He had been in England and Portugal, at the last of which places he was baptized, and received into the bosom of the Christian church. He had built a little chapel, for the preaching the doctrine of Christ, where he and his people that were Christians used to assemble. Here he erected a cross; taught several of his people to read, and dispersed among them little Remifio prayers. Through dint of industry and commerce he has enriched himself, and made his people happy, the country round him abounding in beautiful plantations of grain, roots, and fruits; while his inland neighbours are forced to live upon honey and manioko root. When Atkins visited him he was dressed in an European habit, gown, flippers, and a cap, and received him with great courtly and hospitality. He sent his canoes with the Europeans to shew them the diversion of catching manatees, and left nothing undone that could contribute to render their visit agreeable to them, or impress a favourable idea of his own character.

S E C T. IX.

Containing a geographical description of the interior countries from Rio Seftos to Sierra Leone; particularly of the empire of Monou, and the kingdoms of Quoja and Hondo; also a description of the manners, religion, government, &c. of the natives.

We begin this section with an account of the interior countries between Rio Seftos and Sierra Leone. The first people of note we meet with are the Quabes, inhabiting the southern banks of the river Seftos. They had formerly been conquered by Fianfere, king of Folgia; but, having thrown off their subjection, they have ever since remained a free people, though under the protection of the emperor of Monou, or Man (A). Next follow the powerful nation of Folgia, and great empire of Monou; the limits of both which are utterly unknown. Both kingdoms are watered by the rivers Junco and Arvorado, which divide Folgia from the kingdom of Karrow; but since the union of these two nations, the monarch of Karrow resides in the kingdom of Folgia. The Folgians are dependent on the emperor of Monou, and the Quoja upon them.

This powerful monarch extends his authority over all the neighbouring nations, and has reduced them almost to a servile obedience, a few only excepted. They pay him an annual tribute of the produce of their country, or of European merchandise purchased from the maritime negroes; such as glafs, toys, bars of iron, or flaves: and the Folgians expect the same tributes in their turn from their vaflals. They give the emperor of Monou the cognomen of Mendi, which signifies lord, and to the Quoja that of Mendi Monou, or servants of the lord; esteeming it an honour to be distinguished as tributaries to his imperial majesty. Hence it is that our geographers are fallen into the mistake of confounding the provincial or tributary kingdom of Quoja with the empire of Monou*. Notwithstanding this submission to the emperor, each king enjoys an unbounded jurisdiction within his own territories, and can make laws, declare war or peace, without permission from any one, and of his own will and choice. It is really astonishing, that a people, once so despotic, and dominions so confined as those of Monou formerly were, should be able in the course of a few years to establish so potent, extensive, and vast an empire as it now is, by force of arms alone; and it is perhaps no less surprising, that so potent a people as the Folgians should quietly submit to the yoke, without once offering to recover their liberty. No other cause can possibly be assigned for events so extraordinary, but the situation of the countries, and the admirable policy of the court of Monou, of which we shall have occasion to speak farther, after we have described the different kingdoms of this division.

Next follows the powerful kingdom of Lower Quoja, comprehending all that space from Cape Mesurado to the river Scherbro, surrounding the sea-coast behind, in an arc of a circle. Upper Quoja is situated farther north-west; and is bounded by the Scherbro, the kingdoms of Hondo on the north, Silb on the north-west, and the kingdom of Eastern

a Barbot, p. 85, ubi sup. Vide etiam auct. citat. ubi sup.

(B) This factory was abandoned in the year 1728. It was probably that on the island of Beffa, of which we have spoken.

(A) We find this empire called by the English geographers Mendi Monou; and even the Sieur D'Arville, improved by Bousin, has it so in his chart of the coast of Africa; but we have preferred the authority of Barbot and Dapper (1).

(1) See D'Arville's map of Africa.
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a Belon on the south (B). Barbot affirms, that all the interior country, from Cape Monte to Wacoung, near the river Sierra Leone, bears the name of Queya: but we have ventured upon the authority of Dapper, D’Arcville, and the accurate geographer Belon, to lay it down more factually, and beginning with Cape Mejuredo.

As to the kingdoms of Galas, Galavey, Hendo, and Karvor, we know nothing besides their names, and that they form a chain behind the maritime provinces from Queya to the kingdom of Mitisombo. Thus much travellers inform us of the kingdom of Galas, viz. that its capital is called Galafally; that the country is filled with towns and villages, most of which stand on the banks of the river Mafilagh. The kingdom of Hendo is divided into Hendo a four principalities, Maflilagh, Deseanagh, Dangyrmi, and Dandi, whose viceroys or princes possess powerful states. They are appointed by the king of Queya. They have all an equal authority, and pay the same tribute to their superior, viz. copper vessels, cloth of Quaquia, from the Ivory Coast, scarlet cloths made in the country, and salt.

The two last kingdoms are Silia, or Gilia, and Belon. The first, according to Dapper, is forty miles from the sea. Amidst a number of other towns and villages, voyagers take notice of Quenamara in particular, which contains at least five thousand families; the inhabitants having the reputation of a faithless, perfidious people. Eastern Belon stands on the Scherbra, and is no more than a province of the former kingdom, which is itself tributary to the king of Queya, and he again subject to the emperor of Mene; so that here are degrees and a subordination of vassalage. The town of Boges, or Bega, is the residence of the king; and contains about two hundred houses.

The negroes of the interior countries, as well as those on the coasts, are libidinous, and much given to venery, which greatly abridges their lives, and emasculates them before the prime of life. The women, who are no less addicted to the pleasures of sensuality, are shaggy, covered with thick hair, and widely distributed over the country. In a word, nature is soon extinguished by the eager desire of making it perform actions above its powers. This is their greatest vice, and indeed the most prejudicial to society of any other: in all other respects they are temperate, modest, gentle, and sociable, to a degree much superior to the coast negroes. They take no delight in shedding human blood; ambition seldom occasions wars, upon which they never almoist enter, but in self-defence. They live in the closest bonds of friendship, always ready to succour and relieve each other diftables, and remove the lightest inconveniences. With a friend under misfortunes they will share their cloaths, their victuals, and their all; expecting or receiving the same treatment from him in their turn. If a person happens to die when his effects are insufficient to bury him, his friends contribute to the expense of his interment, and attend with the same respect, and even form, as if he had divided an estate among them. Among each other Reality, the common vice of negroes, is hardly known here: for, by the benevolence of their temper, it is rendered unnecessary; however, they are less scrupulous with strangers; owing chiefly to the narrow minds and selfishness of European merchants, who have no idea of the generosity that reigns among the negroes. Upon the whole, one would imagine, that writers are describing an Utopia, and a phantom republic of the imagination, not a rude uncivilized nation of negroes, whom we unjustly term savage and barbarous.

Here, as in all other negro nations, polygamy is suffered, and encouraged by law: but marriage, whatever be the number of women, the husband attaches himself to one in particular, who has the government of all the rest, and of all domestic affairs. Here the is distinguished by the name of makima; the marriage ceremony being the same as in other countries, with this difference only, that the bridegroom must necessarily make three nuptial presents to his intended bride. The first, which is called taglo, usually consists of a piece of coral, or some glass trinkets; the second is called jofm, and for the most part is composed of pieces of cloth and apparel; and the third, called lafing, is a small chest or box, with a lock, in which to deposit her jewels and valuable effects. All these are proportioned in value to the wealth and affection of the bridegroom, and the humour of the bride. In return for this munificence, the father of the lady presents the husband with two suits of cloaths, a quiver filled with arrows, a sword and belt, and three or four baskets of rice. The care of the male children devolves upon the father, that of the females on the mother; nor do the men much regard the age of their bride, provided the bring a handsome portion. Here, as on the coast, they abstain from cohabitation embraces from the moment a woman is discovered to be pregnant.

b Barbot, Villaut, Des March, in loc. cit.

(B) The reader is to observe, that geographers in their charts make two Belons, one on the Scherbra, and another on Rio de Sierra Leone (1). (1) See D’Arcville’s map of Africa.

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Ten days after the child is born he has a name given him; upon which occasion the father, with all his domestics, armed with bows and arrows, make a tour round the town or village, singing and bawling out a kind of triumphant song or chorus, which is echoed by all the people they meet in their way, accompanied with instrumental music. After this a person charged with this ceremony takes the infant out of the mother's arms, and lays him upon a shield, placed in the midst of the assembly, with a bow and arrow in his hand, then pronouncing a long and laboured discourse to the spectators; which finished, he begins another, turning to the infant, and addressing himself to him. This whole harangue is made up of wishes for his prosperity, that he may resemble his father, be industrious, faithful, and hospitable as him; that he may be able to build his own house, conduct his own affairs, have no inclination for the wives of his neighbours, be affectionate to his own; and, lastly, that he be neither a drunkard, gluton, or spendthrift. The harangue being finished, he gives him a name, delivers him into the arms of his mother or nurse, upon which the assembly disperses, every man to his own home, except a select number of friends, who have an entertainment made for them, and spend the day in mirth and festivity. If the child prove a female, the mother or nurse carries it to the middle of the town, where the conourse is greatest, and there lays it upon a mat, with a stick in the hand of the infant. A female orator is appointed to pronounce the harangue, which she does with prayers, that the child may inherit all the accomplishments of the mother, and, like her, be puffed up with all the female and domestic virtues, such as chastity, obedience to the will of her husband, affection for her children, and resolution to aid, follow, and support her lord in all hazards, dangers, and difficulties.

The eldest son inherits all the effects and women of his father, except small portions given to the younger sons, to prevent their being reduced to poverty on his death: but a married man, who dies without male issue, passes over his daughters to leave his fortune to his nephews. If the whole male line chance to be extinct, then the effects belong to the crown, with this restriction, that the king provide a father to the daughters.

The chief occupation of the negroes consists in cultivating the earth; for they have no fishing, but what arises from a few rivers; nor trade, but in exchanging the productions of their plantations for fish and other commodities of the coast-negroes.

The general language of all the inland countries is the Kuyan; though several provinces have their own particular dialects, which almost form a new language. For instance, the kingdoms of Honolulu, Mende, Folika, Galas, and Gebbes, have languages all derived from the same root as the Kuyan, or rather dialects of it; but so variegated, that they seem to have no affinity to each other, nor connexion with the mother tongue. The most elegant branch is the Folikan, in which they have considerably refined upon the Kuyan, and formed a smooth, soft, and vocal language, at the same time that it is full and expressive: for this reason it is called Mendjikya, which intimates the superiority it has over all other tongues. The negroes of rank pique themselves upon talking with elegance, and find a peculiar beauty in fables, allegories, and parables, insomuch that the most trivial discourse has something in it of poetical ornament and dignity. Nor are they entirely ignorant of the sciences, particularly astronomy; for they know the hour of the night by the stars, and distinguish the middle of it by the fifth star in the head of the bull, that appears with the Pleiades, which they call monjading.

The ceremonies of interment in this country resemble in general those we have related of others, but they differ in some circumstances. After the body is washed they place it in an erect posture, well propped up, and the hair finely decorated. They dress it in its best clothes, place a bow and arrow in its hands, and in the mean while the friends perform a kind of mock skirmish; after which they fall upon their knees, with their backs turned upon the dead corpse, and, with a menacing air, draw their bows, and declare vengeance against any one who dares to affront the character of their friend, or has been accessary to his death. They next arrange some of their flaves, recommending it to them diligently to attend their friend in the next world; a barbarous custom, which indicates, that they have some faint idea of futurity and another state. Before these unhappy victims are offered at the shrines of superstition and ignorance, they feed them with all the delicacies the country affords, and bury them with as much food and wine as they believe will last them during their journey, advising them to secrete no part of it from their maeter. While, on the other side, all the women, who have any connexion with the deceased, throw themselves at his feet, repeating the word hyew, that is, comfort yourself, wipe your tears! At length the corpse is laid upon a plank or bier, and carried upon the shoulders of men to the grave, into which are thrown with it the bodies of the sacrificed flaves, their mats, bedfins, and kitchen utensils; over them is thrown a mat, and this is covered with abundance of earth, to prevent noxious exhalations from the putrid bodies. The relations build round the grave a hut, with an iron rod at the top, to which is suspended the arms of the deceased, by way of cincture.
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a If the deceased be a female, instead of arms all the implements of domestick industry are hung up; and for several months all kind of provisions and liquors are brought to the tomb, to nourish the deceased in the next world, till they have cleared plantations and formed connexions in a strange country.

It is customary to bury all those belonging to the same family in one grave, at a small distance from the place where they have died; and these coemeteries, or bury-places, are commonly chosen in some deserted village, which they then call Tombrauy. They esteem human blood too precious to be spilt, and therefore flange the flaves defined for sacrifices. However, this barbarous custom begins to wear out of fashion in most provinces; and where it is still retained, the parents generally conceal themselves and children, upon the least appearance of danger to the king's life; tho' they seldom escape without a reprimand, and cenfre of ingratitude, that, after having lived on the bread of their lord, they should now refuse to die for him. Another custom they have is, to obsevere a fast upon the death of a near relation or intimate friend. In general this fast continues but ten days, unless it be the king, or some person very dear to them; in which case it is prolonged to last but a month. Those who are bound to keep it, lifting up their hands to heaven, swear they will not touch rice during that period; that they will drink nothing but so much water as a certain vessel, which they keep, will hold; and that they will wholly refrain from the nuptial embraces during the period of their mourning and humiliation: while, on the other hand, the women vow they will wear no other dress than white paans; that their hair shall be neglected, and the earth their bed as long as the fast continues; at the end of which the penitents hold their hands up to heaven, in testimony of their having fulfilled their engagements.

No nation among the negroes abound more with formal ceremonies than the Quyans; and the surest method to gain their esteem, is to mark the taste of the nation as to manners: many of them are such as do honour to humanity. If a woman be accused of adultery, and no other proof than the allegation of her husband appears, she is acquitted upon her oath. She swears by belli paero, that she is innocent; befeeching that spirit to confound her, if the varies from the truth: but if, after the oath is made, she be convicted, the law ordains, that her husband bring her in the night to a public place, where a council sits to judge her, and pass final sentence. Here, after invoking the jannanins, or certain spirirs, her eyes are covered, to prevent her seeing those beings who are to carry her out of the world; and the criminal is left for a while in the belief, that this will certainly be her fate. When she has undergone the most dreadful apprehensions and irksome suspense, the oldest in council begins a solemn discourse, representing to her the shamefulness of a disorderly loose life, and threatening her with the most cruel punishment, if she persist in it. All of a sudden a confused murmur, and groans, are heard in the voice of the jannanins, is heard over the room, declaring, that her crime, though meriting the most rigorous chastisement, will be pardoned, as being the first trepas; enjoining certain mortifications and penances, and recommending to avert the chaitly, that she will not take a male child in her arms, or touch the cloaths of a man.

Hitherto the Quyans are persuaded, that fear and shame are punishments adequate to the offence: but if she fall under the same cenfre a second time, and the presumptions be clear, the bellimo, or high priest, with one of his seggevoues, or ministers, attended by proper officers, go early to her house, making a prodigious noise with a kind of rattles. They seize her, and bring her to the court, obliging her to make three tours around the market-place, attended by the same noise and instruments, and all those of the society of belli being admitted evidences of what happens. Then, without hearing her defence, or promises of reformation, they conduct her to a wood, sacred to the jannanins, from which moment she is never again heard of, nor are the people permitted ever to mention her name. The negroes believe, that she is carried out of the world by the jannanins; but Barbots supposes, with great probability, that she is put to death in the wood, and her body interred in the most secret manner.

When a man is accused of murder or theft, without proofs sufficient to convict him, he is condemned to the tryal by bellimo, which is a composition of certain herbs and barks of bellimo, or trees, which they oblige the accused to hold in his hand; fully persuaded, that, if he be guilty, blisters will immediately rise upon the skin. Sometimes the bellimo confines in obliging the accused to swallow a large glass of a liquor, composed from the bark of the neso and quoni, trees which the negroes believe to be virulently poisonous. Those who confidences are clear reject it immediately by vomit, and are deemed the more pure for this tryal of their innocence; but the guilty flew a froth about the mouth, and are accordingly judged worthy of death. Thus convicted, the criminal is carried off to a secret grove, far removed from all habitations, and there suffer capital punishment. He is placed upon his knees, his head is cut off, and stuck upon a javelin; after which his body is lowered into four quarters and sent to his women, or rather given to them, for they generally afflict at the execution,
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to receive and burn the last remains of the deceased. The friends boil the head, sip the broth, and nail up the jaw bone, in testimony of their having discharged their duty: a horrid custom, totally inconsistent with the other manners of this fenible people.

They acknowledge One Supreme Being, the Creator of all things; but their ideas are too exalted to admit of a definition, or even a description of the attributes of this Being, whom they call _Kanu_. However, they attribute to him infinite power, infinite knowledge, and ubiquity, or that universality and immensity of nature which makes him every-where present: but they are not agreed about his eternity; some affirming that he will be succeeded by another being, who punishes vice and rewards virtue. They believe, that the dead are converted into spirits, whom they call _jannanin_, or protectors; their business being to guard their parents and antient friends. A negro who flies from any danger hurries to the tomb of his patron spirit: if he escapes, it is attributed to his interposition; in acknowledgment for which he sacrifices a cow, rice, and palm wine, as an offering, in presence of the living friends of the _jannanin_, who celebrate the occasion with singing and dancing round the tomb. The _Quigians_ who have received any injury fly to the groves, the supplicated protection of the _jannanin_, and there pour out their complaints, and beseech, that the _jannanin_ will either themselves assist in avenging them, or mediate with the _Kanu_. In all emergencies and difficulties they have recourse to the same support, as well as in all enquiries concerning future events. For instance, if no European vessel arrives upon the coast (for this affects them as much as it does the maritime negroes) they interrogate the _jannanin_ about the cause of their stay, when they will arrive, and whether they are richly laden? In a word, their veneration for the spirits of the deceased is extreme; they neither eat nor drink without first taunting in honour of the _jannanin_. The king himself is as much addicted to this superstition as the meanest subject; and the whole nation harbours the deepest veneration for the _Kanu_; though the _jannanin_ alone are publicly worshipped. Every village has a sacred grove set apart for their worship; to which, in the seasons of the year, great quantities of provisions are brought. Here it is that persons labouring under any affliction implore the aid of the _jannanin_; and his heathen women, children, and slaves, are prohibited to enter; a trepang of this nature passing for the most abominable facricle, which they suppose will immediately be punished by the spirits in a manner the most exemplary and tragical.

Nor do the _Quigians_ believe less firmly in the magicians and forcers than in spirits. These they imagine to be invertebrate enemies to mankind, poisoners and suckers of human blood; for which reason they call them _fava manisin_, which expresses their malicious nature. They also believe in the reality of other enchanter, whom they title _billis_; these are persuaded have a power over the seasons, and can forward or entirely stop the growth of rice. Those who indulge melancholy, and leave society from some sudden fit of despair, are taught, they imagine, by the _fava_, or devil, the qualities of herbs and roots possessed of enchanting virtues: from this malignit spirit they learn certain incantations, gefficulations, grimaces, and the power of hurting mankind imperceptibly. Death is the invariable punishment of such as are accused of this diabolical art; and the smallest suspicion of living in a manner different from other people, is admitted as proof and clear evidence.

The _Quigians_ never pass through a wood without company, dreading to meet with a _billis_, buffeted in culing plants and herbs; and they generally fortify themselves with a charm against the _fava_ and all his ministers. But it would be endless to recite all their absurd superstitions, so little of a piece with their excellent civil policy, and otherwise found understandings.

Among the negroes of the interior kingdoms of Sierra Leona, as usual, upon suspicion of a violent death, first to wash the body before it is examined. They then begin their inquest, by making a bundle of shreds of the deceased's clothes, the pairings of his nails, and locks of his hair, sprinkling it with powder of _mannon_, or pulverized corn. The bundle is tied to the bier, which is carried by two negroes to the most public part of the town, while the two priests precede it, strike their hatchets, which they hold in their hands, against each other, interrogating the corpse, where, when, and in what manner, it was deprived of life. After the spirit of the deceased, or _jannanin_, has, by certain movements, imperceptible but to piously eyes, discovered, that to the _fava manisin_ he owed his death, the priest then enquires, whether the forcerer be male or female? This question being answered by the fame invisible signs, which those pious rascals interpret as their spleen, hatred, passion, or interest direct, they repair immediately to the house of the forcerer, seize him, bind him, and drag him before the corpse, to be condemned upon the accusation of the spirit. If he denies the charge, the _quoni_, or bitter draught, is administered; and if, after drinking three large cupfuls, he vomits, he is acquitted; but if only a froth appears at his mouth, he is delivered to punishment upon the spot; his body is burnt, and the ashes...
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a. "Athes thrown into the river: from which fate neither his power nor his wealth can save him, there being no divination of ranks, or mitigation of the law by favour, in cafes of sorcery. Although no author affirms that the natives of these countries worship the sun or moon, yet it is customary to have a holiday and recesi from labour on the approach of the new moon. This custom is chiefly observed in country villages; and strangers are rigidly prohibited from mixing themselves with the people during the celebration of these orgies. The reason they assign for this practice is still more ridiculous than the custom itself: they say, that the first day of the moon being a bloody day, their rice would change to a red colour, were they to neglect these ceremonies. Barbot relates two other superstitious ceremonies, no less absurd than the former, and equally observed by the negroes of Folgia, and Sclavonie."

b. "Hondo, Monou, Gébée, Séfous, Balm, and Sim*. In all those places there is established a society or feast called belli, which is properly a school or seminary for the education of children, renewable every twenty-fifth year by order of the king, who is visitor or superior of the college. Here the young men learn to dance, to fight, fish, hunt, and above all to chant a certain hymn, which, in the language of the college, they call bellidong, or the praesides of belli. These songs conflict only in the repetition of the same lewd expressions, enforced by the most indecent and lascivious postures. When a young negro becomes an adept, and perfectly instructed in his lesson, then he is raised to the rank of an associate or fellow of the college, which renders him qualified for all employments, spiritual and temporal, and entitles him to a number of important privileges: but the gudjas, or dances, who have either not been admitted into the society, or were incapable of instruction, are by an established law excluded from all public offices, and places of trust and profit: an example we should gladly see followed in our own country.

The feast of this instructive foundation is chosen in a thick wood of palm trees, including a compass of nine or ten miles, in which they build huts, and clear plantations, for the support of the scholars. When persons of fortune send their children to this seminary, proclamation is made, strictly forbidding all females to approach the sacred grove, during the whole course of their education, which takes up the term of five years; and, to render this prohibition more effectual, girls are taught from their infancy to believe, that, if they violate so sacred a law, the bellis will destroy them with the most excruciating torments.

c. "The faggioas, who are the elders of this feast, have the royal commission to preside over this establishment; and immediately upon entering their offices, declare publicly to their pupils the laws and regulations of the community, with the penalties annexed to their violation. The first law is a rigid prohibition from passing the bounds of the college, or conversing but with the students, during the course of their exercises; and as these are known by peculiar marks upon their bodies, no excuse is admitted in palliation of the offence. This mark is made extremely visible, being no other than cicatrices raised from the ear to the shoulder, by ignited iron instruments: a painful operation, which all students are forced to undergo, before they are duly matriculated; after which they have a new name imposed, as if by entering this school of widows they became regenerated. During their residence in this laborious retreat they go quite naked, are fed by their faggioas, or tutors, and presents are frequently brought by their friends and relations, who are notwithstanding denied the privilege of conversing with them. On the day appointed for finishing their studies, they are conducted to a little town, built on purpose by the king, at some distance from the frontiers of minerva's school, where they receive the visits of their relations of both sexes. Here are all the conveniencies for bathing, anointing, and performing the other exercises of the society; but their retreat, like European colleges, is so far from polishing their manners, that they quit it the rudest and most learned of the people.

After a few days are bestowed by their parents in fitting them to the manners of the world, and refining their exteriors, they are presented with cloaths, and the drees of the nation, their necks being adorned with glass beads and leopards teeth, as a distinction of their superior education, their legs charged with copper rings and bells, and their head covered with a cap of offer, which falls down over the brow. With these marks of widows, and a paan, adorned with plumes of feathers, they are conducted publicly to the king's palace, where they are ranged in order, amidst surrounding crowds of spectators, especially women, who flock from all quarters to gratify their curiosity. The first thing done by the young students is, to uncover their heads, and let their hair down loose about their ears; a ceremony which we imagine must prove a little difficult to a wooly head; this they do with great solemnity, to afford the spectators an opportunity of examining their figure, and afterwards repeat one after another the hymn and dance taught them at college for the occasion.

cry out, that they have wasted their time in eating rice—

The dance being finished, each fuggena calls his own pupil, and delivers him over to his parents, acquainting them with the name he had given him upon entering the college.

As to the belli, so highly reverenced among negroes, that has denounced this sect, it is a creature formed by the hands of the high priest from the bellina, being sometimes of one figure, and sometimes of another, just as caprice and accident determine. It is inconceivable the impression this subsidence makes upon the minds of the negroes, who hold it as sacred, and believe that the most terrible judgment will fall upon whoever is wanting in the most profound veneration to the bellina; yet they imagine, that the belli must derive his authority from the king, without which he has no power of punishment: so that even superstition itself is here dependent on civil policy, and the most unruly passion of the mind reduced to the standard of government. It is, upon the whole, no more than a cheat, invented by the king and the priesthood, to contain the people within the bounds of their duty: they have been for ages taught to regard the bellina as an unfathomable mystery, and this doctrine being implanted in their tender infancy, takes root, and acquires proportionable strength as they grow up: the whole intention being simply this, to subjugate the people to the priesthood, and them again to the throne.

The other society we mentioned is a female institution, which had its first rise in the kingdom of Goutta. At a time appointed by the king, a number of little huts are built in the middle of a remote wood, for the reception of girls and young women, who chuse to be initiated in the mysteries of the society. The sisterhood is distinguished by the appellation of fandi-foundino, or the daughters of fandi. When the society first meet, the foghiti, or lady abbess, that is, an ancient matron of distinction, expressly commissioned by the king to preside over this nursery, enters upon the office with a festival and entertainment which he gives to the young ladies her scholars, called fandi-latia. Here the exHORTS them to a compliance with the laws of the sisterhood, to a perfect harmony among themselves, and labours to conciliate them to this short reces of four months from the world. Upon this they shave their heads, throw off their cloaths, and remain naked during their abode in this seminary of virtue. They are carried to a ruitet within the precincts of the abbey, if we may so call it, where they are washed, anointed, and circumcised, by cutting off the clitoris; an operation extremely painful, but soon over, and easily healed. Their studies confit in learning to dance, and sing those verses called fandi, which are equally indecent, both in the words and postures, with those taught the boys in the male college. They are denied the visits of all men, and even the women who enter the bounds are first stripped naked. When the term of their noviciate is expired, the parents send them pieces of scarlet cloth, glass necklaces, copper rings, and bracelets, with other female ornaments, which they snatch greedily. Thus equipped, they range themselves in order, and march to the royal palace, preceded by the matron; the inhabitants of whole provinces assembling to behold them. The lady abbesses alone fits idle, while the girls frisk it away, dance and sing merrily to the sound of a tabor; after which they are remitted to their several families, with applause proportioned to their merit, and the proficiency they have made.

Before we close our account of the manners of these nations, we shall observe, that if the Quyjas maintain their authority over the extensive and potent kingdoms of Slim, Bolm, &c. it is by the same wise policy by which the emperor of Monau prefers his power over the Folgias, Quyjas, and all that country from Rio Sufes to this of Sierra Lorna. Their councils are composed of the oldest, wisest, and most experienced men of the nation; their government is mild, and the distribution of justice simple and equitable. To impress a high opinion of their power, they never permit the northern nations to traverse their country in their way to the eastern parts, nor those of the east in their journey to the west. This rule, invariably adhered to, engrosses to them the chief share of all the commerce with the coasts: they maintain factors, agents, and even ambassadors at neighbouring courts, to transact the affairs of trade, and, in a word, conduct a regular system of policy and commerce through every part of the confederation, which is as wisely modelled as prudently managed.

Although the Quyjas are dependent and tributary to the Folgias, yet that prince gives the king of Quyja the name of dandagbe, the same which he himself has from the emperor of Monau; and the king of Quyja permits it in his turn to the monarchs of Slim and Bolm, who pay him just the same submission that his superior exacts. The title of dandagbe is conferred with some very magnificent ceremonies: When the king of Quyja is installed by the king of Folgia, he prostrates himself on the ground, in which situation he remains till the other monarch has sprinkled a handful of earth all over his body, and asks him what title he chuses to bear. When he has made his answer, it is proclaimed by an herald, in a loud voice, repeated by the king of Folgia, and echoed by the joyful and numerous assembly of spectators. The new dandagbe is then desired to rise, and the king of Folgia, with his own hands, invests
Chap. 16. The history of the Interior Countries.

The dandagbõ are absolute within their dominions, and jealous to an extreme of their prerogative; which, however, they only defend against the encroachments of the people, while they never scruple submition to a superior dandagbõ. A great part of his state consists in the number of his women, brought to him from distant countries. When he appears in public, he is seated, leaning upon a shield, which his subjects call koreda; importing, that he is the defender of his domains, the leader of his armies, and the protector of his own people, and all of all oppressed nations. If any lord, accused of mal-administration, is brought to answer to the charge against him, the dandagbõ sends his koreda, accompanied by two drummers, who never cease beating at the offender’s door till he conrets to pay his submission, and go along with them. If he be admitted to an audience of the dandagbõ, he prostrates himself on the ground, covers his head with dust, asks pardon for his fault, with the most humble respect, and acknowledges himself unworthy of the protection of the koreda, or of the countenance of just a prince.

When a subject demands an audience of the dandagbõ, he begins by making presents to the chief women of the fermaglio, who carry them to the prince, and solicit that he will graciously permit such a nobleman to enter his presence, and prostrate himself before him. If his majesty consents, the presents are accepted, and the visitor introduced; otherwise they are returned with all possible tenderness and gentility, and the petitioner retires without presuming again to approach the palace, till he has made his peace with the king. Nor is this a matter of difficulty in flight occasions; the culprit is introduced with the same ceremonials, he makes his submission, and meets with a kind reception; but majesty does not easily forget gross affronts or heinous trepassers. When the offender has obtained his pardon, and leave to approach the monarch, he advances slowly towards him, with a profound reverence, and low inclination of his body; when he comes before the mat on which is majesty is seated, he falls upon his knees, and kisses the king’s hand, extended for that purpose, respectfully, pronouncing the word dandagbõ, upon which the king calls our munadi, I forgive you, and orders him to sit down upon a stool or mat placed at a little distance, if he happens to be a person of high rank or a foreigner, otherwise he stands all the while he is in his majesty’s presence.

When a foreign ambassador proposes coming to court, he stops on the frontiers of the kingdom, and sends a gentleman of his train with notice of his approach; upon which a nobleman is immediately dispatched to welcome him, and in the mean while preparations are making for his reception. On the day appointed, he makes his public entry, attended by a great number of officers and guards, all dressed in the richest manner of their country, bow in their hands, and a quiver well stocked with arrows flung over their shoulders.

This procession is made amidst the sound of warlike instruments, and thousands of people skipping and dancing to the time of the music. On their arrival at the royal palace, the ambassador is received by two lines of the dandagbõ’s body guards, fully accoutered and new clothed for the occasion, along which he passes to the chamber of audience. If his excellency happens to be sent from the monarch of Polisio, then his attendants are permitted the vast privilege of dancing between the lines of the life-guards; but this honourable distinction is denied to all other nations by his Quesans majesty. When the dance is finished, the whole retinue enter the audience chamber, and are allowed the honour of kissing the ground before the king; after which, they approach the fimnora, or throne, while the ambassador, turning his back upon the king, bends his bow, falls upon his knees, and by this menacing posture, intimates his inclination to defend his majesty against all his enemies. While this ceremony lasts, his retinue sing and dance to some songs composed in honour of the king, and the Quesans return the compliment, by reciting scraps of poetry in praise of the ambassador and his master. In this ceremony, which is called polo munadi, the most flattering and complimentary expressions are repeated so frequently, that the ear is fatigued with the repetition of the words, kemuna, bolle, mackang, which is all that authors give us of their language, although they pretend to call it energetic and full.

The mutual eulogies being ended, the ambassador sends the principal person in his train to prostrate himself before the king, his own character exempting him from that submition, and during this new scene the dances go on. All of a sudden the ambassador commands silence, and begins to pronounce his harangue, which the royal interpreter explains word by word. If the discourse relates to matters of state, it is referred to the king’s council; otherwise an immediate answer is given, and his excellency is conducted to the apartments provided for him. Then the officers of the houhold bring into the king’s presence the merchandize
merchandize intended as presents to the foreign minister, explaining each article, and the reasons of their having made choice of it. At night a number of servants flock to the house of the minister to offer their assistance in providing necessaries, and rendering his situation commodious; and last of all the king's women, clothed in their richest habits, attend him with plates of rice, and the most delicate foods the country affords; the king after supper fending him large quantities of palm-wine, and presents to his master, which consist generally of large vessels and dishes of copper. We have dwelt the longer upon this ceremony, as it marks the politeness of those untutored negroes, and especially the dignity annexed to the character and function of a king. We shall now proceed to a brief recital of the conquests of the powerful kingdoms of Karrow and Folgia.

While the former inhabited the banks of Rio Junco and Aguada, they were engaged in perpetual disputes with their neighbours the Folgians, which at length terminated in an open rupture between the two nations. The Folgians being defeated in several battles, and greatly weakened by their losses, had recourse to the art of a famous sorcerer, called Jakelmo, who advised them to throw boiled fish, with their scales, into a tank or pond belonging to the enemy. It was a tradition of very ancient date amongst the Karrow, that their first ancestor drop down from heaven in one of these baths; they therefore made offerings to the pond, and the fish it contained; but being strictly forbid by a law, almost as ancient as the tradition itself, to eat fish either boiled or with the scales, they believed the pond profaned by this act of the Folgians: diffusions and civil discord sprung up among them; and the Folgians seizing the opportunity, when every thing was in confusion, and the enemy weakened by their civil wars, attacked and defeated them, flew their king, and obliged his son with all his subjects to submit to their yoke. But the Folgians conceiving a great esteem for the bravery of the Karrow, treated them more upon the footing of allies than of a conquered people. Flanfire the Folgian monarch, married Wavalla, sister to Flonikerri, the young king of Karrow, leaving his brother-in-law in possession of his ancient dominions.

About this time the Quabi, a people bordering on the Rio Seilos, attacked the Folgians; when Flonikerri, haughting to defend his ally, obtained a signal victory over the enemy, and returned home after having made an absolute conquest of the country of Quabi. During this war, Medino emperor of Monon, to whom the Folgians were tributary, died, not without suspicion of poison; Manimaffa his brother, accused of having been an accomplice in it, was forced to drink the quomi. He justified himself by taking the draught, but being odious to the nation he could not obtain his right, nor establish himself in the throne of his brother: besides, the Mononans, not contented with the trial by quomi, determined to consult the forcers. Manimaffa, incensed at this fresh indignity, after declaring that he was no longer able to support it, quitted the country, attended by the jamanans or spirits of some deceased friends, taking his rout northward. Arriving in the kingdom of Gala, which was at that time without a king, he soon obtained such a degree of credit by his prudence, equanimity, and gentle disposition, that he was unanimously hailed to the throne. However, the respect of this simple people was of so short duration, that Manimaffa quitting the kingdom, went to the court of Folgia; he having formerly married the king's sister. Flanfire warmly espoused his interest, and sent an army under the conduct of the brave Flonikerri his ally and brother, who soon subdued the Galians, and firmly established Manimaffa on the throne.

Fesia, the nephew of Flonikerri, talking to his uncle about the beauty of the country of Vey Benkonna, or Cape Monte, whither he had made a journey, raised a desire in the king to attempt its conquest. The nephew furnishing him with sufficient lights to judge that this would be a matter of no great difficulty, Flonikerri, whose soul was equally ambitious and great, consulted his brother-in-law, the Folgian monarch, upon the subject, and procured his assent, after warm debates in the council. He was soon at the head of an army, and joined by a body of Folgians, with whom he immediately began his march towards the south of Cape Monte and the village of Tombi, conquering this, and with it the whole country, in the space of a few days, and as soon as he could traverse it. The vanquished appeared before him with their heads covered, which is a mark of the deepest submission here, and prostrated themselves before the conqueror, acknowledging his power, paying their homage, and praying his clemency. Flonikerri granting them their lives and liberty, contented himself with erecting a monument of his conquest, and entered into an alliance with them, which was confirmed by the following extraordinary ceremony. The conquered taking the blood of a number of fowls, killed in their presence, sprinkled it on the earth between the two parties; then boiling the fowls, they eat the flesh all but the legs, which they gave to Flonikerri as a pledge of their fidelity; and to be shewn them upon all occasions, whenever they appeared deficient in their duty, or relaxed in their engagements.

* Vid. aut. citat.

Floni-
Flonkerri’s ambition being rather fired than gratified with the number of his conquests, meditated fresh projects, more extensive than any of the former; but farce had the people of Cape Mount begun to taste the sweets of their new alliance with their conqueror, but Muminiko, forgetting his father’s obligations to Flonkerri, marched against him with a powerful army, and affixed by the alliance of two potent nations, who began to dread the growing power of so ambitious a prince. Muminiko was the son of Mafinajje, establisht on the throne of Galas by the bravery of Flonkerri; but now ambition, jealousy, and the dread of being eclipsed in glory by this hero, pushed him on to the ruin of his benefactor. His troops were so numerous, that the Karrowsans gave way, Flonkerri alone maintaining his ground. This brave prince drew a circle with the point of his sword, within which he fell upon his knee, and vowed that there he would either conquer or die. His defence was long and obstinate, though supported but by a few of his guards, whom flame had brought back to their duty; but covered at length with arrows and darts, he fell in defence, though nothing abated in courage, and breathed out his last upon that spot; an eternal monument of his noble perseverance in that cause of glory in which he had ever lived. His death was a spur to the courage of a nation accustomed to conquer; the Karrowsans rallied, returned to the charge, and fought with such fury, that the enemy was soon discomfited, and forced to yield up the victory, with prodigious slaughter, and the loss of many thousand prisoners.

Killimanzo, the brother of the gallant Flonkerri, succeeding him in command, purfied the victory, attacked the enemy a second time in their camp, defeated and purified them to Pay Moun, which they left to be pillaged by the victorious Karrowsans. At length advancing to Quoqa Moun on the banks of the river Mazuba, or Rio Nova, he received the submission and homage of the vanquished army and nation. Thus the Karrowsans, affixed by the Flogians, extended their conquests over all the neighbouring states, and rendered their name famous, and arms formidable, among the nations west of Guinea. What deferves notice in all these wars, is, that no sooner was a people conquered by another nation, than, instead of being made slaves, they were taken into the friendship with the conquerors; their ambition rose with their defeat, and they themselves became the conquerors of other nations. This appears further in the conduct of Killimanzo, who had no sooner received the homage of Muminiko, than he made him his ally, and the instrument of fresh conquests. With him he marched towards the river Magnabari or Gallana, and subdued the Quegias, retiring after so many glorious successes to his palace at Tambi, where he died loaded with glory, but not without strong suspicions of his having been poisoned.

His eldest son, who was called Flonfire, mounted the throne, under the tuition of his uncle Gemmab, by the father’s side, who was charged with the administration during the minority of the young prince his nephew. Flonfire, inheriting the courage of his ancestors, had scarcely arrived at the age of manhood, when he meditated schemes for enlarging his dominions by new conquests, which should raise his glory, in proportion as they augmented his power. Putting himself at the head of his army, he passed the river Magualbari, and subdued all the nations west of it, as far as the river Sierra Leone, obliging them in an incredibly short time to receive the yoke, and granting a commissio to his uncle Gemmab to reign over those provinces. Another of his lieutenants he made governor of the countries upon the river Schoberro; this man’s name was Selbore, and from him the river bears that name, though, by corruption called Schoberro. Sitre, another officer of rank, was made viceroy of those nations bordering on the river Magnabari; and having thus settled his conquests, Flonfire returned to his palace at Tambi, where he lived long in peace and glory. But while he was thus enjoying his felicity, he received advice that his uncle was driven out of his dominions at Sierra Leone, by Dogo Fulma, king of Dogo, in the country of Hunde, and forced to retreat to a strong hold in the island of Banana. This insul routed the warrior, and he instantly gave orders to the nobles of Belma to assemble all the forces of the country, and rendezvous at a place where he appointed to meet them. In the mean while he had private intelligence of a conspiracy formed against him by his brother, to which he gave little attention, that proceeding in his design, he committed the government of the kingdom in his absence to that very brother, taking with him his son Flonhure, afterwards king of Quoqa. This was a rash step; but he relied upon gaining over the affections of his brother, by his generosity, and the confidence he reposed in him, without reflecting that such is the malignity of some hearts, that heaping favours upon them is only adding fuel to their rancour, and nourishing those weeds of jealousy and envy, which can never be rooted out of the bofom in which they are indigenous, and the spontaneous growth. Flonfire saw, that the levies of Belma went on but slowly; and though he had determined enough to discover the causes, yet a mistaken policy made him wink at them, and set out on his expedition, supported only by his courage and a handful of troops. His first measure was to pass in the island of Banana, where he joined his uncle, and collected his scattered forces, with which he proceeded directly against Dogo Fulma.
This man had been one of the most powerful lords of the kingdom of "Hondo"; but being discovered in an intrigue with one of the king's women, his majesty, instead of punishing him in the usual manner by a fine, ordered his ears to be cut off, and himself banished. In this situation he remained some years, till the king's indignation wore off; and he had found means to make his peace; upon which he returned to court. Indeed, however, of trying to regain his master's esteem by acts of submission and obedience, he moved and more irritated him by fresh offences. One day he had the presumption to tell the king, that the punishment he had undergone having rendered him ridiculous and contemptible in the eyes of the court, he ought to inflict on all persons guilty of the same crime should be punished in a similar manner; and that unless this was done, he had determined to proclaim the injustice done him on every high road and public place in the kingdom, and apply for redress to the "Jannanins" and forcers. The king, struck with the boldness of Dego Falma, and also with the justice of his complaint, referred the matter to his council, who gave it unanimously as their opinion, that one example ought not to be established into a law for all; however, in some measure to give satisfaction to Dego Falma, the king gave him the command of an army, then marching to Sierra Leone. This was the enemy Flanfire had to oppose; a general, who found it necessary to wipe off his glorious actions, the contempt into which the loss of his ears brought him at court. After the arrival of Flanfire, the fortune of war hung long in suspense; courage alone was unable to weigh down numbers; and yet that hero performed prodigies of valour. At last finding there was no dependence on the arrival of the troops from "Bolm", he found means to engage a few white men, probably Portuguese, into his service, and with them laid siege to the city Falnaka. Having forced the gates, he began to fire the buildings, when Dego Falma, who was besieged within it, finding no other resource against the vigour of his enemy, resolved to face himself by flight. Flanfire pursued him, but was not able to overtake him, though his successes had however gained him the title of Dego Falma-Jundo Mu, or the conqueror of Dego Falma.

After having restored his uncle to the throne, and settled the affairs of his kingdom, he hastened to apply a remedy to some other disorders that had arisen, when advice arrived, that the reposé of his dominions were disturbed in his absence by the revolt of his brother, who had usurped his throne, ravished his women, and put to death his children; a rebellion that was immediately followed by the invasion of the Gibbs Monou, a people inhabiting the country round Cape Mosurado. They had entered the countries of Cape Nunez and Donalla, burnt a number of villages, and carried off men, women, and children, into slavery. Flanfire now saw the weakness of his own policy, and the falsity of that opinion, that a corrupt heart could be changed by generosity and kind usage; he applied however with vigour to repair his error, and instead of sinking under the weight of his misfortunes, seemed to be animated by them to a double exertion of all his faculties. Marching to the river Mguabari, he there invoked the "Jannansis", that they would punish the guilty, and relieve the oppressed and innocent; but knowing also that human means were not to be neglected, he crofled the river with his small army, gave battle to his brother, and obtained a complete victory. The war however went on, till the usurper Guanama was slain in a skirmish by his nephew Flambure, the eldest son of Flanfire; upon which the rebels were disheartened. Flanfire, though he had now the power to punish them as their infidelity merited, was generous enough to pass over all their misconduct, and grant them a free and full pardon.

His affairs here being happily re-established, he turned his victorious arms against the Gibbs; and though they were prepared to receive him, he defeated them, made a terrible carnage among them, and ravaged their country: but proposing to himself only a happy tranquillity as the fruits of so many victories, he retired to his palace at Tembi. Here he was hardly arrived, when Dego Falma re-entered his dominions, with a more potent army than he had ever commanded; and was ravaging every place with the fury of a barbarian, irritated with his disgrace. As he had now disbanded his army, Flanfire was forced to take refuge in the island of Mafia, in the river Plizaga. His enemies believed his ruin inaffordable, and his friends, though they knew his prudence and courage, greatly dreaded the event. Dego Falma was collecting canoes to transport his forces to the island, in order to surround Flanfire; and every thing was in such a train as threatened his destruction; when unexpectedly one of Flanfire's generals, having got together a choice body of troops, fell upon the enemy's rear. The king no sooner discovered this from his retreat, than getting into some canoes he had on the island, he attacked the enemy in front. The battle was long and obstinate, owing to the inequality of forces; but courage at last triumphed over numbers, Dego Falma was utterly defeated, his army dispersed, the king relieved from his difficulties, and his faithful general rewarded equal to his merit, and far beyond his expectations. In this manner were the interior countries of Sierra Leone conquered, by the bravery
The history of the Interior Countries.

a very of the Karrwons and Foulans, who were themselves tributary to the emperor of Manou; a set of princes superior to each other, and forming a chain of dependencies not to be met with in any other country, or perhaps paralleled in history.

As to the natural productions of these kingdoms, they have nothing hardly in them peculiar, or that has been omitted in our description of other nations. A species of porcupine is however described by naturalists, which we believe is found in no part of the globe but this. It is about the size of a large boar, armed on all sides by long, sharp quills or prickers, streaked with black and white rays in a very beautiful manner. These quills are so strong, that they are proof against the most violent blow. In nothing besides the size does it differ from those commonly seen in Europe. In this country are likewise four kinds of eagles, all extremely ravenous and large; the first, the natives distinguish by the name of kequolaniza; it perches and builds in the loftiest trees in large forests, is a bird of prey, and feeds chiefly upon monkeys, which it conveys whole and alive into the nest. The next, which is called kequolaniza low, has this peculiarity, that it prefers fish to all other food, and lives upon the banks of rivers and lakes. The talons of this bird are extremely strong and crooked. The others have nothing particular, only that the fourth called pgs, delights in fishing for crabs, lobsters, and small fish, which it devours with great voracity. The sea coasts afford abundance of fish of an extraordinary kind; but they are not so minutely described as to give us a clear idea of them; and to retail the names given to them by the natives, would afford but an insipid entertainment.

S E C T. X.

History of the kingdoms of Mandingo, Foulil, and Jaloof, or Oualof, with some account of the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the natives; their method of trafficking, as well among themselves as European nations; a description of some particular kinds of birds, beasts, &c. found therein; a relation of their wars; with several other curious particulars.

From the river Sierra Leon to Senegal, are an infinity of kingdoms, principalities, and petty states, of which we know not even the names, voyagers having only relied on trivial circumstances, which fell under their own observation, or such occurrences as related merely to trade and the navigation of the river Gambia. With regard to the extent of dominions, the peculiar customs of different nations, their religion, policy, and laws, they are entirely silent; except a few particulars relative to the three great kingdoms of Mandingo, Foulil, and Jaloof, all of them interior countries. With respect to their precise frontiers, although their dominion, on account of their power, is in some measure established to the sea coasts, voyagers give us no satisfaction. That the reader may not entirely be left in the dark, we shall extract all that travellers agree in, concerning the three powerful kingdoms above mentioned, and begin our account with Mandingo, as the first in order.

All the numerous nations inhabiting the banks of the river Gambia, and extending to Cape Verge, go by the general name of Mandingeses; and Johnson says, that they exactly resemble each other in complexion, features, and language, as well as in their general manners and policy. He affirms, that they are all of a jet black colour; though Moore says, that in general they are so, as if however there were some exceptions. This kingdom is of vast extent, both along the coasts and into the interior countries, on the banks of the river Gambia; but geographers and voyagers differ so greatly in the limits they lay down, that its frontiers cannot be described with any degree of certainty. According to the same author, they are more sociable, rational, and humane, than they have been represented by other travellers; for on all the occasions he had to visit their towns, he met with the most cordial reception, the men running out to welcome his arrival by kissing his hands, though some women, who had never beheld a white man, fled at the sight of him, and could not be prevailed on to approach him. Some have preferred him to enter their huts, have entertained him in the best manner they were able, and produced their wives and daughters for him to salute; his complexion, habit, speech, and manners, all of them equally raising their astonishment and curiosity.

The Mandingeses are in general a lively joyous people, who consume half their time in dancing, music, mirth, and good humoured gaiety; yet being much addicted to company, is, that we point out the authors, to which the reader may have recourse for a more minute detail.
warming and impetuous in their disposition, they fall into frequent quarrels, which commonly terminate in blood, and spoil the society of the day, by the unhappy discord of the night. Nothing is more usual than challenges to single combat, upon any affront or injurious expression; but as their heat subsides almost as soon as kindled, they seldom come to deliberate blows; and all the accidents of that nature which arise, are generally the effects of sudden passion. However, when they do engage, nothing can be more furious than their transports, and the animosity with which they rush upon each other, with whatever weapons come in their way. The fury of tygers, says Jobson, is not to be compared to theirs, every organ and limb expressing the most malignant and riveting hatred; their eyes strike fire, their teeth gnash, and the most opprobrious and vilifying expressions are poured out, upon the most trivial occasions, the dispute ending in the death of one of the parties, and perhaps in a bloody war between two nations, each taking part with their own countrymen.

How to reconcile this account with what Labat afferts, we shall leave to the reader, after we have laid before him the following sketch of their character, as drawn by that writer. The Mandingoos, according to him, are a lazy, indolent, ignorant people, unskilled in commerce, in arts, and every manly exercise and science. Necessity and self-preservation oblige them to sow and reap; but this labour does not last above two months in a year; the other months are spent in idleness and sloth all the day, and at night in dancing under the shade. A few childhood diversions they have, which they perform with abundance of address; but every thing manly is neglected: fishing and hunting unknown, though no country affords better opportunities for both. Smoking tobacco is their whole pleasure, which increases their natural sloth, by destroying their appetite for food. It is of the growth of their country, and they smoke in wooden pipes, five or six feet in length, the bowl made of wood, hardened and dried in the fire, and finely polished.

Moore says, that the nation of Mandingo, in points of honour, are jealous and delicate to an extreme; nor are they less possessed with that fooling of almost all nations, pride of birth and ancestry. While the author was at Batto on the river Gambia, he saw a dispute of honour arise between Be-John, a prince of the blood, and the fon of the reigning monarch. Each flew to arms; and their resentment appeared so keen, that the speculators had the utmost difficulty to prevent fatal consequences, and yet the whole contention was a matter of small importance, and indeed, no other than a comparison of their parentage. Though the combatants had been parted for the time, there was no preventing a formal challenge from passing, after which the author found it no hard matter to reconcile them, each looking upon this as a salvo of his honour. There was something ridiculous in the manner of their reconciliation; for at the very time they were vending a sincere friendship, they also threatened to resume the dispute, as soon as fit occasion offered; believing menaces were necessary to establish an opinion of their courage in the by-funders.

It is observable, that the characters of those people inhabiting the interior parts of the river Gambia, are altered greatly for the better. Formerly they were crafty and knavish, in the most trifling affairs; inomuch, that if they had the misfortune to break a pipe or to want money, they remedied the loss by a piece of cunning, artfully laying it among the feet of the Europeans, insinuating that, as they broke it, they should repair the damage, which they computed at twenty times the real value. In this situation the Europeans found themselves under the necessity of immediately satisfying the unjust demand, unless some friend interposed and proved the fraud; nor were little crafty tricks of the same nature uncommon in their dealings with one another, though they seldom ventured to carry the impostion so far, as when they had to deal with strangers, and persons unable to readily detect the imposture. If a person had sold any thing in the morning, it was allowable for him to retract his bargain, upon offering restitution before sun-set; a custom that opened a large field of corruption and fraud; for if you had bought only a fowl or an egg, it was a risk to eat it before next day, as you were subjected to pay ten times the value, should restitution be offered, and you unable to produce the equivalent. However, those pernicious and dirty practices are in a good measure abolished, commerce with strangers having shewn them the necessity of paying the strictest attention to their word, and being delicate in points that affect their credit.

Their mode of salutation is to shake hands; but if a man salutes a woman, he runs his nose close to her, as if to smell her, and falls back twice. It is the grossest indignity to offer the left hand in salutations. When a man returns to his family after an absence of two or three days, his women throw themselves on their knees before him, an omission of which is deemed a heinous crime, and a proof of her little esteem for her lord and tyrant. For...
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a merly it was customary, when a woman offered her husband any thing to drink, that she first fell down on her knees and taunted it; whence voyagers deduce, that the practice of poisoning had been frequent in this country.

Writers assert, that nothing is more easy than to distinguish a native of Mandingo or Flag, from their extreme flat noses and thick lips, they being in this respect the ugliest of all negroes in the eyes of an European, but in their own the handsomest. Janequin, however, in his journey to Libya, affirms, that those features are by no means natural to them, but the confusions of that custom of suckling children over their shoulders, when they are employed in any other business. More attributes it to the great care taken to form their features to that cast, nothing in their opinion being so beautiful as large nostrils, flat noses, thick lips, and among the women large, loose, and flabby breasts.

Immediately after a child is born, he is bathed in cold water three or four times a day, and after being carefully dried, anointed with palm-oil along the spine, elbows, hams, and neck. They go naked to the age of eight or ten, and frequently paint their faces and breasts for ornament. Sound health and fertility in marriage are the common qualities of almost all the negroes of this country, it being equally difficult to find an infirm young man, and a barren woman; they are, however, subject to some very dangerous acute diseases, but few chronical, the small-pox in particular making terrible havoc, and sweeping off incredible numbers every year. It must indeed be owned, that they are not wholly strangers to the king's evil, worms, especially the Guinea-worm, which swells their legs to the size of their bodies, the yaws and maladies of the head; but as these are not frequent, the people may in general be reckoned, perhaps, the most healthy in the universe. Besides the inflammation in their legs, arising from that species of worm almost peculiar to this country, they are sometimes subject to swellings, arising from other causes, among which are reckoned certain herbs, which they mix with their food, to excite mutual love and affection among the men, and raise the passions between the sexes. To all their diseases they apply no other remedies than Grisgris or Fétiches; a superstitition that extends even to their hair, and their bows which hang over their shoulders.

Every part of domestic economy is left to the care of the women, while the men cultivate the small quantities of rice wanted for the family, and pass the rest of their time in the indolent manner we have described. After laying up a quantity sufficient for the consumption of the family, the women have a right to dispose of the rest, but are accountable for the profits that arise to their husbands. The same regulations take place in regard to their poultry, of which they breed a great number, these two articles being their principal support, and the staples of commerce, next to slaves. Many of the Mandingees have a pride in keeping a crowd of slaves, whom they treat with such gentle usage, kindness, and humanity, that it is not easy to distinguish the master from the slave; especially the women, who wear necklaces, bracelets, and ear-rings of amber, coral, and silver, as if the men had purchased them only to become their husbands. Moore affirms, that he has seen female slaves wear trinkets to the amount of thirty pounds sterling in value. Most of these slaves are born in their families, and naturalized to them as their own children. At Bitta, there is a whole village of two hundred souls, composed of female slaves, all of them belonging to one nobleman of Mandingo, who treats them with the tenderness of wives and children. In most other parts of Africa, the master has a right to sell all slaves born in his family; but in Mandingo this is treated as a crime; infomuch, that if any of them are disposed of without their own consent, and against the will of their fellow slaves, they all abandon their master, and seek a retreat in some other kingdom: for though in this case he has no power to punish them, yet they reckon it dishonourable to enter into the service of another master in the same kingdom.

Kingdom of Fuili, or Fouli, or Pholey.

This large country is divided from the kingdom of Jalliff, which we shall describe in this section, by the lake called in the language of the Mandingo, by the name of Kayas. From this lake to the village of Embakane, on the frontiers of Galam, that is, from west to east, it stretches about 187 miles, but its limits from south to north are more accurately 150 miles; though travellers affirm, that it extends a great way southward. The reason why there is no accurate information about it, is that the French and English, who were furnished with the best opportunities, made commerce the sole object of their care, neglecting every thing that did not subsist in promoting that chief end of all their labours. The interest of their companies, as

JANEQUIN, p. 95.
well as their own private concerns, engrossed all the attention of the factors, and they gave, a no more of their time to the gratification of their curiosity and their passion of knowledge, than what was necessarily spent in the pursuit of riches. All then that we know with certainty of this powerful kingdom is, that its boundaries are of great extent, its lands fertile, its inhabitants numerous, and capable of rendering themselves a rich and happy people, were their industry in any degree proportioned to the advantages of nature, by means of which they might drive a prodigious commerce with foreigners. Voyagers are not agreed upon the etymology of the name Poul, nor is their language sufficiently known to afford room for such an inquiry. They are in general of a tawny complexion, though many are of as fine a black as the Mandhugoes. It is supposed that their alliances with the Moors have given them that mixed colour, between the true olive and the black. Their a attire is rather low, but their gait comely, and their shape easy and gentle, with an air peculiarly delicate and taking. However indolent they may be in pushing all the trade the country is capable of supporting, they are by no means so in private industry, which they cultivate with as much anxiety as other negroes. They are diligent farmers and graziers, and raise millet, rice, tobacco, cotton, peals, roots, and fruits, with abundance of care; nor are they less expert in rearing cattle, in which confits a great part of their traffic with the neighbouring countries. Their mutton is sweeter and delicate, their beef fat, and their goats the best which are to be met with almost in any part of Africa; and hence it is, that their markets are better flocked, and their kitchens supplied with the most luxurious plenty of any negro people, unless we except the Whidians. The Foulis are fond of hunting, and extremely skilful and eager in the chase. The elephant is the object of their diversion, of which they are never disappointed, as the country is filled with these monsters. The b sword and dart they manage with great dexterity against this furious animal; and such as have been taught the use of fire arms by the French, have applied them to great advantage, both in hunting and in battle. Their disposition is lively, and their manners polite. c Fond they are to excess of European commodities; but as they are much addicted to pilfering, they prefer gaining possession of them by deceit to a regular and fair commerce. They love music so much, that their princes reckon it an accomplishment to be able to touch an instrument with a genteel air, while their neighbours of Jafouj condemn music as an effeminate soft exercise, that degrades the character of a man. Their musical instruments are various, and their compositions tolerably melodious, tender, and pleasing; and as dancing is almost a natural consequence of their love of music, their passion for it is such, that they will dance three or four hours after the darkest labour, by way of relaxation. d The women are low, but well shaped and handsome. Their features are delicate, the air of their face sweet, and the symmetry regular. Their hair, which is long, like the Moors, is of a shining jet, soft and thick, nor are they at all negligent of it, dressing it in different fashions componing their chief labour, next to dancing and music, which the females of this country carry to a pitch of extravagance. They are passionately fond of French cottons and morees, of which they make long flowing robes, extremely becoming, were they made of silk, which Labat is amazed the European factors have not introduced here. The women, he observes, fall into fits of spleen, and are feigned with the vapours, whenever their husbands refuse to gratify their passion for drees; and this he makes use of as an argument of the power the women have over the men, and the facility with which they introduce any fashion that would fet off their charms. e The account which Jafou gives of this people is somewhat different, and perhaps not very confinient with the above. This traveller affirms, that the women are tall and handsome in face and person; but that the men are not proportionably large or agreeable, which he attributes, though falsely, to the nature of their employment and living. As their chief wealth consists in their cattle, they lead a wandering life, and roam about from field to field, from country to country, with large droves of cows, sheep, goats, and horfes; f for although they have some fixed habitations, yet they use them but little, removing as the dry or wet seasons require, from the low to the high lands, reposing in no one place longer than the pasture for their cattle will admit of. An hard laborious life, says our author, that is greatly increased by the continual necessity they are under of defending themselves and their cattle against the depredations of those fierce animals, with which the country abounds, lions, tigers, and elephants, assaulting them from the land, and crocodiles from the rivers. At night they collect their flocks within a circle of tents and huts, in which they live, and where they light large fires to terrify those animals from approaching them; but we must acknowledge, that we do not see how all this should suppress their growth, as the nature of such an employment cannot be so laborious as to confine the solids, or produce the effects of untimely old age, which sometimes happens from hard painful exercises of mind or body. Besides, the Foulis have all the advantages of climate they

* Aud. citat. ibid.
a can defire; nor will the comparison he makes with the Tartars by any means hold, the latter being equally pinched in their growth by cold and by poverty. Hence it is, that we are inclined rather to credit the relations of Labat and De Brue than of this author, who seems to have formed his general idea of the nation from some particular instances.

In their peregrinations through the kingdom, this people carry on a trade with other commodities besides their cattle; for they sell milk, cheese, butter, all of them equal to any to be met with in Europe; and these they carry in barrels and gourds, so neat and clean, as would do credit to the moft refined dairy in Europe. The women have the fole care of this traffic, and they exchange their goods for thofe trinkets on which all negroes put fo high a value, glafs beads, bits of coral, and little knives; but falt is the commodity they prefer to all others, which they call random. Jobon and his company were fo delighted with the spirit of these women (though in another place he fays, this people are but a degree lefs ftupid than their cattle) that they continued all day in bargaining with them, in order to engage their company longer. They obferved that the fmalleft mark of contempt, the blankets reflection upon their merchandise, kept them whole weeks away, which feme to be a proof of the great delicacy and fensibility of their disposition, and a kind of pre-3

b fumption, that neither sex merits the epithets of ftupid and ignorant, which he fo liberally bestowed on them: for it may be laid down as a general maxim, that the tempers of both sexes differ but little in the general run of a whole nation, the disposition depending no lefs upon the manners and customs of people, than upon nature itself: or, to go higher, the manners are formed from the natural disposition of both sexes, without depending wholly upon either.

The Mandingoes have erected a kind of tyranny in Fould, and by virtue of it feize upon the wealth of the kingdom. Their power arose not from conquest, but from conftant migrations into this from their own country, a few coming at a time, not probably with any view of one day becoming masters of the kingdom and a deep refined policy; but from motives of private conveniency and choice. But finding their numbers fo con-iderable, they were induced to ufurp that superiority their strength could maintain over the natives and lawful poffeffors. They submit however to the former government, and have rather undermined the public property, than overturned the public government. Moore fays, that in every province you will meet with troops of Mandingoes, who greatly resemble the Arabians in some of their manners and language, which, like the Latin in Europe, is become the learned language of all the schools on this coast of Africa. Almost all the Polesys, as Moore calls the Foulis, speak it, though they have a proper language of their own.

c The king of this country is called a firatick, and though he is denoted appears with the badges of majesty, he is a prince of great authority over his subjefts, and as much respected by his neighbours as any on the coaft; yet does he govern with fo much moderation and gentleness, that all his decisions seem to be those of the people assembled in a body, rather than of a single person. Jobon fays, that they never remove from their habitations, or drive their cattle into another field, without leave from their prince; he probably means some of his officers settled in the large villages; for it is inconceivable, that, in fo large a kingdom, they should be able to apply to court upon every trivial occasion. Befides, Labat, Moore, and De Brue, affirm, that they ever form societies, and build towns, without being at all constrained to wait for the king's leave, or even at the trouble of afterwards gaining his approbation. The Mandingoes assume still higher privileges, and take it upon them, if not to difpute with the king, at leaft to avoid his displeasure, by removing in a body from one province to another, as soon as the prince has laid a tax upon that province, for the support of his civil lif and dignity. Among his vaftals, the firatick of Fould reckons the king, the great brah, and all the lords and nobles of Wacal, who pay him every fourth year a tribute of forty-three slaves, and a certain number of cattle.

His army is no lefs strong in cavalry than in infantry; for the Moors, his neighbours, fuppli him with as many hores as he pleafes. The arms used by his troops are bows and fables, and his nobility are difpelled among the provinces, to execute the various military and civil offices, that become their faction and circumftances in life. The employment of the chief next in rank to that of firatick, is the lieutenant governor's, who is looked upon as the representative of his majesty's perfon, and attended by a court little inferior to royalty itself; after him, the officers next in quality are, the solidue, adrohoudo, ghedi fanabo, lambe de bofes, farma cuvulard, akbon, bokar, lantker, fali, lamamege, ardugho, farve sovegali, &c. a list of names which we enumerate, rather to give the reader some notion of their language, than that we are able to prefix clear ideas to each, and diftinguish the duties of each office.

d All we know of them, is, that every man raised to those polts holds them conditionally, that he furnifh the firatick with his contingent of foot and horese to be ready upon a call; their charge to be supported by the sale of such prisoners as are made by that division of the army: and besides, by selling for slaves all such negroes within their jurisdiction as are not
not in arms for the king, or have refused to enlift themselves; a privilege which even the king cannot deprive them of, without destroying the fundamental maxim of government, notwithstanding they frequently use it to the worst of all purposes, the gratification of a forbid avarice, the opprobrium of the poor, and the satiating revenge and private animosity 1.

By the established laws of this monarchy, and indeed of a number of negro kingdoms, although none but princes of the blood can be called to the throne, yet the crown descends not from father to son, but from brother to brother, or nephew to nephew; that is, if the king have no brother, his rights descend to his nephew by his full father, or in preference to the son of his mother's daughter only, as the blood royal is most afflamed untainted in the female line. With regard to the children of the king, their blood is always dubious, as the king's women generally indulge themselves in acts of gallantry and intrigue: or it is thought very safe to rely on their word, since the methods anciently used to oblige them to a true confession are now abolished. The only instance in which the king's sons pretend to the throne, is when they have married a princess of the blood, because in that case, the blood is sure upon one side at least; and if by any accident they fail of succeeding themselves, the right of their children is however indisputable, and always admitted 2.

But without regard to these customs, the firatick fire, who reigned towards the close of the last century, endeavoured, from a natural affection for his children, to raise them to the throne, and with that view he inveighed the eldest with the dignity of kamalingo, a title always filled by the presumptuous heir. The prince of Sambaboa was at that time possessed of the office, but depose, to make room for his cousin the firatick's son; notwithstanding his amiable qualities had attracted the esteem and engaged the affections of the nobility and people, who had long with pleasure beheld him as the heir apparent. He was the king's nephew, handsome in his person, easy in his address, of noble sentiments, liberal and generous in his disposition, and of approved courage, which he had often signalized against the enemies of his country. Such was the person removed to make way for the young firatick; a circumstance which gives us a mean idea of the old king's policy, though we cannot blame his preferring the interest of a son to that of a nephew, had the latter been possess of less amiable qualities. The old firatick intended to have confined his nephew; but, penetrating into the king's intentions, he withdrew from court under a strong guard; and although he had nothing to fear from the negroes, who were to a man strongly attached to him, yet knowing that his uncle had drawn over the Moors to his views, he retired to the frontiers to avoid involving the nation in a civil war, and bringing those calamities upon the people, which they might avoid under the government of the worst of princes. However, all his endeavours could not prevent numbers of the nobility from joining themselves to his fortune, and forsaking their country, rather than their affections and zeal for his esteemed a prince; a confession which the enraged firatick looking upon as a kind of rebellion, raised a numerous army to suppres. As the firatick with his army advanced, Sambaboa, who resolved not to draw his sword against an uncle to whom he had always given the name of father, continued to retire; but at last finding himself hard pressed by this defensive war, his faithful attendants exposed to all the calamities of fugitives and outlaws, and lastly, that the command of the king's army was given to his rival, who had usurped his dignity, he determined to come to an action. His cousin, whose forces were greatly superior, better provided, and flushed with what they esteemed equal to victory, driving the enemy before them, did not at all hesitate to embrace the occasion. A battle was fought, Sambaboa was victorious, and the firatick's son, with his potent Moorish army, totally defeated, through the conduct of the brave prince and his intrepid faithful little army. Reflecting, however, upon the consequences of a civil war, which must inevitably terminate in the ruin of the people, and in establishing more firmly the power of the Moors, who were already possessed of the confidence of the monarch, he took the noble resolution of removing into some distant kingdom, and sacrificing every ambitious view to the duty to his country and uncle, who he desired might die in peace; after which, he thought he might recover the throne through the affections of the people, in spite of all the arts made use of to supplant him. A conduct that reflects equal honour upon him, and disgrace on more enlightened princes, who for a petty state, or trifling additional title, lay aside natural affection, duty to their people, the ties of friendship, the most solemn engagements, and whatever ought to be dear to reason, honour, and religion.

The old firatick, whose mind seems to have been enervated with age and bodily infirmities, fell on a sudden into the most auffere fit of devotion, from a life not very strict or scrupulous; and this made him commit the government of the realm into the hands of his son, while he spent his whole time among the marabouts, placed round him by

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The invidious *Moors*, to draw his attention from the affairs of the nation by religious zeal, and thereby to establish their own influence the more firmly. They knew the young *firtick* rested his security upon their support, and that, by raising him to the throne, they might get the reins of administration into their own hands; it was their business therefore, to flout the old king’s eyes against the merit of his nephew, which could not be done while he continued to meddle with the public affairs, and the *marbutis* were made the pious instruments of this artful policy. Their endeavours were soon followed with all the success they could wish; that weak old prince became so passionately enamoured of the alcoran, that he carried a huge folio of text and glossaries upon the doctrine of *Mohammed* flung about his neck; although he laboured under the enormous weight of this sacred burden, inclosed in leaves of masive silver, yet would he never lay it aside, or be prevailed upon to change it for a more commodious and portable copy. He heaped honours, preferments, and wealth, upon the *marbutis*, who had always access to him under the cloak of devotion. So intirely was he weaned from all temporal concerns, that he looked upon a pilgrimage to *Mecca* as the highest proof of human wisdom, of pure religion, and claiming the best right to the title of saint; the highest dignity that human nature was capable of acquiring. He had sent one of his prime ministers into the kingdom of *Kesy*, to conduct from thence, at a great expence, a celebrated *marbut*, of whose virtues he had been told some marvellous stories; and this same saint and his noble attendant made a visit to the French, in the isle of *St. Lewis*, by whom, out of respect to the *firtick*, they were received with great honours and extraordinary marks of distinction.

This banishment of *Sambaboa* continued for the space of thirty years, part of which time he lived upon the frontiers of *Fouli*, perpetually in arms to defend himself against the attacks of the *Moors*, and the artifices of the young *firtick*. At length he demanded protection of the king of *Galam*, and a safe retreat into his dominions; which that prince, after having been informed of his character, readily granted; though at first hearing only of his valour, he was greatly embarrassed how to conduct himself in so delicate a situation, fearing on the one hand to offend such a hero, or to violate the rights of hospitality, and on the other, to admit so dangerous a prince into the bowels of his kingdom. Being acquainted with the cause of his banishment, the justice, the piety, and the valour, of this unfortunate prince, he sent a great body of his nobility to conduct him into his dominions, assigned lands for his support, officers for his household, and treated him in every respect with those honours due to his rank and character; a conduct of which he had never reason to repent, as the fuggitive prince ever repaid it with the utmost fidelity, attachment, and gratitude. In this situation he lived many years, adored by the king of *Galum*, beloved by the nobility, and the idol of the people, who wanted nothing so much as to raise him to a throne, to which he formed no pretensions; such, however, was his prudence and moderation, that the wishes of the people excited no jealousy either in the old king of *Galum*, or the prince his successor; they too well knew the equity of *Sambaboa*, and the inclinations of the *Foulants*, to apprehend a rivalry. In the year 1702, as he was beginning to sink under age and misfortunes, his uncle died, his cousin was depoed, and *Sambaboa* called by the numerous voice of the people, to fill that throne, from which he was so long banished, and reign over that people who always loved him.

His reign began with expelling the *Moors*, who had caused so many misfortunes to the nation, with fortifying several provinces that lay exposed to the inlets of the neighbouring states, and with reforming all those abuses which had crept into the administration, during the indolent and weak reign of his uncle. His wife design was to render his people happy, and himself secure, by the felicity he communicated to them; but he was cut off in the midst of all those joyous prospects by a sudden death, which *De Brune* scruples not to attribute to poison, and the artifices of the *Moorish* priests, and the depoed prince, son to the late king. He was succeeded in the throne by *Samba Donde*, who soon afterwards fell in battle, by the hands of his own brother, *Bubaka Sirea*, railed upon this event to the crown; an usurpation of which he was in a short time deprived, by *Gbelengeya*, a person he had elevated from a low station, to the high rank of kanalingo.

It may not be amiss to relate some transactions that passed between *Sambaboa* and the *Sambaboa* French factory, on the island of *St. Lewis*, as they will help to elucidate the character of that great prince, and afford us a specimen of the insidious and artful conduct of those French merchants. Prince *Sambaboa* had two strong causes of complaint against the company, the first of them of such a nature as to be palliated by no excuse. It happened in the year 1680, at the time when that prince was embroiled in a quarrel with his uncle. Being upon the eve of a battle with the *firtick*’s army, the event of which he foresaw would be doubtful, he committed his treasure, to the amount of a thousand crowns, into the hands

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Auct. citat. in locis citat.
of a French factor, to be kept till the sword had decided his fate; a deposit which this treacherous friend thought fit to appropriate to his own use, and convey into the island of St. Lewis, from whence the prince could never recover a shilling. The next occasion of complaint arose from the imputation of the Sieur Champaigneau, the director general, who had taken one of the prince's women, upon her dropping some hints about the coldness of her husband, who bestowed all his favours upon her rivals. It must be acknowledged, that both these actions deferred the fervent chaffiment, and the prince had all the opportunities of revenge he could with, long before his restoration, as the king of Galicia had frequently offered him an army to redress his grievances; but revenge was not agreeable to the disposition of this amiable person; and the French company was an object too mean to call for his vengeance; however, he still harboured some dislike against the French, and these notions they were, which De Brue had the address to remove, after the prince's restoration. No sooner was he seated on the throne, than De Brue sent a letter of apology, accompanied with some handsome presents. By this amiable the king was assured that the company had no concern in the fraud of their client, whom they would have punished, had he not avoided the law by a speedy retreat. They likewise protested to the king, that if he could seize the culprit, they would cheerfully resign him to the punishment which his conduct so well merited. As to the princes, whom Champaigneau had seduced, they blamed the credulity of the director, but assured his majesty at the same time, that he had been deceived by the information of her brother, who protested that his majesty desired nothing more than being rid of her. They farther declared, and De Brue flaked his honour, that the should immediately be surrendered, if his majesty required it.  

Nothing could be farther from truth than the whole of this justification; but the address of De Brue, and perhaps the prudence of the monarch, who was desirous of cultivating a strict correspondence with the Europeans, made it all paks for sacred. The French congratulated themselves on the refinement of their policy, and the prince was contented with enjoying the advantages which resulted from a perfect harmony with the French (A).  

The people of Fouési are celebrated by travellers as an extreme hospitable nation, all persons, without distinction of country, being freely admitted into their huts, and the best accommodations they can afford; nor is it their custom, in any other particular left commendable; for as soon of any of them has the misfortune to fall into slavery, all the rest join flock to redeem him. When any of them is well stored with provision, no poor person goes away empty handed; or rather every thing necessary to life is made common, and only that looked upon as private property, which supplies the luxuries of living, and creates the distinction of rank. Moore says, that quarrels are so rare among them, that his long stay afforded but one instance, where a Fouéaul was insulted by another; which proceeds not from their tameness or want of courage, for there is not in all Africa a braver people, or men who know better how to reft an injury. Even the Julufs themselves dare not attack them; but their politeness, their natural affection, and naturally mild disposition, are perhaps without exception; a character that does not perfectly agree with what Jofaron alleges, or indeed with the relation of the civil wars we have just recited from De Brue. According to Moore, their arms are composed of bows and arrows, lances, swords, daggers, and occasionally a kind of small fause, all of which they use with great dexterity, and an address superior to most negro nations, particularly in hunting, a diversion in great esteem among them. Elephants, lions, tygers, and the fiercest animals, are the game they pursue. Twenty or thirty of them, some on foot, some on horseback, follow the chase, and seldom return but laden with the spoils of some of these desperate enemies. The elephants teeth, the lions, leopards, and tigers skins, they sell, and the fith is smoked and dried for use and winter store. In such numbers are the elephants bred here, that they are seen in droves of two hundred together, plucking up the small trees, and destroying whole fields of corn with their terrible trunks; pleasure therefore alone is not the object of their hunting, but necessity and self preservation.  

(A) About this time, De Brue engaged in another negociation, which he conducted in such a manner, as to acquire great honour to himself, and considerable advantages to the company. The daughter of the firatiks fire, married to Lali, Lord of the Red Country, had left her husband from some notions of jealousy, or inconstancy, and retired to her father, who refused to send her back. De Brue was so closely linked in alliance with Lali, that, by his good offices, he obtained in 1720, at a low price, about 1600 quintals of gum for the use of the company, charging himself at the same time with procuring the restitution of his wife. This cost him no more than one letter to her father, and a few well directed presents. The lady was sent back to her husband, and Lati, in acknowledgment of his obligations to the company, permitted them not only to establish factories in every part of his dominions, but invaded them with the entire property of the island of Sadoi, to settle colonies, build forts, or do whatever they pleased with it. De Brue besides got the thanks of the lady's mother, which she expressed by a number of genteel presents, and acts of civility.  


k Moore, p. 68.

As
Chap. 16. The history of the Interior Countries.

As to the dress of the Foulani, it is as peculiar to themselves as some of their customs; but it would be difficult to convey an idea of it in words. Sufficient it is, that it is composed of white cotton cloths, agreeably folded round their waists, all of the manufacture of the country, nothing else being permitted to be worn there: a prudent institution, that greatly promotes trade and industry, and first set on foot by their wise prince the Sirastick Sambekko. This is all we know of this people, except their religion, which they have in common with the Jalois, Mandingees, and other inhabitants of the rivers Gambia and Senegal, and which we shall describe under one general head.

Of the customs and manners of the Jalois, or properly Oualois.

Before we come to speak particularly of this potent nation, it may not be improper that we lay down, as minutely as our authorities will permit, the precise situations of the Mundingas, Foulis, and Jalois, as these are the three great states to which all the others are tributary, and, in a measure, dependent. The last-mentioned nation is by much the most powerful, though perhaps the least extended in territory. The Foulis inhabit the interior country on both sides the river Senegal, stretching from north to east; the Jalois stand fourth of them, and extend westward along the ocean, possessing all that tract of country across Cape Verd, from the river Senegal to Gambia; and the Mandingees lie south and east of the Jalois, occupying both sides of the river Gambia from its source perhaps to the ocean. No historians pretend to mark the precise limits of either of these nations; and we are only able to speak in general terms, and rather from conjecture, than actual information or positive authority: for though the navigation of these rivers is well known, yet no Europeans have penetrated far enough into the country on each side to give us an accurate geography, much less a topography, of which we are entirely ignorant.

The Jalois, Jalois, or, according to some writers, Gbialois, or Oualois, inhabit, by Moore's description, the north side of the river Gambia, stretching a great way into the interior country, and likewise to the river Senegal; so that they and a part of the country of the Foulis border on each other. They are of an exceeding black and more beautiful complexion than most of the surrounding nations; nor have they, like the Mandingees, flat noses, or thick lips, the characteristics or distinguishing marks of almost all genuine negroes.

Moore assures us, that he had seen numbers of this nation, all of whom had a smooth black skin, and fine regular features. Barbot, speaking in general of the negroes on the banks of the rivers Gambia and Senegal, and the intermediate coast, says, that they are of a beautiful black complexion, fair, well made, active, and robust: that their teeth are small, white, and regular; their nose rather flat, and lips thick, but not in that extreme observable in almost all other negroes. From these descriptions one may conclude, that the Jalois are different from the other natives, as well in features as in customs, laws, and manners (L). No author besides Moore seems to have distinguished the native Jalois from an infinity of other nations intermixed with them; and this seems to be the cause of that diversity of descriptions we meet with.

What seems to confirm the truth of Moore's relation is, the acknowledgment of all writers, that the notions of beauty the Jalois entertain are much the same with those of the French: they admire a small well-proportioned nose, little mouth, thin lips, with a gentle pouting in the under lip, and lively eyes: for it is seldom that a people does not fix the standard of beauty among themselves, and judge by that symmetry of features the most familiar to them.

Authors differ no less with respect to the qualities of the mind than those of the body. Moore admits, that their disposition is in general warlike, their constitutions vigorous and strong; but afferts, that they are good-natured, generous, and hospitable; whereas Barbot paints them as the most treacherous, lazievous, and villainous people upon the face of the globe. They are, says that writer, debauched, lazy, impudent, cowardly, vindictive, haughty, vain, and much addicted to theft and lying. They equally indulge in eating, drinking, venery, and every other kind of intemperance; nor will they stumble at any means to gratify those desires: friendship, honour, oaths, and religion, are all set at nought, wherever their passions flind in the way; that their treachery in trade cannot be paralleled.

Moore, p. 30. Barbot, p. 34.

(L) Fillauli, describing the inhabitants of Rio Frecho, near Cape Verd, a people probably the same with the Jalois, or rather a part of that nation, says, that he never met with one flat-nosed or thick-lipped person of the nation; an account quite the reverse of L. Moore (s).

(1) Fillauli, p. 27.

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The inhabitants of the towns of Joali, Portodall, and Yaca, are the greatest thieves in nature, especially the latter, who have the address to steal from the Europeans while they are minding in their faces, without being perceived. Barbot has seen them make use of their feet in these employments, while their hands have been busied in some obliging office. But we must observe, that our author speaks here of the natives of the coast. Labat makes much of the fame remark on the Jaloffs towards Senegal. It is not upon their hands only, says that writer, that you must fix your eyes, if you would prevent their frauds, but on their feet likewise; for, from a habit of going barefoot, they acquire the fame dexterity in those parts as Europeans have in their hands, and will even pick up a pin with their toes off the ground. If they chance to see a knife, scissors, or toy, that attracts their inclinations, they will turn their backs upon it, engage you in conversation, and filly feize it between their toes, with which they have the art of throwing it into a kind of pouch, which they wear behind. Nor do they deal much more honestly with their countrymen of the inland parts, to whom they give the name of SIMPLE mountaineers; for, when they come to trade to the coasts, the maritime negroes immediately offer their service in carrying their goods, which they seldom quit before they have stole half, while the owner stands amazed by what enchantment and conjuration he should be so great a loiter, while his eyes are kept constantly fixed on his property. But they go still great lengths; and where address fails, they scruple not to have recourse to force, affadilation, and the most cruel murders, which are too often every day on the highways. To such a degree of barbarity do they carry their avaricious disposition, that many of them sell their fathers, mothers, children, and neighbours; of which Barbot gives a great number of instances. Le Maire gives one ridiculous example of this practice: an old negro intending to sell his son, sent him with a load to the French factory; but the young man, suspecting his father's design, refused to go out with him, and accordingly hastened to the factor, to tell the old parent; so that on his arrival he was seized, as the property of the merchant. The old man cried out in vain, that he was the father of that monster who had sold him; but the son swore vehemently it was false, and the bargain remained firm. The son, returning home triumphant with the price of the father's liberty, was met by the lord of the district, pillaged of his ill-got riches, and carried as a slave to the very person who had just before bought his father. A number of children are daily kidnapped by their neighbours, who have found them straigling in the woods, or driving away thebrids from the corn fields and plantations, according to the custom of the country; and in times of great scarcity, many negroes fell themselves, in order to be allured of bread, and make no scruple of disposing of their children for a few handfuls of rice.

We are told by the same authors, that the Jaloffs are much addicted to magic and sorcery, which they exercise by the means of the grand sorcerer's ministrers, the priests; who, they believe, have a power over serpents and monsters. Walla Filla, king of Jula, a province of Jaloff, passed for the greatest conjurer of his time, and was reckoned the most expert poisoner in the whole country. This man could, according to the tradition of the negroes, assemble all his forces in an instant, by virtue of his art, and at the same time diffe the enemy. Le Maire mentions it as a proof of the stupidity of the negroes, that their interpreters are not able to give the fene or convey the meaning of a foreign tongue in their own, though they perfectly understand both languages; thus, by their dullest, occafioning numberless embarrassments in business. If they once know that they are necess-fary or useful to an European, then they become indispensably troublesome, are perpetually drunk; and the spirits, which they procure with great labour and pains, are liquored away prodigally in one debauch: for palm wine is not so common in this country as to become a general liquor among them. They have not the least idea of gratitude, nor the smallest notion of returning kindness by reciprocal good offices; all their actions arise from some mean, selfish view, and indirectly to gratify some brutal appetite; nay, their ignorance is so gross, that it would be difficult to make them comprehend how two and two make four. So total is this stupidity, that they know not their own age, or the day of the week, for which they even have no names; and indeed the only virtue of which they are poffefled is hospitality, if it be a virtue in them, who invite a stranger to their hovel only that they may gain by them.

Barbot, speaking of the Jaloff princes round Senegal, compares them to the worst of the Mandians, another nation he has celebrated for their vices; but they join cunning to their impudence. They begin a bargain or treaty with begging trifles that cannot well be refused, in order to found the temper of the perfon they have to do with: if they find

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a his disposition easy, they proceed to ask things of more consequence, and in such a manner that they cannot be refused without breaking with them, and destroying all hopes of trade. In general, there is no method of checking their avarice, but by obstinately refusing them everything they ask: this will sometimes have the effect, and at other times so enrage them, that they avoid all communication, and seize every opportunity of doing you an injury. Their princes are so falsely impudent in this begging trade, that, if a well-dressed European visits them, they will successively ask for every thing he has about him; for instance, they will beg leave to try on his hat, sword, gloves, &c. till they have got possession of all, and then force only can get them returned. However, the Jallo princes towards Gambia are more modest, honest, and humane, and indeed of a character altogether the reverse of the former. They are less avaricious, less mean, and at the same time less proud, except where certain ceremonies require a decent dignity. Their edicts consist chiefly in droves of camels, dromedaries, cows, goats, millet, and fruits. In the audience they grant the Europeans, they always appear with a becoming magnificence, and great decorum of behaviour. They are usually seated on a throne, and covered with a long red or blue robe, adorned with the tufts of hair from the tail of an elephant or some other wild animal, little pieces of ivory or coral, and a crown of fingers on their head, decked with little horns of small deer, antelopes, and other animals. They proceed with great solemnity to the place of audience, which, in fine weather, is generally under the shade of a great tree, round which their guards are ranged, and always with a pipe of tobacco in

b their mouths. In all these audiences the Arabs and Moors marbuts have liberties allowed them superior to the negroes; but the French have some exclusive privileges, denied to all other nations. Nothing can exceed the dignity with which these princes take the pipe from their mouths, to interrogate an ambassador, concerning his commission, and the particular business for which he demanded an audience: they do with a kind of gravity and solemnity of countenance, and manner altogether peculiar, and of which an European, who has not seen it, can have no idea. It would be unnecessary to enlarge farther upon these minuteness of character; we shall therefore proceed to their civil policy, government, and religion.

c Round Senegal the Jallois, we are told, call the princes of the blood by the name of officers of tenbala, and the nobles by that of jabibobo. Le Maire says, that the damel, or prince of that country nearest the Senegal, has under him two officers of the highest rank; the one, called koudi, presides over all military affairs, and commands his armies; the other, called the great jarefo, sits at the head of civil affairs, and is chief in all courts of justice, the damel himself having no power to reverse his decrees. He makes circuits round all the provinces, to hear complaints and redress grievances; so that no people of so bad a character are more happily governed, or live in a more peaceable manner. Another officer, called the alkair, a word of Moorish extraction, is treasurer to the crown, and exercises much the same function with the jarefo, but in a narrower compass: he too has under him full autocratic alkairs, or alkades, who are the chiefs in the villages where they reside, and a kind of justices of the peace; though appeals in all cases of consequence are made to the jarefo, when he performs his circuit. Barbey relates, that all the great officers have their representatives in every large village; and that there are an infinity of jarefos and alkairs in almost every province of the empire. The koudi, who, in virtue of his office, is lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom, and commander in chief of the king’s armies, with a power similar to a high-constable of France, frequently makes the tour of the kingdom with the jarefo, to examine into the conduct of the alkairs: whence it seems as if the jarefo alone had no authority to call them to an account. The particular province of an alkair is to levy the rights of the crown, and taxes imposed for the support of government; though his name seems to import the governmentship of some town, village, or district (M).

d Vasconcelos affirms, that the negroes of the coast are greatly superior to those of Government Senegal in the art of government; that they are more exact in all the duties of administration, their policy more extended, and their schemes of security and aggrandizement more refined, more profound and secret; in a word, that they are more equitable in their rewards and punishments, public and private, civil and military administration: an assertion altogether opposite to the testimony of all other writers. Here the prince’s privy-council is composed of persons the most venerable for their age and wisdom, and the judges of the most experienced and intelligent men of the nation. Punishment immediately follows conviction, and a thief is sold for a slave, seldom put to death. Le Maire says, that a native of Jallo, who is accused of any crime, but cannot be convicted by positive evidence, is obliged to lick

f Barrot, p. 57. Moore, p. 231.

(M) Le Maire writes it Alkair, Alkadi, Alkadhi, or Alkasi, either of which in the Arabic or modern Moroccan tongue signify judge; how it can be applied to

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with his tongue an ignited bar of iron, stroking it slowly over three different times. If he refills this trial, he is declared innocent, and the accuser is obliged to go through the same trial; otherwise the accused escapes corporal punishment, but is banished the realm. Moore relates, that the Jeloff natives, upon the river Gamola, purged themselves of crimes, by holding boiling water in the mouth; frequent instances of which he has seen: yet does not the rigour of those punishments deter them from their and other crimes of an equally heinous nature. The reason perhaps is, that here, as well as in more civilized countries, the course of justice is often changed through corruption, money and interest having power to acquit the most notorious delinquent. Le Maire furnishes us with a very remarkable example of the power of money in preventing justice. Two petty kings, dependents on the danmel, the uncle and nephew, disputed about a piece of ground, to which each claimed a right, and at last resolved to leave the affair to the determination of the danmel. The day of trial was appointed, and crowds of people assembled from every corner of the kingdom, to see the event of a litigation so solemn and important. Both the princes prostrated themselves before their superior, and each advanced all the arguments he could in support of his claim. The nephew, who was son to the late king, concluded his harangue by representing, that the domains in dispute had belonged to his father, to whom they were given by the favour of heaven, and that it would be the highest injustice to deprive the son and legitimate heir of what the father possessed. After deliberating for some time, the danmel replied, "What heaven gave to the father, I will give to the son;" a sentence that was followed with repeated shouts of applause from the whole assembly. The justice of the danmel, the praises of the nephew, and the dishonesty of the uncle, were echoed from mouth to mouth, and every man seemed happy in so equitable a decision. Next day, while the young man was ruminating upon his good fortune, he was amazed to find himself stripped of all he possessed, without any new offence or form of trial: but he soon found, that the danmel, corrupted by a large bribe, had revoked the sentence, reestablished his uncle, and, to prevent his disputing this final decision, had defiled him of his honours, authority, and property. What surprised him still more, was the sudden alteration in the sentiments of the people, whose love kept pace with his fortune; for they now decried him as much as they before had praised him; and his uncle, who but the day before was the subject of their ribaldry and fatire, became now the object of their adoration. As there are an infinity of petty kings included under the general name of Jeloff princes, so there are perpetual wars in some quarter or other of this large tract of country. When a rupture with some other power is resolved on, the kondi assembles the troops, which never exceed five hundred in number: thus it is that their greatest battles are really but skirmishes, in which hardly any dead are left in the field. Voyagers inform us, that in the whole kingdom of Damel there are scarce horses sufficient to mount two hundred men, and yet the strength of their armies consists in their cavalry. The king of Damel is however a potent prince for that part of the world; his armies are well supplied with provisions, and hundreds of women attend the camp every day with live flock, for the use of the troops, as well as fruits, roots, and all kinds of vegetables. Sometimes five hundred dishes of kykatas are sent into the camp, drested and seasoned in a variety of different methods. Such of them as suit the king's taste the best he keeps, the rest he distributes among the officers and soldiers, who never want an appetite for so delicate a regale. The arms of the cavalry are long lances, a kind of javelin, riveted like an arrow, and short swords, which they use when they dismount; a part of discipline they are always taught, and frequently practice in battle; however, so loaded are they with grijews, that they march but slowly on foot. The infantry are armed with scimitars, javelins, and a quiver, charged with ten or twelve poisoned arrows, a wound from which is attended with insaluble death. Their bows are made of a kind of hard reed, resembling the bambou, and the cord of an elastic piece of wood, which they form with great dexterity to yield and recover its tone. All the negroes are such excellent marksmen, that few will miss a shilling at the distance of fifty paces; but they fight in a tumultuous and irregular manner, both sides marching into the middle of the plain, pitched upon for the engagement, without any manner of order or discipline; their girats, or instruments of war, confounding all the while, with a most horrible din. When they come within a proper distance, the infantry make a general discharge of their arrows, after which they engage fowrd in hand, but with such precaution, as all the while to have their commercial interest in view, making as many prisoners and as little slaughter as possible; for the prisoners of all ranks and ages are to be sold for slaves. Moore however affirms, that, notwithstanding all their care, their battles are frequently very bloody in their consequences, altho' the carnage in the field be not considerable, as few of those wounded with their poisoned arrows ever recover. He further affirms, that the Jeloffs are particu-

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4 Le Maire, p. 119.
a larly delicate in point of military honour, preferring death to the smallest reproach on their courage: this it is, says he, which animates them no less than the dread of slavery, to more than a natural intrepidity, and hurries them on to feats of prowess above humanity. Should the first flock of battle fail to decide victory, they will frequently renew it for several succesive days; and at length, when the obstinacy of both sides begins to faint under the fatigue of action, they enter upon a treaty by means of their markts, who meet in the field between the two armies; and, if these holy men agree upon the articles of convention, they swear upon the Alkoran and by Mahommed to be faithful to their engagements.

Moore and Le Maire give us sketches of the character of some princes that reigned here, the character of some On.

b when they resided in the country. The king of Heoval (N), once a powerful and respected prince, was now, and since the year 1682, become tributary to another petty king, not for want of courage, but by reason of his inferior strength. His dominions stretch about fifty miles along the river, and are eight or ten miles broad, besides certain little domains and lordships about the mouth of the river, and without the boundaries we have mentioned. Although this prince is absolute in his dominions, yet does he often stand in need of a handful of millet to keep him from starving; and hence arose the cause of his subjection, poverty having effectually what the sword could not. Necessity often obliged him to make incursions into the neighbouring territories, in search of slaves, cattle, and other plunder, which he immediately sold to the French for brandy. One circumstance in the conduct of this prince deserves to be mentioned. When he had got possession of a punic hill of brandy, he first got drunk, and then ordered it to be locked up, and the key put into the hands of his favourite minister, who was obliged to ride off thirty or forty miles distance from the king. This he did by way of check on his inclinations, knowing that, if the key was in his power, he could not resist the temptation of drinking till the whole was exhausted: but the minister had often reason to repent obeying his majesty; for when the fit seized him, he immediately dispatched a messenger for his favourite and the key; and if he did not make his appearance within the time allowed by his majesty, his head became the forfeit.

The damel or king of Kayor, another Jeloff prince, was no less frothy and drunken. As the French factors seldom appear before him, but to ask some favour, or complain of some of his officers, they never came to court unprovided with a dozen bottles of brandy, and were sure to meet with the most favourable reception, and have every request granted as long as they chose to keep his majesty drunk, which frequently happened for whole weeks together.

c The Jeloffs who border on the river Gambia occupy the kingdom of Farfalla and the Kingdom of Lower Yau. Moore alleges, that the name of the royal family here is U'jai. This monarch governs with a despotic authority, all the people profaning themselves on their faces whenever any person of the royal family appears; and from this mark of respect no degree of quality is exempted; yet does he live upon a most familiar footing and perfect equality with his troops and all the officers of his army. Every soldier has his share of the booty made in war, and the king but a certain moderate proportion, considering that he might, if he pleased, seize upon the whole. This custom it is that makes the Barfallans not only purvue a war with vigour, but continue it with obstinacy; for the soldiers, reaping the reward of their toils, refuse no hazard or fatigue to render the remainder of their lives easy. All the court professe the Mahommedan religion; though they seem to pay little regard to that part of the impostor's creed which forbids the use of wine; for the king cannot live without brandy, nor is he ever more devout than when he is drunk.

d The general dress of the Jeloffs is a kind of loose calicoes, furplise, that hangs down below the knee; which they sometimes plait about the waist, in a very agreeable manner; Oualoffs, and the natives of Barfalla in particular wear a great number of gold trinkets in their hair, ears, nose, and round their necks, arms, and legs; but the women especially are fond of those ornaments. The king of Barfalla, whom Moore saw in 1732, had a prodigious number of women: but when he went abroad, he was seldom attended by more than two, count of the king of Bar-

f falla. The same king had a like number of brethren; but it was seldom that he deigned to speak to them, and much less to associate with them; but if ever he condescended to do them that honour, they were forced to treat him with the same respect as other subjects, and profane themselves on the earth the moment they came into his presence, notwithstanding they were


(N) It must be observed, that Le Maire calls this prince the king of Seegal, by which he means the same kingdom as Heoval, by which name Moore, and indeed almost all other writers, speak of him.
The history of the Interior Countries.  Book XXI.

The usual residence of the prince is at Kolone, a town situated near the sea, an hundred miles from Fout, another town belonging to the same king on the river Gambia. When his majesty is in want of brandy, or any other necessity, he tends to beg of the governor of Jumé-nort, that he will dispatch a boat with the merchandise he may have occasion for; to purchase which he plunders the neighbouring towns, and seizes a certain number of his subjects, whom he sells for slaves, and exchanges for European commodities. This is his method of supplying himself, if he happens to be at peace with his neighbours for which reason the people cannot be so happy and secure as when they are at war, their most cruel enemy being their own king, and their greatest danger arising from the person who ought to protect them in their liberties, lives, and property.

His majesty of Barfalla has divided his kingdom into a number of provinces, over which he has set governors, called bunnys, who pay him an annual homage, and send in a certain revenue or tribute to the exchequer. Those bunnys are powerful and absolute within their jurisdictions; but they seldom carry their prerogative so far as to incur the dislike of the people, whose affections are the surest barriers against the tyrannical encroachments of the king. His majesty has notwithstanding an absolute dominion over these governors, his standing forces being at all times sufficient to keep them in obedience, did they attempt to throw off their subjection; trials of which seldom or never occur, both sides finding it to be their interest to live in amity, the one to acknowledge the homage that is due, and the other to require no more than is due. Thus the king enjoys a despotic dominion, without having the whole load of government upon his shoulders; the bunnys enjoy all the privileges of crowned heads, only by acknowledging a superior; and the people are in full possession of happiness, by having a kind of mediator between them and the monarch, whose flaves they are.

The king of Barfalla maintains so strenuously the dignity of despotism, that he admits of no other counsellor besides his prime minister, that is, his prime flave: for nothing can be more fervile than the implicit regard this tool of state pays to the nod of his master. The minister is at the same time the general of the king's forces, and the interpreter of his will, from the very letter of which he must never deviate. He is called the great farbe, or master of the horse; and he likewise enjoys another office, that of bearing the sword of state before the king upon all public occasions.

Moore describes one of the brothers of this prince as a person equally amiable in mind and body. He was, according to this author, of tall stature and genteel air, regular and handlime in his features, his skin exceeding black, his teeth white and even, his nose high, his lips thin, and eyes lively and black. Nothing could exceed the appearance this prince made, when mounted on a beautiful barb he had, finely caparisoned, with a bridle plated with silver, a handlime saddle, and frizzels of silver well polished. This horse Moore takes great pains in describing; which he believes, in point of beauty, exceeded the Bucephalus of Alexander: but as most of our readers have a sufficiently clear idea of an Arabian steed, we think it unnecessary to dwell upon the description of an animal that so strongly took the fancy of our author. Such is the account we have of the manners, customs, and government, of the several Juloff nations: for though we have mentioned but a few, out of the great number of states which go by this name, yet from what is said the reader has a general idea of the people, and more cannot be expected in a work of so vast a for a purpose.

Before we enter upon the religion and other particulars common to all the negroes inhabiting the banks of the rivers Gambia and Senegal, and that great tract of country lying between both, from the sea to the lakes Mboivra and Labor, we shall just give the geography of two other states that deserve some notice, as being next in power and extent to those we have described. The first is the kingdom of Galam, situated eastward, about twenty-four miles from the bar at the mouth of the river Senegal, beginning a league below Foulah, and extending forty-five miles up the river, to the cataract or high rock Felum. This kingdom is bordered on the north and north-west by those vaat tracts of good and bad regions inhabited by the wandering Moors, and by some of the Fouls, who reside constantly in their towns, and acknowledge the sovereignty of the Siratik king. On the east and north-east is the kingdom of Conja, or Conje; whose prince has the title of Segueda, having his residence in an island, about a mile higher than the cataract of Felum. This island is formed by two branches of the river, which, after a course of above sixty miles, lose themselves in the lake Conja, a great body of water, but very imperfectly known to Europeans. They are called the black and white rivers; probably from the colour of the sand and chanel through which they run.

As the French, who have pushed their discoveries the farthest here, have never penetrated beyond

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1 Moore, in loco ult. citat. 1 Idem. p. 83.
Chap. 16. The history of the Interior Countries.

a Govina, that prodigious catacxt that had foiled all the attempts of the adventurers, sent from the island of Senegal by the Sieur De Brus, we know nothing of the extent of the kingdom of Caffon, but from the Moorish merchants and negro factors, who pretend to no knowledge of the north side; but affirm, that to the south it extends to the countries of Godova and Giocia; the Mandingoes of Yambora and Bambous being tributary, though not actually subject to it. The Caffons are said to be defended from the Foulis, to be rich, industrious, numerous, and their king the sovereign of Galam, and of most of the other states under the immediate dominion of the Siretik. The country is said to abound with mines of gold, river, and copper, so rich that the veins appear almost at the surface of the earth; and thus the natives take off, sift, and sell as gold dust, after it has been first washed and cleaned by a running stream.

Labat says, that, before the direction of affairs at Senegal came into the hands of the Sieur De Brus, several of his predecessors had formed the design of accurately examining the kingdoms of Galam and Caffon, with the intention to cultivate affluently the commerce which those rich countries would necessarily afford; but whether from a deficiency in power, capacity, fleetness, or from the natural difficulties which attend the execution of all new projects, it is certain they could never push their discoveries beyond Leide, Betel, or Guede, the cataracts of the Niger being insurmountable difficulties. Without venturing to establish factories, and a regular settled commerce, they contented themselves with sending a few small vessels as far up as the river was navigable, to receive slaves, gold, and ivory, which the Mandingo merchants did not chuse to carry to the river Gambia: but of this we shall have occasion to speak more particularly, when we come to treat of the navigation and commerce of those two rivers; at present we shall relate those customs, which are peculiar to the inhabitants of that great tract of land lying between the rivers Gambia and Senegal, and common to them all, though distinguished into different nations.

SECT. XI.

Containing a minute description of the dress, diet, marriages, education of children, and burials, of the interior negroes in general; of their language, arts, manufactures, &c. of their religion and superstitions; together with a particular account of their marbuts, or priests.

As all the inhabitants of this division of Africa, except the Foulis, are of a complexion totally black, we might be expected to enter here upon a philosophical inquiry into the causes of this diversification of colours. It is the first object that strikes the imagination of travellers, and perhaps one of the most curious subjects in natural philosophy; but we chuse to refer the reader to the reflections we have already made in some of the former volumes, as nothing more than conjectures can be offered, and we see all the ingenious hypotheses formed by the French academicians overthrown by some obstinate facts, that cannot be reduced to their otherwise plausible system.

The common dress all over this part of Africa is a kind of shirt or surplice, and wide drawers, made of blue and white cotton cloth, the sleeves large, which they tuck up over their arms, when they are employed in any business that requires the free use of their hands, and the drawers hanging in a bag that separates their legs, and makes them straddle as they walk. On their feet they wear a kind of leathern sandals, buttoned at the instep and toes, and behind at the heel. Their heads and whole bodies, when full dressed, are covered over with grijgris: for here religious ornaments constitute the material and chief beauties of dres. Some wear a sword flung over the right shoulder, others a long dart, and others a bow and arrows; but all use a long knife by their left side, a weapon they are never seen without. We here speak of perions of better fashion, for as to the poor, they generally go

(Vide Moore, Labat, Le Maire, & Barbey, in locis citatis.)

(O) It may be worth remarking, that altho' the prevailing customs of all nations inhabiting this part of Africa have so strong an analogy, that he who describes one gives a tolerable general idea of the other, yet the remarks of most writers are confined to some particular people: and, as different authors have treated of different countries, we have thus an idea of those peculiar national manners that characterize them. For instance, Jofson's remarks are confined to the Mandingo; those of Le Maire and Labat to the Jolifis; of Moore to the Mandingo and Jolifis together; and many of Barbey's to the Foulis only: yet would each of these writers seem to convey a general idea of the whole, from observations they have made on particular kingdoms; though, from comparing them, it is obvious that they are each characterized by peculiar manners, which was the reason why we treated of them separately; for we would omit nothing that could contribute to enlighten so obscure a part of history.
The history of the Interior Countries.

Book XXI.

naked, and are at least bare-footed. As to the women, their dress consists only of a piece of cotton, tyed round the waist, and falling down to the knee, in form of a petticoat, much in the same manner as the negroes of the Gold, Ivory, and Grain Coasts: all the upper part of the body is naked, which, for ornament, they mark, stain, and paint, with various figures and colours, which at a distance have the resemblance of a painted callicoe, or flowered stuff. Some of them have a loose piece of cotton cloth carelessly flung over their shoulder; but this is a piece of extravagance very unual: and Moore observes, that both sexes pride themselves on having a large bunch of keys suspended to their girdles, only for the ostentation of passing for persons of wealth.

With regard to the diet of these negroes, it is plain and simple, composed chiefly of rice, roots, and fruits, which they eat with abundance of appetite, as we may imagine from their making but one meal a day, and that in the evening. This temperance however is not so much the fruit of virtue as of lazines, which prevents their going in search of game, the only animal food they use; for their cattle, sheep, and goats are carefully kept for milk. Food indeed acquaints us, that it is an established maxim among many of them, that ablemenious and temperance in diet, during the hot season, contribute greatly to the preservation of health; a practice which, from their example, he strongly recommends to all Europeans, who reside in the same climate; and his reasoning it must be owned appears consonant to reason and the laws of the animal economy. The ordinary drink of all the negroes is water; though the better sort of people in this country use palm wine, diluted with water, and a kind of beer, called ballo, made from the grain most common here; but whether that be rice or millet we are not told. It is true they have all an extreme fondness for brandy and strong spirits; but as these are purchased from the Europeans, only perfons of condition are able to indulge in them to any degree of excess; yet, whatever the inclinations of the men to debauchery may be, nothing can exceed the behaviour of the women as to temperance and simplicity of diet and drink; for they never taste any thing stronger than water, or at most a little wine or ballo, plentifully diluted.

Their diet.

Some authors tell us, that the negroes make two meals a day, one about the middle of the day, the other in the evening; that they set down to table without any of that furniture deemed necessary among us; they eat with their fingers, and always use the right hand, esteeming it an indelicacy to touch their food or lips with the left, which they employ in all the menager offices. Nor are their kings any better provided with the instruments of refinements and luxury, although they eat in state, and alone, except when they sometimes admit their high marbut to the honour of sitting with them at table. Hence it is that the negroes very unwillingly admit Europeans to their meals, as if themselves were sensitive of the frivolity, the slovenly manner, and the clownishness of their customs, in this particular.

Marriages.

As to their marriages, we find a variety of different relations by voyagers, a particular which we attribute rather to the incongruity of this ceremony than to the mistake and ignorance of writers. Jobson alleges, that every man has a right to marry the girl he loves, without regard to fortune or quality, or indeed to any other circumstance than that of maturity and a proper age; yet he allows, that contracts are seldom made without the participation and consent of the parents, in whose hands he deposits the jointure intended, or at least a proper security for the payment. The king or chief person in the province, town, or village, holds certain rights, as the general guardian of all the girls within his jurisdiction, more especially of orphans. As soon as the preliminaries are adjusted, the bridgroom, accompanied with a number of young fellows, set out by moon-light, or at least in the night, and surround the house of the bride, in order to carry her off by force; while she and her female attendants pretend to make all possible resistance, and alarm the whole village with their cries; a country that is looked upon as a ceremony of course, so that no opposition is made to the ravisher, the comedy always terminating in a wedding. To such a degree of absurdity is this farce carried, that the lover haunts the house for several weeks before, and is seen concealing himself in woods and groves around the residence of the object of his wishes, covering his face with a veil, to prevent discovery, and giving the countenance the air of an intrigue, without which the joy is reckoned flat and insipid.

Moore affirms, that round the Gambie a father often betroths his daughter to some neighbouring infant on the day of her birth; an engagement so firm and binding, that it can never be retracted; nor are the inclinations of the parties themselves sufficient to dissolve a marriage made without their consent. In general the women marry very young, and leave off bearing children at the time of life when others begin. When a marriage contract is agreed upon, the bridgroom must present the parents of his bride with two cows, a bar of iron, and two hundred kola nuts; without which ceremony the bargain is not binding, even supposing he should have carried her home and consummated. The fame

* Jobson's Golden Trade, p. 49. 55. Le Maire, p. 131. b JAREQUIN, p. 96. author
a author observes, that the husband must give an entertainment, to which all the neighbours are supposed to come without invitation; and that this ceremony, the neglect of which inebitably incurs the contempt of the village, continues for three or four days. The bride is carried from her father’s house upon the shoulders of young fellows, friends to the bridegroom, her face covered with a veil, which the never lays aside till after consummation; her doing this being a testimony to the whole assembly that the nuptial rites are duly performed; for the method is, that the married pair retire, while the company continue singing, dancing, and drinking, till their return.

Labat’s account of this ceremony, in the countries bordering on the Senegal, is different. Here the young lover applies to the parents of his mistresses, and endeavours to win her b consent through their influence, but without ever declaring or expecting that any constraint should be laid on her inclinations, which he believes must terminate unhappily to both parties. If he has been so fortunate as to gain her affections, he makes some presents to the father and mother, or nearest relations, the bride is conducted to his house, and the marriage is concluded without any other form or ceremony than a collation to the village. When the approaches the house, the bridegroom offers her his hand, to conduct her to the best apartment; where she no sooner enters, than he takes upon him the husband, and employs her immediately in fetching water, or in some other servile occupation, intimating thereby her subordination; and the respectfully retires at the first motion to execute his commands. She is served after him, attends on the quality of a servant during supper, and patiently c waits his time to be led to bed; but this is an authority which only brutal husbands assume after the first night, and while it is looked upon as a marriage ceremony. If the bride is secure of being a virgin, a thing extremely rare in any of the negro countries, the always, from a motive of vanity and compliment to her husband, spreads a white cotton cloth upon the bed, which, in token of her former chastity, and the abilities of the bridegroom, she exposes publicly to the company after consummation; by whom it is received with profound respect, and carried in triumph round the village, attended by crowds of people, with a variety of music, and great rejoicings. Labat assures us, that if the proper marks of virginity do not appear, the parents are obliged to take her back, if the bridegroom requires it; but this is a disgrace seldom put upon them, as the greatest care is d taken that the bride be examined by competent judges before marriage; and should the husband chance to be disappointed, he chuses rather to keep his engagement than embroil two families, the inevitable consequence of lending back the bride. It is true, that in many parts of this coast virginity is but little prized, the Africans as well as Europeans being greatly divided about the value of this female jewel, some deeming it above, and others below all estimation. We shall conclude our account of the nuptial ceremony, with a custom which is observed by some nations of this division, according to Jamesin, a writer of some credit. By him we are told, that the bride is delivered naked to the bridegroom by her parents; that he immediately carries her before the marabout, who orders them to eat a few grains of fine fand, and to consummate the following night, this being the e whole form of marriage. According to the same writer, if the marks of virginity are not evident in the morning, the husband has a right immediately to repudiate his wife; and this in some countries is esteemed so disgraceful, that a woman who cannot bear the toff will rather perish than marry.

All authors agree, that polygamy is permitted here, with the same latitude as in all other negro countries, the husband being confined to no number, and taking as many women as his circumstances will support; but they differ greatly concerning the privileges of the husband and wife, the power given to the one, and the obedience required of the other. Jobon calls one of the women the handwife, because she always attends the husband, assumes a kind of superiority over the rest, and is in fact the mistress of the family, because she has brought him the first child, or the largest fortune, or, what is more consequence than all, her virginity. In consequence of her station, she is exempted from many of the servile occupations in which all the rest are employed, and sometimes eats with her husband; an honour denied to the others, who eat in a little cabin apart from the principal hut, never appearing in his presence but when called, or sharing in his embraces but when futility of the principal woman calls for variety; notwithstanding which, Jobon speaks with admiration of the harmony and perfect understanding that reigns through the whole, where all might expect to be in confusion, from jealousy, lust, and envy.

The punishment of adultery is, according to Jobon, no other than flattery, with this caution, that both parties be told to the Europeans; for then they are assured that the criminal g will be transported beyond sea: but Barbot observes, that if they are taken, in the fact, the adulterer is put to death, and the woman repudiated, the greater guilt being always

P. 113.  
P. 51.
always supposed to lie on the man. As for her, she returns to her parents, who are obliged to receive her, as if nothing had happened; though in some places she is stigmatized with a mark of infamy, and forbidden to associate with the other women of the family. In some cases the woman is put to death, or sold for a slave; while the man escapes unpunished; but this must be on clear evidence, that she had decyed him into a belief of her being single. An instance of this nature happened to the lat, one of the chief officers of the danael; his wife having given him cause to suspect her fidelity, and that she had deceived a gallant, he was going to put her death, but was advised on account of her high birth, to lay his grievances before the king. The facts being clearly proved, she was sold by his majesty's order to the French factor, and the gallant not only acquitted but rewarded, for the honour he had thrown in refusing her favours, till she had convinced him that the never had been married.

Moore affirms, that, in general, the husband has the power of punishing the infidelity of his wife, by selling her to the highest bidder, or driving her forth out of his house with all her children, without any thing to support them. Yet notwithstanding the rigour of these laws, the women look upon an intrigue with a white as a great honour, and their husbands frequently compliment the factors with the use of their wives, their mistresses or daughters; but Barbot thinks, that this complaisance proceeds from motives of interest; as there is no tie so sacred but what they will break, nothing so base but they will commit, to gratify their strongest of passions, the love of money. Although the women are by nature not averse to gallantry, yet among them too interest is the first principle and spring of their affections, which they always proportion to the wealth and liberality of the lover; and as they are in general tall, handsome, and lascivious, the Europeans seldom dispute with them about the price of their favours.

In this country the women are charged with all the laborious employments, and they not only perform the domestick offices, but the culture of the earth, the fowling, planting, and reaping, devote upon them; in a word, the women here enter upon the whole province of the other sex, at least what is reckoned so in almost every part of the world besides; but although this subordination be established by custom immemorial, it reflects greatly upon a man's reputation, if he suffer the weaker sex to till like slaves, while he is indulging in ease and luxury; and nature seems to strongly dictate this, that, in spite of their favourable laws and inbred lazinesses, they usually share the labour with the women.

Among the negroes of this country, whether Mohammedans or Pagans, there are certain degrees of conflagrity, which are by law prohibited from marrying; for instance, a man cannot marry his sister, his daughter, his aunt, or niece; and a king who would violate this religious law, would probably be severely censured by the markats. All the women are incredibly fruitful, and intrepid in child-bearing, as in the severest pains of labour they never utter a groan, or even a sigh, which would be reckoned cowardly in the most rackling pains. They seldom require the affiance of a midwife, except those who are pregnant very young, and never keep their beds above a day or two, if at all: in general, indeed, the mother and infant are immediately washed, the child wrapped up in a cloth, tucked round the mother's shoulders, who sets about her work as if nothing extraordinary had happened (A).

Five or six days after birth, some writers say a month, the child has a name given it, with the ceremony of having its head shaved and anointed with oil, in the presence of five or six of the nearest relations. Their names, at least among the professors of that religion, are generally Mohammedan, such as Omar, Hul, Dimbi, Malat, for boys; and Fatema, Alimata, Kamba, &c. for girls; after which, the child is every morning washed in cold water, and then anointed with palm-oil.

The mothers treat their children with exceeding tendernefs, sparing no fatigue or labour in indulging them, till they are able to walk, and then carefully cherishing and affably attending their bodies, but neglecting their minds, till they are in a condition to provide for themselves. As they are bred in a perpetual course of idleness, their laziness becomes habitual, and seldom wears off for their whole lives; and this is all they gain by the ill judged tendernefs of the mother. As to the girls, they are bred to labour from their infancy, to a revered and modest behaviour in company, especially with their superiors and parents; but take them aside, says Barbot, and you will find that an education, not founded on principle, and infulled by example, is but of little efficacy, as there are no favours which

education of children.

(A) To this method of carrying their children continually on their backs, Le Maire attributes the slowness of their people, from the perpetual friction against the mother's back; but this solution not only contradicts the facts, which both he and other writers advance, that the natives of these countries have high noses, but is contrary to common sense, as the infant is turned back to back to the mother, a method frequently practiced among the beggars of North-Britain particularly in the Highlands of Scotland.
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They will not grant for a bunch of coral and ribband, or a glass toy. Here, as well as in some other countries we have described, the woman avoids the carelessness of her husband, for three years after childbearing; a custom founded upon their great affection for their children, who they imagine contract distempers from their mother's milk, contaminated by the nuptial embrace; however, their natural desires are in general too strong for their regard to their children, and it is the husband's fault if they do not shorten the period assigned by custom for this penance.

The customs observed upon the death of any person are the same we have related in our account of the Gold Coast; the whole village being immediately apprised of the loss, by the cries and distraught lamentations of the family; the marbut, instead of the fetisbeers, carefully washing the body; and then covering it with the same cloaths the person usually wore; the relations coming one after another to propound ridiculous questions to the deceased; such as whether he was unwilling to live with them? what could it put into his head to die? whether he complained of the narrowness of his fortune? whether he had too few handsome women? or whether any of the relations had offended him, that he should take this cruel method of punishing them? On the other hand, the guirata, a species of musicians, play and sing the praises of the deceased, and a folgan, or ball, is given to all the attendants, in memory of the defunct. Slaves are sold to purchase brandy; and, after the entertainment, the cover is removed from the grave in which the body is to be deposited (B). Four of the nearest relations furnish a cloth, by way of pall, which is spread over the corpse, while the marbut whispers certain inarticulate sounds in its ear. After this it is immediately covered with dust, the tombstone laid upon it, and over that a piece of cloth of any colour the relations chufe. At the head stands a jar of water, and on either side plates of kufkus; and near this a pole, on which are suspended the bows, arrows, darts, and sword of the deceased. In some countries they draw a deep ditch round the grave, to prevent its being dug up by wild beasts, as frequently happens where this precaution is omitted. If the deceased be a boy, the women and girls of the village chant a funeral service, while the boys run about the streets, making a dismal noise with their harths and instruments, and the clattering of arms, with which they are provided for this occasion, committing all possible extravagancies.

When a king dies, a certain time is fixed for the public mourning, which consists of a full chorus of howling over the grave; and hundreds of negroes, who detected the deceased as a tyrant while living, now tearing their hair, beating their breasts, and pouring forth ceremonious and unfelt lamentations for his death. All the rich subjects, from every quarter of his dominions, send presents of fowls, sheep, rice, and milk, for the maintenance of the mourners, and open table is kept round the grave for several days, where nothing but mirth and riot reigns, except at the hours defined to grief. Some writers tell us, that their plaints begin at sun-rising, and continue till the evening, when the tragic farce is laid aside, and succeeded by dancing, singing, jollity, and debauchery of the most extravagant nature. Moore gives us a full account of the funeral obsequies of a captain of a village; but this was only an epitome of the ceremonies observed at the burial of a great king or danel.

If the king have no demands upon the estate of a deceased negro, the brothers, fathers, and other relations, enter into possession of his effects, little regard being paid to the claims of the children, unless they happen to be of an age to displace their rights; but of the laws concerning inheritance, as well as of all other civil and positive laws, almost all the writers upon this subject have been so short, as if they imagined a true idea of a people is to be acquired, not from thef, but from the general customs that prevail among them. They enlarge greatly upon their dancing, music, and exercises, while they touch lightly upon whatever characterizes the intellect, chusing rather to amuse than instruct.


(B) The Folgan is conducted in the following manner: all the young people of the village assemble in a large area, in the middle of which they light a great fire. The fuculameurs form an oblong square at both ends, of which the dancers are ranged in opposite files, the men on one side, and the women on the other. Two tabors regulate the dance, and as soon as they begin, the performers begin a song, which is chanted by the whole assembly; at the same time a dancer leaping forth from each line, advances towards the opposite person he is fonederd of, to the distance of two or three feet, and presently draws back in cadence, till the tabor gives the signal for them to come close, and to strike their thighs against each other; the partners being always of different sexes. This done back again, and advance with different movements, accompanied to the time of music, till at length they return to their places. After every person in each line has done the same, then they all meet, and dance in chorus, with much the same movements as they did singly, if not still more lascivious and immoral. The negroes never foot it, yet is every member and joint of the body in motion, even the head and the muscles of the face playing in the most ridiculous grimace; and in this variety of ditortions confits the excellence of the dancer, as it flows activity, but very little grace, or what we call a gentle air.

Such is the method in which the negroes celebrate the last honours to a departed friend; and such are the whimical customs of different nations; what produceth grief and melancholy in one, shall be the subject of mirth, joy, and wantonness, in another.

(1) Labat, relat. de l'Afrique occidental. t. iv. part 4. c. 1.

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We have frequently mentioned their guirots, a term which is rendered by fidler, though Nyandolo, in describing the Grain Coast, speaks of those guirots as a species of bards and buffoons, of which the king and nobility retain a great number as domestics: it is possible, that both professions may be united in one, as mufic and poetry are finer arts, and wit is always nearly allied to poetry. The European factors are never visited by any of the princes or nobility of the country, but they are regaled by the guirots or juddies, as Jobson calls them, who, like the Irish harpers, seat themselves at some distance from the company, and begin a sort of recitative, which they accompany with their instruments, the subject being generally extempore, and suited to the occasion, by the fertile invention of the performer; but if nothing particular offers, they then turn their songs to a panegyric, upon the antiquity, nobility, courage, generosity, and wealth of their patron, in which they are equally fulsome, flat, and insipid, as the bards of Europe, though they sometimes rise to the sublime in poetry, and a cadence not inharmonious. It is generally observed, that they succeed well in description, rather from a happy imagination than energy of diction; for their language, if we may judge from the vocabularies we have seen, seems to be rather soft and harmonious, than expressive and strong, which indeed is the case with most of the negro languages, that have any thing in them at all articulate.

Now that we have touched upon this subject, we shall add a few observations before we quit it; and the first that occurs is, that we have not yet acquired a sufficiently clear geographical notion of this division of Africa, and of the several nations who inhabit it, to be able to distinguish their different languages, and ascertain the boundaries where one language ends and another begins; whether they all are not different dialects of the same root, and whether this might not be discovered in travelling through different nations, by which a curious ear might, perhaps, observe the language gradually softening into another form of speech, till it acquires a totally different sound, is what we cannot determine. It is acknowledged, that only three different languages are spoken in all the variety of nations within this division; and these are, the Jalofian, Fonian, and Mandingian, which have likewise a very near analogy in the manner of forming their words, though we cannot say how frequently the same words may express the same things, with the alternation of a few letters, as no voyagers have given us the name of new languages into each language. Barbier believes the Jalofian to be the same as Zangoyan, or more properly the Sangoyan, which Les Africains affirms is the common language of the interior countries of Guinea, Tombuto, Melili, and Gago; and imagines he proves it, by telling us, that Sangoy was the name of the then reigning family of Barfoli; though later writers acquaint us, that it is Il Tafi. Moore says, that the common language spoken on both sides the Gambia is the Mandingian, with which you may bargain and perform every part of trade, from the mouth of the river, to the country of the Jorkos, or merchants (C), which is a voyage of at least six weeks from James Fort; but a kind of corrupt Portugese, which our author calls Creolian, is what is most commonly spoken by the vulgar natives, who trade with the Europeans, a circumstance which we think extraordinary, as the vulgar almost in all nations prefer longest the primitive language, uncorrupted by refinements, and the introduction of foreign words. It is this Portugese, no more understood in Lisbon than Arabic, that is used by all the negro interpreters, when they explain any thing to the Europeans, but in many countries they are unnecessary, as there is hardly a person in the nation but speaks it. Most of the native inhabitants,
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A Fouli of the Mohammedan religion, inhabiting the river Gambia, speak a pure Arabic; tho' this is rather a learned language, it not being primitive in any one country, in a line from Cape Blanco to the great country of Nubia, bordering on the Red Sea. As there perhaps be a furer method of mounting to the origin of a people, and discovering the relations between several nations, than rearchests into their language, we shall give in our margin a catalogue of words, in the Mandingan, Foulian, and Jafaiian tongues, which we believe will not be unacceptable to some of our curious readers. (D).

After

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<td>A cow</td>
<td>Nagal</td>
<td>A gluten</td>
<td>Madikerro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mouth</td>
<td>Guemin</td>
<td>A man</td>
<td>Gerambohde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The arm</td>
<td>Smallou</td>
<td>A houfe</td>
<td>Sandoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A yeep</td>
<td>Sedre</td>
<td>Millet</td>
<td>Shange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cat</td>
<td>Guampal</td>
<td>The fis</td>
<td>Guere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A goat</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Miitrefs of the houfe</td>
<td>Medo den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A dog</td>
<td>Kroof</td>
<td>The skin</td>
<td>Medo den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A horse</td>
<td>Faarf</td>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>Abay illan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A key</td>
<td>Devoachande</td>
<td>Feathers</td>
<td>Dyay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A rope</td>
<td>Beuea</td>
<td>Rain</td>
<td>Dengo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A knife</td>
<td>Pakha</td>
<td>A fis</td>
<td>Tobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A crocodile</td>
<td>Gineck</td>
<td>A pot or pan</td>
<td>Lingebo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To dance</td>
<td>Farke</td>
<td>A fowl</td>
<td>Fabilan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephants' teeth</td>
<td>Guay nesnuy</td>
<td>An ape</td>
<td>Gourregal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The devil</td>
<td>Guinay</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>Ouwondan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>Ibala</td>
<td>The earch</td>
<td>Tabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The teeth</td>
<td>Somaliatia</td>
<td>A cow</td>
<td>Tatsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The fingers</td>
<td>Siwaraham</td>
<td>The wind</td>
<td>Kandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A fat woman</td>
<td>Digin gebir</td>
<td>The belly</td>
<td>Hendon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A whore</td>
<td>Gbehloki</td>
<td>Cloth</td>
<td>Riedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feathers</td>
<td>Dangue</td>
<td>A table</td>
<td>Monocem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain</td>
<td>Tumbo</td>
<td>Thunder</td>
<td>Ganege</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Familiar Phrases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ouahofian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Foulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How do you do</td>
<td>Quara queto</td>
<td>Quara queto</td>
<td>Caff-semba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>Guam de poor</td>
<td>Ceay</td>
<td>Sando molo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whence come you</td>
<td>Culay</td>
<td>Calay</td>
<td>Argay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give me some drink</td>
<td>Mamaman</td>
<td>Mamaman</td>
<td>Loe kii arde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The wind is high</td>
<td>Galugen barea</td>
<td>Galugen barea</td>
<td>Henden bery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It rains</td>
<td>Datta eu</td>
<td>Demedeno</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It thunders</td>
<td>Luina</td>
<td>Luina</td>
<td>Dhirry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tis hot</td>
<td>Guafalai</td>
<td>Guafalai</td>
<td>Onar bouda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tis cold</td>
<td>Noppel</td>
<td>Noppel</td>
<td>Ganege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see you</td>
<td>Lelegetel</td>
<td>Lelegetel</td>
<td>De yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hold your tongue</td>
<td>Feu angium samba</td>
<td>Feu angium samba</td>
<td>Soubo alelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tis a fine morning</td>
<td>Guinregari</td>
<td>Guinregari</td>
<td>Nichollay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good evening to you</td>
<td>Guinregari</td>
<td>Guinregari</td>
<td>Medo lelki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would be with your daughter</td>
<td>Guinregari</td>
<td>Guinregari</td>
<td>Ongouaielle soppa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this specimen, and the number of vowels which frequently follow each other, it is obvious, that these languages cannot be strong, on account of the great number of elisions and interruptions of the voice.

Before we proceed to the Mandingan vocabulary, we shall give a specimen of the numerals of the above languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jafaiian</th>
<th>Fouli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>Gou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Tere</td>
<td>Didy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Tsa</td>
<td>Tatsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Tseet</td>
<td>Neye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>Guerrem</td>
<td>Giuree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>Guerrem ben</td>
<td>Gui gou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>Guerrem yere</td>
<td>Gui digi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>Guerrem yere</td>
<td>Gui taty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>Guerrem yere</td>
<td>Gui naye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>Fak</td>
<td>Sape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven</td>
<td>Fak ak sou (z)</td>
<td>Sape sou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Twelve</th>
<th>Fak ak yare</th>
<th>Sape sou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Twenty</td>
<td>Nonite</td>
<td>Sape sou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty one</td>
<td>Nonite ak sou</td>
<td>Sape sou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirty</td>
<td>Nonite ak sou</td>
<td>Famaire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Ak in the Jafaiian is a copulative, corresponding to our and; as thus, ten and one, or eleven.

Forty
The history of the Interior Countries.  

After the idea we have given of the general indolence of these negroes, it cannot be expected that they should have made any great progress in trade, manufacture, or the arts; in fact, they have no mechanics, but such as are absolutely necessary, and of these, smiths and cutters are the principal; for by these, the implements of war, husbandry, and fishing, are made; indeed they comprehend under the general name of ferraro, all the workers in metals. Next in esteem to the ferraro is another artist, called sepatero, whose employment consists in making grifgris, or cafes for those charms which the marbuts communicate to the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Foulı.</th>
<th>Jallof</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forty</td>
<td>Tanet fuk</td>
<td>Naggof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifty</td>
<td>Guuram fuk</td>
<td>Naggof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixty</td>
<td>Guuram ben fuk</td>
<td>Naggof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventy</td>
<td>Guuram yare fuk</td>
<td>Naggof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighty</td>
<td>Guuram yanet fuk</td>
<td>Naggof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninety</td>
<td>Tenere</td>
<td>Temedere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hundred</td>
<td>Temere ak ben</td>
<td>Temedere gea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hundred and one</td>
<td>Tare temere</td>
<td>Temedere digi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two hundred</td>
<td>Yet temere</td>
<td>Temedere tay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three hundred</td>
<td>Gune</td>
<td>Temedere jipan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus we easily perceive, that the formation of both languages are similar, particularly in the method of combining the numerals.

Mandingan Vocabulary

| The head | Kang | A wolf | Silba |
| Silver | Kedy | A horse | Fea |
| Beer | Tetoo | A merchant | Janko |
| Beautiful | Ncmen | A married woman | Mungo |
| The mouth | Dau | A mother | Bau |
| A bow | Kalla | A liar | Munbetty |
| A cameleon | Misire | A grandmother | Mboe bau |
| A duck | Bruu | Death | Sata |
| Heat | Kandree | Night | Fii |
| A dog | Obuoe | A nut | Teb |
| A great dog | Obuoe bau | A door | Taub |
| A cock | Doonling, or juftuki | A parent | Narita |
| A crocodile | Bamba | A father | Kaya |
| An elephant’s teeth | Sama ning | A grandfather | Kea fon |
| A doe | Tankug | A king | Kana kana |
| God | Alla | A forcerer | Kana |
| The devil | Buu | The fun | Tula |
| A flave | Tuk | Thunder | Koram dia |
| Fire | Jeele | A cow | Nissa Mosia |
| An arrow | Buaa | A vellal | Tobaal bale |
| A man | Koa | Bread | Meng |
| A serpent | Mamoon | Wind | Pana |
| A river | Baio | A tornado or hurricane | Sau |
| Salt | Koo | A thief | Swerar |
| Milk | Nana | A drunkard | Sereeta |
| A lion | Jarra | A coward | Tanzi |

Mandingan Numerals

One | Killin | Sixteen | Tongning ara |
Two | Foulı | Seventeen | Tongning oro |
Three | Sowba | Eighteen | Tongning fyo |
Four | Nant | Nineteen | Tongning mounete |
Five | Loun | Twenty | Nona |
Six | Ora | Thirty | Neanguard |
Seven | Orolo | Forty | Neos fia |
Eight | Sye | Fifty | Neos feulung tango |
Nine | Mounete | Sixty | Neos fia |
Ten | Teng | Seventy | Neos fiafia |
Eleven | Tongning killin | One hundred | Neos nant |
Twelve | Tongning fia | One thousand | Kamy |
Thirteen | Tongning fiaha |
Fourteen | Tongning nam |
Fifteen | Tongning loun |

Hence we see that directly the rule names prevail in forming the numerals of the Mandingan, Foulı, and Qoulifiean or Jalofian languages, each connecting the decimals by a copulative and repetition of the units; and had authors favoured us with vocabularies of the same words, it is probable, that even from a very few words we might be able to trace the mother language to which all the others have sprang as different dialects; but through time so varied a lapse to bear any resemblance to the original root. It is the observation of Moore, that the Mandinga use the word nisfa as a generic term to express animals in general, and of all kinds, as cows, sheep, lions, elephants, and deer, to which they address the species and genders, as nisfa mosfa, a cow. What deserves notice is, that neither of the three languages we have mentioned use any other particle than the copulative ak and ning in which, we have observed, correspond with our and; and the disjunctive is wholly unknown, if we may credit voyagers, who, we fear, are not extremely critical in their remarks; and the gender is determined, not by an article, but the last syllable, or termination.

(3) In the Mandingan, they use the copulative ting, as ten and one.

people.
people. This is a very profitable business, the price of labour having no other standard than the superflution of the employer, who would look upon it as the highest impety to disperse the price of a grigiris, which would imply a contempt of the religion contained in this charm. The third mechanical employment is, that of a mason or potter, for here they are all the same, their plasterers being in truth their masons, as the whole building consists of a kind of loam mixed with lime, and likeflike their potters, as all earthen ware is made by them. This artiff, Labat places next in rank to the ferrars; and he likewise reckons in this clafs, all the women and girls employed in spinning and weaving cotton cloths, though we must own we cannot perceive the affinity between the employment. The artifets in this laft way have made but little progress in the trade, being confined b intirely to three colours, and incapable of giving their pieces of cotton above two yards in length, and six inches in breadth, which, however, they have the art of joining neatly together, to form a piece of any size, that appears to be one entire web, but it would be unnecessary to be particular on this head, as we have already described their looms in a former volume.

As to the articles of trade arising from their manufactures, they are but few, and bought intirely among themselves, except a few mats, pieces of cotton, some earthen ware, and other trifles, which the Europeans purchase for the use of the negroes of the Grain, Ivory, Gold, and Slave Coasts, as well as for those of Congo, Angola, &c., which they sometimes barter with the Portuguese traders of those kingdoms. The mats are manufactured by the women, and as they constitute the most essential household furniture of a negro, who eats, drinks, sleeps, and indeed dwells upon his mat, so it is the principal commodity of the country, at least a manufactured commodity. We may judge of the importance of the trade carried on by the negroes with each other, from what Jobton relates, viz. that he had seen negroes go ten miles to market with a piece of bar iron not a foot long, or a yard or two of cotton cloth, not really worth six pence; yet some of them deal more deeply, and carry gold dust, gold rings, and other trinkets of value, to market.

The negro towns and houfes bear evident marks of the laziness, and ignorance of the people; no architecture, no attempts to beauty, order, elegance, or convenience, are there seen; nor does one generation profit by the faults of a former, but passes on quietly in the beaten track of their ancestors, as if science, taste, and the arts, had already arrived at their highest pitch of perfection among them. A negro hut is not to be equalled in the poverty and meanenes of aspect, nor a town in wretchedness. The former is no more than a little conical cabin, with no other light than what enters by the door, which is so low, that they are forced to crawl in; after which, a man of ordinary stature cannot walk round with any degree of ease, or without hitting his head against the walls. Here they lie, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, servants, and slaves, promiscuously, without regard to modesty, decency, or cleanliness, forming as it were a group of misery as can well be contained in so narrow a compass. These huts are formed of a kind of wicker work, plastered over with earth, and joined to each other by colonades, by which means persons of better fashion have distinct and separate apartments for the different parts of their families; and besides a hut to smoke and receive strangers in. We need not describe a town formed by a collection of so magnificent buildings; sufficient it is, that they always build their towns of a circular form, with spiral streets, as if they wanted to perplex their understandings, already abundantly obscure: hence it is, that, in a village not half a mile in diameter, you must frequently walk two or three miles to visit an acquaintance, when, by an interfacing street, the distance might be reduced to an hundred paces. After all, there is something extremely striking in this manner of building, viewed from an eminence, where several miles of a street filled with inhabitants appear all alive, like an ant hill, within so small a circle. This, however, we do not relate as the general method of building, or the most common plan of a town; inconvenient as it is, it were better if it were become more fashionable, and took place instead of that other form of building, without any design at all, and as if the houfes had been jumbled together by accident, without genius, without labour, or a vestige of the human intellect.

The palace of the damel or king of Kayer is, indeed, an exception to the general rule the negroes seem to have abstained in building, with as little regard to convenience, ornament, and the common dictates of reason as possible; for this in comparison is really magnificent. The palace is surrounded by a wall, opposite to the first gate of which is a spacious court, for exercising the king's horses, with stables all round. At the further end is another gate, on each side of which stand the departments of the different officers of the court; and from thence you are led through a fine long arbour of fruit trees, to the royal apartments, on each side of which are the leraglos, or lodgings of his women, with pro-

per offices and apartments for their slaves and servants. His majesty has a private colonade leading to each apartment; so that it is never known with which of his women he spends the night; a method which he imagines equally secures his person against all plots and contrivances, and prevents jealousy and murmuring among the women. *Joblon* describes the palace of the king of *Kaffan* as little inferior in splendor to the foregoing. It is situated in the midst of the capital, and, with the seraglio and offices, compasses at least half the city. You enter it by a court surrounded with guards, and pass to a large open hall, where always stands the chair of state, with a drum flung over the back. This, the author informs us, is the only musical instrument he knew in the country, and it serves equally to inspire joy and grief, at funerals or weddings.

Negroes of noble extraction, or great wealth, imitate in their buildings the magnificence of the royal palaces, and sometimes surpass them; especially those descended from the Portuguese or Moors, who build entirely in the European taste, but without the least notion of the principles of architecture. A late French author observes, that the *Mandingoes*, or *Sofas*, as they call themselves, build in a more commodious manner than the rest. The walls are made of a fat binding clay, that looks smooth and hard as porcelain, thatched with straw, which hangs down to another little wall beneath high, and this makes a small gallery round the hut, where they are sheltered from the burning rays of the sun. *Mr. Adamson* had seen a village, that was burnt down a little before his arrival, where the walls that withstood the violence of the flames, were partly of a beautiful red, and hardly vitrified by the intense heat of the fire; at a distance, the whole seemed to be done over with a bright enamel, and equalled the finest China porcelain.

In some parts of the coast they build in the following manner. A kind of dove or ice house is erected, by means of reeds fastened close together, and supported by stakes driven fast into the ground. These stakes are from five to fix feet high, and have a round covering of straw of the same height, terminating in a point: thus each hut has only a ground floor, of ten, twelve, or fifteen feet in diameter, the only entry being a square hole, about four feet high, but part of that space taken up with a high threshold, railed at least a foot above ground; so that in going in they must incline their bodies and raise one leg; an attitude not only disagreeable but ridiculous.

The furniture is exactly suitable to the magnificence of the house, for it consists wholly of a few earthen pots, called *cowarts*, a few calabashes, or gourd bottles, with wooden bowls, dishes, plates, and such-like utensils; for as to chairs, tables, and beds, their mats supply them all, except one bed for the matter of the family. This consists of a kind of hurdle, laid upon crooked pieces of wood, and supported by forkillas, or small forks, a foot above the ground; over this they throw a mat, which serves them for a *paillasse* or mattress, and generally for sheets and cloathing; as to pillows they have none.

The last mentioned French writer gives the following account of the buildings in the island of *Senegal*.

Here, says he, all the huts belonging to the same person are inclosed with a wall or palisade of reeds six feet high, to which they give the name of *topade*. Those negroes observe very little symmetry in the situation of their houses, yet the French of the island of *Senegal* have taught them to observe a certain uniformity in the dimensions of the *topades*, which they have regulated in such a manner, as to form a small town, with several streets drawn in a direct line. These streets are indeed not paved; and luckily there is little occasion for it, since they would be greatly at a loss to find the smallest pebbles, for thirty leagues all round. The inhabitants find a greater convenience in their sandy soil; for as it is very deep, and soft, it is their usual seat; it is also their fopha, their couch, and their bed. Besides they congratulate themselves upon another quality it has, namely, that there is no danger in falling; and it is always clean, even after the heaviest rains, because it imbues the water with such facility, that there needs only an hour of fine weather to dry it.

Adamson subjoins to the above account, that this negro town is by much the handomest in the whole district, between the rivers *Gambia* and *Senegal*, as well as the largest and most regular, containing upwards of 3000 inhabitants; a prodigious number for a negro town in this part of Africa.

We shall quit this subject, to make a few observations on the agriculture of the negroes, which is an employment common to all ranks, the king only and the captains of towns excepted. Their only instrument for tilling the ground is a kind of spade, but more resembling a shovel, with a handle three feet long. Round *Gambia*, rice is almost the only grain that is sown in the lands, overflowed in the rainy season. These fields the negroes cut with small causeways, which with-hold the water in such a manner, that their rice is always moistened, and after the crop is got in, the rice fields resemble a fort of drained morasses, on which grow a few wild herbs. But the fertility of the soil, and the labour of the hum-
a. bandmen, are frequently destroyed by locusts, which here appear in clouds so large, as to
darken the sky, and obscure the rays of the sun. Our author relates, that, when he lay in
the mouth of the Gambie, in February 1750, a thick cloud was seen over the ships, which
brought such a change in the sky, as amazed the whole ship's crew, as it is seldom over-
cast in that season of the year. It was soon perceived to be owing to a swarm of locusts,
railed twenty or thirty fathom above the ground, and covering an extent of several leagues,
upon which it poured a flower of these insects, which fell a devouring the herbage, while
they refled themselves, and then refumed their flight. These little animals, from their
number, spread terror and defoliation wherever they appear; after devouring the corn, herbage,
leaves, and fruits, they even attack the bark of trees, and the very reeds with which
b. the negro huts are frequently thatched. Our author, who took a great number, describes them
of the breadth and length of a man's finger, of a brown colour, their heads armed with two
strong jaws, dented like a faw, and their wings longer than those described by other naturalists.
It would be little imagined, that to shocking an insect as this should ever be food
for man; but the negroes seem to retaliate upon them, and revenge themselves for the loss
of their corn and fruit, by eating the destroyers. They have a variety of different methods
d. of dressing locusts; some pound them and boil them with milk; others only boil them;
but all think them excellent eating. There is indeed no disputing tastes; nor the truth of
the proverb, "What is sweet to one man is poison to another."

As to the diversions used by the negroes, at feasting and reaping time, they differ but little
e. from what we have before described in our account of the agriculture of Wribdab, Ardrab, and
the Gold Gofli, we shall now only observe, that the kings, being absolute proprietors of all
the lands in their dominions, every family must address themselves to them or their akdare,
to petition that a portion of land may be assigned them for their maintenance; and this the
fon is obliged to repeat, notwithstanding the estate has been solemnly and formally granted to
the father; so that the tenure of all estates is immediately from the crown; a law that
exposes the subject to the most grievous extortion and oppression from the akdare, their
mediators with the throne, and by whom no subject, under the rank of the captain of a
town, or some rich merchant, has access to the king. This oppression contributes not a
little to increase the natural indolence of those unhappy negroes; for they are at little pains
to cultivate and improve lands, which they hold by so precarious a tenure; nay they hardly
till enough to supply their wants, but make up the deficiency by roots, fruits, and herbage;
and hence we may perceive the reason, why they are afflicted with such frequent dearths
and famine, of which the Europeans beheld a dismal, but to them a profitable instance, in
the year 1675, when fathers sold themselves, their wives, children, and connections, only
for a little pittance of food, to relieve the immediate craving of hunger. It merits a pause
in our narrative to relate the cause of this dreadful want.

Two or three years before the famine, the negroes had suffered themselves to be seduced
by the specious promises of one of their marbutis, of the tribe of Azague, who, under the
veil of religion, became master of all the dominions of the firetack and danel. This impostor
had found means to persuade them into a belief of his having been commissioned by
heaven to revenge the tyranny of their princes; and he promised to perform miracles in
confirmation of his authority: but what made the deepest impression on the minds of those
lazy barbarians, was the assurance he gave, that every feast should produce an abundant
crop, without the labour and toil of their hands. So flattering an offer was too powerful to
be resisted by a people of their indolent disposition; they ranged themselves under the
banner of the marbut, threw off their allegiance to the firetack and danel, neglected their
fields, and patiently waited for two years the performance of the holy impostor's liberal
promises: the consequence was the most calamitous famine that had ever been felt by any
people; they not only fold but eat their nearest relations, and the strongest, like wild beasts,
preyed upon the weaker. At length their eyes were opened, the marbutis were driven out
of the country, but soon after recalled, by the intrigues and machinations of the fraternity,
in which they fall nothing short of their brethren in iniquity, the society of Jesuits in
Europe.

We have already sufficiently described the arms of the negroes; to which we shall add,
that, in general, they use a kind of shield or target of an oval form, and covered with the
skin of an elephant, tyger, or lion, which they call danja, extremely burthenome, but
useful to ward off their poisoned darts and arrows. Every soldier carries his provision in
a bag or knapsack flung behind, the army being incommoded with no convoys of ammu-
nition and proviscon, as in other parts of the world: indeed, the shortness of their marches
and expeditions renders a large stock of these entirely unnecessary, as they are seldom
exposed to any great difficulties or hardships. Negro armies, in these countries, are com-
poved.
poised of horse and foot, with very little difference in the nature of their arms, or manner of fighting; the cavalry as well as infantry being often forced to fight on foot, and join close in battle; though in general they are used for expedition to surprize the enemy, and make sudden attacks on their wings and rear. Their horses are bought from the Moors, their neighbours; they are small, but full of fire and spirit, greatly resembling the horses of Barbary and Arabia, of which they are probably descended. They frequently fell for ten or twelve slaves, near an hundred pounds sterling; and a Portuguese mulatto lady at Ruffsco had a barb, which Labat, on the testimony of De Brue, affirms, was valued at forty slaves, or four hundred pounds. This horse she afterwards presented to the monarch of Kayor. It is incredible, what feats of activity they will perform on horfeback; one we shall relate, on the authority of Moore, which may the more readily be believed, as it falls infinitely short of what we are told of the Arabs, by that excellent philosopher and physician Proserpine Alpinus, and several other historians. He once saw the Konis, or lieutenant-general of Kayor, gallop at full speed on a swift barb, standing upright in his stirrups, and throwing his lance with an incredible force, at any object that presented itself, which he afterwards took up in his courfe with the utmost facility. What is most remarkable is, that he could hit an apple, at the distance of fifty paces. He likewise saw him troop at full speed and take up his lance from the ground, with all the elegance and ease of the most natural motion. It is a common practice among negro cavaliers to ride at a full gallop, standing on the horse's back, to vault into their feet, to raise themselves astride up again, to throw themselves with one hand on the ground, and again to recover the saddle, without the least pain or danger. They are very expert in making faddles, which they finely embroider with various colours: among these, their charmed grifflers and kowurs make no small part of the ornaments. Notwithstanding what authors aifer, it is probable, that they purchase the saddles with the horses from the Moors, as their ingenuity greatly exceeds every other branch of negro manufacture. Yet after all, with these advantages of fine horses, arms, caparions, and expert riders, the negroes are but poor warriors, and seem to lofe all that adds to dexterity, and presence of mind in the field, which is the admiration of all who behold them in the ring, or on the parade.

Religion of the Negroes.

The religion of those nations on both sides the river Senegal, and stretching east and south into the interior countries, is Mohammedanism, brought among them by the Moors, and spreading with that rapidity peculiar to false doctrines. All the other negroes, from the river Gambie to the western extremity of Guinea Proper, or Cape Tagrins, are idolaters; except, says Labat, the Serers, who may be reckoned a species of savages, without any idea at all of religion, either true or false. Le Maire affirms, that many of the inhabitants of Sierra Leone profess no religion, have no gods or object of worship; while others sacrifice to the devil, to stones, flocks, toads, and serpents; being in this respect similar to the Whidians. A cow is the sacrifice they usually offer to the devil: and though they believe in the transmigration of the animative principle of brutes, yet they eat the flesh. Many negroes will not suffer the lizards, which crawl in heaps round the house, to be killed; for in them they firmly believe the soul of a father, mother, brother, or sister, may reside, and now and then comes to keep feagans, or to rejoice with them. The Mohammedans professed by the negroes is imperfect, both from the ignorance of the teachers, as well as the licentiousness of the profiytes, and confines entirely in a belief of the unity of the Godhead, in the observance of the ramadans, birans, circumcision, and a few other ceremonies. Jobson tells us, that the nations on both sides the Gambie adore one god, whose image they will not suffer to be stained, painted, carved, or in any way represented, believing his idea to be incomprehensible, which they signify, according to this writer, by his name Allab. They believe in the mission of Mohammed; but never invoke or pray to him. They reckon the year by the rainy seasons, have names for every particular day of the week, making Friday their Sunday, which they observe with so little superlition, that the ordinary employment of the week days is never interrupted, and they go on in the same regular course of busineses, as if the day was not enjoined to be kept holy.

These negroes have some confused notions of Jesus, acknowledging, like the Mohammedans, that he was a great prophet, but denying his divinity, and allowing him to be deferroned famouus on account of the miracles he wrought; but holding it blasphemy to call him the son of God, because, say they, it is impossible that God should become visible, nay corporeal to men. They call him Nole, and his mother Mary, affirming, that he was an holy, just, pious, and wise man, which qualities he had in a transcendent degree, as a man: but far, infinitely far short of the divinity. But they are above all shocked at the doctrine of the incarnation, which they deem abominable, and an implication that the Almighty had carnal knowledge of a woman.

Chap. 16.

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a They believe in predestination, and place all their misfortunes, crosses, and losses, to the account of Providence. Does one negro affront another? God they imagine is the author of the murder; notwithstanding which, they seize the murderer, and sell him as a slave. With regard to the devotions and form of worship of the negroes, Le Moine says, that the common people have no regular course of practice, that can be called religious worship; but persons of rank affect more zeal, and are never without their marbut, who has great influence over their secret thoughts and practice. They have neither temples, mosques, or churches; but assemble to publish acts of devotion in the open air, under the shade of a large tree, in imitation of a strange marbut, that had once been seen in the country, who prayed with no other canopy than the sky, washed in the river Gambia, and

b departed (E).

The Turks and rigid Mohammedans pray or perform their sala five times every day and night through the week, and seven times on their sabbath; but the negro Mohammedans content themselves with performing that exercise twice in a week-day, and thrice on the sabbath. Every village has its marbut or parson, who assembles them to their devotion, and after he has given abolution from the koran, they range themselves behind him, in order the better to imitate his movements, gestures, and grimaces, with their faces turned to the east; but when they are tired of this posture, they squat down on their hams, and turn to the west. The marbut extending his arms, repeats some words, so flow and loud, as to be distinctly heard and repeated after him by the audience, who fall on their knees, kiss the earth three times, and exactly copy him in all his actions. The marbut then falls a fourth time on his knees, and prays for a quarter of an hour in silence; after which he rises, and drawing with his finger a circle round him, he marks within it a number of characters, which he kisses with profound reverence, leaning his head upon his hands, and fixing his eyes on the earth, in the attitude of deep meditation. In the end, taking a handful of sand or dust, he throws it about his face and head, and begins to pray aloud, and to touch the earth with his finger, raising it afterwards up to his head; during the performance of all these ceremonies, he repeats three times the words falsai malek; then rising off his knees, he is followed by the audience, and they all retire. We have been more minute in describing the ceremonies used in prayer, as they differ considerably from those observed by the two great sects of Mohammedans; and indeed, are a kind of mixed mode of religion, formed by the fancy of the priest, and no way constant or uniform in the ministration of external duties. They perform ablation with earth, which they rub over their bodies instead of water. De Brue had the curiosity to interrogate the marbus concerning the reasons upon which all these ceremonies were founded; and their answer was, that they worshipped one true God, before whom they prostrated themselves; and that this humiliation was a confession of their dependence on the will of the Supreme Being, without whom they were nothing; that their prayers were offered to petition the forgiveness of their sins, and the use of all those conveniences of life of which they were in need, such as beautiful women, children, plentiful crops, victory over their enemies, a good fish feast, health, and security against every kind of danger.

c The negro Mohammedans, who inhabit round Senegal, have their ramadan fixed to the month of September; though among the Moors it is a moveable feast; for they salute the first appearance of the harvest moon, as we call it, by lifting their hands and eyes up to heaven, turning their head round with as much velocity as if it were fixed on a pivot, and repeating that motion three times; but this is all the regard they pay to the moon, with which they neither begin nor end their ramadan, though they otherwise observe it with great austerity of devotion. They neither eat or drink till after sun set: devotes will not even swallow their spittle, and cover their mouths, to prevent any thing from entering into them; nor they even deny themselves the use of a pipe, notwithstanding their extreme passion for smoking; but when night comes, they solace themselves with a joy proportioned to the rigour of the day's abstinence; and they eat, drink, smoke, dance, and sing, till the return of the sun. The great and the rich pass the whole day in sleep, and the night in pleasures.

JANENQU roexpress his surprize, how nature can support the abstinence of the day, and the fatigue, debauchery, and want of rest of the night; but habit inures them to it; even the common people, who hardly shut their eyes in the day, are punished for the smallest transgression with the bastinade. Towards the close of the ramadan they proclaim the

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tabasket, the greatest festival observed by Mboamnedan negroes, and the same with that the Turks and Persians call biram; of this, De Brue, who saw it celebrated, gives the following description. A little before sun-set six marabouts, clothed in loose white robes or surplices, appear, marching in solemn procession, with long darts in their hands, and preceded by five large bullocks, covered over with a cotton cloth, crowned with leaves or garlands, and led each by two negroes. The five chiefs of the villages, that compose the town of Buenfon, followed the priests in a line, drest in their richest apparel, and armed with darts, swords, and bucklers. They were again followed by all the inhabitants of the villages, their subjects drawn up in five lines. As soon as the procession reached the borders of the river, the oxen were tied to stakes, and the oldest marabout pronounced the words sula mala, with a loud distinct voice; upon which laying his dart on the ground, he turned his face to the east, b the other priests following his example, and all set up a prayer in concert; after which they rose and refixed their weapons. The negroes are then ordered to throw down the oxen on their backs, and to fix their horns in the ground, which is done in an instant, and then the priests cut their throats, and throw dust in their eyes to prevent their seeing the blood while it flows, which is deemed an inauspicious omen. After the sacrifice is concluded, and the blood all run out, the cattle are cut down, and each village carries off the pieces belonging to its own ox. On their return to the town, the folgan begins, the women and girls first prenteting themselves, divided into four bands, each attended by guerts of the same sex, who fing certain verses suited to the occasion, to which the bands echo a chorus, and then begin dancing round a great fire, lighted in the middle of the area, and the ceremony proceeds in the manner we have lately described. Such is their passion for these diversions, that a negro, who is spent with the labour of the day, comes to refresh himself with five or six hours violent dancing at night, and this festival continues for three days.

Circumcision is a practice rigorously observed by the negroes, the operation being performed on males of the age of four or five years. The operation is here performed upon a great number of children assembled together, when the children of the king, or any man of quality, have arrived at the proper age. It is necessary that all their subjects and dependents bring their children on this occasion; for the grandeur of the festival conflicts in the number of operations; and the great rival each other, who shall produce the most brilliant assembly. One great consequence flows from this practice; for, at the circumcision feast, d the young people contract such solid alliances, as to continue firm for the remainder of their lives. It would be unnecessary to repeat the ceremonies attending this operation, as the reader will find a full account of it in De Brue, for it differs in little from the ramadan, the same sacrifices, prayers, and folgan, being observed. Janquin affirms, that, for several months after this feast, the young people may take what liberties they please with the girls, and indeed we doubt not but they are permitted to do this at all times during that age, without danger of ravishment, which is the only restraint upon them, according to that writer. If there be any truth in this relation, it is probable, that all children are not circumcised so young as we are made to believe; and this seems to be confirmed by the observation of De Brue, that they affect gaiety and mirth during the operation, and are emulous who shall sustain the pain with the greatest fortitude; and Moore in once place says, that a little before the rainy season, they circumcise a number of sons about fourteen years old.

The Mandingoes believe that eclipses of the moon are occasioned by the interposition of a large cat, who puts her paw between the moon and the earth; and during these occasions, they spend their time in dancing and singing in honour of their prophet Mboammed. In general, the negroes of this country are no less addicted to superstitions than those of the Guinea Coast. They never intend any expedition but they facilitate a puller; and the observations made on the entrails determine them either to pursue or drop it. They are rivetted in their notion of lucky and unlucky days, and nothing will prevail upon them to undertake an affair of importance on the latter. Moore relates, that when he was in the country, which happened to be an unhealthy feason, the people firmly believed that the air was infected by the black arts of sorcerers; no death happening, but what was laid to the charge of those enemies of mankind; except one person, who died so miserably, that they placed his death to the account of the devil, for having falsified his vow, and broken a solemn engagement. The custom of making vows, and of wearing large bracelets to remind them of what they swore, is extremely frequent. One vows he will make a present of such a flave, and that he may not fell him through forgetfulness, he wears a bracelet on his arm, till it is convenient to fulfill his engagement; and to fail in this particular, will, they believe, be followed by some immediate judgment from heaven. But of all their superstitions, the most general and remarkable are their grigri, which, Le Mair says, are certain Arabic characters, mixed with necromantic figures, drawn by the marabouts on paper. Labat affirms, that they are nothing more than scraps of the Alcoran in Arabic; but this Barbot denies, and confirms his opinion
The history of the Interior Countries.

a by positive proof; for having brought over to Europe one of these grigris, and thrown it to a number of persons deeply skilled in the oriental learning, none of them could find the least trace of any character they understood; yet after all, this might be owing to the badness of the handwriting, and the words are probably Mandingo, though the characters are an attempt to imitate the Arabic. The poorest negro never goes to war without his grigris, as a charm against wounds; and if it prove ineffectual, the marbut transfers the blame on the immorality of his conduct. Those cheats invent grigris against all kinds of dangers, and in favour of all desires and appetites; by virtue of which, the possessors may obtain or avoid whatever they like or dislike. They defend them from storms, enemies, diseases, pains, and misfortunes; and preserve health, long life, wealth, honour, and merit, if we credit the marbuts: certain it is, that those priests find all the benefit of the boasted virtues of their grigris, no clergy in the globe being more revered, honoured, or wealthy, according to the idea of wealth they entertain here; and no wonder, as they impoverish the people by the exorbitant price they exact for their knavih charms, a grigris being frequently valued at three slaves, and four or five oxen.

Such of these pious ornaments as are intended for the head, are made in form of a crois, reaching from the forehead to the neck behind, and from ear to ear; nor are the arms and shoulders neglected. Sometimes they are planted in their bonnets in the form of horns; at other times they are made like serpents, lizards, or some other animal, cut out of a kind of plateboard: in a word, they are of forms as various as the purposes for which they are intended.

c There are not wanting Europeans, and otherwise intelligent seamen and merchants, who are in some degree infected with this weakness of the country, and believe that the negro forcers have an actual communication with the devil, and that they are filled by the malevolent influence of the evil spirit, when they see them distort their features and muscles, make horrid grimacies, and at last imitate all the appearance of epileptics: a notion not confined to the negroes of Africa, but thoroughly believed about the beginning of last century, by several of the learned of Europe, and borrowed by them from the ancients, who believed that persons afflicted with this terrible malady were possessed with a τε δαιμον, a quid divinum, or spirit. Here, indeed, it is counterfeited, but so artfully, that it is next to impossible to detect them, and hence they gain great credit with the natives. To these charms and necromantic arts, they add another bug-bear, which they call mumbo jumbo, and is intended by the Mandingoos to keep their women in obedience and submission. This is no other than a large idol, which the women are simple enough to believe, or cunning enough to pretend, they take for a human savage, who watches all their actions, and can even penetrate into their most secret thoughts. The husband gets behind this statue in the night, and makes a dreadful bellowing, which they suppose issues from the idol; and of this some of them make a very artful use; for, persuading their husbands that they firmly believe in the attributes given to the mumbo jumbo, their conduct is entirely committed to his care, the husband takes his pleasure abroad, and the women enjoy the society of their gallants, free from all alarms and discoveries. Some of them are, however, simple enough to credit what their husbands assert, and then they try to bribe over the idol to favour them.

d Moore relates, that this part is acted by a negro, and commonly by the favourite slave of his master; hence he acquires an absolute dominion in the family over the women, in consequence of his function, and over the master, from an apprehension that ill usage will make him reveal the secret of so much confidence to the support of the husband's authority, and preservation of the women's honour.

In the year 1727, the king of Jagwa had a woman, whose curiosity could only be equalled by his weak fondness, in discovering to her the whole mystery of the mumbo jumbo, for which she had long eagerly solicited; but with the indiscretion usual in her sex, lays our author, she was fiercely in possession, when the hafted knife to reveal it to all the other women.

e The report soon came to the ears of the chief negro lords, who were before but ill affected to the king's perfon, and now shocked with a weakness of such consequence to them all. They therefore assembled to deliberate upon the necessary measures, in an affair so critical; and not doubting but their women would throw off their allegiance, and live in a perpetual state of rebellion and infidelity, if the terror of the mumbo jumbo was once removed, they determined upon a very bold step, which they executed with equal resolution. They assumed that air of authority, peculiar to persons who take upon them a religious office, or act in a religious cause; and going to the palace, ordered the king to come before the idol or mumbo jumbo. The weak prince, not daring to refuse the summons, obeyed, and after being feerily cenjured by the bug-bear, he was ordered to produce all his women. No sooner had they made their appearance, than they were immediately affianced by order of

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BOOK XXI.

The mumbó jumbe; and thus this almost fatal discovery was suppressed, before it made its way out of the king's family.

Such as are initiated in the mystery of the mumbó jumbe, take a solemn oath not to reveal it to the women, or any other negroes who are not of the society. They cannot be admitted before a certain age; the people swear by that idol, and no oath is observed with more solemnity and respect: in a word, every village has its lodge, or mumbó jumbe, which we can compare to nothing so aptly as the respectable fraternity of Free Masons, so well known in Great Britain, France, Germany, and several other parts of Europe.

We come now to speak of the marbut, that numerous ecclesiastical body, once driven out of the Siraitick, but now restored, with additional immunities, more than sufficient to wipe off their disgrace. In their habit they differ but little from the laity on common occasions, though altogether another people as to other circumstances. Job is observant, that in their private economy, and the general conduct of life, they have nothing in common with the rest of the world, all being formal, ascetic, stiff, and designing, and a regular series of the most refined hypocrisy and piously cunning: a character which we fear may be applied to too great a number of the priests of all nations. Here they are ambitious, in order the better to gratify their avarice and pride; the passion being altogether fordist, and partaking not a particle of that noble elevation of soul that grasps at power, the better to serve the public, and struggles for exaltation, only to shine with the greater splendor and utility. The marbut have towns, and even whole provinces, sequestered from the state for their maintenance, into which they admit no other negroes but their slaves, employed in tilling the lands, and cultivating their grain, fruits, roots, and all the other necessaries of life. They marry entirely among themselves, never making any alliances with the rest of the people, and all their male children are born priests, and bred to the mysteries of the function; particular care being taken in instructing them in the principles of the Levitical law, upon which many of their ceremonies are founded, and to which, next to the Koran, they pay the highest respect. With regard to other regulations of marriage among the marbut, authors talk but vaguely, observing in general that polygamy is permitted, and every thing else that is customary with the laity, though, if we may credit their oldest and best historian, their usages are kept a profound secret from the vulgar. In many respects, however, their conduct deserves the greatest encomiums: they strictly observe those laws of the Koran relating to abstinence and temperance, carefully avoiding every excess in eating, or at all touching wine and spirituous liquors; they cherish commerce, are honest and fair in their dealings with each other, as if they would by this atone for the frauds they commit on the people. Charity is a virtue which they never violate among each other, though it never extends to that universal benevolence which alone renders it valuable; and they will never permit any of their society to be sent into slavery: if he has offended against the laws, they punish him agreeable to the institutions, or, as we may call them, the canons of their church.

These good qualities, though blended with strong vices, are the cement which firmly binds the fabric of this institution, and procures the respect of kings as well as of the vulgar (G). If a marbut is met on the road by persons of the first distinction, they form a circle round him, fall upon their knees in prayer, and receive his benediction; which custom is observed even in the palaces of kings when a priest enters. Labat says, that the negroes in general, especially those of Senegal, entertain the highest regard and deference to their clergy; believing, that all who offend them cannot live above three days after. The Mandingo marbut spend a great part of their time in the instruction of their children; and Job relates, that he had seen schools and seminaries which contained some hundreds of youth, where they are taught to read, write, to expound the Koran, the principles of the Levitical law, the nature of the marbut society, how it is connected with the body politic, and yet a separate community, with such other knowledge as is fashionable among them. But what they infill with their first milk, is an inviolable regard and attachment to the interests of the society, profound secrecy, gravity, and a revered conversation and conduct, together with sobriety, temperance, and the principles of morals, at least as far as it regards the good order of the paternal, and commands the respect of the laity.

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(G) Job, p. 74. Leo African. p. 23.

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Their
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a Their children are taught to read and write, upon a little book formed of a smooth hard wood; the latter by drawing the characters themselves, and the former by reading certain characters resembling Arabic, wrote down by their tutors. They use a kind of black ink, formed from the bark of a tree, and a pen resembling a pencil, or rather the Στυλος, Stylus, or pen of the ancients, with which they wrote upon their waxed tables. Some authors allege, that their characters resemble the Hebrew more than the Arabic; which is a plain indication of their being ignorant of both; for it is impossible they could bear any affinity to characters so extremely different: but all agree, that their laws are written in a language totally different from the vulgar, which the lay-negroes of every degree are ignorant of, and is supposed by authors to be a corrupt Hebrew or Arabic. We are told

b from the same authority, that the great volume of the marabout laws or institutions, regarding the society, is a manuscript, of which they take copies for their private use. If we may credit Jehlon, it is not in their own schools, and to their own children only, that the marabouts communicate their knowledge, but to whole provinces, and without distinction to every youth they meet. They travel, according to him, with books and families from province to province, teaching wisdom and religion wherever they pass, and enforcing their doctrine equally by precept and example (H). Every town is open to them, and the marabout travels whole kingdoms unmolested in the heat of the bloodiest wars. Writers differ with respect to their manner of travelling, some affirming, that, like Mendicants, they live upon the public, and arms which they receive from every family; while others are no less positive, that they support themselves by trade and the sale of grigris, asking no other aims than scraps of paper, which they convert into solid food and raiment by virtue of those myerious characters with which they impress them. Certain it is, that they carry on the richest commerce of the country, especially the marabouts of Senegal, who trade deeply in gold, slaves, and grigris: and this may be one end of their progress through different kingdoms, as well as the instructing the ignorant, and the performance of their apostolical function. Their chief branch of trade is gold, which they draw from the interior countries of Nigritia, and the extremities of Libya and Barbary, in exchange for their grigris; and such is their avarice, that they hoard up large treasuries, deep hidden in the ground, and to be buried with them, under the pretext of religion, referring in public only what is sufficient to answer the pur

cpose of nature, the gratification of their ambition or pride, and the purchasing of the Portuguese a kind of blue stone, which their women wear round their waists, as a preservative against hemorrhages, to which they are very subject; or from the other Europeans such articles of luxury as may be wanted to keep up the esteem and veneration of the people. To conclude this section, and our account of this extraordinary society, it may be sufficient to observe, that they throw all the obstructions they are able, and crofs by every possible means the endeavours of the Europeans to penetrate to the source of the river Gambia; apprehensive, that their success might lessen their trade, and render them less necessary. They represented to Jehlon the hazards and difficulties of such an enterprise, with so much zeal and warmth, that, with all his partiality to them, he could not help attributing their exci-
d five friendship to selfish views.

f Vide auct. citat. ibid.

(H) The reader may observe, that the relation of Jehlon is to be received with some allowance for his prejudice in favour of the marabouts; he had contracted an intimacy with one worthy person of the community, and from thence seems to have formed his idea of the whole; but the true character of a society is to be gained not from the manners of an individual, or the partial portraits of historians, but from facts, and the general system of conduct and policy. We have given sufficient instances to justify our opinion of this sect, and the reader, who would inquire more minutely, may consult M'Caless, Smith, and Preud.
The history of the Interior Countries. Book XXI.

S E C T. XII.

Containing a geographical view of the great river Gambia, and the frequent attempts made to discover its source; the trade by which the Europeans carry on with the kingdoms situated along its banks; a description of the English and other European forts and settlements established thereon; and an account of their wars, and various changes and revolutions, and the endeavours used by each to maintain or improve their commerce; with a narrative of the settlement on the island of Goree, &c. &c.

THE vast river Gambia was formerly known by the name of Gambro; an appellation still retained by the French. Cada Mofio, the first writer who speaks of it, always gives it this name. Marmol says, that by the negroes it is called Gambu; but he sometimes writes it Gambra, and at other times Gambia. Johnson prefers the former; but affirms, that the negroes always call it Gee, or Ji, that is, the river, by way of pre-eminence; for which reason likewise the Portuguese gave it the name of Rio Grande, in common with another river more to the southward.* However, as it is commonly known to Englishmen by the name Gambia, which in fact is a corruption of Gambra, this we shall retain, and avoid all disputes concerning the etymology, which, after all our labour, would still remain doubtful.

Authors are no less divided concerning its source than name, some affirming it to be a branch of the Niger, while others, with more probability, assert, that it can possibly have no communication with it, as it certainly runs through the lake Sapor and the kingdom of Yor or Eyu, bordering on Dabomy, a prodigious course of near 2000 miles. Marmol calls it the same river which Ptolemy lays down under the name of Ephachiris, in which tract it must be divided from the Niger by a prodigious ridge of hills running north and south; and so indeed it is laid down by that accurate geographer Mr. Bolton, in his correction of D’Anville. Labat has spent several pages upon this subject, which he drops after having thoroughly perplexed and bewildered his readers; and, to avoid falling into the same error, we shall here take our leave of it, as offering conjectures might afford opportunities for displaying our genius, but very little improvement to our readers, all the attempts towards this discovery having hitherto been abortive, and the interior parts of Africa too little known to determine any thing from the situation of the country: we shall proceed therefore to a description of this river, as far as it has been navigated by Europeans; for as to the accounts of the natives they merit little regard.†

The river Gambia, or Gambu, discharges itself in the ocean between Cape Verde and Cape or Broken Island on the north; the distance between these being six leagues; but as the river is divided by a great number of islands and sand banks, its broadest channel does not exceed three leagues; and Labat reduces it to as many miles. At Yor, fifty leagues up the river, it is a mile broad, and easily accessible to a ship of three or four hundred tons, or to a forty gun ship, as Labat expresses it; and even at Barakkunda, 500 miles, or 250 leagues, according to Labat, from the sea, it is navigable for ships of 150 tons burden. The reason for making this voyage is from December to the month of June, during which time the river flows in a smooth, equal, and not rapid current; but for the rest of the year is difficult, if not impossible, on account of the prodigious swell, occasioned by the rains that fall with such violence in these countries; and this is one great advantage which the river Senegal has over the Gambia.

Frequent attempts have been made to penetrate to the source of the Gambia, and by means of these voyages its navigation came to be so well known, and some little acquaintance made with the flates more immediately bordering upon its banks, which however are too inconsiderable to merit a place in history.

It is well known that the Gambia forms a number of curvatures and windings between the sea and the kingdom of Kanter, 400 miles above Barakkunda, where it is supposed to pass through a flagnated lake, inaccessible to shipping, on account of the reeds, leaves, and herbage, that float so thick upon its surface as to give it the appearance of dry land. This however is no more than the account of the natives; for no Europeans ever penetrated so far. The English have made frequent attempts to discover its source, all of them unsuccessful, as they never went farther than Barakkunda, at least with any certainty or advantage. It is possible that they were fomented by cattaracts, shoals, or other obstructions, as they affirm, and were told by the marabouts; though many of the more intelligent deny that there are any


*impeediments
a impediments for some hundred miles farther. First captain Thompson, and after him Jobson, in the year 1618, went an hundred leagues in boats beyond the cataract of Barakkonda; but, having neglected to take the foundings and other particulars, their labour was attended with little advantage, serving only to gratify their curiosity. From Wordsden and some other seamen penetrated as far in the reign of Charles the Second; but to much the same effect. In 1713 the royal African company, desirous of obtaining all possible certainty on this head, employed a number of small vessels on the discovery, under the direction of Mr. Thomas Harrison, their chief agent at James Fort. This gentleman purposed his course to Fatadendo, after which he committed the care of the expedition to John Peach, giving him a small vessel to proceed on the voyage, and returning himself to James Fort, where Moore saw him. His b deputy likewise, after having gone within twenty miles of Barakkonda, was forced to return for want of provisions, or perhaps of resolution to prosecute the design.

From James Island, near the mouth of the river, to Barakkonda, the foundings are never less than four fathoms and a half water in the shallower part of the true channel, and generally from five to eleven. The river is enriched with a number of beautiful islands, some of them covered with wood, and filled with animals, which frequently render it extremely narrow, but ballance that inconveniency by adding to the depth, the water being there confined within narrower limits. Yet with all this depth of water, Labat says, that it is necessary to keep always founding, especially near the entrance, as the river is filled with shoals and sand banks, frequently dangerous without this precaution.

c As the English carry on the chief traffic with the natives of Gambia, we shall begin with describing their settlements upon this river, tho' the time cannot well be determined when they first began to frequent it, nor who the first Europeans were that established this commerce. Labat is positive, that the merchant of Dique and Roan were not only acquainted with, but considerable traders on the Gambia, before the Portuguese began their discoveries in Asia and Africa. However, as the Normans found it less advantageous than the traffic with the coast of Guinea, which made great returns to France in gold and ivory, they always purposed it with less zeal, and at last totally abandoned it for their establishments on the southern coast of Africa. At that time the Slave trade was not opened, nor the merchants of Mandingo and the interior countries accustomed to bring their merchandise of gold, ivory, &c. to the mouth of the river.

d In course of time the Portuguese, eager in pursuit of discoveries, and whatever could contribute to the advancement of trade, occupied those places abandoned by the Normans, and establisht factories, not only along the coasts, but in the interior kingdoms, and along the banks of the Gambia, as high as the English trade at present: an affront that is proved by the ruins of many forts in different places; which is more than the French can urge in support of their claim, though it might be difficult to prove a negative. Notwithstanding the confusion introduced into their affairs, by a perpetual state of hostilities and wars with the other European nations, and the loss of a number of valuable factories, they still retain a considerable commerce with the interior countries, Bintam, Canco, and Bijasse, where they e trade with the French, English, and Dutch, as natives, getting the produce of the country in return for European merchandise: but this progeny of the ancient Portuguese is now so blended as hardly to be distinguished from the original inhabitants. At length the English succeeded the Portuguese in the trade of the river Gambia, feizing Settlements upon a number of advantageous points which they had relinquished; and have, for a series of the English years, fortified themselves on a small island between Albuera and Gilfrai, situated at the distance of four leagues, according to Labat, or fix miles, by Moore's calculation, from the mouth of the river. Here they have built a fort, which might be rendered extremely strong, could they secure their magazines and water against bombs; the want of which precaution occasioned its being taken, pillaged, demolished, and razed to the ground, by the French, and afterwards by pirates, or the Forbers: a loss which the company could never f recover.

(A) It may be proper to observe, that all the French translators of this paragraph of Jobson's relation, Praseph, Labat, and Moreau, seem to have copied from each other the mistake of the first translator, who rendered the English preposition above by the French au d'ieu, instead of au d'ieu, a blunder which greatly alters the sense of the author.

(B) Labat lays down a number of directions for navigating this river with safety, some of which, as they may prove useful, we shall extract. He observes, that below Fort James both sides of the river are filled with sand banks; and advises mariners to keep near the north, on which side the channel is smoothest, deepest, and safest: an opinion which he supports by a number of reasons and facts, which we shall omit, as unnecessary. Another precaution is, to keep directly in the middle of the channel in passing Dog Island, in order to avoid a floty point, covered by the water, that projects a quarter of a league across the river.

(5) Labat relat. Africae sec. tom. iv. p. 266.
recover without the aid of parliament, and the public countenance offered them. We shall a
speak of this transaction after having described the fort, and enumerated the other settle-
ments on this great river.

The next establishment of the English company is on the river Kabata, falling into the
Gambia almost opposite to James Island, on the north side of the kingdom of Kambo, and
south side of the river: but here the trade is insignificant, the chief purpose of the factory
being to furnish James Port with provisions. On the north side the river, opposite to James
Island, stands the English factory Jifrey, or Gillefree, a little coast of the French house at
Alorveda. This place is pleasantly situated, and supplies James Fort with all kinds of vege-
tables. Here it is that the monarch of Barra exacts a duty upon all shipping that pays up
the river, to which the English, though naturally haughty, says Labat, have been forced to b
submit (C). The fourth English factory is at Raintain, or Raintam, upon a river of the same
name, falling into the Gambia about six miles above James Port. The chief commerce of
this little factory, within the jurisdiction of the king of Pena, consists in wax, ivory, and
hides. Eight miles farther up the river we meet with the fifth factory, called Jerigga, sit-
uated in a kingdom of the same name. A place affording little trade besides wax, of which
there is great abundance, but indifferent in the quality. In the year 1731, the English
company established a factory at Kalow, on a river of the same name, in the dominions of
the king of Barra; but, perceiving the trade to fall short of their expectations, they relinquished
it two years afterwards. The same year as the former, a house was settled at Tankos, in
the kingdom of Celli, on the south side of the river Gambia, the principal object of which
is the wax trade. Something higher up the river we meet with the factory of Jomne, sit-
uated three miles up the country, in the territory of the king of Barfoli. There is not in the
whole river a more flourishing trade than is carried on by this town and factory, as the
Mandingo merchants, going and returning to and from Galam and Tombuta, take this place
in their way: and on the opposite or north side of the river stands Tanui, or Toun Maree,
another factory belonging to the African company: but here they have no more than a little
house and one negro agent to supply James Port with corn. Higher up, in the little king-
dom of Jomaree, stands the company's factory of Breba, built in 1732, burnt by accident,
rebuilt in the same year, and relinquished in 1735. The company's eleventh settlement is
at Mattefer, a mile from the river on the north side, in the kingdom of Upper Tanui. It d
being overturned by a dwelling of the river in the year 1725, the company ordered the
factory to be removed to Sani, where it now remains, the situation being a little removed
therefore, and the name preferred. Still higher up, in the kingdom of Taman, south of Gambia,
stands the thirteenth factory, called Tamayetenda; destroyed by a flooding of the river
in 1733, but since rebuilt by order of the company. Its trade consists in slaves and ivory,
of which it sends great quantities to James Port. The last settlement of the company is
Fatadendu; at which place, situated at about 484 miles from the sea, the river is as broad,
says Moore, as the Thames at Tilbury Fort, and proportionally deep. Here the Gambia with
its beautiful windings, forms a most delightful prospect, to be equalled only by the verdure
of the trees and fertility of the adjacent country of Kantor, several provinces of which are
e surrounded on three sides by those delightful curvatures of the river (D).

As none of these factories are considerable enough to merit a particular description, we
shall return to Fort James, commonly called James Fort, and lay before the reader all
we can learn of this head-settlement, either from writers or private intelligence. This fort is
situated in a small island of the same name, standing in the middle of the Gambia, the
whole breadth of the river being here about seven miles. The island is the property
of the company; but subject to a small tribute to the king of Barra. In circuit the island
is about three quarters of a mile, the fort regular, and defended by four batteries, each
mounting seven pieces of cannon, which commands the river on every side. Under the walls
of the fort, facing the water on all hands, are erected two batteries, mounted with four
twenty-four pounders each, and between both are planted smaller guns for salutes: the

(C) The same author adds, that, insistent to all other
nations, they have been humbled by negroes, and forced
to value this prince with their cannon as they pass; and
yet his dominions do not extend above eight or ten leagues
along the river. All ships of whatever nation that ap-
proach a certain part of trees, called The royal standard
of Barra, are forced to pay this compliment, and a
small duty to the king, on pain of being prohibited
to trade, and subjected to all the injuries the monarch
can do them (6).

(D) Authors relate, that the company relinquished
this settlement, upon some feverish usage their factors had
met with from the king of Tanui; but we have it from
the best private authority, that before now it is proba-
ble re-established.

(Labat rel. de l'Afrique occident., part iv. p. 266.)

whole
a whole artillery of the fort amounting to 45 pieces of cannon. Within the walls are contained a number of very commodious apartments for the governor, chief merchants, factor, writers, and military officer; the lower apartments being employed in magazines and storehouses. The garrison ought to be composed of one officer, one sergeant, two corporals, a gunner, his deputy, and thirty soldiers; but the defects attributed by authors to the pernicious habit of drinking spirits to excess, greatly diminish the complement, and reduce the men to the most deplorable situation. This is a fact affected by all writers, English, French, and Dutch. The folliers, artificers, servants, and slaves of the fort, are lodged in barracks without the walls, but built with stone and lime, equally convenient and strong as the fort itself; and the whole surrounded by palisadoes, the river and canals drawn from it. Underneath the servants apartments are magazines, and the slaves are lodged below the soldiers barracks. Centinels are placed at proper posts, relieved every two hours, and the garrison kept in constant duty and security, a patrol being sent round at certain hours to examine into the situation of the fort, and make report to the governor. In a word, in point of military discipline, no garrison can be more regular and diligent; but the factors, and even the governor, find it their interest to wink at the excess in drinking of the soldiers, by a means too obvious to be pointed out.

It was in 1664 that James Island was fortified by commodore Holmes, for the protection of the English trade in this river, and had its name in honour of the duke of York. At first James Fort, it had but eight pieces of cannon; but Barbey speaks of it as a regular fortification, completed and mounted in the manner we have described (E) in the year 1690. James Fort was taken for the first time by the French, under M. de Génes, in 1695, who commanded a small squadron of four ships of war and two bomb kegtes, of which enterprise we have a particular account by Fugger, who served in the expedition. M. de Génes, then at Gorké, receiving advice by an English deserter of the miserable condition of the garrison, labouring under disease, and pinched with want, set sail for Gambia, and immediately surrounded the fort with the boats to cut off all communication with the continent. Next day an officer, M. de la Rogue, was sent to summon the governor to surrender; his barge was met at some distance by the English officer, who conducted him to the fort, where he was handomely entertained, and sent back attended by three gentlemen of the garrison, who demanded of the admiral a few days to deliberate upon the answer they should make, as the governor was absent, and the command devolved upon a deputy. De Génes would grant only till six o'clock the following morning, and then the deputy sent him word to begin his operations, for he was resolved to defend the place to the last extremity; a resolution that would probably have been executed with equal spirit, had not Mr. Hambury, the governor, found means to enter the fort, and take upon him the command, of which he was unfeeling. Two boats had only been thrown in by the enemy, and the boats disposed in their proper stations for giving the general assault against the next tide, when he sent a barge to the admiral, with proposals for a capitulation, and to demand the exchange of hostages. The terms were accepted, and the admiral, out of compliment to the bravery of the deputy-governor, as was plainly expressed in the garrison, permitted the garrison to march out with all the honours of war, their arms, baggage, and effects, and each officer and gentleman a slave to attend him. Among other articles of less importance was the following. That all the factors of the company along the banks of the Gambia, all the stores, effects, and merchandise, belonging to the company, should be included under the present capitulation; and, in a word, the French "put in full possession of the navigation and trade of this great river." Here the French got, with little trouble, a prize of 500 quintals of ivory, 300 quintals of wax, 300 male and 40 female slaves, besides 50 more at Jilfray, together with European merchandise, to the value of 8000 crowns, all the cannon, stores, and provisions of the fort.

A few days after, M. de Génes sent to the king of Barra to demand the English effects in the factory at Jilfray; but that prince returned no answer, that if the factory was surrendered, the effects belonged to him; finding however that the admiral intended to use force, he resolved not to contend the affair, and suffered him quietly to take possession. Afterwards a council was called, to deliberate, whether Fort James should be preserved or demolished, and the latter opinion prevailing, the baftions were blown up, the cannon that could not be carried on board were nailed and rendered useless, and the English garrison embarked for England, upon which De Génes with the squadron failed for the Brests. It would appear that this resolution of the council was not agreeable to the French company; for they soon sent directions to the other factories, or carried off by the French when but in other respects agree with Moore; it is probable they took it, therefore, that some of the small cannon have been sent by the French.

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* Fugger’s voy. a la mer de Ind. p. 2. 6. 21.

(E) Barbey says, it mounted sixty pieces of cannon; to the other factories, or carried off by the French when but in other respects agree with Moore; it is probable they took it.

Therefore, that some of the small cannon have been sent to —

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to their officers at Fort St. Louis to take possession of Fort James, and seemed seriously to a
think of rebuilding the fort, when it was delivered up to the English by the treaty of Ryswick. 2
While the English company were employed in executing a plan which would have rendered
James Fort a complete fortification, the war in 1702 broke out, and again put the French in
possession, by the conduct of the same admiral who had before taken it, and was now killed
in the attack; but the fort was ransacked at that time for 10,000l. after the French had carried
off a booty of 250 slaves, and a considerable quantity of merchandise. 4 A third time it
fell into the hands of the same nation in 1709, and was resealed at the general peace of Utrecht,
after which it was twice pillaged by English pirates, who infested the coast of Guinea, in 1720.
The first of these enterprises was executed by Haravel Davis, with such circumstances as merit
a particular relation. Davis, believing he could expect no success from an open attempt, b
resolved to have recourse to stratagem, which had the desired success, as neither courage, cunning,
or the most desperate villainy, were wanting in him or his crew. When he came within
fight of the island, he concealed all his men under the hatches, except five or six, employed
in working the ship, and in the dregs of sailors. With such a force he knew he could raise
no ruffian in the garrison, and in consequence came close to the shore, went on board his
boat, with the pilot and surgeon, and rowed directly to the fort, where he was received by a
file of mulatteurs, who conducted him to the governor's apartments. Here he told a
plausible story, that he belonged to Liverpool, and was bound for Senegal, to take in a cargo
of ivory and gum, but was pursued and forced out of his course by two French men of war.
His cargo he told the governor consisted of iron, and some other commodities proper for
the African market; upon which that gentleman agreed to purchase it in exchange for slaves;
and asked, whether Davis had any liquors on board? To this he replied, that he had none
for sale; however, that he could oblige the governor with some bottles of excellent rum:
upon which he was invited with his attendants to dinner. During the preparations the governor
was making to receive him handomely, Davis returned alone on board, under pretence of
bringing the spirits, having first made all the necessary observations. Presently he returned,
attended by six stout fellows, and was admitted without any questions, as the men were loaded
with bottles, but at the same time secretly armed with pistols and daggers, and directed to stay
in the guard room, till on the discharge of a pistol they were to seize upon the arms of the
guard. Every particular of his orders was punctually obeyed, and he became master of the
dfort, money, flores, and all the merchandise, by a treacherous breach of hospitality, that
devolves to be stigmatized with infamy to the latest posterity. The wealth which the factors
had accumulated amounted in ingots of gold to upwards of 2000l. besides goods of ten
times that sum, which he carried on board; and then demolished the fort, putting the governor,
the factors, and ship of the soldiers as would not embark in his desperate fortune, on board
a large vessel he found in the river 4, to steer what course they thought fit (F).

To avoid breaking the chain of narration, we have omitted some important particulars
relative to this settlement and the trade of the Gambia; to understand which properly, it is
necessary we resume the subject as far back as the treaty of Ryswick. After restitution of
the fort, the parliament, desirous of establishing the trade without any expense to the public, let
the commerce of the river free, upon the sole condition, that each ship should pay ten per
cent. to the company on her arrival in Africa, or twenty on her return to England. It is
incredible what a number of adventurers immediately embarked in this trade upon its being

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a Labat, t iv. p. 203.  
Johansson, p. 150, & seq.

(F) The royal African company, receiving advice of
this unhappy affair, determined to guard for the future
against such accidents, by keeping a strong garrison as
might defy all the power and fratages of pirates:
but they were extremely unlucky in the officers they
made choice of. Major Meffy was sent in one of their
ships, as commander of the troops; and he being dif-
gusted at the reception he met with from colonel
Whitney, then governor, and the factors, entered into a
correspondence, with one Laubrou, second mate of the ship, by
whose advice, and the party he had formed among
the soldiers and sailors, he found means to seize the
ship and rob the fort; after which he fell sick and
turned pirate. This life, though attended with all
possible success, soon however, became irksome to
Meffy, who would seem to have some sparks of con-
science remaining; he determined therefore to break
off from the adventure, and accordingly went to Jo-
nessico, where he surrendered himself to Sir Nicholas
Lew, who received him kindly, as a profyle, and
furnished him with money to carry him over to England.

On his arrival in London, he wrote to the directors of
the company a full confession of his crime, which he
attributed to his resentment of the hard usage he had
met with; acknowledging, however, that he deferred
death, but requesting, that it might be such a one as
was worthy of a sailor. The answer was, that he
decided better fate than a gibbet; notwithstanding
which he not only did not conceal himself, but took
lodgings in a public part of the town, and addressed
himself to the officers of justice, to institute an order for
locking captain Meffy, a pirate. Upon the officers in-
forming him, that they knew no such person, he told
them, that he was the person, and gave them his trip
revel. Accordingly he was arrested a few days after,
upon his own information, carried before a justice, and
committed to prison, upon no other evidence than his
own. At length captain Raffles and colonel Whitney's
sons being summoned as evidence against him, Meffy
was tried, condemned, and hanged, for facts which
would never have appeared against him, had he not de-
termined to receive the punishment he merited.

8
Chap. 16.

The history of the Interior Countries.

a laid open, and what confusion and ruin it had almost produced. Every captain endeavoured to anticipate another; the French took advantage of this rivalry; and the negroes, perceiving the folly of the English, raised the price of slaves higher than had ever been known, or than the trade would bear: in consequence of which our colonies were badly supplicated, the expense of venturing very great, and the profits of the merchants so small, that, all things included, it might well be deemed a losing trade. At length, the French themselves were involved in the difficulties of the English; for the Mandingo merchants, observing the great price given for slaves by the former, would sell none to the latter, and thus the agents of both companies were soon reduced to a state of idleness, to watch when the rage of adventuring would subside, and commerce once more be put on a solid and rational foundation.

b This situation of affairs soon opened the eyes of the company, who became sensible that they had better trade without the aid of parliament, than accept of such a grant as would infallibly destroy the whole trade, and ruin the British colonies in America. They therefore began diligently to apply themselves to the trade, to ruin the French, and cut out the interlopers. Mr. Corker, their chief agent, established factories for this purpose at Jassal (G) and Portadale; he sent some of the factors to the king or Daniel of Kajar, with suitable merchandise, to be sold him at an under price, and accompanied with rich presents; but all these liberalities had no little effect, through the address of De Brue, the French director, that the Danes, having led the factors a dance after him from town to town, sent them back at last, without paying for the goods, and glad to escape at any rate out of his hands. Corker went farther: he sold the company’s goods at the price of interlopers, taking slaves at the same high rate. He employed force to exclude the French from the navigation of the river; burnt their ships, under pretext of their having no passports; and, in a word, says Labat, testified the most malignant enmity to this nation (F).

At length he perceived his error; and in the chagrin of disappointment, says Labat, wrote to his constituents, that they had better renounce the ten per cent. exacted from the French, repair James Fort at their own expense, and live upon a good understanding with the French company, than expose themselves to the necessity of totally relinquishing the trade. On the other hand, he made some proposals to M. de Brue, by which the price of merchandise should be fixed between the two companies, and an unanimous resolution taken to exclude all interlopers, of whatever nation. For this purpose he sent one of the factors to Fort St. Lewis, in the year 1699, with his compliments, and the following article of accommodation, to M. de Brue. “1st. That the French company shall enjoy the same privileges they held before the war; that is, the right of maintaining factories at Albreda and Tereja; and that the agents of both companies shall live in the same friendly footing as before. 2d. That the English company having, previous to the war, settled factories at Jassal and Portadale, they shall continue in the full exercise of the same privilege. 3d. That the vessels of the Sieur Duflofs, the only one seized by the English, shall be restored at the pleasure of M. de Brue (1). 4th. That as it would not be possible, on account of the number of English ships, to settle a tariff for the slave-trade, this article shall be deferred till the English governor received instructions from the company. 5th. That, as the private traders were licensed by parliament, the company had not power absolutely to restrain them; the French governor therefore would excuse it, if, as countrymen, they sometimes afforded them relief when diffrusted.” To these proposals De Brue returned the following answer by the same messenger. “1st. That by the treaty of Rytwick it was stipulated, that all conquests should mutually be given up, and things restored, upon the same footing as they had been before the war. That before the war the privileges of the French company extended, by letters patent, from Cape Blanco to the river Sierra Leone, with the same right of navigating the river Gambia as the English, as was apparent from the factories they had always maintained at Albreda and Tereja. That it was assuredly the interest of both companies to join in a free commerce, and establish a tariff, to which the negroes should be compelled to submit; the want of which had given such a handle to interlopers, almost ruined the trade of

Articles of accommodation proposed to the French by the English.

\[\text{(G) This place is likewise called Jassal, Jadi, or Jeliso.}\
\[\text{(H) This is the account of Labat, extricated from De Brue’s Journal, to which we are forced to adduce, as we have no regular detail of this affair from any English writer. It must be acknowledged, that the English have ever been scandalously negligent in preserving the annals of trade, and this is the reason why we are so frequently subjected to national reflections, as we have no facts upon record to oppose to those heavy charges, so frequently brought against our companies and private traders.}
\[\text{(1) To this article Mr. Corker subjoined a kind of apology, avowing, that his reason for seizing this ship was, }\text{ Dyos}\
\[\text{carrying on an illicit trade, under pretence of paying some debts at Guioan, and his having threatened to destroy the English fort, upon his having been checked for those practices. (7).}\
\[\text{(7) Labat, t. iv. p. 503, 504.}\
\[\text{both}\

\[\text{k Labat, t. iv. p. 502, & seq.}\

\[\text{f The answer of the French director.}\

\[\text{e The answer of the French director.}\

\[\text{d The answer of the French director.}\

\[\text{c The answer of the French director.}\

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\[\text{bz The answer of the French director.}
both companies, and increas'd the influence of the natives, who had taken advantage of
the rupture between both nations, 2dly. That, as the English company was limited to the
river Gambia, it was no ways reasonable they should establish themselves atjoal and Porto-
dali, which was an infringement of the privileges of the French, 3dly. That the Sieur De
Brue expected from the equity of governor Corker, that he would return to the Sieur
Marchand, storekeeper of the French factory at Albreda, the velvets, with all the goods,
that had been seized, according to the inventory delivered. That with respect to Dénos,
the Sieur De Brue had given to the English governor all the satisfaction which a proper
regard to his character would admit of, or the utmost delicacy in the English governor
could require. That Dénos was already recalled, to give an account of his conduct; the
English governor was therefore requested to avoid all violent measures, which terminate only
in enlarging the breach between the companies. 4thly. That he earnestly wished the English
governor would represent to his constituents the necessity of regulating the price of slaves
by a tariff, common to both, and strictly to be performed by the agents of each nation.
5thly. That, with all due deference to the parliament of England, he could not but observe,
it was the highest injustice to give liberty of trade to private merchants, in prejudice of the
rights both of the English and French companies, whose interests in this particular were neces-
farily one." Concluding his answer with an earnest exhortation that governor Corker would
use all his influence with his constituents, to prevail on them to take the proper measures for
suppressing interlopers; and promising on his own part, that it should be represented to the
king and parliament of England by the French ambassador.

So earnest was De Brue in fixing a tariff with the English company, that he determined
upon a voyage from Senegal to Gambia, where he arrived on the 10th of February 1700,
and was kindly received by Mr. Corker at Fort James. Here a conference ensued, at which
were present all the captains of ships in the road; but the instructions of the English being
very confined, it ended in nothing but mutual civilities. De Brue perceiving, however, that
Mr. Corker was secretly of his opinion, flattered himself that he would use all his interest with
the English company to establish the proposed regulations: but Corker was recalled, and the
Sieur De Brue proceeded on his intended visit to the French factories on the river
Gambia (K).

Soon after the arrival of the new governor, the company reinforced the garrison of James
Fort with a company of grenadiers, and sent a number of masons, carpenters, and other artists,
for the repairation of the fort, which fill bore the marks of the Sieur Génet's expedition. De

(K) Although it is no part of our present design, yet we cannot omit some entertaining particulars related by De Brue in this little excursion. At Bintam he found a great number of Portuguese settled, who carried on a considerable trade. Their chief made De Brue a visit, dressed in his robes, which consisted of a long black cloak, a long sword by his side, a hanger before, a flapped hat, like a Quaker's, long muttonchops, and a headroll in his left hand, that hung down over the pommel of his sword to the knee, in the manner of a sword-knot. His ceremonious and stiff gravity of com-
pliment was no less ridiculous than his garb and figure, at which De Brue, with difficulty, refrained laughing. His visit was however returned by the polite Frenchman; who likewise paid his compliments to a rich mulatto lately married to an English captain. This lady, whose name was Agis, having an intrigue with the ahade during the absence of the captain, was delivered of a black child, soon after his return, which enraged the husband that he beat the child in a manner, and gave the cruel hachis to be devoured by the dogs. He was how-
ever reconciled to the lady before De Brue's arrival. At Jereja he visited the king, whom he describes as a little man, of an agreeable figure, lively eyes, cheerful countenance, and white teeth. He was invited by the monarch to dinner, and placed between him and his queen, no other servants than females attending at table. The entertainment was good, the conversation cheerful, in which his majesty supported her part with great spirit and politeness. De Brue made them some presents, particularly a cafe of pistoles to the king, who was the greatest warrior of those parts, and extremely feared by all his neighbours; nor are his subjests less warlike than their prince. What deserve admiration is the prudence of the women; to avoid

loquacity, which would only divert their attention from necessary employments, fill their mouths with small pebbles, or water.

On quitting Jereja, he passed through a country inhabited by a nation called Fafis, or Fopis, according to Mares; lying between the river Gambio and Carbo. Those who are subjects of the king of Jereja and the Portuguese are tolerably civilised; but the red, bordering upon the river Kafimintu, are the most barbarous and savage people upon earth, at perpetual war with the rest of mankind, and conducting it with a cruelty to their prisoners too shocking to be mentioned without horror.

From hence he proceeded along the river to a Portu-
geuse settlement, the name of which he omits. Here they drive a prodigious trade in wax. Learning this he went to Cacock, a Portuguese town and colony, situated on the Rio San Domingo, on the southern bank. It is the chief establishment the Portuguese have in all this country; though the bulk of the inhabitants, called Papel negroes, bear them a mortal aversion. The Portuguese have omitted nothing to fortify this place on the land side, the river being its security on the other. It has a rampart well pallisadoed, a great number of cannon, and a garrison of thirty white men, and ten portulaco com-
ped of criminals banished from Portugal, and were commanded by a captain major, who assumes the title of governor, a lieutenant, an esquire, and an adjutant-ma-

jor; the garrison is relieved every two years, a period they ardently long for, as the soldiery are to be paid as to subsist chiefly on what they steal by night. These particulars we had no opportunity of verifying with the texture of the work; yet we thought it might merit the reader's perusal (B).
Chap. 16. The History of the Interior Countries.

Buce was not wanting in the necessary respect to the new governor, to whom he sent compliments of congratulation on his promotion, and to Mr. Coker, on his felicity in being recalled from so unhealthy a climate, to enjoy those riches in his native country which he had with so much honour acquired in Africa. In return, the new governor sent the chief factors, chaplains, and the captain of a ship, to acknowledge and thank the politeness of De Buce, to request his friendship, and take every possible measure for an accommodation of all differences, the establishing a perfect harmony between the companies, and every other measure that could contribute to their mutual felicity. In a word, they drew up a plan to this purpose, which they were to use all their influence to have ratified at the courts of London and Verfailles; and at the same time the English governor communicated to De Buce a memorial, presented to the parliment by the royal African company, from which, and the influence of the English and French ambassadors, he doubted not but every thing would be settled upon a proper footing. After many efforts, all their negotiations terminated in nothing; the influence of private traders, whose interests were directly opposite to those of the companies, throwing insurmountable difficulties in the way. They even obtained, by their credit or liberality to the government, the effort of a man of war for the protection of their trade. Thus new causes of complaint daily arising, the differences became so high, that, in 1702, De Ginet attacked and destroyed James Fort, as we have mentioned; after which the affairs of the English company were fallen so low as to oblige them to propose a treaty of neutrality, which we have reason to believe was accepted, though we can find no other authority for our opinion than the reasonableness of the propositions, the success of the allies, the low eateate to which France had been reduced during the war, the cessions made at the treaty of Utrecht, and the silence of all the French writers on this head.

The royal African company, trying every means to establish their trade, came to a resolution, in 1732, not farther to molest private traders; but to give all possible encouragement to their own agents to serve them with fidelity. With this view they cheapened provisions at James Fort, and, giving a great extent to their trade, they thought it proper to deal in those commodities which hitherto they had deemed useless, such as gums, bark, fkins, and dying woods, chiefly with intention to make the employments of the factors the more profitable. They moreover offered a premium of twenty per cent. to any one who shoul diligent.

d er a new article of trade; and the prices of the staple commodities were adjusted. The factors had always been appointed by the court of directors; or, if they were employed in that function the writers of James Fort, it was with the precaution, that two responsible persons should be bound in a bond of two thousand pounds for their good behaviour, and likewise the individuals employed for the same sum: yet, in spite of these ties, the company had frequently suffered considerable losses from the inidelity of their agents; and whenever they were prosecuted, such was the indulgence of the court of chancery, the company could never recover damages, the evidence being such as would not be admitted, that is, the oath of a negro infidel.

Private traders pay the king of Barca a duty, which greatly enhances the price of merc. Scheme prep. e chandizes, particularly of slaves, a prime article of commerce here: and those who fall higher are by made up the river are forced to pay another duty for the liberty of taking in wood and water. Moore is persueded, that it would be equally advantageous to the company and to private traders, if the great mart of exchange was settled at James Fort; that is, if the company would keep a sufficient stock of slaves at the fort, to furnish ships with a whole cargo, and to be supplied, as often as it is bought off, from the out-factories. This would make it a repository both for European and African commodities, bring the company in a considerable revenue, arising from warehouse-duites, and yet supply the trader at an easier rate and less danger than he can compleat a cargo at present. The private merchants could afford to give a higher price at James Fort than up the river, and yet be gainers by coming to this emporium; since it cuts off the delay, accidents, inintemperate of the climate, and the exactions of petty negro princes, who are ever rapacious, ever poor, fleecing the fair trader and laborious subject, in proportion as they are squeezed by their superiors. All this would be avoided by purchasing a cargo at once: and the company would have this farther convenience from such an establishment, that they might then buy goods as they pleased: whereas now they cannot, without lose, buy dry goods, unless by taking a quantity of slaves with them. If therefore they fold the slaves to private traders, they might afford their warehouses with the European goods from them, and hence monopolize all the dry goods in the river, in spite of all the efforts of the French and Portuguese. In a word, with due care, they might procure a sufficient quantity of dry goods to load the company's ships homeward bound, without the necessity of making trading voyages along the coast; none of which ever turn out to any considerable advantage.

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1 Labat. t. iv. p. 165. Moore's voy. p. 102
2 Moore, p. 83.
The English African Company maintain a commerce with several of the neighbouring places to Gambia. To St. Jago and other of the Cape de Verd islands they send all sorts of grains, in return for which they take salt; a commodity quickly bought up in the river Gambiæ. With Cachao, or Cactoa, a Portugese settlement, they deal in bees-wax; but with little profit, it being sometimes to impure and foul, that there will be twenty or thirty per cent. lost upon it. The chief articles of trade on this river are gold, flaves, ivory, and wax; for as to the gum trade, it is not hitherto brought to any degree of perfection. Some years the factors buy up above 2,000 flaves; the greater part of which are prisoners of war, persons kidnapped from neighbouring countries, or criminals; though some are the children of those who are born slaves, and bred by the Portugese, who make a kind of commodity or article of trade. As the number of those stolen is considerable, the factors have directions not to purchase any flaves without informing the alkode, or chief of the place, that he may enquire into the circumstances of their servitude. Since the flave-trade became so profitable to the negro princes, the course of justice has taken a more rigorous turn, and every crime, even misdemeanours of a venial nature, are punished with severity. Thus murder, theft, robbery, and adultery, are confined with the slightest faults, and all punished in the same barbarous manner. Moore relates, that a native of Nwyer, shooting his arrows at a tiger, who had killed his goat, unfortunately flew a man. The king, though he was apprised of the circumstances, inhumanly fold the offender, his wife, children, and effects, among the other flaves, for whom he had bargained with the English.

Ivory, which makes the third article of commerce, is brought sometimes to the factories in large quantities from Mandingo. The negroes procure it either by hunting the elephant, and flaying it with swords, arrows, and darts; or in the woods, from such of these animals as have died a natural death; and Moore doubts their notion of their shedding their teeth. He has seen a tooth weigh 300 lb. and the price proportionably raised, without any great regard to the colour. The third commodity is bees-wax, of which prodigious heaps are produced in all the kingdoms along the river Gambiæ, their method of cultivating bees being but little different from that practised in Europe. Besides the gum-trade, which as yet is brought to no height, there are several other articles of some consequence, though greatly inferior to this, were it diligently improved, considering the number of silk manufacturies established in this kingdom. At present the French in a manner monopolize this traffic at Senegal (L.).

Before we quit this subject, it is necessary we give the reader an idea of the trade carried on here by the French and Portugese. The factory at Alreda, belonging to the former, enjoys a considerable traffic; but, according to Moore, might be greatly improved, if their factors had not entered into an agreement with the English, to keep down the price of flaves. In 1735 the great demand for flaves for Missipp Pi occasioned an infraction of this convention, and raised the price as much too high as before it was too low; the private traders taking an advantage on the one hand, and the American colonies being oppressed on the other. By a convention between the governors of James Fort and Goree, the French were permitted in 1724 to establish a factory a little higher up the river than James Island, and as an equivalent the English were allowed to trade to Foulzy and Portodali, two places of considerable importance in commerce near Goree. Although the factory at Alreda be scarce within reach of the cannon of James Fort, yet the French factors are forced to have permission from the English governor to wood and water, and lay in provisions, and even to cross the river. This liberty is seldom denied; but a soldier from the fort is always sent in the French boat, to watch their actions, and prevent an irregular trade, which is not allowed to extend above Elephant Island, thirty miles (leagues, says Labat), higher than James Fort. As to the Portugese, they have established themselves in almost all the considerable towns along the Gambiæ, and carry on a very profitable trade, particularly at Vintain, or Bintam, Jerejoh (M.), and Tankrovel. At the latter Signior Antonio Vols, a black Portugese, famed for his wealth and ostentation, has taken up his residence. This gentleman trades largely with the private merchants, retains a great number of domestic slaves, makes a trade of breeding them, carries on by their means, and a number of canoes, a traffic with all the ports up the river, and is by much the most respectable subject round Gambiæ, or perhaps in any part of Africa; such at least he was in the year 1737. As we have elsewhere delineated these Portugese mulattoes, we shall proceed to a description of the island and fort of Goree, the only European settlement between the rivers Senegal and Gambiæ.
The history of the Interior Countries.

a of the trade of this country is at Gorce; which, next to Fort Lewis, is the most important settlement the French maintain in Africa, and perhaps more so than Fort Lewis itself, as the situation is stronger, and yet access to it much easier for shipping, at the same time that it enjoys almost all the other advantages of situation. This island, fort, and settlement we shall endeavour to describe with all possible minuteness, that the reader may have a clear idea of the importance of our late successes on that part of the coast of Africa.

The name by which the natives call this island is Barfagnuict. If we may credit Bartholomew and the Dutch, who were the first European adherents, giving it the appellation of Gorce, from a town of that name in Holland; and Reynolds, in his Voyage, speaks of it as a place of considerable trade, under the name of Barfagnuict. In length it is about 4,00 toises, and in breadth not exceeding 1,44 toises, the whole circumference, according to a late measurement, being about two English miles, if one includes a point that projects into the sea on the eastern end of the island. Gorce stands four south-west of Cape Verd, within a cannon-shot of the shore, extending itself north-north-east and south-south-west, and consists of a low narrow piece of land, and a small but steep mountain. Notwithstanding its confined dimensions, the situation renders it a very agreeable place: towards the south you enjoy a prospect, terminated only by the sea; northward you discover Cape Verd, and all the other neighbouring capes and promontories. Though it stands in the third torrid zone, as Adamson expresses it, yet the inhabitants breathe a cool and temperate air all the year round, owing to the equality of days and nights, and its banks continually refreshed by alternate breezes from the land and sea. Besides the multitude of surrounding rocks, that render it almost inaccessible, except at two particular bays, the late director M. de St Jean has embellished the fort with several new buildings, as well as fortified it by works, which render it a place of great strength, though not impregnable, as experience has shewn; though French writers have boasted of it as such. By the diligence of this gentleman, several fresh springs, so much wanted, have been discovered in the island; the gardens have been planted with excellent fruit-trees; legumes and all kinds of vegetables have been made to grow in great abundance, and from a small, barren, and despicable island, he has made it one of the faict, pleasaunt, and most important settlements in all Africa. How different was it in Bartholomew’s time, who speaks of it in terms of contempt, the soil a red sand, which produces neither grass, trees, water, or any other thing befits reeds or rushes, the residence of a great number of wild pigeons.

Gorce was ceded to the Dutch, in the year 1617, by Biron king of Cape Verd, and they immediately fortified it by a fort, built on a rock to the north-west, to which they gave the name of Naffan Fort; but finding that this situation did not command the harbour, they erected another fortification called Orange Fort, somewhat nearer the shore. This establishment they kept till they were driven out by admiral Holmes in 1663, who placed an English garrison in it. Two years after it was retaken by De Ruyter, and Mr. Abervory the governor, and garrison, forced to surrender prisoners of war (N). Upon this the Dutch augmented the fortifications, and the island enjoyed a perfect tranquility till the year 1677, when a French squadron, commanded by the count d’Estaques, arrived off the harbour on the 5th of October, to disturb their happy repose and flourishing commerce. Next day Hapfar, the Dutch governor, was summoned to surrender, and, on his refusal, the count made preparations to bombard Orange Fort, which obliged the garrison to evacuate it and retire to Fort Naffan, where they expected to capitulate upon honourable terms, though they were soon forced to surrender at discretion. D’Estaques found the island in good condition, the lower fort mounting forty pieces of heavy cannon, and the works kept in excellent repair: but, having no instructions to garrison them, he dismantled this and entirely demolished Naffan Fort. Soon after M. du Cass arrived at Gorce, with a forty gun ship, and solemnly took possession of the island, in the name of the Senegal company, and concluded a treaty with the king and negroes of Rufico, Jool, and Portsdall, on the same conditions the Dutch enjoyed while they possessed the island. As this measure, which he had taken voluntarily, was approved on his return by the court, he was sent back the following year, in quality of governor, with presents to the negro kings; and the same year this conquest was secured to the company by the treaty of Nimgueen.

No sooner were the French in full possession, than they set to work, in repairing and adding new works to both the forts, calling the lower fort Vermountains, and the higher St. Michael. Before the year 1681 several unsuccessful attempts were made by the Dutch to recover a place of such importance to trade; but all of them abortive, through the diligence of

Moore, p. 87.

Adamson, p. 104.

Bartholomew, p. 20.

Labat, t. i. p. 166.

(N) This gentleman Labat calls Abkerwon, a name never heard of in England; and is one instance of the address of French writers in corrupting names.
De Caffe, who, after gentle remonstrances to the Dutch commodore, at last seized two of his ships, and sent them to Elmina. In 1657 the Sieur De Brue, one of the most diligent and faithful officers ever employed by the company, was sent in quality of director-general, and he put the island in the state of defence in which it remained till the arrival of M. St. Jean, about the year 1750, who improved it in the manner we have related.

The department or division of the trade belonging to Goree comprehends the commerce of the kingdoms of Kayor, Sin, and Salem, which is indeed extensive. The first of these is called the kingdom of Danmel, or Kayor, stands at a great distance from the lake of that name, which is situated in the desert of Zouarab, or Sarab, north of the river Senegal. This trade produces annually upwards of 300 slaves, 2,500 undressed skins or hides, sometimes 80,000, and 250 quintals of ivory; but the oppression of the Danmel has diminished the trade, particularly the skin-trade, and almost ruined the inhabitants. The company's trade with Sin is confined to two ports, Jeol and Falika, both within the department of Goree; of these the principal is Jeol, because the anchorage is more safe, and the landing or shipping of goods easier. The town is large and populous; and, though the inhabitants are of a brutish and insolent disposition, yet they love commerce, which may be carried on to great advantage with them, after their customs and peculiarities are studied and known. Two reasons contributed to the establishment of a factory at Jeol; and the first was, the assurance the French company had of procuring about 200 slaves, above 3000 skins, 1200 or 1500 quintals of ivory, 500 quintals of yellow bees-wax, with some other commodities, upon the same tariff they had settled with the Danmel or Kayor. Hence they would have their magazines always well stored, would monopolize the trade, and cut off interlopers from any communication with the kingdom of Sin. The next was, the necessity there was for keeping the Danmel in awe, by shewing him that the whole trade did not depend upon his caprice: a measure dictated by experience, and the influence of that monarch, who would not fail to oppress them, in proportion to the dependence he imagined they had on him. The Bur or king of Sin was at perpetual war with the Danmel and Tin, his two most potent neighbours: a contention and rivalry which it was not difficult for the company to turn to their own advantage, by holding the scale in an equal poise, and making their terms with one or other of the parties, as circumstances required. But, besides the merchandise we have mentioned, Jeol is capable of supplying Goree, and all the shipping that frequents it, with every kind of provisions they can possibly stand in need of. Cattle, fowls, rice, maize, and all vegetables, are the natural product of the kingdom of Sin, equally cheap and excellent; and salt, with the necessaries of preserving beef for sea, are obtained in abundance from the Cape de Verd islands and Falika, where it is sold at three livres per barrel. (0)

From Jeol to the river Palmearia is about seven leagues, which is the whole length of the maritime coast of Sin. On which side it seems to terminate in a point, the rest of the kingdom being some hundreds of miles in dimension, and extremely fruitful, except on the frontiers, where it is exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the robberies and deflations committed by the Tin and Danmel. To guard themselves against the tumults which frequently happen among the inhabitants of Jeol, and to keep this fierce people in subjection, the company found it necessary to build a strong stone factory, well supplied with small arms and ammunition, together with a considerable number of European servants, not however in quality of soldiers, though defence and security be the principal objects of maintaining them at so great an expense.

The chief commerce with the kingdom of Salem is carried on by means of Kabone, a village where the river Salem rises from the river Gambie, according to French writers; though Moore and other English voyagers assert, that these two rivers have no line of connection. It is surprising that the company have not established a more considerable factory in a place so well calculated for commerce as Kabone; for here all the Mandingo merchants stop in their way to Tiliap and Albred, with the gold, ivory, and slaves they bring from the kingdoms of Tombute, Bambara, Kona, and other countries of the coast. Certain it is, they would be happy to find a good market here, in order to save six days journey farther west, and could afford to sell

(0) We cannot omit in this place a piece of artifice used by the inhabitants of a town near Jeol, to prevent a royal visitation, which is always attended with great expense to the people. They pretend, that no horse can live within the town; and if deep root has this political superstition taken, that even many of the more intelligent French and English gave credit to it, till the fraud was detected by De Brue, who rode several times through the streets without any accident befalling his horse. To keep up the belief of this notion, the inhabitants are extremely expert in poisoning those animals, and so secret in it, that they have hardly ever been detected; nor had De Brue's escape any other effect, than persuading the king and majority of the people, that the Frenchman was protected by some very powerful griffis and enchantment, which it would not be possible for them to obtain. (9)
The history of the Interior Countries.

a. their merchandize cheaper in proportion as the journey is shorter, especially as they would then be freed from the exorbitant duties which they pay to the king of Barra. To render the trade of Goree flourishing in the kingdom of Salem, De Brue lays down the following maxims as infallible means of procuring that end. 1st. To keep the forts and garrisons within the department of Goree in such a condition, as to have nothing to fear from the enemies of the state in time of war, or from pirates and the natives in peace. 2d. To have their warehouses constantly flourished with European merchandize. 3d. Never to be without some armed vessels, to keep of interlopers. And, 4thly, to be always in a condition to keep the negroes in awe, and within the limits of their treaties, the full execution of which should always be exacted. To these maxims might be added another, of no less consequence; that is, to foment the differences between the Danish, Bur, and Tin, and carefully to guard against the union of any two off these crowns upon the same head: for, in keeping these powers in a just poise, the company have it always in their power to give the law to them all; or, at least, to prevent their laying new restrictions and clogs upon trade, by increasing the duties, already too high. Hence they will likewise be able to prevent their raising the price of provisions, or retrenching the privilege of woodworking and watering in their dominions, as they have frequently done, out of caprice, to the great detriment and inconvenience of the factories. With these kingdoms, or rather according to some authorities, with the kingdom of Kayor alone, the company have settled three tariffs, for the better regulation of trade, one with the king, another with the nobles, and a third with the people; all three proposed and carried into execution by De Brue. The chief, which regards the king, is confined to slaves, and requires, that all the prisoners of war, or their slaves, delivered by his majesty to the company, shall not be over or under a certain age; that is, from forty to ten years; and that they be found in all their limbs and organs, without which they may be returned after due examination. This precaution was the more necessary, as numberless frauds have been committed in the slave-trade with the king, and all of them supported with force, and maintained with an insolent authority, under the pretext of justice. By the royal tariff it was agreed, that two children shall pass in bargains for one man; whereas before this the company had often been compelled to take one infant in the room of a full grown man. In the management of these articles it is that the address of the factors appears.

b. As to the chief articles of trade and exchange, they are distinguished by names seemingly of the negro extraction, such as the makaton, mortana, bayis, and ratatan, all of them signifying certain affrontments and classes of merchandize, which it would be tedious and unnecessary to enumerate. Sufficient it is that the commerce of Goree is so considerable, that the loss of it will be one of the most sensible strokes the trade of France can receive; as from thence and fort Lewis their West India colonies were supplied with slaves, great exports being made by their means from France, while gums, mohair, skins, saf armoriac, ambergris, gold, ivory, and ostrich feathers, together with dying woods, and several other valuable articles, were imported.

c. The island of Arguin, which we have enumerated among the French Settlements, though island of Ar- of the island, as at the bottom of a gulf of the same name, formed by Cape Blanco, from which it is distant about sixteen miles, under 20 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and about 360 degrees of longitude. Although it is scarce two miles in length, yet has it been for centuries past a bone of contention among the European powers, the Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French, into whose hands it has passed successively, by a vicissitude of fortune; a short account of which will probably not be unpleasing to the reader, as it naturally falls in with our defign of giving a complete modern history.

d. The Portuguese were the discoverers of Arguin, in the reign of Alphonso, that great prince, who first led the way to distant countries, and exerted the true spirit of trade and navigation. This happened in the year 1444, when a fleet, bound for the east, touched on Arguin, and from some little trade carried on with the natives, gave the Portuguese room to imagine that it might one day turn out to considerable advantage. In consequence of this opinion, they began the following year to fortify the place, but the works were not finished till the reign of John the second, Alphonso’s successor. From this time, till the year 1638, the Portuguese enjoyed the peaceable and exclusive commerce of Arguin, when three Dutch ships received a minute account of the condition of the island, from a Moorish vessel they had taken off Cape Blanco; upon which they resolved to attack the Portuguese fort, and accordingly landed without molestation from the garrison, which was too weak to oppose them, and had besides disoblige the Moors by the insolence of their carriage, who were by no means inclined to take up arms in their defence. They however defended the fort with great intrepidity, obliging the Dutch to make regular approaches, and even large breaches in the walls, before they surrenderd, which they at length did upon honourable terms, in February 1638.

1 I. sax. ibid. Plerogst. t. iii. ubi sep. 1 Vide Aug. citat ibid.
No sooner were the Dutch masters of Arguin, than they went to work in erecting fortifications on a regular plan, omitting nothing that could injure them in the property of a place where they intended to found their African commerce. They were making vast strides towards this end, and augmenting daily the trade established by the Portuguese, when the fort was attacked in 1665, by an English squadron, with such vigour as reduced it in less than ten days to an heap of rubbish: upon which it was surrendered the 28th of June the same year. As the works were almost totally destroyed by bombs, and a tender garrison only left in it, a Dutch squadron found no difficulty in retaking it the year following, and reducing it again under the power of the States General. They now redoubled their diligence in strengthening the island, and extending their trade, by entering into treaties with the Moorish chiefs, procuring a number of families to settle under protection of the cannon of the fort, and giving extravagant prices for gums, in order to monopolize that trade, and more firmly to engage the interest and affections of the natives. This practice it was, that set the Senegal company of France upon fitting out a squadron to reduce Arguin, which had nearly ruined their gum trade. In consequence of this equipment, the island fell into the hands of the French, and was fully ceded to them by a secret article in the treaty of Nimugou, between Louis and the States General. Things remained in this situation till the year 1685, at which time the Hollander's finding a cessation of this commerce extremely prejudicial to their trade, endeavoured to resume it by indirect methods. As they could not effect an establishment in their own name, without an infradiction of the treaty of Nimugou, they endeavoured, under the colours of Brandenburgh, to settle themselves, with the consent of the neighbouring Moorish princes; but the vessel went with this intention was seized by order of the French governor, and the intention frustrated for that time; but, after the peace of Nysswick, resumed again with more success; for now they rebuilt one of the forts which had lain long in ruins. As they were sensible they were taking possession of the property of another nation, whom they were persuaded would sooner or later attempt to recover it, they spared no expense to put themselves in such a condition, as they believed would secure their ufiurpation, and baffle all the force that France could send out to expel them. A circumstance extremely favourable to the Dutch was, that they had begun to enter upon their design before the treaty of Nysswick was ratified; and this the Senegal company had entered protests, and drawn up remonstrances against their conduct, yet they were prevented too late to prevent the final resolutions of all the courts to confirm the treaty. Thus the pretended subjects of the elector of Brandenburgh remained in possession of a strong fort at Arguin, in spite of the endeavours of the French company, who did all in their power to prevail on the elector, at that time king of Prussia, to withdraw his protection. Numberless were the memorials, protests, refusals, and other writings, passed before the year 1701, when a fresh war put a stop to them: the Dutch indeed found it no difficult matter to support a literary war, and thought several reams of written paper a cheap equivalent for so valuable a settlement as that at Arguin.

After the peace of Utrecht, the Senegal company, which had suffered so much by a long war, believed it would be more for their interest to repair their losses by diligence in trade than by entering upon fresh disputes with the Dutch about their possessions. They therefore dropped the affair of Arguin, giving only general instructions to their ships, to fish on all vessels carrying on an illicit trade, without respect to nations. But the new company, erected upon a more extensive plan in 1717, did not bear so patiently with those infractions of treaties, for perceiving that all their remonstrances to the elector of Brandenburgh had produced no effect, they determined to expel the Dutch by force of arms, and for this purpose fitted out a squadron at Havre de Grace, with a considerable body of land forces on board, under the conduct of Sieur Perier. It was the 26th of February 1721 before this armament arrived at Arguin, and began their operations; and near the middle of April before the Sieur Perier could complete the reduction of the Dutch, who maintained their post with an obstinacy proportioned to the importance of the object, and with an intrepidity and conduct that had almost baffled all the attempts of the French admiral, and would have certainly obliged him to raise the siege, had he not found means to draw off a Moorish chief from his allegiance to the Dutch. In consequence of this advantage, the Dutch were forced to evacuate Arguin, and retire to Portendie, where they fortified themselves, determining to watch the favourable moment for re-establishing the settlement. Nor was this long waiting, by means of the weakens and pride of the French director, Druel, who imprudently quarrelled with the Moors, and the fel-blenies of the garrison left for its defence by the Sieur Perier. On the 16th of October the same year, Druel, with a party of men, were surprised, defeated, and put to the sword by a body of Moors, who attacked them as they were viewing the Dutch works at Portendie; and this misfortune paved the way for still greater, and the intire loss of Arguin, which was surprized and taken by the Dutch general and Moors on the 11th of January following.

Next year the French company, still perfiling in their project to regain the possession of Arguin, equipped another squadron, to drive out by fire and sword the Dutch, whole obstinacy and
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a and perseverance were only to be overcome by force. This armament sailed from port L'Orient on the 8th of December 1722, and landed the troops on the island of Arguin, on the 17th of February 1723, when they immediately summoned the governor to surrender, and on his refusal began to batter the fort by sea, to cover their approaches by land. After a variety of operations, and a vigorous fire from several batteries they had erected, the French at last gained possession of the citadels which contained the water of the besieged; but such were the efforts of the garrison to recover them, that the troops were forced to raise the siege with precipitation, and return to their ships, to the utter disgrace of the Sieur Rigaudiere, who conducted the siege, and boasted that the fort could not hold out one day. The Sieur De Brune, who acted in the capacity of commissary, made several strong remonstrances against this measure; but they were ineffectual; the despair of the besieged having inspired them with such courage, as it was suppoed terrible Rigaudiere, and made him glad of quitting the island upon any terms.

b After this the squadron gave up all thoughts of the recovery of Arguin, and the French, changing situations with the Dutch, established themselves at Portendiére, where they rebuilt the fort; nor have we any farther account of their transactions on the island of Arguin, than that, after some abortive attempts of the Sieur De Brune to recover it, Du Caffe at length demolished the fort, which has never since been rebuilt by any European nation. This transaction happened in the year 1725, but is so variously related, that we cannot pretend to give the particulars.

c We shall conclude this section with a short account of the situation of the island and fort, and the time the latter was destroyed. As to the former it is accessible only to small boats, except at the bay, at the bottom of which stood the fort, upon a rugged point of a rock, about four toises in extent on this side. The walls were of strong brick, about 30 feet high, and proportionably thick. That side facing the island was divided into two strong towns, united by a curtain, all of them well mounted with cannon; and the gate in the middle of the curtain defended by a battery, ditch, and drawbridge. With regard to the strength of the garrison, there can be no certain judgment given, though the French believed from the brisk fire they made, that it must have been considerable *.

* Labat, t. i. c. x. xi. xiii. xiv.

S E C T. XIII.

Containing an account of the navigation of the river Senegal; its trade, the different factories established upon it; a description of the island of Senegal, and fort St. Lewis; of the privileges of the French company; with a particular account of the gum trade, &c.

d We come now to the great river Senegal, the source of which is no less disputed, and no better known, than that of Gambie. Some geographers are of opinion, that it rises out of the great lake Mableira, and passes through a course of 1,500 miles, before it discharges itself into the ocean; while others no less obstinately affirm it to be a continuation of the Niger, though neither opinions can be otherwise supported than by conjecture *. As this is a point of but little consequence to the reader, till the voyagers have pushed their discoveries farther, we shall decline entering upon the merits of the dispute, which cannot possibly be decided by what we have to offer; though it may be proper to observe, that one insurmountable difficulty attends the latter opinion: it is that prodigious ridge of mountains that separates the lakes Mableira and Nigris, the Senegal running through or from the former, and the Niger emptying itself in the latter, or passing along westward through it (A).

e Nor is the etymology of the name given this river a point less warmly disputed than its source. By all the Europeans it is called the Senegal, Senega, Zanges, or Zenega; but whence this name is derived, is a question frequently agitated by writers, who have left it just as obscure as they found it. If we may credit Samulus, it was known to the ancients under the name of Asana, or Asanaga, a found not very remote from Zanges. Labat however offers another

* Bolton's maps in Poolethwayte's Com. Dict. t. i. * Labat, t. i. c. 8.

(A) In this manner that excellent geographer, Mr. Bolton, has corrected D'Arville's map of Africa; and yet the concursing opinions of Les Africains, Marmol, Labat, Prevost, and many other moderns, seem to make no dispute, that the Senegal and Niger are undoubtedly the same; or at least, that the former is a branch of the latter. However, if Mr. Bolton has rightly laid down the situation of the above mountains, the opinion of those authors must be absurd.

solution
solution of the difficulty, from what he relates as a fact. When the Europeans first arrived at the mouth of this river, they met with some fishermen, of whom they asked its name; one of the natives imagining they enquired after his own name, replied Senegal, which appellation, though by mistake, the Europeans have ever since applied to the river, with only a very small alteration of sound. Without waiting to examine into the credibility of this report, or how the native should have so nearly understood the meaning of an European language he had never heard, we shall pass to a description of this river as far as known, that being a subject of more utility and certainty.

The river Senegal is doubtless one of the largest rivers of Africa; for, without ascending higher than the lake Benin, (the fact that Europeans have penetrated, at least upon unquestionable authority) it is 800 leagues to the island of Senegal, near the mouth of the river. So cruel, so savage, and so barbarous are the inhabitants, that few people's curiosity is sufficient to carry them through the dangers and fatigues which would necessarily attend such a pursuit; and perhaps the farther discovery is left to those zealous and indefatigable missionaries, to whom the learned already owe so many obligations for the patience, perseverance, and obdurate courage, with which they have prosecuted the interdicts of science, in different parts of the world. Within two leagues of the sea, the river in its course takes a sudden turn to the south, and for the remainder of its passage is divided from the sea only by a natural ridge of sand, sometimes not an hundred toises over from the sea. By this curve which it forms, it prolongs its course for twenty-five leagues farther from north to south, till at length it discharges itself into the ocean, in fifteen degrees thirty minutes north latitude. This great river c it is that separates the countries of the negroes from the Moors of Zara, or the desert, stretching by a number of windings to a prodigious length, from east to west; that is, from the cataracts of Galam, beyond which the French have made no discoveries, to its entrance at Biyert, or Rierert, a short way below the island Senegal.

This vast river is extremely rapid, which is attributed to the space passed through by so large a body of water, confined within so narrow a channel; the mouth of the river being no more than half a league over, and that choked up with sand, called a bar, which makes the passage extremely difficult and dangerous; it requiring, as we have lately seen, the addresses of the most experienced pilots to surmount it, even with small ships. Labat affirms, indeed, that it is not practicable to cross the bar with a vessel drawing above six feet water: but this opinion, if we are not mistaken, has been contradicted by late experience. This bar is doubly dangerous, on account not only of the shallowness of the water at all times, but of the shifting of the bar, and the change of its situation after floods and heavy rains, by which the channels are lost, and new windings requisite to discover them; indeed, the Senegal would be quite shut up, but for one channel of two hundred toises in breadth, and two fathoms depth, which has long kept its situation immovable, amidst the floods and overflows of the river. Labat indeed says, that the bar is sometimes four, sometimes only two, miles below Fort St. Lewis on the island of Senegal; if so, it is difficult to conceive how this channel should retain constantly the same depth and breadth, amidst the frequent shifting of the bank. It is this alone that prevents ships of five or six hundred tons from entering the river, and mooring under the fort; an inconvenience that obliged the French company to keep a vessel constantly at anchor in the channel, to watch the bar, and not to keep an account of the windings. This vessel is manned by free negroes, called lepoets, employed in the service of the company chiefly for their address in swimming. Yet, in spite of their skill and courage, both the vessel and men are frequently lost.

But although the bar be attended with this inconvenience, it is not without nearly equivalent advantages, since to it the fort owes its chief strength and security. It is this, says Labat, that renders Fort St. Lewis impregnable to shipping, and indeed to enemies of every kind, by sea or land; for as this bar changes its situation yearly, sometimes often, without being possibly perceived from the sea, it requires constant practice to discover the channels, the windings, and the proper occasions and feasons for passing, nothing of which can be expected from strangers. Yet after all, however true these facts may be, certain it is, that Fort St. Lewis is now in the hands of the English. The most commodious time of the year for crossing the bar is, from the month of January till August, the winds being then variable, the river smooth, and the bar fixed till the ensuing rainy season; when the prodigious swell of the river, and south west winds, opposed to its rapid course, raise waves of four prodigious a height at the bar, that their clothing relements the shock of mountains, and fo furious, as to dash in pieces the stoutest ship. Labat says, that the worst season is in November and September, the winds then blowing northerly, and absolutely excluding all navigation, even of the smallest boats.

After crossing the bar, you find yourself in a beautiful smooth and gently gliding river, at four fathoms depth, equal to what any part of the world affords. In advancing a league

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a higher, you fee the country on the south side, clothed with a beautiful verdure, the trees in perpetual bloom, the flocks skipping round you everywhere, with all that wantonness inspired by plenty, and a certain cheerfulness in every countenance, the result of the felicity and security they enjoy, than which nothing can form a more agreeable contrast to the dry, sandy, and barren points of land, that first present themselves to skipping. All around lie a great number of islands, all of them pleasantly stocked with trees, fruits, herbage, and birds, but appropriated to no use by the French company (B), except the island of Senegal, on which stands Fort St. Lewis, in the latitude of 16 degrees 5 minutes north, according to Labat, though we take it to be somewhat less. It is situated in the very middle of the river, two, three, or four miles from its entrance, according as the bar happens to shift. Froger, who measured it in 1705, reckons it about 1150 toises in length, from north to south. An engineer who took its dimensions in 1714, agrees with the former mention as to the length, and says, that its breadth at that end towards the bar is no more than 90 toises, at the opposite extremity 180 toises, and 130 in that part where the fort stands. The eastern branch of the river is 380 toises broad, and the western 210, the island itself being only a dry, sandy defert, and barren spot of ground, of no value, but for the very purpose used by the French, who were led to prefer it to the other islands on account of its size. One half of the year it is delitute of water, having neither springs or wells, and the water of the river being too salt for use.

At present there remain of the ancient Fort of St. Lewis but four round towers, which do not stand in a line, but form a kind of obtuse angle, of which the two middle towers are not distant more than forty toises and a half. They are exceedingly well built, in the old taste, and covered with tiles. Formerly they were joined by a curtain, strengthened by pallisadoes, and a covered way and ravelin, beneath which were magazines, and behind some ill-judged bastions, but the greatest security of the fort is its natural situation. The cannon of the fort consisted of thirty pieces of artillery, distributed on different batteries; and the arsenal was well supplied with stores and small arms, but as the company employ no more than 200 men in the fix entellments they have on this coast, the garrison cannot be very numerous, and yet no men are more inconveniently lodged. The fire De Brue, on his taking possession of his office, was atonished to find all the company’s servants lodged without the fort; he immediately made some remonstrances on this head, obtained some satisfaction, but not the execution of a plan he drew out, that would have made the fort equally strong and commodious at a small expense. Besides this, the French have no other fort upon the river but Fort St. Joseph, about ten leagues below the cataract at Govea, though there are a few factories differed up and down in different parts. At Pader, indeed, there is a kind of fort.

To conclude our account of the Coast of Guinea (for so it is called from Cape Blanco, to the Rio Formoja or Benin), the privileges of the French company extend from Cape Blanco, and the island of Arguim, to the Sierra Leone; that is, from 20 degrees 30 minutes, to 9 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, comprehending within this district six forts, besides a few little unfortified factories. These are, Arguim, an island of that name, situated in a bay formed by Cape Blanco; to which may be subjoined the harbour and factory of Portendic, in the territory of Alabandara, the fon of Addi, chief of the Moors of the tribe of Eteraran, three miles north of Portendic. The next is Fort St. Lewis, in the island of Senegal. The third is Fort St. Joseph, above 300 miles up the river Senegal, upon which depends another little fort, called St. Peter’s Fort, standing a few miles father east, and both in the kingdom of Galam. The fourth is Goree, in the island of that name, a few leagues nearer the continent than the Cape de Verds; which, for the excellency of its harbour, the strenth of the fort, and the extent of its commerce, may well be reputed the head entellment of the French company in Africa, although the residence of the director general was usually at Fort St. Lewis. Jual is the fifth, and stands on the coast between Goree and the river Gambie. Labat thinks, that this factory well deserves the expense of fortifying it, as its advantageous situation and extensive traffick would well support the charges of a garrison. The sixth establishment is that at Albreda, in the vicinage of James Fort in the river Gambie. To these we may add the little factories of Jerefa and Bifesa, the first standing on a river of the same name, that falls into the Gambie near Albreda, and the other on the island of Bifesa, both of them capable of great improvement, but at present unfortified and of little consequence.

Various have been the revolutions of the fort of Portendic and Arguim, which have been alternately in the hands of the French, English, Dutch, and Moors; and at length abandoned and destroyed, notwithstanding the great trade carried on by them in guns, ambergris, &c.

(L) It is to short a time since the command of this river fell into the hands of the English, that we speak of it as it stood while the French possessed it; for it is probable, the only charge it has yet undergone is of its masts.
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An account of the gum trade. As the gum trade now carried on by the river Sengal, perhaps, the most considerable branch of the French commerce in Africa, it will not be disagreeable to the reader to have a particular account of this commodity. Although no country could be less inviting than all that tract, from Cape Blanco to the kingdom of Morocco, no coast more inhospitable, defert, sandy, and poor, than that round Arguim and Portenda; yet was it the occasion of infinite contentions among the European nations, who all endeavoured to establish themselves here as the only mart, besides Sengal, of the gum trade, to which the Moors and other Africans all referred with this commodity. This in itself would appear but a trifling branch of trade, though two reasons have contributed to raise its value, and render it very considerable. It is sold by the Moors at a very reasonable price, in proportion to the value it bears in Europe, which circumstance alone would make the trade beneficial, were it not greatly augmented by the extravagant demand for it on account of the silk and other manufactures. This it is, that has excited the emulation of European states, and made the French nation, whose manufactures in this way are perhaps the most considerable, so extremely jealous of the gum trade, and vigilant to monopolize it. Hence it was, that all commercial nations struggled for the possession of such a treasure; that the Dutch expended so large sums in the support of their fort at Arguim; and that after they were chased from thence, they endeavoured to establish themselves to as much advantage at Portendic, and drive this commerce with the three Mouris nations, of which we shall give a short account at the conclusion of this section.

The gum imported to Europe by the French company, or the interlopers, is called Gum Senega, Senegal, Zangia, or Arabic. The latter name it has, because, before the institution of the company, all the gum used in Europe was imported under the name of Gum Arabic; but after they had opened this commerce, the price of the commodity sunk in proportion to the quantity imported, and the gum came to be universally known by the appellation of Gum Senegal (C). Voyagers attribute a number of medicinal virtues to this substance, founding their opinion upon the extraordinary cures the negroes perform with it; but as these have not been consonant to the experience of the best European practitioners, we shall beg leave to omit them. As to its utility in arts and manufactures, every one, who knows how necessary it is to the limner, silk weaver, dyer, and many other artificers, may judge of the importance of the gum trade, and of the policy of our neighbours in monopolizing it.

Labat describes the tree producing this gum, as a species of acacia, small, prickly, full of branches, and clothed with leaves moderately long, extremely narrow, and of a perpetual verdure. It bears a white flower, composed of five leaves forming a kind of cup, but according to other naturalists, of one infundibuliform leaf, and the flowers collected in clusters or little heads. The pistils rise from the bottom of the flower, and at length becomes a pod of three or four inches long, filled with small, round, hard, and black grains, which serve to propagate the species (D). Of this species of gum tree there are three sorts, between the north side of the Niger or Senegal, and Arguim or Cape Blanco (E). The first the natives call Sabel, the second, which is the most considerable, is called Lebian, and the third, Aflatiek; all of them situated in the desert north of the river, and at nearly equal distances from it; that is, about thirty miles from Fort St. Lewis; being separated from each other by a barren space of about ten leagues. Every year produces two crops, if we may so express ourselves, of gum; the first, which is the best, in the month of December, and the other in March. The first tears, drops, or exudations, are the largest, purest, and driest, with every other advantage required in this drug; the other more soft, glutinous, and impure, for reasons extremely obvious.

(C) The bodies which go under the general name of gums, are extremely numerous, and many of them improperly classed under that head, as they appear, upon examination, to be true resinous substances. Most writers still make a difference between the Sengal and Arabic gums, the latter being by them supposed of higher value, but scarce ever found in the shops. It is a concrete substance, exuding from the Egyptian acacia tree, and imported from Turkey in small irregular males or strings, of a pale yellowish colour. The truth however is, that both gums illise from the same tree, and are of directly similar virtues, notwithstanding the Senegal is in larger and less pure males. The single drops are frequently of the bigness of an egg; the surface rough or wrinkled, and less bright than the interior parts. The negroes dissolve it in milk, and in that state make it a principal ingredient in many of their most delicious dishes, and often indeed, feed on it alone. As for us, we are neither perfectly acquainted with the tree that produces it, nor with its medicinal virtues, if it has any, for it is rarely used in the shops; and even the gum Arabic but little prescribed by the best practitioners, the chief consumption being among dyers and other artificers.

(D) If we mistake not, this species of ascsea ought to be classed with the polyandria of Linnaeus, so highly prized for their flowers by the Chinois, which they use in dying that beautiful yellow, that we find bears walking in their fields and flutters; but this we submit to more experienced naturalists.

(E) It is remarkable, that Barbier describes the gum tree as extremely large, and greatly resembling that American tree which the natives call Malpais, and to which our naturalists have given no name.

Barbier’s description de la Guinee, p. 46.
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a The December crop is gathered after the rains have ceased, and the moisture of the earth has rendered the sap more abundant in the trees, which the sun has perfectly concreted and digested, without exhaling the virtues; whereas that in March is procured by making incisions in the trees, they having too little vigour of themselves to produce a crop.

GATHERING the gum in these large forests, is the employment of three different tribes of Moors, the principal of which is called in the Arabic, the tribe of Beteranjo, whose chief is Ali-Bondara, who superintends his people at work, and confines them to the forest of Sabel. Oben is the head of the next tribe, called the tribe of Aítica-Al-Hegi, who confine their rights of gathering gum to the forest of Libian or Hebian; and the chief of the third tribe, or that of Abarbena, is called Baccar, his privileges extending all over the forest of Aflujach, and no farther. We shall speak of these different tribes more particularly in the margin.

The first of these princes exacted a high duty from the Dutch, while they were in possession of a fort at Arguin; and the French still pay customs for the liberty of trading, though it will be difficult to ascertain their amounts, from the long list of articles mentioned in the tariff settled by De Brue in the year 1715 (F). What chiefly regards the reader, is an account of the inhabitants of that vast space lying between the river Senegal and the empire of Morocco, concerning whom we shall endeavour to give him some satisfaction.

(F) Labat gives us a striking picture of the chiefs of these tribes, all of which, he says, are marabouts, or preachers and teachers of the law of Mohammed. To judge by their modest and sedate exterior, by their discourse, which always begins and ends with an invocation to the Supreme Being and his prophets, and by their public conduct, one would set them down for rigid believers and observers of the doctrine they teach, as they are sincere and zealous in the self-denial of even the most trivial enjoyments of life. But says he, when we remove the veil, and penetrate into their private conduct and real sentiments, all is found to be outside and mere hypocrisy, dissimulation, avarice, cruelty, ingratitude, superstition, and ignorance. In vain do you look for any of the moral virtues among them; faith, honour, and a regard to their engagements, they have no idea of. They are a set of Mahommedan pharisees, who look upon external virtue as the means and necessary instrument of secret fraud, drunkenness, and every other vice that can fill the human heart. They have taken infinite pains in making converts to their faith, and their success has been answerable to their diligence, which is not excelled by the Catholic missions in the world; and perhaps with similar views, as appears from the new erected monarchy of the jellafs in Paraguay. One thing however, is extraordinary, that few of the negroes who have once embraced the Mahommedan religion, ever again depart from it, notwithstanding the flattery and dependance in which they are held by the marabouts.

They all acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor of Morocco, in temporals, and many of them acknowledge him as their Khalif, and head in spirituals; though they never go so far as to pay him tribute. But of this we shall have occasion to speak more minutely in the following sections (z).

(z) Labat, t. i. c. 20.

S E C T. XIV.

Containing an account of the desert of Zaara or Sarah, and the country of Bledulgerid; of the Moorish nations that inhabit those countries, and of their manners and trade; with a description of the island of Baffao, its government, religion, and manners of the natives of the people called Balontes; and of the Baffagoe islands.

The country north of Senegal, called Zaara, Sarab, or the Desert (A), is inhabited, according to Las Africanos, by six different Moorish nations or tribes, the Sanagas, Souffagas, Fueras, Lempontes, Barbados, and Levatas, situated along the ocean on the eait, in the order in which we have enumerated them. Sarab or the Desert, and Bledulgerid, extend from the Atlantic ocean to the eait, as far as Ethiopia superior; are supposed to run along parallel to Nigritia, and to lie between the 20th and 28th degrees of north latitude, being bounded by the territories of the empire of Morocco and Barbary on the north, by Ethiopia on the eait, on the south by Nigritia or Negro land, and by the Atlantic ocean on the west. The northern part of this tract, called Bledulgerid in our best maps, is denominated in the charts of voyagers by the name of Guadaltes, and the southern part, called Zaara or Sarab by most geographers, is by mariners called the country of Arguin, and frequently the country of Sanaga or Senegal: 'tis by this variety of names, that such confusion is introduced into the works of the greater number of modern writers and geographers *.

* Vid. Bolton's maps.

(A) According to most geographers, this country is laid down under the general name of the Deserts of Barbary: D'Arviller and Bolton call it the country of Sanaga (1).

(1) See Bolton's maps, annexed to vol. i. of Posthugens's Com. Diat.

§ These
These nations, though sprung from the same origin as the Moors of Barbary, are however distinguished by these as different, and they again consider the merchants of Barbary, that come among them to trade, as quite another people. Notwithstanding this, all European writers confound them, and Labat in particular is guilty of this error, as often as he speaks of them. Spain was conquered by the Arabians, and in progress of time was wrested from them by the Moors of Fez and Morocco; yet do few of the Spanish writers distinguish these two conquests, implying indifferently the terms of Moor and Arab to denominate either people; while others, with still more confusion, call all the followers of Mohammed in Africa by the general name of Moors. The more ancient moderns, however, as well as the Arabic authors, make use of both names to express the different nations, and hardly ever confound them; as may fully be seen in the history of Suraenius, translated by Erpinius, from the Arabic of Elmacines, son of Abujsjers Elamid; and in Gramage's history of Africa, as well as in Leo Africanus, which is a remark we thought worthy of the attention of the reader, as we believe it may have escaped us in our history of the Arabians. In a word, the Arabs of Barbary, who are numerous and distinct from the rest of the inhabitants, have likewise been confounded with them, under the general appellation of Moors, by the greater number of modern writers, who seem to think that there are no Arab nations out of the boundaries of Arabia Proper. But not to dwell on this circumstance, perhaps not very important, we shall observe, that the religion of the Moors of Sarab and Bileadger is Mohammedan, tho' they have neither mosques or any other fixed place of worship. They pray in their tents, and perform their devotions wherever they happen to be, at stated times, after washing themselves with water, or, if that is wanting, rubbing over their bodies with sand, which they look upon as a kind of ablution. Their passion for gain is still however stronger than their devotion; they refuse no fatigue or danger in quest of wealth, but all the fervor of religion cannot oblige the Arabs of the district of Agaoum to undertake the long pilgrimage to Mecca, although they often go to Tombtou, Gage, and Galam, on the business of commerce, from whence they bring prodigious returns of gold. This expedition they undertake in large caravans, loaded in going with furs, cloths, and iron instruments, which they exchange for gold, ivory, musk, bezar, and slaves; making prize of whatever falls in their way, and of friends or foes, who encounter them on the road, provided it be not to trade; like those vessels which exercise at the same time trade and piracy. Sometimes indeed, when they can do it secretly, they seize on the negroes, who come to trade with them, and sell them afterwards to the Europeans, or the Moors of Fez and Morocco.

Between Cape Blanco and the river Senegal there are chiefly three Moorish nations, who acknowledge the sovereignty of no princes, each canton being governed by a kind of chief chosen out of their number, but generally the most wealthy and considerable person of the tribe. Thus the government is a kind of mixed constitution, but favouring more of republican principles, nothing being done without the advice and approbation of a council, and indeed of the whole tribe; whilst the whole body is governed by the joint councils of the three nations, in the same manner as Holland, where each province has its peculiar laws, independent of the will of the States General. These chiefs are commonly marabouts, who are entertained with great respect and veneration by the people, rather from an apprehension of the power of their enchantments and grigris, than from any sentiments of religion.

Among the Arabs, are some of the most beautiful horses on earth; the true breed of Barbary, greatly improved by a mixture of blood with the Arabian kind, which are bought at an extravagant price. They likewise rear a great number of camels, cows, oxen, sheeps and goats; yet, except on feasts and particular occasions, they seldom kill these animals for the use of their tables, eating in their bed of olifresches, antelopes, deer, apes, and sometimes lions, which they kill in the chase. Their oxen and camels are used in transporting their baggage, when the want of forage obliges them to remove their quarters, or they go trading journeys to the kingdoms of Galam, Fez, or Morocco.

The arms employed by them in their wars, which frequently happen among themselves, and in their hunting parties, are the fíbre and dart, which last they throw with great dexterity, seldom missing the object aimed at. They have also a kind of musquets, and holsters or caflipilots, which they buy from the Dutch and French, and renders their limbs contracted from the nitrous quality of the atmosphere. As their workmen are incapable of cleaning and repairing them, their fire arms are but little valued, except as curiosities, and generally neglected for their ancient arms; a circumstance of great advantage to the Europeans, who might find it difficult otherwise to defend themselves against so warlike, roving, and predatory a people (B).


(B) Labat, in speaking of the people that inhabit the country between Cape Blance and Senegal, calls them indifferently Moors and Arabians, not knowing which of these names to fix upon, as they are defended from the
Both Moors and Arabs round Arguin and Senegal are inviolably attached to the customs and manners of their ancestors, if we except a few, who pitch their tents and cabins under the walls of Portendis, either nearer or farther from the sea, as the season and their affairs require. These in many particulars have fallen into the European manners, and are for that reason heartily deplored by the rest of their countrymen. The tents and cabins of this people are all of a conical form, the former being made of the hides of animals, so exactly seamed, as to admit no water in the most rainy season. Labat tells us, their tents are made of a kind of manufactured wool and hair, which is the proper and almost sole employment of their women. But other authors inform us, that all domestic cares are left to them, even that of looking after the camels, laying in wood and water, making bread, and providing victuals for the family; yet notwithstanding this subjection to which they are held, they are beloved, and in other respects tenderly treated, by their husbands (C). However, if the woman be deficient in any essential duty to her husband, she is driven forth out of the houe, and her father, brothers, and other relations, all take part in her quarrel, and resent the indignity done their family, tho' at the same time they receive her but coldly, for having by her imprudence occasioned such a breach among friends. In general, the men look upon it as doing honour to themselves, to clothe their wives genteelly, sparing no expense in making them appear with a lustre becoming their rank; and the profits of trade are usually applied to this purpose; the gold that remains unfold being converted into female ornaments and trinkets.

Their women never appear without a long veil, which covers their face and arms; nor are the Europeans ever to be familiar a footing as to see them uncovered, except by accident. Both men and women are in general well proportioned, of a middling stature, extreme fine features, a beautiful symmetry of face. As the men are much exposed to the sun, their complexion is tawny, but delicate, and it is probable that the women are more fair and beautiful. However this may be, Labat assures us, that they amply compensate any deficiency in complexion by their prudence, economy, and strict fidelity to their nuptial engagements; gallantry being an enjoyment they are intire strangers to; perhaps because the occasions for practising it rarely offer. They not only live alone, but a man turns away his head when he chances to meet a woman, even his own wife, except at the time appointed for the marriage ceremonies. They mutually assist each other in watching the conduct of their wives and daughters, and preventing their escape.

Every man besides the husband from entering their tents. One who is too poor to have separate tents for the women, transacts all business and receives visits at the door in the open air; nor are his nearest friends permitted to sit or converse with his wives in the tent. This is a privilege reserved for their horses, or rather mares, which are preferred on account of their beauty, the advantages of breeding, their tameness, and docility. They lie down in their tents mixed promiscuously with the women and children, their little foals being the playfellows of infants, without ever any accidents ensuing.

The dress both of the Moors and Arabs in this country is extremely simple, consisting chiefly of a robe or caftan of jegre, some woollen stuffs, or blue and white cotton; and sometimes of silk, but rarely. This is no other than a large caftlock, without buttons, tied round the neck, so wide as to fold two or three times about the body, and bound round the waist by a kind of sash, in a manner of the Turks, to which is appended a long knife like a bayonet, and sometimes two. Mr. Adamson says, that the dress both of men and women consists in a large shirt, commonly of black linen, and a paan, with which the women cover their heads and shoulders; the men sometimes rolling it about their heads in imitation of a turban, and sometimes round their middle like a waist-band. Some of the women wear their hair long and flowing, others again tie it up in a knot, but the men in general are negligent of it, suffering it to hang about their ears, itraut or curled as nature intended. All of them wear purfes or pouches of cotton, silk, or fine leather, neatly bordered and ornamented by the women. They wear sandals or rather socks of Morocco leather, which mount to the small of the leg, and their heads are covered with a red bonnet or cap, bordered with white cotton. Above all their cloaths they frequently wear a kind of long loose robe, of white or striped cotton, or rather woollen stuff, which they call kahk, and is extremely becoming and genteel. This robe is adorned with a long pointed hood, that hangs down behind, to the extremity of which hangs a tuft or tassel, by a long string. Many of the poorer are however clothed after the

a Adamson, p. 67.

The latter, and by residence mixed with the former. One general characteristic is however sufficient, since they may be called Moors from their religion, which is the Mahometan.

(C) A late French traveller describes the Mauribj tents, of a conical form, covered with a thick stuff, made of goats and camels hair, impenetrable to the rain. They were ranged in a circular form, each supported by a pole in the middle, and fixed all round with thongs of ox skins, fastened to flakes, about a foot from the ground, something in the manner of our military tents in Europe (2).
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manner of the negroes, that is, with a bit of cloth wrapped round the waist for decency, the a
rest of their bodies, arms, and legs, being naked.

As to the women, they dress differently; a long cotton shift, with long and wide sleeves, large drawers, and a piece of linen or calico, that covers them from head to foot, flowing in e a
an easy manner behind, forms their principal dress. They all wear pendents and ear-rings, rich in proportion to their station and ability; besides which their fingers are loaded with rings, their arms with bracelets, and their legs with chains of brass or copper.

When a number of tents or cabins stand together, serve to form a town or village, in which whole tribes dwell, they call it Adouar, which is generally of a circular form, the tents standing exceeding thick, and in the center an empty space, by way of fold for their cattle. Every side of this encampment is watched by sentinels, to guard against surprizes from robbers or b
wild beasts. On the smallest danger, the sentinels give the alarm, which is soon spread over the camp by the barking of dogs and the noise of different animals, upon which every man able to bear arms stands on his defence, each before his own tent. These Adouars are easily transported from place to place, as neither the Moors or Arabs incumber themselves with a variety of household furniture; nay, indeed, so little, that all the domestic implements of a family are contained in one leathern bag or pack, which is hardly the burden of an ox, or small horse, and easily transported, tent and all, to any distance, on the back of a camel. c

Their common drink is water or milk and whey, and their only bread is cakes made of millet; not that nature has denied them the use of wheat and barley, which grow to great perfection in several parts of the country, but their continual motion from one country to another, and d
dislike to a fixed residence, destroys all taste for agriculture. Were they to sow wheat, other nations might reap it; for no inducement could engage these skilful rovers to continue a whole season in one place, which they would look upon as a highly culpable inactivity, however useful and unnecessary their rambling excursions may be.

When they chance to have a flock of grain, either barley or wheat, they lay it up in deep pits cut out of a rock, so dry that no granary can exceed them for preserving the corn. They call them matamors, and contrive them with abundance of art, the form being such as to cause a constant suction and draught of fresh air through the whole cavern, narrow at the entrance, and gradually enlarging itself as you enter, in proportion to its length, which sometimes is upwards of thirty feet. Certain it is, that the grain will keep sound for several years in these subterraneous forehoughes, the mouths of which they stop up with wood and sand, after the corn is sufficiently dry. e

The Moors have a kind of portable mills, with which they grind their corn in such quantities as they have occasion for; and these they always carry about with them wherever they go. Authors do not particularly describe the form of these mills, but from circumstances we have reason to believe they are no other than two rough flat stones, which by a circular motion of the uppermost grinds the corn lodged between them; a kind of mill stones, extremely common in the Hebrides, and many of the western parts of Scotland; and, indeed, among all nations ignorant of the arts. They eat always with their right hand, the left being wholly appropriated to lefs honourable offices; and instead of knives, spoons, and forks, they use their fingers, with which they form their food in balls, chucking these with great address into their mouths. If a fowl is dressed with rice, they cut it in quarters before it comes to table, to save the necessity of using knives. At their meals they squat on legs down on their hams, sitting crofs legged round a covering of Morocco leather, or mat of palm leaves spread upon the ground, upon which their dishes and plates of copper or ivory are laid; and it is a rule with them never to drink till they are just quitting the table to go and wash, a ceremony that cannot be omitted without the greatest indecency. Two meals a day are the most they ever allow themselves, one in the morning, and another at night; but the women are never permitted to eat with them. Their repasts are short and silent, not a syllable passing till they have washed and returned to the pipe and bottle, or rather coffee, when conversation begins. Although their religion forbids the use of wine and spirits, yet in private they freely quaff brandy, which they f
have from the Europeans, and the juice of the grape, or wines made from palms and other trees, so abundant in many parts of Africa; nay, their very marbuis dipende with the rigour of the law in this respect, when they can do it secretly, and without a breach of decorum; for they regard little more than appearances.

This temperance in meals it probably is that renders the Moors and Arabs of Sarab and Biledugerid absolute strangers to phytic and medicine, so much cultivated by their predecessors. The only dittempers to which they are subject are pleurisy and dysenteries, both which they are said to cure by the application of simples externally and internally. As for the gout, gravel, stone, and a number of other diseases acute and chronic, the effects of luxury and idleness, f
they are utter strangers to them. Barbot indeed says, that such is the wholesome effect of the climate of Sarab and Biledugerid, that the inhabitants live to a great age, without knowing what sickness is, seldom dying before the course of life is confounded with years, and the vital heat
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a heat extinguished from a rigidity of the solids, and diminution of the circulating fluids. With them a man at sixty is in the prime of life, marries and begets children, with all the vigour of a European at thirty; and experience has shown, that the less they are connected with foreigners, and the more strictly they adhere to their primitive manners, the fewer are the maladies and diseases with which they are afflicted. In a word, while they maintain the simplicity of their original frugality and rigid economy, no people on earth are blessed with a more uninterrupted flow of health and spirits.

The passion for fondness which mothers express for their children, would be extremely commendable, were it not carried to a degree of weakness, superstition, and absurdity. They diligently watch to prevent every thing that can possibly injure them, and are so ridiculous in their tenderness, as to imagine, that envious, malignant, or what they call an evil eye, can bring diseases and misfortunes upon them: a notion not peculiar to Moors and Arabs, for we find it prevalent among the vulgar in Spain, Portugal, and even the northern kingdoms, where they use amulets and other preservatives against the effects of a malicious glance. As for the Moors, they know no other charm against an evil eye than their grigris, or certain mysterious passagel transcribed by their marabout from the Alcoran. Boys are circumcised at the age of fourteen years, after which they are at liberty to marry as soon as they can maintain a wife, and, indeed, to purchase her; for here fathers make an estate of a large family of daughters, every one who addresses them making presents to the parents of horses, camels, and horned cattle. The affection of the husband is estimated by his liberality, and the young lady is never delivered over to him, till he has satisfied the parents of his merit, by the extravagance of his presents. If, upon her coming home, he should find his expectations of her beauty and chastity disappointed, he is at liberty to sell her back; but then he must forfeit the presents he has made.

With regard to their funerals, they greatly resemble the ceremonies observed by the negroes on these occasions. No sooner a Moor has breathed his last, than one of his women, or some relation, puts his head in at the door of the tent, and bursts out in a horrible cry; upon which signal, all the women of the Adwar set up a lamentable shriek and dismal yawling, which they utter with all their might, so as to alarm the whole village or camp, upon which all the people assembled round the tent of the deceased, some deploring his loss in moans, and others fingering his prayer in melancholy strains suited to the occasion. From the lively and natural representation of grief they counterfeit, from their assumed melancholy, feigned tears, and unfelt sighs, one would imagine they were all the friends and kindred of the dead corpse that bewailed their loss, and did honour to his memory; yet here it is all mere form, that touches not the heart, and is belittled on all men without distinction of merit. Afterwards the body is washed, properly dressed, and placed on a rising ground to be viewed by all till the grave is dug, after which it is interred with the head elevated a little, the face turned to the east, and the grave covered with large stones, to prevent the corpse from being dug up by wild beasts.

As to the knowledge of the Moors and Arabs of the dead, it is extremely limited, and indeed so scanty, that the marabouts alone are able to read Arabic or any other language, and their learning confined wholly to the Koran and law of Mohammed: the people are, indeed, plunged into the most deplorable and gross ignorance; the more to be pitied, as they seem possessed of a quickness of apprehension, and those talents which rendered their ancestors famous in science. Some of them, however, have a tolerable notion of astronomy, and talk reasonably, nay with the precision of an European scholar, upon the stars, their number, situation, and division into constellations. The clear serene sky in which they live has greatly assisted their observations; an advantage they have improved by a warm imagination and happy memory; however, it must be acknowledged that their system of astronomy is so replete with fable and absurdity, that it is difficult in general to comprehend their meaning. But the knowledge they excel in is, that of their interest, in which particular they are out-done by no people in the universe; for this they will lie, swear, cheat, steal, rob, and sacrifice every human virtue. Yet with all their ignorance and vices, they seem by nature to be formed with liberal sentiments, and a taste for the more polite arts, as their essays in poetry and music, which are by no means contemptible, seem to indicate. Those who are acquainted with the genius of the oriental tongues, from which their is derived, or rather a dialect of the Arabic, have been highly delighted with their songs, accompanied in recitative by a kind of guitar, the instrument in which they take the greatest pleasure. From the description of travellers, it would appear rather to be a true lute, an instrument the best calculated of any, perhaps, to touch the heart, and move the softer passions, by a delicacy of strain and melody not to be imitated, or indeed equalled, in many of its movements.

One would imagine, from the softness and effeminacy of their musick, that this people cannot be extremely warlike, or at least that the general observation on the analogy between

1 Leo & Larat. ubi supra.
the military virtues and the turn for harmony in most people must here fail; and indeed, the Europeans remark, that they have neither made any proficiency in the art of war, or shew any great eagerness to put their skill and courage to the test. However, if we may judge from some of their maxims, they are by no means pusillanimous or cowardly. Can any thing, say they, be more dastardly, than to kill a man before you approach him near enough to be distinguished? In consequence of this opinion, they never attack till they come within the length of their lances, after which they retire to a proper distance, and throw their darts, their lances, or shoot their arrows, with an amazing dexterity. This, however, we mean of their single combats with each other. That they should be ignorant of the military maxims, founded on the use of fire arms, is by no means extraordinary; since they despise them, and look upon them as the weapons of thieves and robbers. Hence possibly it is, that the Europeans have concluded them ignorant in the art of war, because they fight upon different principles from themselves: a way of judging too common among all men, who estimate every thing by a comparison with themselves, in which manner both the merit of actions and ideas are examined. Labat observes, that they fight chiefly on horseback, with short stirrups, by which they are enabled to raise themselves high in the saddle, and strike with the greater force at a considerable distance. They never draw up their cavalry in long lines and extended wings, but in small detached squadrons, by which means they are less liable to be broke or put into confusion, and more easily rallied when such an accident occurs. The agility of their horses, and their own skill in riding, give them great advantages by attacking in all quarters, wheeling off, and returning to the charge, with a dexterity that is really amazing.

We may judge from this, whether the inhabitants of Zaara and Bileduligerid be so ignorant of military discipline as some European travellers affirm, or whether their not taking part in the wars between European nations, does not rather proceed from policy than cowardice. The truth, is, they are too wise to embark themselves needlessly into expensive and hazardous contentions, their interest being to balance nicely between both parties, that no obstructions may arise in their commerce with either. They know well how prejudicial to trade it would be, were there only one European nation established among them, in which case they would be forced to sell their goods at any price that was offered; whereas the jealousy and rivalry between the different traders now raises the price of markets, each trying to gain the preference of the natives, and to pull the commerce so briskly, as to ruin all his competitors. This it was, that made the natives side with the Dutch against the French, when the latter became poached of the forterefs of Arguin, and the former reduced so low, that it was apprehended they would be obliged to abandon the trade. In a word, they seem to have a just idea of the balance of power, a political maxim, by some esteemed ideal, although confirmed by reason, and the practice of every sensible people on the globe, but not spun to the degree of refinement known among the southern kingdoms of Europe.

The Moors and Arabs of this country are in general fond of long journeys, and excursions into remote countries on the business of trade and commerce, in which respect they are indefatigable and undaunted, no hazard being too great where profit is the motive; as these expeditions are undertaken in large bodies or caravans; they make up the deficiencies in trade by theft, robbery, and plunder; seldom returning without rich lading of gold, ivory, gum, ostriches feathers, camels hair, slaves, and other commodities, which they sell to the Europeans, or to the merchants of Fez and Morocco. Such is their hardiness and avarice, that, besides a journey of four or five hundred leagues, they traverse a desert of two hundred miles in length, that affords not a drop of water, except in two places, frequently choked up with sand, and yielding but a small quantity of putrid brackish water, after infinite pains have been taken to clear away the rubbish. As we have given a full account of these commercial expeditions, performed by means of that useful animal the camel, in a former volume, we shall here spare the reader the trouble of a repetition; only adding, that the caravans take their course from the flight of certain birds, who are observed to go and return at stated periods, and by a certain invariable rout, to the inland countries frequented by the Moors and Arabs, the kingdoms of Tombuto, Gago, and Galam. The devout and zealous Mohammedians look upon these birds as guides sent by the prophet to direct them in their journey, and point out the true road they are to pursue, without which they never presume to undertake an expedition of any considerable length and hazard. One would imagine, that, in crossing vast oceans of deferts (for they are subject to storms and tempests like the sea) so sensible a people would rely only upon the experience of more rational pilots; but they find their birds infallible, and prefer them to all other guides (D).

(D) Some authors are of opinion, that these birds are flocks of ostriches; though we do not find, in the best accounts of naturalists, that the ostrich is a bird of passage, that changes his habitation and country at certain seasons of the year. Mr. Adams, in his travels among the desert, observed some of these birds, he had seen among the burning sands, on the north

k Labat, ubi sup.
There have not however been wanting instances, where whole caravans have been buried under mountains of sand, raised by the terrible whirlwinds peculiar to this country, at particular seasons of the year. For this reason, it is, that the birds never attempt a passage cross the sandy deserts but about the solstices, insincent or observation shewing them that tempests are lefs to be apprehended at these times than at the equinoxes. Labat assures us, that the rout the caravans take, and the countries they traverse, are wholly unknown to the Europeans, and concealed with the same care, that the negroes shew in hiding their mines, and probably for the same reasons: a kind of preemption, that the dangers of the journey are considerably aggravated by the policy of the Moors and Arabs, who endeavour to monopolize the whole interior trade. The truth is, curiosity alone can make the Europeans defrivers of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the roads to those distant inland countries, as it could never turn out to the advantage of trade; all the commodities being purchased at lefs expense from the caravans, than they could be brought to the coasts by the most frugal and rigid economy of the Dutch, French, or English merchants.

We shall close this fection with a short view of some islands, too minute to be reckoned among the number of African islands, in a general history, and yet well deserving the notice of Bissau, its capital, of the reader, by reason of the peculiar manners of the inhabitants. Before, we could not describe them, without interrupting the regular geographical course which we proposed. The islands we mean, are Bissau, and a cluster of small islands called the Bissagos, standing close to the continent, a few leagues south-east of the river Gambia, and in the latitude of 11 degrees north. With the former of these, the Portuguese and French began to trade very early, and the latter have still a factory, and the former a fort on the island, both of them very considerable in trade. The Dutch likewise made several attempts to settle here, as they have done in every other part of the world where gain could invite them, but never met with success. It would be unnecessary to enlarge upon the nature of the trade carried on by the Europeans, which differs but little from what we have had frequent occasions to mention, being chiefly with Bawara and the other kingdoms of the continent, south-east of the river Gambia; we shall therefore proceed to a description of the island and its inhabitants. Bissau is about 35 or 40 miles in circumference, having an agreeable prospect on the sea, from which it rises by a gentle ascent on every side, to an eminence in the center of the island; there are, however, a number of hills, inferior in height to that in the middle, and separated by beautiful and fertile valleys, divided by little rivulets, which at the same time augment the richness and elegance of the scene. Except little groves of palms, every inch of the ground is cultivated, and produces a harvest equal to the most sanguine wishes of the husbandman. They have besides, oranges, mangoes, bananas, and every kind of fruit to be found in the warm climates, and perhaps in greater perfection than in any other place. So rich is the soil, that wheat and maize spring up to the size of Indian corn, or rather to resemble a field covered over with reeds or bamboos, to which the islanders add another sort of grain, a species of maize which they make into cakes, and call confins. Here they do not bake their maize into bread, as in other parts of Africa, but toast or boil it like rice, which Labat affirms eats pleasantly with beer. The cattle of Bissau are of an extraordinary size, and seem to bear pace with the extravagant growth of the corn; milk and wine are in the greatest abundance; but it affords no swine or horses, the natives forbidding the former to be imported, and something in the soil or climate rendering it unfit for the increase of the latter, which never thrive here.

Bissau is no less populous than fertile, and would be still more so, but for the perpetually state of war the natives are in with the neighbouring islands and kingdoms on the continent; yet notwithstanding their number, they live in cottages, dispersed up and down the country, without the least vestige of a town, except where the French and Portuguese have establised themselves; nor does the emperor's palace consist of more than a number of irregular huts.

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which have a communication with each other, so as to form one entire whole. In the Portuguese town are about 600 persons, all of whom speak Portuguese, and pretend that they are natives of Portugal, at least descendants, though their complexion is jet black, and their dislike to that nation fixed and ineradicable. The dress of the women consists of a cotton girdle, which falls down so as not to shock decency, and bracelets of glass, coral, and copper; but virgins go entirely naked; and if they happen to be of high quality, their bodies are marked or painted with a variety of hideous pictures of snakes and other reptiles, that gives their skin some resemblance to a flowered fattin. Even the princess royal herself, the eldest daughter of the emperor of Bissao, is only distinguished from the other ladies by the elegance of those paintings, and the richness of her bracelets. As for the men of all ranks, their only covering is a flax fixed behind and before the girdle, and coming between their legs, so as to preserve from the cold.

One very extraordinary ornament they wear; it is a large iron ring, with a flat round surface on the outside, instead of a flote, upon which they ring changes with a bit of iron, in such a manner as to converse with the same facility with their caftanets, as by means of the most polished language. Labat says, that they wear two rings, one on each hand, which they strike against each other, so as to produce those intelligible sounds; a circumstance that shews the clearness of their ideas, and the strength of memory with which they are endowed. Besides this artifical language, which may properly be called instrumetal, they have another vocal language, used upon all common occasions; the former being only spoken by the polite and great.

All the Bissanos are idolaters, nor has commerce made the smallest alteration in their manners, to which they are rigidly attached; but their ideas of religion are so confused, that it would be difficult to enter perfectly into their system. Their chief idol is a little image they call China, of which it would be a hard matter to explain the nature and origin, as its votaries are altogether inconsistent and absurd in their different tenets. Besides this, every man creates a divinity according to his own fancy; trees are held sacred, and, if not adored as gods, they are worshipped as the residence of some divinity.

As to their government, it is despotic, the will of the emperor being the law to his people; of which writers furnish us with an instance commonly practiced in the country, to the great emolument of his imperial majesty. This is no other than a present which one subject makes to the emperor, of the house and estate of his neighbour, upon which the royal officers take immediate possessio. The proprietor dares make no resistance, and is forced to sell about building another, but not before he has obtained leave, tho' himself and family must live in the open air till that is done. (E)

In truth, the means the emperor has in revenging himself, and of keeping his people in a servile subjection, are easier here than in any other country in the world; he has nothing to lose, and yet every thing within his dominions may be said to be his, as his power extends over all men, and all their effects. One day the emperor committed to the Portuguese to guard the body of a slave he had ordered to be hanged for some misdemeanor; an employment which properly belonged to his officers; but nothing could prevail on him to release the Portuguese from this disagreeable office, till they had sent him a living slave in the room of the dead, upon which they were suffered to bury the corpse.

On another occasion, two slaves, who had been sold to the European merchants, made their escape, and were taken by the king's troops. Equity seemed to require they should be restored to their masters; but his imperial majesty gave a different verdict; saying, they had obtained their freedom by having once escaped; that they were retook by his troops, and again reduced to slavery; consequently were the right of the conqueror, a refinement in caitifftry, equal to what the most artful European counsellor could have shewn on the same occasion. One more instance we shall quote of the despoticism of this tyrant. The Sieur La Pond, agent to the French company, had purchased a negro, remarkable for his skill in playing on the balafon, a musical instrument common to many parts of Africa. The fame of this slave reaching the emperor's ears, he expressed a strong desire to have him in the palace, but La Pond could not refuse the price offered him, as he knew the emperor would otherwise take him by force without an equivalent. But the musician soon made his escape from the palace, and returned on board the French ship, to the great surprize of La Pond, who immediately asked the reason why he had run away from his royal master; to which the musician replied, that it was customary at court to sacrifice persons of his profession on the death of the prince, that they might accompany him in the other world; but as he had no

(E) The monarch of Bissao is filled emperor by the majority of writers, and the reason they give is, that the island being divided into seven different provinces, each has its governor, with an authority, power, and splendor, equal to kings. If never, to confirm this remark, it were necessary to know what titles these governors bear in the language of the country, and what titles correspond with them in the European languages; may it even were necessary that perfectly the same ideas should be annexed to the titles emperor and king, in Europe and Bissao.
inclination to leave this life, he chose the service of the white men, who had no such cruel usage among them. However, he was demanded by the emperor, who was not afeared to falsify the verdict he had so lately given in the case of another slave, and moreover to make the Frenchman pay his full price for having received him.

At the emperor's death, all his women and slaves, for whom he shewed the tenderest regard, are sacrificed and buried near their master, in order to attend him in the next world: formerly it was customary to bury alive with him; the late king had but one slave buried with him, and his present majesty seems, says De Brus, inclined wholly to abolish the barbarous custom (F). When the monarch dies his body is placed on a bier of reeds, finely decorated, and supported by four of the chief officers of the court to the grave. When they arrive here, the four noblemen prostrate themselves on their faces upon the ground, and the bier is tossed up several times in the air, till it falls upon one of them; this accident being the signal for elevating him to the royal blood be underlining or extinct.

It does not appear, either from history or the tradition of the people, that this empire has ever been troubled with civil wars or discord, notwithstanding this extraordinary manner of elevating their prince, and the disputes that might naturally arise from it: a circumstance much in honour of the humanity, good sense, and submission of the people to their sovereign; however, they are almost at perpetual war with some of their neighbours, who are ever making depredations upon Bissa, or, in their turn, are invaded by the Biffao. The natives of Biffao, Biafarea, and all the other neighbouring states, are warlike, and fight with extreme bitterness and fury, though with little discipline. As treaties of peace are not so much as known among these nations, they have no kind of intercourse, except in war; so that no sort of public scheme of politics is carried on among them; and, far from offering their mediation, the Europeans find it their interest to foment their quarrels, as war is their harvest, by augmenting the number of slaves. In general, however, their incursions seldom exceed the space of a week, when the hostile army retires, with as many prisoners as they can make; and after doing all possible damage to the enemy, by burning, plundering, and laying all waste, in their retreat. When the Biffao emperor resolves to carry war into the neighbouring territories, he orders the bonbalo to be founded, which is the general signal to arms, on which all persons in the pay of the government assemble themselves at certain head quarters, always fixed and appointed. There they find the royal fleet at anchor, which usually consists of thirty canoes, each carrying thirty men, with all their arms and provisions, under the command of a high admiral; for it is seldom that his imperial majesty puts himself at the head of his fleets or armies. Before the fleet sets sail, sacrifices are made, and heaps of victims offered to the gods, the flesh of which is divided between the court, the priests, and the soldiery. In this conglomeration of the gods the emperor never fails of having a favourable answer, as, the deities being of wood, it is easy for the priests to direct their answers: and hence it is that the army never enters upon a campaign but with the fullest assurances of success, which makes them support hazard and fatigue with the utmost cheerfulness and alacrity. They then make a defence with all possible privacy, surround the enemy's towns and villages, carry off the inhabitants and every thing of value, and then embark before their troops have time to assemble to oppose them. Of this bootless a moiety appertains to the emperor, and the remainder is divided among those who have been on the attack. The slaves are sold to the Europeans, except where any of them happens to be of quality or fortune, in which case he is restored to his friends, on condition that they lend a certain number of slaves in their room.

Upon their return, the heroes of the expedition assume great importance, in consequence of their services; they boast of the feats of prowess which they performed, and go round the country, shewing their wounds, and relating the wonders they had done and seen, with a long train of prisoners behind. Here they do not beat them, as in some other parts; but they oblige them to sing the praises of the conquerors; for which they make them presents of pieces of cloth and other things, which those unhappy persons immediately fell in exchange for palm-wine, their only comfort in their distresses. On the other hand, when the expedition has fallen short of expectation in point of honour and profit, then the prisoners stand the risk of being sacrificed, especially if the Biffao have lost an officer of distinction. Those who fall upon such occasions receive public honours, by dances performed to the music of tabors, by order of the emperor or commander in chief. The women, who are the principal performers in these funeral rites, express their grief in a manner extremely doleful and affecting, pulling their hair, beating their breasts with such violence as to mark their skin all over, and groaning in such pathetic strains as cannot be expressed by words; after which, by way of (F) It is likewise customary that the nobility of the empire have some of their living friends buried with them. Laïat relates an instance, where a father de-

(3) T. v. A. 134, 135.
supporting their spirits, plentiful libations of palm-wine are poured down; when thus recruited, they begin their mourning with redoubled vigour, and continue to shed their tears most plentifully, till the corpse is laid in the grave; after which their countenances brighten, and they seem to forget in an instant how deep they were affected.

To the above remarks of De Brue's we shall adjoin a few observations from an anonymous writer, whose journal we find in the judicious Prescot's collection of travels. The inhabitants of Bissao, whom this author calls Papels, or perhaps Papas, from the dustiness of their complex, are all idolaters and heathens, without any knowledge of the true God. As to the fertility, their number is infinite, and the confusions of being a devout and a man's family, and ruinous to the public, if frequent: for all religion confines in the number and expense of their sacrifices, by which the priests alone are gainers. From what this writer remarks in another place, he gives room to judge that the people called Papas are certain strangers, who have fixed their residence in the country: for his words are, that the Papel men are not fond of intermarrying with the negro women. With regard to the government of the island, he observes, that the power is lodged in the hands of nine governors, who predominate over as many provinces; but eight of them being subordinate to the ninth, which seems to make the emperor less despotic than the relation of De Brue. At the death of the prince, above thirty of his slaves, male and female, are buried with him. together with all his gold, ambergris, silks, and whatever he has of value. The only competitors for the throne are the jeques, whom our author compares to the peers and nobility of France; but we have reason to believe, that the governors of provinces most commonly succede to this honour, as the king's pall is supported by tour of the principal of these, who are indeed generally, but not always, chosen out of the nobility.

The emperor's palace is about a league distant from the point of Bissao, all the road between being constantly filled with the imperial guards, which are very numerous. The emperor never shews himself but he is surrounded by some thousands of his nobility, women, and guards, all of them richly dressed and armed, as far as the skins of beasts, and finely finished scythes, and lances, can make them. Formerly the Portuguese had built a fort in Bissao, which they mounted with eight pieces of cannon, to awe the natives, and prohibit their trading with strangers, or any other foreigners but themselves: however, the Bissaus soon threw off this servitude, and now maintain the full liberty of receiving all strangers into their ports, who come upon business of commerce, where they enjoy a perfect security, under protection of the emperor. But before they are permitted to land, his imperial majesty consults the gods by sacrifices, whether admitting those strangers be for the good of the island, and the interest of himself and people?

When De Brue visited the French factory in Bissao, he was received by the Portuguese governor with the utmost politeness and hospitality; who, on taking leave, put a sealed writing into De Brue's hands, which he defied he would peruse when he got on board ship. This was no other than a remonstrance against the French establishment, which he looked upon as an infringement of the exclusive rights of the Portuguese; but politely avoided all disputes and altercations while the French director had been his guest. De Brue answered this remonstrance by a counter instrumet, written and dated in the road of Bissao, which he took care should not be delivered till he had his audience of leave of the emperor, and was under fail for Senegal. The first founded the rights of the Portuguese upon the exclusive privileges granted them when they first erected their fort; and the latter, upon the revocation of those rights, the privileges newly granted to all strangers of trading hither, and, lastly, upon the prior claim of the French, from their having resided at Bissao some hundred years before; an argument which Mr. De Brue deduced from the French arms painted in the chapel, which had all the appearance of being as antient as the walls of that building. However, both sides offered their arguments with the utmost politeness and respect for each other's character, and resolved to prevent personal wrangling, by leaving the decision of the dispute to the courts of Veritahies.

It is true, that the emperor's kind reception, and the promises he had made to De Brue, considerably strengthened his claim, while they proportionably diminished the weight of what had been advanced by the Portuguese governor; for when the former took his leave at court he was asked, whether he was fully satisfied with the privileges the French factory enjoyed? if not, they should be extended, the emperor said, to the utmost of his wish. Upon which De Brue made the warmest acknowledgements, and a present to the emperor, who seemed highly satisfied. In the factory he left a surgeon, two interpreters, a sufficient number of negro servants, a bark, a brigantine, and a large thallop, with pilots and seamen, arms, provisions, and merchantable goods; and particularly charged the Sieur Cartaing, the superior, to cultivate the friendship of the Portuguese governor, and endeavour to extend their trade, and, lastly, if the Portuguese quitted the island, as was then rumoured, immediately to take possession.
The history of the Interior Countries.

a possession of the fort, in the name of the Senegal Company (P). This was an event which the penetrating De Brue foretold, from the low condition of the trade, could not be very remote; and indeed it did come out, in spite of all the endeavours of Don Roderigo, the governor, who omitted nothing to support the trade that became a diligent and faithful agent.

After the departure of De Brue, Roderigo had taken every measure to engage him to pay the ten per cent. upon all goods sold in the island, which he said was the undisputed right of the Portuguese; but he never could prevail with all his artifice; and a little while after he was recalled, and the fort abandoned: the Portuguese governor of Cacabo representing to the court of Lisbon, that the fort was a charge which the trade of Bissau was unable to support. De Brue lost no time in acquainting his constituents with this transaction, which was transmitted by them to the president Rouillé, ambassador in Portugal. After this De Brue went himself to Lisbon, to join his influence with the ambassadour’s, that the fort might be sold to the Senegal company: but the negociation terminated un sucessfully, and the Portuguese court took a final resolution to demolish it, which was accordingly done in October 1703. This is all that history relates of the manners, laws, government, arts, and commerce of the island of Bissau.

We shall conclude this section with a brief account of the people called Balontes, on the continent opposite to Bissau and of the island of Bolam, properly one, and the only one that merits a description of the Bissege islands. The Balontes inhabit the banks of the river Gvest, the channel of which separates Bissau from the main land. Their territory is about twelve leagues in length, and about as much in breadth, growing, according to some writers, of a square, and, if we credit others, of a circular form. They maintain no correspondence with the other negroes their neighbours, either on the continent or islands; but live entirely wrapped up abstracted in themselves. They refuse to intermarry in the most advantageous manner with the adjacent nations; and though they sometimes travel beyond their own limits, yet will they permit no foreign negroes to pass their frontiers. The religion of the country is idolatry, and the form of government republican, a kind of aristocracy, the state being governed by a few persons chosen out of the elders. No slaves are permitted here; at least, no Balontes can be enslaved by their countrymen; such is their love of freedom, and indeed their disposition feems in every respect correspondent; for they are bold, intrepid, and warlike, as the Portuguese banks paffing the channel and their neighbours often experience, whom they often attack and defeat: but then they are treacherous, crafty, and thievish (Q). In the action they had with a French ship, mentioned in the margin, these negroes behaved with a courage, next in degree to fury, maintaining the action for six hours, till almost their whole fleet was sunk by the cannon, and then retiring with terrible cries and howlings, more terrifying than their arrows, which they shoot with so much dexterity. Their arms are assegays, arrows, and fabres.

It is the general opinion, that the Balontes have gold mines in their country, on account of which they prohibit strangers from coming among them; for they are sensible they would run the hazard of being driven out of their country, or at least reduced to a miserableervitude, if any other nation got footing among them. This conjecture is founded upon the following reasons; and the first is, that the Portuguese settled at Bissau found grains of gold in the flanks of some fowls they purchased of the Balontes: the next, that they pay their tribute to the monarch of Kazamafia in gold: and the third, that their gold is different from that of Galam and Tomba Aura, although they maintain no correspondence with any other countries. As to the first of these reasons, though the French could never discover gold in the gizards of any of the fowls bought of this people (because perhaps they plundered them from their neighbours) yet so firmly did the Portuguese believe the fact, that they assembled a large body of troops at Bissau, in the year 1695, which they landed without opposition in the country of

(Q) In the year 1700, they had the boldness to attack a French brigantine of four guns, and fix fouvois, surounding her with canoes to the number of thirty, and each filled with near forty men. Happily the French observed them time enough to fill their netting with hides, which repelled the first flower of the enemies arrows, who frequently attempted to board them, but were as often repelled by the artillery and small arms (4).
The history of the Interior Countries.

Balonta, for the conquest of the province. It was then the rainy season, and their arms and ammunition were soon rendered useless by the moisture of the air; after which the Balontes attacked them so vigorously with their affagayés and fardés, like men fighting for freedom, property, and all that was dear to them, that they soon routed the Portugese, and forced them to retire, with a considerable loss of men, and of all their ammunition and stores. 

Not far from hence is the island of Bafla, or Bafli, as Labat calls it, about thirty-five leagues in circumference, all covered with trees, and finely watered with brooks and rivulets. The natives are Papoés, with whom it is dangerous trafficking, as nothing can be more treacherous, cruel, and thievish.

South-west of Bafla stand the Bissagoe islands, of which we call Bulam one, though father Labat reckons only under this general name the islands of Cafaunas, La Gallina, Cazegat, b Calachia, Oranguana, and some others of less consideration. From the mouth of the Rio Grande, south-west of the river Gambia to the island of Bulam, is about two leagues. It is about ten leagues in length from east to west, and five in breadth, from north to south, the whole coast bordered with woods, beyond which the country is fertile, rich and beautiful. It is everywhere covered with rice, maize, millet, fruits, and roots, the island is said to be uninhabited, and cultivated by the natives of the other islands, who come hither in feed and harvest, time, returning home for the rest of the year. The ground rises imperceptibly from the shore for the space of two leagues, which presents mariners with a most agreeable prospect, at the same time that it excites their admiration, and even resentment, to see so fine a spot uninhabited. This aspect serves as a base to higher mountains, which stand in the center of the island, covered with fine woods, and divided by beautiful valleys, with so much regularity, that nature would seem to have been improved by art. M. de Bruyé laid a scheme for fixing a French settlement here; but his attention was diverted from the purpose, by the necessity he was under of taking possession of the fort which the Portugese had abandoned in Bissagoe. One commodity it produces, which might certainly be improved greatly to the advantage of navigation: this is a tree called mchery, which grows to a great height, is easily worked, at the same time that it is hard and solid, and particularly adapted to ship building, as it is proof against worms; and the reafon given is, that all its pores are filled with a bitter oil, that probably deters the worms from harbouring in it.

Each of the Bissagoe islands is governed by a chief who takes the state and title of king. All these monarchs are perfectly independent, and frequently at war with each other; yet do they always unite against the Biafarams, the common enemy. They have canoes that carry from twenty-five to forty men, with their provisions and arms, which are fabrics, and bows and arrows. The negroes of these islands are tall, strong, and healthy, though they live only on fish, nuts, and palm oil, chusing rather to fell the rice, millet, and other produce of the earth, to the Europeans, than not to gratify their passion for trinkets and ornaments. In general they are idolaters, cruel and savage in their disposition, not only to strangers but to one another, when they happen to quarrel, as they frequently do about trifles; and, if disappointed of their revenge, will draw on courageously stab themselves. As none of the Bissagoe islands are inhabited by the Europeans, it would not be worth while to dwell upon a minute description of them; and indeed we are too little acquainted with their government and natural history to render such an account entertaining or instructive.

S E C T. XV.

Containing a more minute geographical description of the different kingdoms and provinces of the great countries of Zanaga and Bledulgerid, with the origin and source of the rivers Niger and Senegal; an account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of these nations; their wars, trade, language, and the produce of their respective countries; with some account of their traffic with the nations on the Barbary Coasts in the Mediterranean, by means of their caravans, &c.

Modern geographers have divided almost the whole interior continent of Africa into two great divisions, namely, Upper and Lower Ethiopia; the former of which we have already described in a preceding volume, and as to the latter, its precise limits cannot be determined, on account of the disagreement of authors. The greater number of geographers, however, include within this division all those kingdoms and states from the 9th to the 25th degrees of north latitude, and the 10th and 11th degrees of east and west longitude, from the meridian of London; an immense tract, comprehending an infinity of kingdoms, mountains, rivers,
a rivers, lakes, some of which we have been describing, as well as our imperfect accounts will admit of. Perhaps the most distant boundaries of the Upper and Lower Ethiopia may be marked by the course of the two great rivers, that intersect it at right angles; the Nile running from south to north, and the Niger from east to west, the Lower Ethiopia being contained in the angle made by these two rivers of which the coast is the arc, measuring about fifteen or sixteen degrees (A).

As we have given an account of the kingdoms south of the Niger, which most writers call the Senegal, we shall now begin with a description of those to the northward, and first with a description of the desert of Sarra, Zaara, or Zahara, of which we have already spoken in general terms. This vast inhospitable region, properly called Zahara, or the desert, stretches itself from the Atlantic ocean on the west, to the kingdoms and deserts of Barca and Nubia (on the east), and from Biledulgerid on the north, to Niger-Jita or the river Senegal on the south (B), comprehending a space of about 500 miles in breadth from north to south, and at least 1,500 miles in length from west to east.

The Arabian divide this immense tract of land into three general divisions or classes; viz. Cabel, Zahara, and Afgar; that is, the sandy, stony, and marly deserts, according to the nature of the soil, but the most common division is into provinces, which, according to Marmol and Leo, amount to ten; viz. the two territories of Num, the deserts of Zanaga, or Senegal, Zaaza, Zuenziga, Hayr or Targa, Lempta, Berdoa, Sate, and Abiguebet (C). Other later geographers, with more accuracy, distinguish the deserts into seven provinces only, under which are comprehended all the inferior divisions; and these are Zanaga, Zuenziga, Targa or Hayr, Lempta, or Iguidi, Berdoa, Bornou, and Gaaga.

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An animal called Adimnaim, bred here in great plenty. It is a kind of sheep, about the size of an ass, with long hanging ears. The females have horns, but not the males, and the wool of a

(A) Within this division Marmol, Leo Africanus, Sannus, Doper, and others, include half of Niger-Jita; the Niger dividing it into north and south Niger-Jita, or Nigeraland: the latter comprehending the kingdoms of Mandings, Melli, Koffan, Gualum, Inta, Gagle, and a variety of others, of which we scarcely know the names; and the former those kingdoms bordering on the north of the Niger, and those farther north till we come to Marsere, Fen, Aigiers, Tripoli, Barca, and Egypt.

(B) We declined enlarging minutely upon the geography and different divisions of this country, in order that we might describe the sea-coasts, the European trade, and the manners and trade of the Moors and Arabs of this prodigious tract (1).

(C) Some writers place several of these provinces within the division of Biledulgerid, and describe Zahara between the kingdoms of Gaaga and Gualam (2).

(1) Vide Marmol, l. i. c. dixime. Leo Afric. p. 142.

(2) Vide Cluver. geograph. Afric. gen. Marmol, c. i. p. 28.

Leo Afric. p. 152.
both is soft and fine, but short. So strong is this animal, that it is capable easily of carrying a man for several miles, and so gentle that it never refutes a burden. It is indeed probably the same kind of sheep so frequent in some parts of America, and especially in Peru, which we shall have occasion to describe minutely when we come to that part of our history. One would imagine, from what we have said in this and the last section, that nothing could be superadded to the misery of the inhabitants, whose lot has thrown them upon this barren, sandy, parched, and woeful spot of the globe; yet we find these evils aggravated by the incredible droves of the fiercest animals, lions, tigers, wolves, and other savage devourers of mankind, as well as by those bloody and cruel wars which are perpetually carried on against the unhappy negroes, whom the Moors and Arabs deprive of their liberty, to supply a trade with the kingdoms of Morocco, Fez, and other barbarous and maritime states, extended along the southern coast of the Mediterranean, which the negroes content themselves with butchering, in revenge, all the Zabarians that fall into their hands.

Among the natural curiosities of this tract of land, it would be unpardonable to omit that stupendous bank of sand near Cape Bajadore, on the west of Sarab, which stretches itself along that coast, and against which the sea forms a strong current, that both water and sand are in a continual agitation, mingled together, and throwing up such prodigious waves, that it resembles, as our author expresses it, a boiling caldron of a monstrous fizzle, which spouts up the dirty water to an astonishing and dreadful height, when the wind happens to set against the current. Travellers also make mention of two tombs in the province Alavud, with inscriptions, importing, that the unhappy persons interred there were a wealthy merchant and a poor carrier, both perishing with excessive thirst, after the former had given the latter ten thousand ducats for one cruse of water, which he drank and immediately expired, while the other did not long survive him, to enjoy the fruits of his avarice.

To give the reader the most distinct account of this great tract of country that our materials will admit of, we shall describe the different provinces and deferts into which it is divided, beginning our account with the most western. And first, the province of Zanaga, or Senegal, extends itself from the river of that name, on the south, to the province of Suez, on the north, bounded on the west by the Atlantic ocean, and on the east by the territories of Senam, Sunda, and Zanaza. It contains two deferts, Assa and Togouza, or Taggy, the last of which produces a prodigious quantity of rock salt, which is conveyed hence into all the neighbouring countries, to Nigrita on the south, and the maritime kingdoms on the north: the chief use of it is in the desert being to moisten the mouth, parched with the sultry heat, and preferre the gums against a forborne disorder, to which the natives are subject. The country is incredibly fatiguing and dangerous to travellers, especially if the summer proves dry, as there is scarce a drop of water to be found for thirty leagues together, and that so brackish that it is equally unwholesome and unpalatable. Nor do the cattle fare better, as the earth does not yield a blade of grass, or any thing for their sustenance; which obliges passengers to carry provisions for themselves, and forage for their beasts of burden. Besides, the country is so flat and sandy, without mountains, woods, rivers, lakes, or any mark to take a direction by, that it were next to impossible for the most experienced persons to find their way, but for those droves of birds which we mentioned in the last section, which serve for guides. Yet after all, it is inhabited by a great number of different nations, the Beritches, Ludayers, Duleys, and Zenegi, some of which are so numerous as to raise 10,000, and 20,000 men; besides a variety of Arab tribes, no less numerous, potent, and warlike: nay, more so, as by force and artifice they live chiefly upon the former, and carry off whole droves of cattle, which they exchange at Dara, and other countries, for dates and provisions, the former and milk being their chief food. The Zenegi boast of their nobility and antiquity, like most other poor and obscure nations, priding themselves upon such things which are not worth disputing with them; they even pretend that the kings of Tembuto are descended from them.

The Portuguese first discovered this coast, in the year 1433, when they ventured to double Cape Nun, beyond which they had never gone before that time. Thirty miles beyond, or south of Cape Nun, is Cape Bajadore, where they were forced to stop for some time, because the coast, here which projects about forty leagues, reverberated the sea with so strong a reflux, that it drove them back, the banks of sand, which rose to a great height, terrifying the seamen from keeping close to the shore; and it was unusual in those days to launch far into the ocean. Thirty leagues farther, on the same western coast, is the flat shore called Los Rayos, on account of the great quantity of fish the Portuguese found there: and about twelve leagues

(D) This story we find in Dopper and some other writers; but how it came to be known, that such a bargain was made between the unfortunate sufferers, is difficult to conjecture, as we are not told that they had any companions. What we mentioned it for was on account of the inscription.
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a still farther south, the coast to which they gave the name De los Cavalleros, because there they had landed some fortes. Twelve leagues farther south, the sea forms a kind of channel, which they called the Golden River, or Rio del Or, having received a great quantity of that precious metal here, in exchange for some Moorish prisoners they set at liberty. This was the first gold from this country that had ever been seen in Portugal. About the same distance farther Cape Blanco south, is the bay of Sinita, which leads to the port of Cavalleria; and about thirty leagues further south, Cape Blanco, discovered 44th, lying, as we have said, in nearly the 21st degree of north latitude, the sea falling in more eastward, so as to form a kind of curve to the mouth of the river Senegal. About thirty-five miles farther south Anguina, formerly called in the aggregate the seven rocks, but each distinguished by a particular name; these we have already described, and shall therefore proceed to the next province south of Zanaga.

b Leo and Marmol give this territory the name of Gualata, and the name has been preferred by modern geographers, though they all disagree about its right situtation and boundaries. Gualata has Zanaga on the north, the river Senegal on the south, the provinces of Sunda and Zuenziga on the east, and the Atlantic ocean on the west. The country is poor, sandy, and barren; hath only some considerable villages and great hamlets scattered up and down: corn and flesh are intolerably scarce and dear; the inhabitants, called Benais, rude and unpolished, though civil and courteous enough to those who trade with them; in a word, they are a miserable and despicable people, doomed to a poor, a barbarous, and savage life, in one of the worst soils and climates under heaven. They have neither learning nor laws, though they live by content under the direction and authority of obeys, or chiefs, and in their commerce make use of the Arabic notation. In general, both men and women have a natural language, and modifly, if we may attribute to bashfulness that universal custom of covering their faces with veils. This at least is the reason assigned by Marmol for this practice, which we had rather explain by convenience: experience having taught them to defend their eyes and faces against the sun-beams, reflected with great force by the white sand that covers the face of the whole country. We are told, that formerly they lived under a monarchical government, and had their own elective kings; but how they came to be reduced to their present state of anarchy, history is silent, and indeed there is little more than the assertions of Leo Africanus, in proof that their situation has ever been different. Though they live, according to Dapper, a life perfectly free from the restraint of all government, yet the Portuguese writers affirm, that all these provinces were first subject to the kings of Zanaga, and now the monarch of Tombuto, who however does not pretend to govern them by a vicerey, or to assume any other dominion over them than the execution of a small tribute. During their monarchical state, they had a capital of the same name with the province; at present their chief village, for towns they have none, is called Hoden, which stands, if we may credit Samutus, about six days journey from Cape Blanco, on a different spot from where the old capital Gualata stood, the precise situation of which is not known. Hoden consists of a few cottages, assembled or rather huddled together, without form, method, walls, gates, or any thing that can give it the air of a capital, or indeed of a place inhabited by rational beings. The people are fond of the Zangay or Sangay language; they worship fire; and once a considerable trade had been carried on with the neighbouring provinces, and even with the kingdoms of Morocco and Fez on the north, and all the countries along the Niger on the south and east. The inhabitants of Hoden live better than those of the other parts of the province, having goats, camels, and ollriches in abundance, the eggs of the latter being esteemed the most delicious food; but they are rather more exposed to the devastation of lions, tigers, and other fierce animals, bred in greater numbers here than in almost any other places in Africa.

c As to the province or desert of Zuenziga, it is still, if possible, more dry and barren than either Gualata or Zanaga, and nature would seem to have exerted herself in rendering it the most inhospitable of all countries, and the inhabitants the most wretched of the human kind. The desert of Zuenziga is bounded by the two former provinces on the west, by Trarza and Zanaza on the east, by the river Senegal, or the desert of Chir on the south, and on the north by Sunda and the desert of Coden; their limits however, not being entirely agreed upon by geographers, neither African or European, ancient or modern. All merchants coming from Timbucto to the kingdoms of Tombuto, Agades, or Uzza, and other southern or south-east countries, are obliged to pass through this province in their route, by which we may nearly fix its situation, and the hardships those travellers must undergo in such a journey. We are told indeed, that of large caravans, seldom half the number either of men or beasts ever return, most of them dying of thirst, hunger, fatigue, or under the whirlwinds of sand, with which they are overwhelmed and smothered. This happens more particularly in the deserts of Coden, where, for nine days journey, hardly the smallest brook, fountain, or pool, is to be met with, except

Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.  
Leo Afric. p. 4.  
Aufl.

sup. citat.
it has lately rained; and even then in so scanty a quantity, as scarce to moisten the lips of parched travellers. The inhabitants of this district are partly native Africans, and partly Arabs, between whom Leo and Marmol constantly make a difference; the latter exact a kind of tribute of the Seguemejans, a people of Biledulgird, for some land of theirs, which they cultivate, and there breed an incredible number of cattle, with which they wander for fresh pasture as far as the kingdom of Zgud. They likewise breed a great variety of beautiful horses, and are so expert horsemen and warriors, that they are become formidable to the princes of Barbary, who chiefly study to keep on good terms with those wild Arabs; nor are they less dreaded by the negroes, whose inventive enemies they are; making them prisoners on all occasions, and selling them, as any other commodity, to the people of Fez, Morocco, and other kingdoms of Barbary, in return for which they are treated by the negroes with no more humanity, who b mangle their bodies, and, if we may credit Dapper, boil and eat their prisoners. Both Arabs and Moors, and indeed all the inhabitants of this country, have little other food than milk and dates, which they import in great quantities from Biledulgird b.

North of Zuensiga is the territory of Sunda, and the desert of Cogden, just now described, and Aserud, together with Seram, differing from it in nothing, with respect to the savage disposition of the inhabitants and poverty of the country. In the desert of Aserud, which De Lisle places in 21 degrees 19 minutes north latitude, and 19 longitude, there is, however, a large lake of brackish water, which falls during the three wet months. This alone it is, that renders these deserts more supportable than the preceding.

We next come to the province or desert of Tuarge, Targa, or Hayr; the first of these names being given from the people, the second from the desert itself, and the last from its capital; though Africanus denies, that there is a city in the province, or indeed a village of that name. It must be owned, that nothing can be more dark, perplexed, and defictive, than the accounts which writers give of all this interior part of Africa, where they seem to speak more upon conjecture than authority, and to be obliged rather to a fertile invention than to travel, or the study of the best historians, or rather of the globe and charts. This in general we are assured of, that the province of Targa isless barren, dry, desert, and sultry, than any of the preceding; that it has a variety of good wells for fresh water, deep in the ground; that the sand produces several kinds of culinary vegetables, and some grains; that the climate is wholesome; and that great heaps of manna are gathered here, particularly on the frontiers towards Agades, which the negroes collect in calabashes, and export for sale to the neighbouring kingdoms. They also distil water in the water where they boil their food, and cool it cooling and wholesome, inasmuch that to this they attribute their being more healthy than the inhabitants of Tombatu, although the air and climate are deemed inferior in quality. The Arabs and Barbaras, as they are called by Marmol, drive a great slave-trade with the northern kingdoms, and in this consists their principal wealth k.

South of Targa is the desert of Agades, taking its name from a neighbouring kingdom, of which we shall speak below; and a little farther south stands the kingdom of Massa, which begins to affume the face of a fertile country, producing corn, rice, Turke wheat, coffee in abundance, and even gold, according to some writers. The inhabitants are of a jet black complexion, a hideous aspect, their faces large, flat, and frightful; but tall, straight, and well-formed in their persons. It hath a metropolis of its own name, situated under the twelfth degree of east longitude, and seventeen and a half north latitude. Of late years it hath been subdued by the king of Tombatu, who caused the natural princes to be inhumanly poisoned, and many of his subjects barbarously cut to pieces, after their surrendering at discretion; a custom commonly practised wherever any of the Arabs or Moors fall into the hands of the negroes. Farther south, and lying a great eastward, stand the kingdoms of Guber and Cane, towards the northern banks of the river Senegal, or rather the Niger; for they lie east of the lake Madeira, for some hundred miles (E). Some writers affirm, that the river passes through the middle of these kingdoms, splitting them in southern and northern divisions; which is a little improbable, as every part of each is governed by the same laws, the same monarch, and the same customs; a thing unusual among negroes, who, for the most part, make such a barrier the extreme frontiers of their dominions. The northern division of Cane, runs, we are told, almost 300 miles east of Gage, and is parted from it by a vast desert, totally destitute of water, and forty leagues distant from the Niger. It is surrounded by high mountains, and its villages, which are numerous, are inhabited by shepherds and other herdsmen. It abounds with rice, millet, barley, and pulse, is well stocked with cattle of various kinds and sizes.

b Leo Afric. p. 244. 1 Baudrand, fub hac voca. k Leo Afric. p. 245.

(E) We have re-added an opinion we advanced concerning the Senegal and Niger being the same river, as we have since carefully peudied Mr. Belton's accurate maps, and the best French and Dutch charts. However, that the reader may have the arguments advanced by those of a contrary opinion, we shall subjoin to this fiction Labin's account of the origin of the Niger. hath
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a hath several ingenious artisans, particularly linen and cotton weavers; and in some parts of their drapery resemble the old Romans, especially in the tunics and tunicus, which are directly of the same form. Whence they derived this we are at a loss to conjecture, unless from the Gallat, a nation of the Upper Ethiopia, of which we have spoken in the sixth volume, supposed to be a branch of the ancient Gauls, who might have borrowed it from their conquerors, the Romans. All the fields of the southern Guiber are overflown at the inundation of the Niger, which rinses annually like the Nile; and the natives have the satisfaction of seeing an early and plentiful crop without further trouble. Leo Africanus says, that here is a capital, inhabited by six thousand families, among whom are many rich merchants, who trade to all the kingdoms on the south and north; nay, even as far as the Mediterranean, and the banks of the Red Sea. In this writer's time Isba, king of Tombuto, fled the monarch of Guiber, in a pitched battle, made eunuchs of his sons, kept his court some time in the conquered kingdom, and afterwards governed it by lieutenants or viceroys, who tyrannized over the people, oppressed and impoverished the merchants, nobility, and wealthy part of the nation; which, with the prodigious number of prisoners who were sold for slaves, reduced the kingdom to its present abject condition.

Cano, through which the Niger is supposed likewise to pass, dividing it into southern and Kingdom of northern divisions, or rather, by the deflection the river makes, into two kingdoms, standing east and west, is of prodigious extent, stretching eastward for the space of 500 miles. In the very center of the kingdom stands a city of the same name, in latitude 15° 30', and longitude 12° 10' east of London, which precisely attains the situation of the kingdom. The walls and houses of this capital are built with loam and clay, in a neat and commodious manner: the inhabitants are merchants chiefly; rich, indolent, and hospitable; but, in general, the people are herdsmen and husbandmen, dwelling in villages thickly fired over the face of the country. However, like all the other kingdoms of Lower Ethiopia, it hath its defects and fandy barren spots, though frequently a mountain, beautifully clothed with wood, refreshes the eye, fatigued with to deluge a prospect, and furnishes the weary traveller with a cool draught of pure and wholesome water; a thing more precious than gold in those ill-fated countries. In these woods are likewise great store of citrons, oranges, and wild lemons, most delicious and welcome to the parched peasant; which circumstances set Cano far before all the other kingdoms of Ethiopia that we have yet described, and indeed upon a footing with most of the provinces of Abyssinia and the Higher Ethiopia. The monarch of Cano had formerly been potent and formidable to his neighbours, on account of the large standing armies of horse which he always kept; but he has since been tributary to the kings of Zegreg and Cafena, who were afterwards treacherously slain by Isba, king of Tombuto, a prince the most artful and injurious of his time. He had here instilled himself under the most specious pretences, by a deep policy, into their most intimate confidence, which terminated in their ruin. He then waged war with the king of Cano, whom, after a long siege, he took, and obliging him to marry one of his daughters, reinstated him in the throne, on condition that he should pay into the treasury of Tombuto a third of all his tributes, says Leo Africanus; for the receipt of which e their ambassadors constantly sailed at both courts. From this expression we are at a loss to determine, whether it be meant that a part of the tribute received from other states, or only a third of that paid to the kings of Zegreg and Cafena, be meant. The kingdoms of Cano and Guiber properly belong to Nigritia, or the southern side of the Niger; but as geographers place some part of them on the north, it was thought convenient, for the more complete view of the whole country, to give an account of them here.

On the north side of Senegal, and east of Targa, are the province of Lempta, and desert of Tguida; the former, according to geographers, being the name of the inhabitants, and the latter of the province. In proportion as we go eastward from the sea-coast, the kingdoms of Africa are less known to Europeans; and all that is related of Tguida is, that it is more barren, miserable, and desert, than any of the preceding; that it is more perilous to travellers, not only by the excessive heat of the climate, the scarcity of water, and the sand tornadoes, which frequently bury them alive, but from the savage and brutish ferocity of the people. They are a race of native Africans, who rob, plunder, and destroy all that come in their way; but their rage is more especially levelled against the Guergeli, a nation to the northward, and separating Tguida from Barbary. To this country, which they affirm to have been a province of Tguida, they lay claim, never omitting an opportunity of destroying the inhabitants with the most barbarous fury, as if they would terrify them into a submission; though in fact they take the most effectual measure to fleece and harden them against the yoke of such merciless tyrants. Through this inhospitable region the caravans from Constantinople, and other towns of Algiers and Tunis, to Nigritia, are forced to pass, equally in danger of perishing by thirst,
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Book XXI.

The kingdom of Agades is placed by Leo Africanus and Marmol directly east of this region, though most modern geographers, and particularly Bandrand and De Lisle, describe it as the fourth and fourth east of it, separating the deserts of Libya from the kingdom of Cano. On the east it has the kingdom of Bornou, on the north-east the desert of Lempia and kingdom or province of Tegida, on the south Cano, and is surrounded on the west by the provinces Zapara, Guber, and a large nameless lake, north of the Niger, and joined to it by a river. This province is divided into two districts, the northern, called, on account of its barrens, the Desert, and the southern, prolific in gRails, corn, and cattle. Indeed, nothing can be more opposite than the face of these two districts, the one cloathed with a perpetual verdure, well watered, and moderately cool and temperate; the other sandy, sultry, and the few shrubs and smalls of grasses it puts forth, scorched up and burnt by the sun, whose beams are reflected with such heat, as to be intolerable to the eyes of travellers.

Mr. De Lisle mentions three considerable towns in the fertile division, viz. Agad, the capital of the whole province, Deybir, and Seemana, little inferior in wealth and populousness to the metropolis. He also observes, that jena is produced here in great abundance; in which article and manna confines the principal trade of the natives. The southern inhabitants feed vast droves of cattle of all sizes and denominations; they live in the open country, and, for the convenience of pastoral wander about like the Arabs, from place to place, where they build them houses for the occasion, without regard to order or convenience. Agad, the metropolis, or Abad, as the Arabs call it, stands in a valley between two high mountains, and at the head of a nameless river, that waters the whole southern country through innumerable little streams and rivulets, that either flow to it, or discharge themselves into it, at a short distance from it. The inhabitants are chiefly merchants, and strangers settled there, who have included the town with walls, and built their houses in a manner different from any. There are besides a great number of architects and soldiers, with the prince's guards; for though this monarch is held to be a tributary to the king of Tombouctou, yet he prefers the flane and splendor of a despotic, powerful, and independent prince. He is even said to be dependent on Zzunziga; though we think this improbable, considering the vast deserts which part them, and that a tribe of Arabs in this province affume to themselves the prerogative of depoothing him, whenever they are dissatisfied with his conduct and government. In this we fear La Croix has either indulged his imagination, or mislakes the geography, since we are able to find no authority on which to ground his assertion, though he would seem to be right in his topography, placing it, with Marmol, Africanus, and the French charts, in the latitude of 15 degrees 50 minutes north, and longitude of 12 degrees 36 minutes east.

BERDOA, situated exactly north-east of Agades, is the next province, having Bafo and Barca on the north, Cano and Agades on the south-west, Nubia on the east, and Bornou on the south. This province stretches from the 16th to the 22nd degree of east longitude, and comprehends a space of three parallels, that is, from the 20th to the 27th degree of north latitude, and beyond, if we reckon a dreadful desert, which extends to the 24th degree. The province has taken its name from the capital, which lies directly under the tropic of Cancer, though De Lisle says, that the original name of the inhabitants was Bardouait; and so far from having a fixed metropolis, they have no towns at all, but live in tents, on the plunder of merchants and passengers. He acknowledges indeed, that on the western front, almost under the tropic, there is a town or city called Arcan, near the borders of Lempia, and another farther north, named Rou dan Mhabulat. Under 24° 36′ the same geographer places a third town, which he calls Mederian Ifa: on the north of which are the wells which supply both it and the surrounding country with water. Near the mountains which form the northern barriers between this province and Tripoli, or rather Bafo, stands the town of Kala, where are kept some considerable fairs, whither the merchants from every part of Zaara, or Sarah, the kingdoms on the north and south of the Niger, and the nations bordering upon the Mediterranean sea, with all the wealth of their several countries. This whole northern district is occupied by a people called Leventa or Lebatai, who live mostly in tents, although they have some small towns, called Aida, Din, and Cais, belonging to them. However, what M. De Lisle intends more properly for the province of Berdoa is confined within narrower limits, north of the tropic, containing only five or six villages and three castles. In general the country is dry, barren, and producive of no one commodity that merits a particular description.

With the river Niger on the south, Berdoa on the north, Agades on the west, and Gaog on the east, stands the province or kingdom of Bornou, extending from 12 to 22 degrees of east longitude, and from 17 to 21 degrees of north latitude. The northern part is poor,
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and of a piece with the other provinces of Zara; but all the rest, which is the greater part, is
dwell watered by springs and rivers, that tumble down with a dreadful noise from the mountais,
renders the country prolific in corn, grazs, and fruits, and give a pleasing aspect, the very
reverse of anything we have lately beheld. Both extremes, the eastern and western frontiers,
are inhabited by a people of a roving disposition, who live in tents, have their women, children,
and every thing besides in common, the word property, or any idea equivalent to it, being
utterly unknown; without religion, laws, government, or any degree of subordination; and
from hence they have been suppressed by a famous geographer to be the lineal descendent of
the Caramantes, and this to have been the residence of that people. The eastern and western
frontiers are divided into mountains and valleys, which to the eye of a traveller has a very
agreeable effect, all of them covered with flocks of cattle, fields of rice and millet, and
many of the mountains with wood, fruit trees, and cotton. In hot weather the natives,
who are almost to a man shepherds and husbandmen, go naked, except a short apron before,
which they wear out of regard to modesty; but in the winter they are warmly clothed with
the finest sheepkins, of which they also form their bedcloths; and indeed this is scarce a
sufficient defence against the inclemency of the weather at certain seasons of the year, when
a cold piercing wind blows from the northern mountains, that chills the blood in proportion as
the pores of the body have been opened by the late searching heats. Baudran and Dapper
affirm, that the natives are but a degree superior to brutes in their understanding and manners,
having no names or appellations whereby to distinguish each other, except what they derive
from some personal defect or peculiarity, such as lean, fat, squinting, hump-backed, lame,
scabby, or some such epithet. They do not acquaint us whether to this adjective they
add a noun, as it is highly probable they do; in which case we see not how such a practice
should merit the severe censure passed upon their understanding, as it is not peculiar, but has
been common, in all ages and in all countries of the world. In the towns, it is acknowledged,
that the people are somewhat more polished and refined; and towards the south, it is allowed
on all hands, they have towns and regularly formed societies, though of what particular
nation we know not. Here they are tractable, polite, and hospitable; and a great part of
them artificers and merchants, of all countries and complexions, which has probably occasioned
the improvement of their manners. From this particular, related by the hitherto and geog
ographers quoted in the margin, we learn, that their government is in general monarchical:
for they affirm, that the king is so rich as to have all his household furniture, and even
his stirrups, spurs, and bridles, of solid pure gold: whence we may infer, that either a
great traffic in the precious metal is carried on here with the distant countries, that Bornco
itself produces gold, or at least that some of the neighbouring kingdoms do, from whence
it is imported hither. On the north-west stands the mountain of Tanton, rich in good iron
mines; and on the south flows the Niger, which, after running a great number of leagues
under a long chain of mountains, rears up its head again, and mingles its stream with the
waters of the lake Bornco in its course, from whence it washes the walls of the capital of
this province. To own the truth, we are rather of opinion, that the Niger has its origin
in these mountains, at the same time that this is contrary to the assertions of the African geographers.

Of any of these towns there is very little known, and some writers have gone so far as to
question their existence. Baudran, however, says, that the capital is situated on the northern
bank of the Niger (which even thus high he calls the Senegal), and drives a brisk trade with all
the surrounding countries, being the only place in the whole province that merits the name
of a city, all the rest being open towns or large villages.

We come now to describe the last and most eastern province of the vast desert of Zara or
Sarab, called by the natives and all geographers Gaoga or Koogboga, standing contiguous
on the east to Nubia, and on the north to Egypt, with which we began our history of this quarter
of the globe. Gaoga is bounded on the west by the kingdoms of Bornco and Berdou, on
the north by the part of the latter province, and on the south by the kingdom of Gorham, which,
with Medra to the west, and Gingiro and Majac to the south, are commonly placed in the

1 Leo Afr. p. 245. 2 Cluver. geog. citat. ibid. 3 Baudr. p. 205. Dapper, ibid. 4 Aug.
division of Upper Ethiopia. Leo Africanus says, that Gagea is divided from Gerbus by the Barbalabaid river, which falls into the Nile, or by the Niger; yet it must be acknowledged, that its boundaries are by no means precise, as the Niger has never been traced beyond that chain of mountains east of the lake Barnum, and some geographers doubt the existence of any such river as Barbalabaid. This province is reckoned 160 leagues in length from north to south, and about 160 from east to west, where broadest, extending itself from the 10th to the 20th degree of east longitude, and from the 12th to the 23rd and beyond of north latitude. The chief and only city in the whole kingdom is Gagea, standing on the north side of a lake of the same name, in latitude 15 degrees 40 minutes, and longitude 25 degrees 30 minutes east, which is all we know of either. Some writers, however, mention a city called Kuka, and include it within the limits of this province, though it belongs in fact to the province of Kebar, lying north of it, near the frontiers of Egypt; of which we know nothing, as no travellers have ever penetrated that country so far as to make any considerable discoveries. The kingdom of Gagea is mostly mountainous, the natives rude and illiterate, without clothes, without arts, and every thing but the luxury that distinguishes humanity. They dwell in poor huts, of materials so combustible, that they are frequently set on fire, the flames communicating from hut to hut, till the whole face of the country is burnt up. More probable it is, that they deliberately set fire to their dwellings in removing from one part of the country to another; for we find it difficult to conceive how the fire should spread among the huts by toper and scattered. They feed large herds of cattle, both small and great, which are indeed their principal care and wealth, as well as subsistence.

Once, we are told, they were a free people, but enslaved by a negro, who having murdered his master, a rich merchant, secured his effects, returned to his own country, and there by force of money afflicting a large body of negroes, he began with making incursions into the province of Gagea. In time his troops became more expert and numerous, and he at last was so powerful as to reduce the whole country, the inhabitants having neither arms, courage, nor numbers, to repel him. To this usurper his son succeeded, who, after a reign of forty years, left the crown to his brother Nofes, who, in the year 527, under the papal influence, was taken captive, and the country given to the negroes.

While the general inhabitants of the barren, and sultry desert of Sarab, we shall offer a few observations on the general manners and customs of the inhabitants, that we proceed to a recital of the Niger and Senegal, which we think necessary, for the reader's better information of the country of these rivers. The first is somewhat remarkable, that though the rivers Senegal and Niger only divide this desert from Nigeria (F), and though the wandering and pastoral lives of the inhabitants expose them so much to the vertical rays of the sun, under a climate, perhaps, hotter than the former, yet they are of a complexion bordering more upon white than the negroes, and mostly no more than tawny in their colour, while the others are of a jet black (G). Few or none of them approach either in complexion or features to the negroes, who would seem to be a people totally distinct from theirs, and perhaps the aborigines or primitive inhabitants of Africa, confined by incursions of foreign nations to this tract of land, called by their name Negro-land or Nigritia. Nor do the inhabitants of Sarab differ less from those of the southern countries in their manners, customs, and religious rites, than in their external appearance. The former are all professors of the religion of Mohammedi, a few only excepted, who retain the old Perse rite of paying their worship to fire. Hence it is probable that those various tribes of Arabs, Barbares, &c. are descended from those Saracens and Arabians, who, breaking out of Asia, overran the greater part of northern Africa in the seventh century, as we have particularly mentioned in our history of those nations. Hence we may account for that inbred and inveterate hatred that still reigns between them and the native Africans, those inhuman holteries and butcheries they are ever committing upon each other, of which we have given repeated instances.

In some provinces those Arabs, though much addicted to robbery and pilfering,
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...dering, are industrious, temperate, and abstemious, patient under theft, hunger, fatigue, and other hardships, to which they are daily exposed by the manner of their living, their occupations, the climate, and above all, their long journey through barren deserts in pursuit of wealth. Among some of them, we are told, there are such relics of Christianity, as afford strong presumptions that this religion has once been more general among them, if not the universally received doctrine. Bornou and Gessa, in particular, are said to furnish more authentic vestiges of Christianity than any other province; probably, on account of their vicinity to Abissinia, and the commerce they continually carry on with this empire.

But it is now time we should give a short view of the countries north of the Niger, of which we promised before we closed the section, and entered upon the course of the Senegal and Niger. Already the reader has all the particulars we have been able to collect concerning the kingdoms of Mandingo, Fuli, Fuloff, or Osall, and Kasen, and has frequently seen the kingdom of Tombute mentioned, but without any description of it. With this therefore we shall begin. Tombute is a kingdom of vast extent, situated on both sides the Niger, part of it being that territory which we have supposed, contrary to almost all geographers, separating the rivers Niger and Senegal, or rather those two great lakes into the eastward of which the Niger enters, and from the westward the Senegal flows. In the following manner we find it laid down by the best geographers. It has Ghenee or Ghebennan and Galetia on the west, Zuenziga and Guber on the north, Bita and Dauma on the east; however, as all these countries are but little known to Europeans, and hardly penetrable since the time of Marmel and Leo Africamus, it cannot be expected we should be answerable for the accuracy of their descriptions: all we pretend is to follow the most approved, after comparing all.

The name Tombute is probably of modern date, and Leo alleges, that it was so called from the name of a town whole situation is now unknown, built by king Menje Sultan, in the year 610 of the Hегира. We are told, in general terms, that this town stood within twelve miles of a branch of the Niger; and if the present town Tombute be the same, it lies in the latitude of fourteen degrees thirty two minutes, and longitude of two degrees twenty five minutes east from London, about fifty five leagues to the north of the lake Mabeira. In this town and the surrounding country, the houses are built of a bell form, and composed of hurdles, plastered with a hard loam, covered with rushes; but there is one lately lodge, the walls of which are composed of stone and lime. The royal palace is also built with the same materials, of a finer design, and upon a model fished out and executed by an excellent artist of Granada, driven hither when the Moors were expelled that country. Besides these two buildings, there are some others of good workmanship; but in general, the houses are such as we have mentioned, a kind of conical hamlets.

Tombute is filled with weavers of cotton; and mechanicks are here more affluently cultivated than in any other part of this division of Africa; and likewise the European cloths are brought from Barbary, and often from the coast of Guinea. Of these markets are held, and public fairs, to which all the women resort with their faces covered, except servant maids, who dress food. The inhabitants of Tombute, and especially strangers residing in the city, are so rich, that the king thinks it not unworthy of the royal blood to be connected with them; an instance of which happened in the time of Leo Africamus, one of the princes having publicly married a merchant; such in this place is the dignity of wealth, and such their regard for commerce. The same writer adds, that soon after, another prince was given in marriage to a stranger, who had acquired great riches by trade.

No kingdom in Guinea is better watered with wells, natural springs, and canals drawn from Tombute the Niger, than Tombute. This makes it fertile in all kind of grain, gams, cattle, milk, butter, and sweet water; every convenience of life besides salt, which they have by land-carriage from Tegaza, distant about 500 miles, and so highly valued, that Leo gave a camel load of this commodity for 80 ducats.

The rich king of Tombute has in his possession a prodigious quantity of gold plate, scepters, and other badges of royalty, some of which weigh 1300 ounces of pure gold; and the whole court eat out of golden vessels, silver or any other metal being hardly ever used. In traveling, he rides upon a camel, richly caparisoned, all the furniture shinning with burnished gold, and one of his great officers leading his horse after him. In war also he rides upon a camel, but all his soldiers are mounted upon horses. In addressing him, the most profound respect is paid; and all persons approaching the throne must prostrate themselves upon the ground, take up the duff, and sprinkle it over their head and shoulders; a ceremony that is particularly observed by persons who never had this honour before, and by foreign ambassadors. His general retinue and guards consist of 3000 horsemen, all well armed with poisoned arrows and darts, besides a number of foot, who wear shields and swords. He often levies in...
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The envy of this monarch to the Jews is so great, that he has strictly prohibited them to enter the city, and laid a heavy penalty on all the Barbary merchants who trade with them. From whence this fixed hatred proceeds authors have not told us; though, considering the effects in which merchants are held, it is probable, that his avarice arose from those frauds and sullier practices in commerce, for which this despised unhappy people have been noted in all ages and countries. His taste for science and literature appears from the great numbers of doctors, judges, and priests, whom he liberally maintains in the capital, at a great expense, furnishing them with all the eafe and conveniences of study they can defire; and hence it is, that the human understanding has made a considerable progress in this country, considering the unenlightened condition of all the surrounding nations, and the little attention they have received from the more refined Europeans. Manuscripts from Barbary are brought hither, and sold at the most valuable merchandise; and, indeed, there are traders who have amassed immense riches by confining themselves wholly to this literary traffic, which the monarch encourages with the spirit, the taste, and the generosity of a prince. However, after all it must be owned, that learning has been of so late date, that hitherto its influence is only perceptible about the court, and has not yet extended itself visibly over the general manners of the people, of whom it can at most be said, that they are mild and gentle in their disposition, frugal in their economy, industrious in their occupations, and cheerful in the hours of relaxation, which they devote to fishing, dancing, and festivity.

The currency used in commerce at Tombuto consists of gold bars, and certain shells they are supposed to have from Persia, though by what route we know not. They use in lesser bars, and in all cafes where a smaller standard or medium of value is requisite, four hundred of them being worth a ducat, and fix bars of their gold, with about two thirds of a bar, equivalent to an ounce. What surpasses a speculative mind, is the facility with which all barbarous commercial nations, who understand not arithmetic as a science, combine their ideas of numbers, and perform the most difficult operations and abstruse calculations, in stating shares, proportions, and other circumstancies of trade, by the sufficiency of their memory alone. From hence one would be led to conclude, that they are possessed of a greater quickness of mind in those objects upon which they exercise the understanding: and that, though lef inven- tory, they are more expert in every point that requires not creative genius; in a word, that the understanding is limited to few ideas, but these understood with a precision proportioned to their smaller number, like blind perfonns, who have all the other sensves rendered more acute by the loss of light.

The Tombutans maintain a great number of slaves, which is the highest mark of pomp and pageantry among them. Their carclenela is frequently the cause of the most dreadful calamities, the whole town being often in flames by accidents, occasioned by their means; for the houses, built of so combustible materials as wadings, catch fire upon the most trivial accident, and the very sparks from their pipes of tobacco. When Loe Africanus went the second time to Tombuto, half the town was burnt to ashes in the space of five hours. Without the suburbs, the fame author remarks, the Tombutans have neither gardens, orchards, or hardly any kind of pulp, so that the markets are supplied from places more remote; but he does not acquaint us with the reasons for so extraordinary a conduct.

About twelve miles from Tombuto, to the south, stands Cabra, a large town, built in the same manner as the former, without walls, and situated on the banks of the Niger, which serves it for a defence on one side. From hence the merchants trading to the little kingdom of Oenonas, and powerful monarchy of Melli, go by water to the lake Timess, then crossing over the Jibnum, that separates this from the lake Mafeira, they again take water to the country of the Foulis, and thence by land-carriage to Melli. The people are here inferior in the refinement of their manners, but not in the innate qualities of their minds, to the inhabitants of the capital. Here is a judge appointed by the king to decide all controversies; and such is the justice of his verdict, that there never has been an instance of an appeal to the throne; which indeed might prove fatal to the magistrate, as bribery and corruption in public proceedings are.

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* La Croix, t. ii. p. 357, & seq. 
* Aufl. citat. ibid.

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a reputed crimes of the blackest complexion. The inhabitants of Cabra however, labour under some severe physical calamities; among these may be reckoned, as the worst, the variety of diseases to which they are liable, proceeding, as it is imagined, from the heterogeneous qualities of their food, usually composed of a variety of milk, fish, flesh, butter, oil, and wine.

To the above relation of Leo Africanus and Barreia, we shall add what farther information M. De Brue has from the Mandingas merchants. From thence he learnt that the town of Tombuto, or as he calls it Tombutes, does not stand upon the Niger, but within land; that in going thither they followed the southern bank of the river, for several days journey; and that having left it, they continued their journey for five days more. We leave it to the reader to reconcile a topography so different from that of Leo, who describes Bonaera upon the river, and but twelve leagues distant from Tombuto. The following is the route they take; from Kamu, about seven miles below the caraffa of Felu, the left village when the river is navigable to Gaia, are five days journey: from Gaia to Baiagne one; from thence to Connoen one; thence to Iaenha one; from this place to Boranaja two; thence to Couray two; from this stage to Galama one, and thence to Timby, or the great lake of that name, and then across a mountainous country. Here they left the river, and pursuing their march east-south-east (H), they arrived in five days at Tombuto; a journey which we thought might afford the reader in comprehending more distinctly the geography of the country, and the course of the rivers. Thus we see, that the thirty-two days journey being reckoned at ten leagues each day, will make the distance between the caraffa of Felu and the capital of Tombuto, about 320 leagues. They added, that there came every year to Tombuto a large caravan of white men, who exchanged a vast quantity of the merchandise of the nations bordering on the Mediterranean, as well as those purchased of the Europeans, for the produce of Tombuto, and particularly gold, found in prodigious quantities in this kingdom. Thee were in all probability the Moors from Barbary, who might well be esteemed white men, when compared with the jet black inhabitants of Tombuto. From this relation we see the futility of that opinion, which supposes that a regular trade is carried on from the Mediterranean, by the nations of Barbary and Sarab into Nigrīita, and even to the Gold, Slave, and Tooth Coasts. For it is obvious from hence, that only one caravan crosses the Niger, and that even that comes no farther than Tombuto, the most northern nation of all Negroiland.

When M. de Brue was in Tripoli, he frequently saw caravans set out from thence, to a country lying southward, which they gave out to be Fafian, though it is highly probable their designation was rather to Tombuto; and our reason for this conjecture is, that they spent fifty days in the journey, which could not be to Fafian, distant only 180 leagues from Tripoli. Another reason is, the affluence of the Mandingos merchants who have been at Tombuto, and allege, that, besides the gold that country affords, there is often gold brought from the country of Zanfora; and that the merchants, who bring it from thence, employ fifty days in their journey thither; but there is no such time required in travelling from Zanfora to Fafian, the distance not exceeding 200 leagues. From hence we have all the probability that the caravans of Tripoli go to Tombuto; and thence towns being 450 leagues further, the journey may be easily supposed to employ fifty days. These caravans consist generally of about a thousand men, mounted on horses and camels, all of them well armed and accoutred, so that they have nothing to fear from the attack of robbers or wild beasts. Besides the fifty days allowed for travel, there are several more consumed in refreshing themselves and cattle, exhausted with the fatigue of so long a journey; and these halts are made in the most fertile and pleasant valleys they meet with, during their stay, in which they solace themselves with every form of mirth, dancing, fisting, and a variety of games. The merchandise they carry is in general the same as the Europeans lend to Galams and the interior kingdoms, confining of black, green, yellow, white, or red fowls or cloths, but more of red than of any other colour, the whole amounting in value to twenty thousand crowns. To the same amount they send glasses, beads and toys, imported to Tripoli from Venice and other European ports. Coral work is exported by the caravans to the amount of twelve thousand crowns: paper, copper barons, and other such goods, to the value of ten thousand crowns; so that the whole flock in trade of a caravan is worth, at prime cost, to the Tripolitans, about sixty thousand crowns; from whence we may deduce the total of their profit on the flock they procure in exchange at Tombuto, which consists of three thousand quintals of dates, fold at Tripoli for two crowns a quintal; twelve hundred quintals of Sena, worth on their return about fifteen crowns per quintal; ostrich feathers to the amount of fifteen thousand crowns.


(11) So we find it in Labat, though we must either attribute the word Justice to an error of the press, or to the Mandingos merchants miscalculating the points of the compass. Their course must have been north east; for in going south, they must have crossed the river, and entered the delta of Sarab.

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eight hundred or a thousand slaves, worth fifty crowns a head; and lastly a thousand marks of gold, which article alone amounts to an hundred thousand crowns. In a word, these articles amount together at Tripoli to an hundred and seventy-nine thousand crowns; which, after deducting the prime cost of their goods sold in exchange, leaves a profit of one hundred and seventeen thousand crowns; from which we must deduct the expenses of the journey, computed at ten thousand crowns. Such is the prodigous profit arising, according to Father Labat, upon this trade, which he thinks might be immediately carried on at a much less expense by the Europeans, by means of the Senegal; several attempts towards which were made by the enterprising Sieur De Brus, but all of them unsuccessful; nor does it indeed appear practicable to any besides the natives, who alone can endure the hardships and fatigues necessarily met with in such a journey or voyage.

Next to Tombuto eastward stands the kingdom of Bita, having Gubér and Zanfara on the

north, from which it is separated by the Niger, Dauma on the south, and Temian on the
call. The capital city has, according to Dapper, the same name, and stands in the latitude
of nine degrees ten minutes north; which must certainly be an error, as in this case it
must be situated in Guinea. The truth is, we are wholly unacquainted with its true
situation, or whether it lies in fact any such town exists, as we find it mentioned by Africanus and Marmol. De Lisle says in general terms, that the inhabitants of this kingdom are rich; a fact which he must have ascertained upon conjecture, as there are no authentic accounts of it ever published.

Still farther east than Bita stands the province of Temian, bounded on the north by the

Niger, and province of Cano, on the east-south-east by Bornou and Medra, and by Bibera
on the south (1). The inhabitants are said to be anthropophagi, their teeth, says Dapper,
reflembling those of dogs; in short, authors describe them in every respect similar to a
nation we before mentioned inhabiting the Ivory Coast, or lying between that and the Malaguet
Coast.

Medra or Medra province, has for its frontiers on the west Bibera and Temian, Bornou on the north, and on the south the mountains that separate it from Benin and Majac.

Dauma.

Next to this stands Dauma or Dobomey, having Gaaga and Tombuto on the west, Bita on
the north, Bibera on the east, and the mountains of Guinea on the south. Of this people
we have spoken sufficiently, towards the conclusion of the maritime kingdoms of Wbidab and
Ardrab, conquered by this warlike monarch.

Goram.

Next in order comes Goram or Gorbam, with Medra on the west, Gaaga on the north,
Abissinia on the east, and a ridge of high mountains on the south.

Kingdom of

Bibera.

Lastly, the kingdom of Bibera, the most populous and potent of any state in Nigritia,
except Benin, Tombuto, Mandingo, and Oualef; has Dauma and part of Gaaga on the west,
Bita and Temian on the north, Medra on the east, and on the south the desert of Sib; with a ridge of mountains that part it from the kingdom of Benin. This is all that is known of it; and so little acquainted are the moderns with this interior continent of Africa, that we have been able to do little more than lay down the geography with all the precision we are able, by comparing modern charts and maps, with the description of Leo Africanus and Marmol.

Directly south of Bibera stands the desert of Sib, with Benin on the south, separating it
from the southern ocean, Medra on the east, and Gaaga on the west; close to which stand
the deserts of Sen, which, though distinguished by separate names, form one barren, sandy expanse of territory. We may indeed say, that the whole country south of the Niger, with Tombuto on the west, and Ethiopia or Abissinia on the east, is one vast desert, now and then parted by a petty kingdom, equally contemptible for its poverty and small extent. If it be otherwise, it contradicts the sentiments of all writers, and indeed those reasons deduced by analogy from the situation of the neighbouring kingdoms, which begin to put on an appearance of barrenness the nearer they approach this division.

Having now run over that multiplicity of nations that inhabit the lands on both sides the
Niger, we shall, previous to our description of Bieldelgerid, trace the course of the rivers
Senegal and Niger, that the reader may see Labat's reasons, as well as those of Africanus and Marmol, for calling them one and the same river, or the former no more than a continuation of the latter.


(1) This Bibera is different from a small kingdom of that name, extending along the sea coast south-south-east of the river Gambia, of which we have spoken in our account of the islands of Bissi, Bissi, and Elaha.

"* THAT
a "That the Niger, Ngir, Ngiris, or Ngiris, is the same river with that we now call the Senegal or Zangoa, is now," says father Labat, "agreed on by all hands: but that it is only a branch of the Nile, springing from that source, and taking a different course from it, as Ludolph and others imagine, is still much disputed." This the Arabic geographer Labat, graphers affirm to a man, though contrary to reason, to the testimony of the best modern geographers, and to common sense, supported only by arguments as base and preposterous, as they are fabulous. It is indeed impossible to say how the Nile should be any means be connected with the Niger, as their courses are altogether different, and separated by that prodigious ridge of mountains that separate Abyssinia from the kingdoms of Bornu and Goage, without we have recourse to Labat's argument for the junction of the Niger and Senegal, that it runs by a subterraneous passage under these mountains, a fact that may be ascribed, but scarcely credited.

As to the Niger, the Europeans have been able to trace it only part of its course, beyond which they know nothing more than what they learn from the Mandinga merchants, who, of all the negroes, are the most addicted to trafficking and travelling. However, it is apparent, that they are neither expert in their observations, nor have they gone far enough to judge, whether the Senegal and Niger be one river, since they acknowledge never to have been higher towards the source of either than the lake Madeira, which is little more than half way to the Nile, supposing them to be derived from that source.

Other writers following Labat have stretched the course of the Niger back eastward, quite to the lake Bornou, under the 18th degree of north latitude, and 10th of east longitude, fixing its spring head there, it being impossible, they say, to trace it further, on account of the difficulties and dangers arising from the barrenness of the country, the ferocity of the inhabitants, and the multiplicity of wild beasts, which are the chief rulers of all this district. Some other geographers, unsupported by all authority, have placed its source in another lake, near an hundred leagues to the north-east of Bornou. This they call the Niger lake, and affirm, that the river derives its name from it, and takes a south-west course, till it falls into the lake Bornou, after which it continues its course to the lake Madeira, and so to the Atlantic ocean. Should we expect solid proofs, founded on the observations of persons of credit and experience, in support of these conjectures, we should find ourselves disappointed. This made the Nabian geographer and Ludolphus affirm, that it was actually a continuation of the Nile; a conjecture they believed in some measure supported by its etymology. Pliny seems to have led the way to this notion, by his inference collected from the analogy between their water in taste and colour, and the flags, reeds, fish, and other animals common to them both; and yet perhaps he too has borrowed this false reasoning from some older philospher than himself.

How the Romans came to have any idea of the source of this river, when the country was wholly unknown, is what we will not pretend to decide. Their account of it was the following. There are two rivers in Africa, which both have the name Nile, and spring from the same fountain, in the 16th degree of north latitude, in the country of Ethiopia. This source lies at the foot of the Mountain of the Moon, where there spring ten fountains, which form two lakes. Out of each of these lakes flow three rivers, which joining their streams form a third large lake, which forms the Niger and Nile, and affords them a perpetual fund of water. The birth of these rivers is called Nile Mer, or river of Egypt, and the other Nile Sandun, or river of the Negroes, which last runs westward, and discharges itself in the dark or gloomy sea, that is, in the Atlantic ocean, for to the Arabs it is called. The word Nile was probably derived from the Hebrew, Nebel or Nabul, as we have already observed, signifying a river, a term emphatically applied to this river by way of pre-eminence. In other parts of the sacred writings, it is called Sibor or Sibor, which signifies black, muddy, or troubled, and answers in some measure, as our author thinks, to the name Niger or Ngiris, as well as the muddy nature of both rivers. Hence, they imagine, they might both have been called Sibor or Nebel Sibor, the Black River, though the Niger alone has preferred that name, from its running thro' the country of the blacks. This seems further confirmed, Leo believes, by what the Egyptian scribe told Herodotus, that there were two mountains with peaked tops, called Crophi and Mobi, and situated between the cities of Tycis in Thebas and Elephantina; and that from the middle of the valley between these mountains spring up the inexhaustible source and head of the Nile, one part of whose stream ran northward to Egypt, and the other southward towards Ethiopia.

All the above vague reasoning has been refuted judiciously by father Labat, who has himself adopted other notions equally base, and unsupported by authentic vouchers. The rivers Niger and Senegal he affirms to be the same, though he has brought no arguments in proof of this assertion, which we think highly improbable, for the reasons already mentioned; however, as this affects not his description, as far as its course has been traced, we shall extract the following relation: [Note: Further text is not transcribed.]
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relation from him, as a supplement to what we have before said upon this subject. "The "Senegal," says he, "is a large and considerable river, and of prodigious extent in its course, even though we should not trace its source beyond the lake Bornou. But if we suppose it to spring from the same origin as the Nile, it will then almost cross the whole continent of "Africa, where it is of the greatest extent, and will have a course of near fifty degrees from east to west, exclusive of its windings. The entrance to it is difficult, on account of its "bar, sandy hoals, and several islands that in a manner block it up." For the space of five or six leagues from its mouth its sandy bed is interrupted by one, or more, small islands, covered with fruit trees, and refreshed with water; for like the Nile it overflows its banks annually, leaving a slime and mud behind that greatly enriches the ground. Its inundation happens about the same time as that of the Nile, and arises from the same cause, viz. the great rains that fall between the tropics, and last from the beginning of "June to the end of September, sometimes without intermission, and so violent, that those who are unacquainted with them, would reasonably expect that a second deluge threatened to destroy mankind. These rains the inhabitants foresee time enough to provide against them, by shutting themselves up in their huts, flapping every crevice that admits water, making provision of fire, brandy, tobacco, and other things to correct the unwholesome damps which would otherwise prove mortal. The earth having been incrusted for the space of eight months, with the thick and dry earth left by the last inundation, the violence of the rains which dissolves this cover, and gives free vent to the vapours so long pent up, must necessarily occasion a fetid no less fatal than disagreeable, and intolerably nauseous. At the same time all manner of reptiles and insects are produced in this fith, toads, frogs, serpents, vipers, and the whole hissing tribe. Violent and impetuous winds frequently arise during the rainy season, that sometimes overturn the little cabins of the natives, in spite of all the precautions they are able to take; and these are rendered still more horrible by the prodigious flashes of lightning and claps of thunder, that render the scene more tremendous, though they are thought to be useful in purging the air of its gross exhalations. During all this season, the Senegal is navigable in all the way from the sea to the first cataract by ships of burthen; and they are asphyxiated in their voyage by a brisk, wefery wind, that drives them on against the stream with great rapidity. It here branches out into a number of other rivers of a smaller size, ditches, ponds, and lakes, which have no other waters than what they derive from this source. The most considerable of the lakes are, Kayor and Panierfoul, besides a great number of others of a lesser size, which swell during the inundation to such a height as to resemble seas.

Till November, the waters continue without decrease or diminution, when they begin to fall off every day, and by the 8th of December are sunk at least five feet at the rocks of Senegal, and so continue shrinking till they are reduced to their primitive state, and leave the ground overspread with a treachery of fecundity.

As the Senegal receives a great number of considerable rivers in its course, which swell it so high, as to make it navigable at all times by ships of forty or fifty tons burthen, it likewise splits itself into a variety of streams, which are again re-united to it, and form before their junction a number of large islands, well filled with towns, villages, and inhabitants, some of which are erected into potent monarchies, guarded on all sides by a deep river. It likewise forms several noble rivers, which in their course receive different names, such as the Sanguirai, that breaks from the Senegal a little below Ouestfour, and, after a south-west course for the space of fifty or sixty leagues, joins itself to another river, when the mingled waters of both take the name Gios. This again branches out into a third stream, called Little Bruck, and rejoins it at Gouden, after having first formed a number of small islands.

The most remarkable island formed by these rivers is, Beguo or Bifecho, a kingdom greatly repected for the number of its people, towns, and greatness of its trade. This island stands between the great stream and the branch of its name, otherwise called Coreu river. It is about thirty-five leagues in length, and twelve or fifteen broad, intersected with a great number of small streams or canals, which give it the appearance of a group of small islands, covered with palm and other fruit trees. This island reaches, says Labat, almost to the mouth of the great river; and above it is another, called Morphil, taking its name from the river that incloses it, and is no less than eighty miles in length, and only parted in the middle by a natural canal of about five miles, which joins the rivers Morphil and Senegal. Notwithstanding its vast length, the island of Morphil, where it is broadest, does not exceed eight or ten leagues over, and in most places not more than five or six. It is well peopled and filled with villages, the inhabitants of which trade considerably in ivory, which the negroes call Morphil, and from whence the island, or at least the river, took its name. Adjoining to that, and only parted by a canal, is situated another island, called by the inhabitants Baius, about thirty leagues long, and five or six broad. It is rich and populous, the inhabitants cultivating the ground with
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with great care, but commerce with still more attention, as in this they place their chief wealth. The commodities they deal in are ivory, gold dust, or flatted plates of pure gold, of different sizes and shapes, used by the women for ornaments, and sold by the men to the Europeans, as often as they can lay hands on them. Labat says, that the islands of Morphil and Balbus belong to the kingdom of Foulis, though we have reason to believe that they are each of them independent states, under princes who pay no tribute, and acknowledge no superior. The princes, nobility, and people, are all civil and obliging to strangers, happy in themselves, affiliduous in procuring property, which they are in no danger of losing, under so mild, so just, and so equitable a government as this is said to be. Besides the population and fertility of the islands, they are rich in medicinal herbs, fruits, roots, and a number of other productions valuable to the natives, but too indifferently described by voyagers, and entirely omitted by a late excellent French naturalist. They likewise breed great variety of cattle and other animals, fowls in abundance, besides plenty of cotton, which they manufacture and sell to a considerable advantage.

About four or five leagues east of Balbus, is a small island called Sudel, belonging, as we have before remarked, to the French Senegal company. This therefore, with what we have mentioned in general when we treated of the commerce of this river, will suffice for the islands formed by it, and the branches flowing from it.

The Senegal, like the Nile, has several considerable cataracts, the most noted of which are those of the rock called Fela, and that of Gouina. The first of these is almost perpendicular, and about sixty yards high, the stream growing narrower before it reaches this precipice, being pent in between two rocky mountains, and here rushing down with a force and noise no less astonishing than dreadful, into a large baion or reservoir, from whence it flows in a smooth gentle stream in the usual course. It would indeed appear to have forced its way through the mountains above Fela, as it passes them with incredible rapidity; and the inundation season carries away great parts of the rock, which it tumbles down the cataract in a manner terrifying to the spectator. That of Gouina is still louder and more beautiful, as the cascade is higher, and the water beautifully spread in a continued smooth crystal surface, that exhales a mist upon which the sun beams play, and are reflected in all the colours of the rainbow. There could not indeed be a more pleasing scene than is represented by this cataract, did not the horror of the noise in some measure diminish the satisfaction of the beholder, and strike him with terror, where he would otherwise be absoled in pleasing admiration.

We have frequently taken notice of two great lakes, either formed by the Nger and Senegal, of its lake, or, as we think more probable, giving origin to those rivers; besides which, there are several others actually formed by them, by means of rivers that branch out, and then terminate in a lake (K). Madeira lies under the 12th degree of north latitude, and second of east longitude, on the western mouth of which is seated the city Tumbi, though this may more properly be called another lake. That of Bornou lies under the 16th degree of north latitude, and 10th of east longitude, in the kingdom of Bornou, and near the capital of that name. The lake which the French call Panierfoulis, near the mouth of the Senegal and the kingdom of Foulis, is but small, and of an oval figure, about five leagues in length from north to south, and three in breadth, the mouth of the river connecting it with the Senegal, being almost blocked up on the south end by an island. At the time of the inundation, this lake, like that of Kayar, resembles an ocean more than a fresh water lake; but when that subsides, it links into its primitive littlenees, when compared with some of the other lakes. All the sands round it are rich and prolific in corn, roots, fruits, and roots, being strongly manured by the ooze and mud left by the drained waters; and this authors produce as a reason why good tobacco grows here, though we never before knew that a wet rich soil was proper for raising that plant. Near Panierfoulis is a large wood of ebony, which the natives call Jolem Boin; of this wood great quantities are hewn down and let drive in rivers down the river, where it is sold cheap to the Europeans. As to the lake Kayar, we shall only add to what we have related, that it floods about 50 leagues from the mouth of the river Senegal, and is joined to it by a canal which the Europeans endeavoured to render navigable; but such is the indolence of the natives, and the number of rushes and weeds that choke up the passage, that we may well despair of ever seeing this work accomplished, though nothing could more facilitate the trade into the adjacent countries, or lessen the price of commodities brought from thence by an expensive and tedious land carriage, thro' difficult and hazardous roads.

To conclude this account of Senegal, we shall add, that the Europeans, as well as the natives, have, for a series of years, obliterated the bad consequences of a dry season in Ethiopia,
and those parts where the Senegal and Niger are supposed to have their origin; for if they fail of overflowing in the usual manner, the country on both sides is that year rendered barren, and the inhabitants starved for want of the necessaries of life. Neither grain, grafts, or fruits are produced, and cattle as well as men are afflicted with famine and pestilence, the latter either in consequence of the former, or of a change in the air, charged with gross vapours, exhaled by the fulsome heat of the sun, and not purified by the high winds and rains that always accompany an inundation. On the other hand, when it overflows regularly, they are no less perplexed and afflicted with swarms of vermin, engendered in the mud, and the flights of gathoppers that daunt the field: they eat up the produce of the earth before it comes to maturity. Thus are the unhappy natives tormented on the one hand by a drought, and on the other by a wet season; and yet experience has never dictated to them the foresight of establishing granaries in a fertile year to guard against the inconvenience of bad seasons. Locusts in particular are, as we observed from Adamson, the pests of all those countries, tho' the natives turn this calamity to the best advantage, by using them for food instead of the grain they destroy. But it is time we should hasten to Biledulgerid, and not fatigue the reader with dry geographical descriptions of the countries, the inhabitants of which are almost entire strangers to us, in civil policy, government, religion, customs, and every thing besides the complexion.

Biledulgerid, or the ancient Numidia, we have seen described in our ancient history; but as the moderns all agree that its limits have been greatly contracted, we shall endeavour to determine its boundaries by the most accurate maps. To the Romans it was known by the name of Numidia, and was then divided into two large provinces, whose inhabitants were distinguished into Maftilans and Mafilyans, the former situated to the eastward, and the latter farther west. Both were in friendship with the Romans, till they found means to fall upon Jugurtha, whom Catius Marius defeated and made prisoner, at which time they feiz'd upon Numidia, though they did not erect it into provinces before the usurpation of Julius Caesar. Then Masflians alone was called Numidia, and Masfilyans included under it, by the name of Minoritania Caesarienit. It is not our business to recapitulate in this place the particulars regarding this subjection, division, and the boundaries affixed to each province. We should indeed be contented, could we inconsiderably settle the limits of the modern Numidia, which are variously adjusted by almost all the authors we have perused. There was, it must be owned, an universal confusion in all their maps and writings, before the geography of M. De Lisle appeared, who first began to reduce it to its natural boundaries, by divesting it of a number of provinces, which he, with great accuracy, and upon better authority, places under other divisions. It was before a huge chaos of kingdoms jumbled together, without order, connection, or the smallest ray of reason; now it is reduced to moderate limits, and made to fill up that space that separates the deserts on the north of Sarab from Barbary.

According to the older geographers, Biledulgerid, or the Land of Dates, was one of the general provinces into which the whole continent of Africa was divided; and Biledulgerid Proper appears, in fact, to be only a small part of what was comprehended under that general name, to which they added no less than seven provinces, a variety of towns and cities, upon no better foundation than the vast extent they have given it, especially from east to west, that is, from the frontiers of Egypt quite to the Atlantic ocean; or, according to their calculation, 2,500 miles. Nor were its boundaries on the north and south, though much more moderate, less wild and erroneous; for they made Mount Atlas the frontier between Biledulgerid and Barbary, on the north; and the deserts of Libya and Sarab its southern limits. This the reader may see from the maps and descriptions of Leo, Marmol, Sanfor, Tillemont, and Baudrand, who seem to have copied each other's errors implicitly; and they again to be followed with the same blind ignorance, faith, and indulgence, by most late geographers, particularly Moll and Salmon. A little attention to the above authors would have shown them such a contrariety of sentiments, not so much with each other as with themselves, as would sufficiently destroy the weight of their authority, and convince a judicious reader, that he must either think for himself, or ever remain in obscurity and error, with respect to the situation of this large district (L).

Leo Africanus, who is much more distinct than Marmol or his translators, has plainly contracted the dimensions of Biledulgerid on the east and west sides, throwing off a number of provinces, which Baudrand upon his pretended authority joins to it. A circumstance of which we thought it necessary to apprise the reader, in apology for our differing so greatly on the subject of countries, as well as on that of towns and cities. The attachment of this province to Africa has been greatly augmented by their copiers, who would seem either not to understand the originals, or at least not to have explained them according to their own inclinations.
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a with late geomorphers in considerable repute, if we may be allowed to judge from the number of editions of their works which have passed.

According to Moll and some other late geomorphers Biledulgerid comprehends the following eight large tracts or provinces; viz. Barca, to be described elsewhere, Biledulgerid Proper, Segelmsja, Tsafet, Tisgarin, Zeb, Darka, and Taffet, besides a number of inferior ones, which they mention under the names of Queela, Ffissan, and Gudamis, &c. De Lisle, &c. Le Lorrain, however, more justly confines it to the province properly called Biledulgerid, that space of land lying south of Tantis, and, strictly speaking, only a part of it, separated by a ridge of mountains only, while the form of government is nearly the same. This province is almost of a square form, and extends itself more than eighty leagues every way, or from 28 degrees 30 minutes, to 32 50 minutes north latitude; and from 5 degrees 30 minutes, to 11 degrees 30 minutes east longitude. It is bounded on the east by a ridge of lofty mountains, which divide it from the kingdom of Tripoli and part of Gudamis, on the west by the countries of Zeb and Mezeh, on the south by the province of Vergbeta, and this is all that can with propriety be comprehended within the strict limits of Biledulgerid, though it be usual to include all those provinces which we have called its frontiers.

The whole country of Biledulgerid is sandy, barren, and mountainous, producing little or no suffucence but dates, which grow here in such profusion, that the face of half the province is covered over with trees bearing this fruit. The climate is hot and unhealthy; the people lean, swarthy, and shrivelled in their complexions, with their eyes inflamed, owing to the reflection of the sun beams from the white hard soil, and the showers of dust and sand driven by the high winds, that blow here at certain seasons, so violently as frequently to bury men and cattle under heaps of sand. Another inconvenience with which they are afflicted, for which no reason has been given, besides the eating of dates, is an inveterate scurvy generally in the gums, whence their whole teeth drop out, tho' it frequently spreads over their whole bodies, by which they become the most unhappy, pitiable, and loathsome of all objects. In other respects the natives are vigorous, healthy, and sound, living to a good old age, without sickness or disease; though it is observaensible, that they discover a sunburnt countenance, shrivelled skin, hoary locks, and other concomitants of old age, very early in life, and before infirmity, decrepitude, or any decay of their faculties, begin to appear. The plague, that pest of Barbary, is not known, and scarce ever heard of in Biledulgerid, notwithstanding the contiguity of the countries, and the constant intercourse of the inhabitants at all seasons; whence one would be induced to believe that this terrible disease is less infectious than it has usually been reported. The same may be said of the small-pox, a disease no less contagious and fatal in hot countries than the plague itself.

As to the character of the natives of Biledulgerid, they are represented as a lewd, treacherous, thievish and savage people, that delight in murder, blood, and rapine. They are motly, as we before mentioned, a mixture of old Afri cans and wild Arabs, who mingled themselves with them; the former living with more regularity and civil order in a kind of villages composed of a number of little huts; the latter in tents, ranging from place to place in quest of food and plunder. In the whole country, besides Tensar and Tofena, on the frontiers of Tantis and Caffa, there is not a town worth mentioning; and those are placed by some geomorphers within the limits of Tantis. It is no less delitute of rivers, there being scarce a single stream in all this large territory that merits notice, or that is not dried up half the year.

The Arabs, who pride themselves upon their superiority of birth and talents over the primitive inhabitants, are wholly independent and free, frequently hiring themselves in the service of neighbouring princes at war, from which policy arise their most valuable branches of the public revenue, if anything can be called common or public, in a nation of lawless rovers; the fell pursuit of other occupations besides hunting and plundering, the thirst of which is one of their noblest divotions, especially orich hunting, which in this country are said to be of a prodigious stature, and as high as a man mounted upon a tall horse. We have elsewhere given an account of the manner in which these animals are hunted, killed, and drest for food, by the Arabians, in their own proper country; nor do they apply them less to use here. They eat their flesh, barter their feathers for corn, pufte, and other things they want, use their hearts in their necromantic and religious rites, their fat or oil as a medicine of prime virtue, and use their talons for ear-pendants and other ornaments, and their skins they convert into pouches and knappacks, so that not a part of the animal is left unemployed in some useful purpose. Besides dates and oriches, the Arabs live likewise upon the flesh of goats and camels, drinking either the liquor or broth in which that flesh is boiled, or the milk of their camels; for they seldom taste water, that element being more rare than milk itself, at least what is fit

to be used, it being in general brackish and unwholesome, producing a great variety of chronic a disease? (A).

The Arabs have some horses which they use in the chase, upon which occasion persons of better fashion are attended by their slaves of the negro kind, and the rest by their women, no less obsequious than the horses themselves, looking after their horses, and performing all the most servile and laborious offices. They have likewise schools, to which all the boys of distinction are sent, to be instructed in that kind of knowledge fashionable in the country, and raised from thence to the high dignities of cadiis and marabouts, judges or priests, in proportion to their genius, and the proficiency they have made in their studies. It is true, indeed, that learning is here at the lowest ebb; it consisting wholly in acquiring a dexterity and flight of hand, by which they may be enabled to juggle and cheat the people by holy artifice, the marabouts being more properly conjurers, than the teachers and professors of morality, or any kind of religion. Some indeed dedicate themselves to poetry, for which all the natives of this country, like the Etrurians, shew a very early propensity and genius; nor is it uncommon to see a person rise to the highest distinctions, by means of this talent, which they sometimes carry to an amazing pitch of sublimity and sweetness, considering the rude ignorance of the people in general. Their invention is surprizingly fertile; nor can any thing exceed their talent in weaving in the keenest fatales, the most affecting elegies, and the warmest exhortations, in their fables and parables, in which kind they especially excel. There are others among them who pursue the mechanic arts; but in general the people despise them as mean, servile, and infinitely below the dignity of their birth, which is a privilege for idleness and poverty; where any of them think it worth while to cultivate the earth, this employment they leave to their wives and slaves.  

The Arabs have so dispersed and spread themselves over all the countries, acquired such a superiority over the original inhabitants, and exerted it with such insolence and tyranny, that the native Africans have been forced to retire more towards Negroland, and leave them to range at liberty in this. Some of them wander from one end to the other, with their herds of cattle, without acknowledging a superior; others have their particular chezks, or chiefs; and a third sort are either tributary or subject, some to the Turks, who possess some parts of Numidia, others to other states, as particularly those towards the west, to Fes and Morocco. They are professors of the doctrine of Mahomet; but equally negligent in acquiring a competent knowledge of its tenets, and in practising the little they do know. Indeed their religion, if it deserves that name, seems to be a mixture of the Pagan, Jewish, and Mahometan, of which they neither have, nor are deficient of having, any distinct ideas, which might only be clogging their conduct with what they esteem an unnecessary restraint.  

As to the city of Tefara, which we have placed with De La Jalle within the limits of Biledalgerid, we have the following account by Marmel. It was built, he says, by the Romans, upon the banks of a fine river, that flows down from some of the mountains on the south, and was fortified with high walls, the ruins of which are still to be seen; however, it would appear to be beyond the true limits of Biledalgerid Proper, which De La Jalle describes without one single river. It contained, according to Marmel, five thousand families; but appears, from its remains, to have been much more populous. The Mahometans, when they entered this country, plundered and destroyed the city, on account of the obdurate resistance made to their conquerors by all the inhabitants of this large province. Thus all its noble structures were demolished, and have lain ever since in their ruins, the present buildings consisting of low and mean huts, in the fashion of the country, though the people are said to be wealthy in money and dates. Here they hold fairs at certain feasons, to which the merchants of all the surrounding countries resort, and bring a prodigious influx of wealth into the place. Through the center of this town runs the river, by which the Arabs and Africains are separated, each of them possessing a certain quarter, the one to the south, the other to the north, and enjoying different immunities and privileges, though all are the inhabitants of the same city. Nay, they are at continual war with each other, and incursions are made from one division into the other, with all the rapine and animosity that can be imagined in the breasts of savages, to widely different in manners and customs. Both indeed frequently refuse to acknowledge the Tunsie government, and unite to repel all endeavours used to reduce them to submission; agreeing in this alone, to preserve their freedom, and not bend the neck to foreigners, while they are using every possible measure to ruin and enslave each other. In a word, the general character of the Arabs is, to suffer all kinds of danger and hardships, rather than yield to the yoke of a foreign go-

9 Marmel, p. 28, 29, 30. t. i.  
1 Vide Anc. citat. ibid.  
2 La Croix, relat. univers. de l’Afrique, t. ii. l. iii.

(A) It is probable, that the bad quality of the water of this country contributes not a little to the malignancy and frequency of that fatal disease, and habit we have mentioned.
a vennment. To conclude, this city stands upon the confines of Tuns, in the latitude of two degrees twenty-eight minutes north, and longitude of ten degrees twenty-six minutes east; and, though by many geographers placed within the kingdom of Tuns, is in fact a part of Biledagarid.

Capsa is another famed Roman city, formerly encircled by strong walls, towers, and bastions; but taken and demolished by Occuba, a famous Arab general, of whom we before gave an account. This city is likewise placed erroneously by a number of geographers within the boundaries of Tuns. The walls of the citadel are still remaining, as monuments of the ancient glory and strength of Capsa, twenty-four fathoms in height and five thick, built of large square stones, which have now acquired the solidity and firmness of a rock. The walls of the town were rebuilt by the inhabitants since their first demolition, but were afterwards destroyed by Jasch Almazar, who sent a governor and troops into the province. In Marmol’s time Capsa was very populous, abounding with finely mades and other fortresses, of superb and regular workmanship; but at present it is occupied by a poor indigent people, fleeced and oppressed by the Tunsie government. In the very center of the city stands an inclosed fountain, which supplies the town at the same time with water, and a bath of fine cool element. The adjacent country abounds with citrons, palms, olives, and other fruits, but the climate and inhabitants are unhealthy; to which writers attribute the pellagra and diarrhoea of the latter. Both men and women dress handsomely, except their feet, which they cover with coarse shoes of bungling workmanship, and made of the rough thongs of wild beasts, equally inconvenient and unbecoming. As to the situation of Capsa, authors are disagreeed; but the most probable is, that it stands in the latitude of thirty-three degrees fifteen minutes north, and in the east longitude of nine degrees three minutes, thirty leagues from Tenfira.

That nothing may be given the reader ample satisfaction concerning a country of the whole, imperfectly known, we will not confine him entirely to our own ideas of it, but gratify him with a description of the various provinces included within the general name of Biledagarid by other writers. First stands the province of Sus, or Souz, bounded on the east by the ocean, on the south by Libya, or the deserts of Sarab, on the east by the province of Dara, and on the north by the province of Sus in Barbary, says La Croix, as if there were two contiguous tribes.

Next, eastward, is situated the province of Dara, which, according to La Croix and only province of this name, that discharges itself into the Mediterranean sea, and encloses a great part of that country called Mauritania Cefariensis. On the north it is separated from Morocco by the greater Atlas, on the west it hath the provinces of Sus and Gezula, on the east Siegels, and on the south the deserts of Sarab or Libya, being in all about an hundred leagues in length. This province contains a number of castles, forts, and strong holds, situated on the banks of the Dara. One of the chief towns is Benifahid, or Muihab, after which the traveller falls in with Sus, a town about two miles from the river, well defenced by walls, and fortified by a citadel. Next occurs the little town of Tesarin, with its citadel; and about twenty leagues from Sustessa stands Gajambe, famous for the birth of their Cherifs. Tuzura and Margala, are also cities situated upon the river Dara; the former so large as to contain four thousand houses, a castle, and above four hundred families, Tuzula, the largest town of the whole province of Dara, stands twelve leagues from Faragula, and is a place of great extent, fortified by a strong citadel and walls. Besides a number of lesser places, La Croix makes mention of Tinerguit, as one of the chief places, situated on the confines of Gezula, and containing within its walls about three thousand fires, besides two hundred families inhabiting the suburbs.

The province of Dara, like all the other provinces of this country, is in general barren, though some of parts of it are capable and do produce grain, especially after the river has overflowed its banks, and enriched the adjacent fields with its fertile mud. However, the whole province does not afford sufficient nourishment for the inhabitants; whence they exchange their dates at Fez for corn and other necessaries of life. Most of the people are of a very dark complexion, few of them browning upon white; a circumstance that is attributed to their alloys themselves so frequently with the negroes, and intermingling their blood. Their women are reckoned handsonse; but inclinable to a gross habit. Their disposition is sweet, and the

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1 Marmol, and Leo Afric. ubi supra.

(B) La Croix places Carys, which he calls Cepa, according to this situation, it could not be in Biledagarid under forty degrees of east longitude, and twenty-seven degrees and ten minutes north latitude; but, as

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(8) Vid. t ii. p. 330.
with les of the savages than is to be found among most females of this country. In general, all the inhabitants of Dara acknowledge the sovereignty of the emperor of Morocco, though they are governed by their own Cheyks.

**Next**... the provinces of Tophilet and Yata, which we shall describe under their proper heads hereafter; though they are here placed by La Croix among the provinces of Bleda"lgerid.

**The province of Segelmeffa** is watered by the river Zis, and extends from the frights near Gherjulein to the limits of Sarab, north and south, and from Dara to Jelfel on the west and east. Its metropolis, of the same name, is washed by the Zis. It was formerly powerful; and one fee by the vellages of its walls that they had been high, beautiful, and strong. But on occasion of troubles the inhabitants deserted it, and retired to the surrounding villages. However, Gramay affirms, that it was peopled in the year 1518; tho' for this we have no other authority. La Croix says, that along the banks of Zis there are three hundred and fifty walled towns, besides a great number of villages: whence we may conclude, that this province must be exceedingly populous. The same author adds, that the method of living here, and the general manners of the people, differ in nothing from what we have described; that the heat produces a great number of scorpions and serpents; that in the summer the natives are always troubled with inflammations and defluxions of the eyes; that they are ignorant, credulous, and superstitious, to a degree of absurdity.

**Along the river Zis stands the province of Quanzg, or Quanana.** Between Fez and Segelmeffa it has several considerable fortresses, of which the chief is Zebel, situated on a high inaccessible rock, whose summit is hidden among the clouds. It is indeed an epitome of the country, than which nothing more bare, barren, rocky, and desert can be imagined.

**South of Quanana lies the provinces of Metagara and Retel,** filled with towns, villages, and other marks of their being well inhabited and wealthy. The chief town of the former is called Helela, where resides a Cheyk, who draws 30,000 ducats yearly from duties imposed upon merchandize brought thither. Nor is the province of Retel less populous; but the people are covetous, and much addicted to thieving, at least such of them as serve the Arabs in quality of slaves: a vice they may possibly have learned under less experienced masters.

**The province of Tegda has three cities, and a number of villages; but is less populous and wealthy than the preceding.** It is divided into the four following districts, Farcella, Tegda, Tezarin, and Banigami; all of them inhabited by different nations, independent on each other, and yet connected by a certain political tie in one interest, and under one head.

**Next follows the territory of Tegorari, or Taguriri, consisting chiefly of a desert, forty miles in length; however, it is not all so, as appears by the number of castles, which amount to fifty-three, and more than one hundred villages. Of these La Croix places the chief in 28 degrees of east longitude, and 30 of north latitude. The natives are rich, by means of their extensive commerce with the negroes; and it is affirmed, that gold is found plentifully in this country; yet so barren and dry is it, that it scarce produces any grain, or indeed any other vegetables, without being watered, with great labour and expense, by water brought from a great distance. For this reason it is that they permit strangers who travel the country to pay nothing for lodgings, thinking it a sufficient equivalent that they have the dung of their cattle, which they prize as gold, and the labour of their horses to fetch water during their stay. Vaccinals of all kinds are exceeding dear, not only on account of the scarcity of grain, but of grasses, which makes them unable to maintain their sheep and cows, or render those they have valuable for their milk or flesh. Besides dates, the chief aliment is horse and camel's flesh, which they purchase, when old and past work, of the Arabians, who deal largely in superannuated cattle. With all its disadvantages, the feast have established themselves in this country, and were equally remarkable for their numbers and riches, before they were pillaged, at the instigation of a marabout of Tremezen, by the people, on the very same year they were driven out of Spain, viz. in 1492. La Croix says, that they were not only plundered but massacred by the Tegerarins, very few of them escaping out of the kingdom.

**There is another country, called Menzal, about a hundred leagues east of Tegorari, and the same distance from the Mediterranean sea on the north, which La Croix ranks among the provinces of Bledaiderid. This territory contains five walled towns, a great variety of large villages, although the land is desert and barren, the inhabitants making up the natural disadvantages of the country, by a redoubled application to trade, which they push a great way into the negro kingdoms. The misfortune is, that, being subject to the Arabians, they are grievously oppressed, and compelled to pay heavy tributes to those idle and insolent usurpers.**
a In the next place we meet with the kingdom of *Tuscans* as Gramays call it, and *Tokors*, according to *La Croix*, and other French writers. What reasons could induce these authors to rank this among the Biledulgerid provinces we know not: certain it is, that writers of an older date, and the Turks themselves, place it in the interior parts of Algiers. However, we shall here give a short account of it under the former division, as we find it in *La Croix* and Ogilvie. *Tuscans*, the capital, which gives its appellation to the kingdom, stands at the distance of an 100 leagues from Tegarart, and an hundred and fifty from the Mediterranean sea, under thirty-two degrees fifty minutes east longitude, and twenty-seven degrees ten minutes north latitude. Here is the ancient city called Turabibitum by Ptolemy, built by the Numidians upon a mountain, the foot of which is washed by a small river, over which stands a draw-bridge. Here it is fortified by good strong stone walls, and on the other side by the rugged precipices of an inaccessible rock. It contains about two thousand five hundred houses, built of stone, lime, and brick, with a handsome moat in the center, corniced with stone.

In the kingdom of *Tuscans* are about forty strongholds, and an hundred and fifty villages, which pay a considerable tax or revenue to the superior, whom we do not find called a king, though the country has the appellation of *kingdom*. The people confit of nobility and artisans: they are rich in dates, but poor in corn and other grain, which they import from Constantina, giving in exchange their fruits: they are fond of strangers, and so hospitable, that they lodge them for months without expecting any return, and prefer marrying their daughters to them than to their own neighbours. When, however, no such alliances happen to be made, and that their guests are going away, without any expectation or tie upon them ever to return, they load them with presents, which imprefs the highest ideas of their generous liberality.

Next is the lordship of **Lqueruilen**, which is in strict propriety no more than a province 11th. Queruilen of the kingdom of *Tuscans*. At present its capital gives its name to the country, though quelen. Ptolemy describes it under the appellation of Tomarca. It was built by the Numidians in the middle of the deferts, under thirty-five degrees thirty minutes east longitude, and twenty-five degrees fifty minutes north latitude. The country produces a great abundance of dates, but scarce any grain or cattle, or indeed animals, except camels and oriches. Most of the natives are negroes, both in complexion and features; not owing, it is thought, to the climate, but to the connexion they have with the blacks, and the frequent intermarriages, by which, in time, the children acquire the exterior of the mother; for scarcely any black men marry the Numidian women. The country is filled with artificers and merchants; the first supplying the latter with materials for trade, and receiving in return the necessaries of life. They are open, free, generous, and hospitable to strangers; industrious in their occupations, in so much that by dint of trade they have rendered this barren country rich, and abounding with all the luxuries of life, though hardly any of them are indigenous. They have a superior, with the authority, but without the name and badges of majesty, who has a revenue of an hundred and fifty thousand ducats; but it is probable, that out of this he pays a tribute to the Arabs, as he certainly does to the Bey of Algiers.

e **Zeb** is the next province; and it is remarkable, that Procopius distinguishes it by the name 12th. province appellation. On the south it is inclosed by the great road leading from Tokors to Queruilen; of Zeb. on the north, by the mountains of Bugei; on the east, by the province of Biledulgerid Proper; and on the west, by the deferts of Mazila. Leo Africanus reckons five fine cities, besides towns and large villages innumerable, in this province. The city of *Bifcare*, situated in thirty degrees ten minutes north latitude, and thirty-four degrees of longitude, is a place of great antiquity, built by the Romans, and destroyed by the Arabs, who afterwards rebuilt it. At present it is but indifferently peopled; but the inhabitants are in general a civil, good natured people; tho' their houses are of all others the most inhospitable, on account of the swarms of scorpions, vipers, and poisonous reptiles, which crawl about in every corner. Hence it is that the inhabitants desert the city in the summer, when the noxious animals chiefly prevail, retire into the country, and seldom return till the approaching cold has cleared their houses of these hitherto guests.

About five leagues from *Bifcare* stands *Borgia*, a town much better peopled, and the residence of a great number of merchants, mechanics, and labourers of all kinds. Not far from hence stands *Nefsa*, a town separated into three divisions by stone walls, and each inhabited by a people of different manners and customs from any of the others, notwithstanding the continual intercourse among them. They are all strictly prohibited to intermarry; and if any man leaves his own division to settle in one of the others, he and his posterity are outlawed. In *Nefsa* is a fortres, the structure of which serves it to be of Roman workmanship:

g as to the inhabitants, they are covetous, thievish in their disposition, and intolerably insolent to strangers, whom they insult and oppresse by every method in their power.

The last province, according to this distribution, is that of *Biledulgerid Proper*, which we have described to fully as affords no room for addition; *La Croix*'s account being taken entirely from
from the authors we then cited, and so implicitly, that he has not corrected one of the numberless errors with which they abound, tho' he has not failed to superadd egregious blunders of his own. Thus the reader has had a complete view of the coast, from the gulf of Benin to the borders of Barbary; the manners, customs, and religion of the inhabitants; the produce of the countries; their trade with the Europeans, and every other particular regarding that vast tract, which we imagined could contribute either to his instruction or amusement. It was necessary to be extremely minute in the topography, by reason of the imperfection of all our charts; and the same may be said of the whole history of this part of Africa, which has unfortunately been treated by writers the most illiterate, immethodical, credulous, and false, of any we have hitherto had occasion to peruse. We shall make no other apology for the labour with which we have endeavoured to characterize the manners of such a variety of different nations, since we are sensible that every discerning reader will think this method infinitely preferable to the best written general history, in which a thousand interesting curious particulars must necessarily be omitted.
BOOK XXII.

CHAPTER I.

The modern history of Barbary; containing a general account of that vast tract of land; its several nations, governments, wars, and changes, previous to its establishment into the various kingdoms and republics of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, in which they have continued to this present time.

We have, by this time, finished our stated progress around the eastern, southern, and western coasts of this vast African peninsula, and given the best account we could procure, not only of the several kingdoms and states situated upon them, but likewise of the various inland countries, empires, and nations, contiguous to them, as far as our best modern authors and travellers have been able to penetrate into, or receive any certain intelligence about them. Our next task, of course, leads us through the only remaining northern tract, commonly known by the general name of Barbary, and, by reason of its limits, and more ample commerce with Europe, the part best known to us of any we have hitherto had occasion to speak of, and, on that account, as well as its advantageous situation along the Mediterranean sea, and its rich and fertile soil, highly coveted, and by Commerce, Situation, boundaries, and extent of Barbary.

b turns possess'd, by the Romans, Greeks, Saracens, Vandals, Arabs, Moors, and Turks, not to mention the various attempts which the Spaniards, Portuguese, and other European nations, have made upon, and their several settlements in some convenient parts of, this extensive coast, which stretches itself in length from east to west, that is, from the southernmost limits of Egypt to the Straits of Gibraltar, full 35 degrees of longitude, and from thence to Santa Cruz, the utmost western verge of it, about five more, in all 41 degrees; and is there bounded on the north by the Atlantic ocean, as it is within by the Mediterranean sea. The whole extent of the Barbary coast is computed to amount to above 752 German leagues. On the fourth, indeed, it is confined within much narrower bounds, stretching itself no farther than from the 27th to the 35th degree and a half of latitude, or about 128 German miles; but Fertility.

c it must be remembered, that it is by far the richest and most fertile part of that whole tract, all that lies beyond it, as well as a considerable part of it on the south, being nothing else, for the most part, but sandy and barren deserts; but chiefly the continued ridge of the great Atlas, intermixed with sandy deserts, and inhabited by wild and other Arabs, some of whom live, as we have elsewhere observed *, altogether upon plunder, and others are tributary to the Algerines, Tunisians, &c. but all of them are such enemies to husbandry, that a country must be bad to the highest degree, if they do not, in a short time, leave it worse than they found it. We shall not here relate what we have said of its antient state, in a former part of this work, but refer our readers to it, as much of it relates to the knowledge which the Romans and other antient nations had of it, the various names, limits, nations, &c. they gave to it, commerce they drove with it, and their several conquests of it, all which have been sufficiently displayed in the volumes quoted in the margin *. We here chiefly confine ourselves to that part of its history from the time of their shaking off the yoke of the Roman and Greek emperors, and resuming their liberty under their own natural, or at least African, princes, down to that of their forming themselves into that variety of kingdoms in which we now find them, the principal of which are those of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; for it must be here observed,


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that those of Tlemcen, or Tlemcen, have been since incorporated with that of Algiers; and that of Barca, or Barca, has been since reduced to a dependence on that of Tripoli.

According to this division, therefore, and route we have hitherto followed round the whole African coasts, Barbary begins on the west of the famed Mount Atlas, called by the Arabs Aydascal, or Al Ducuel, and incloses the ancient kingdoms of Suez and Delta, now provinces of Morocco; thence steering northward, along the Atlantic coast, to the pillars of Hercules at Cape Finister, through the Straights of Gibraltar, and so on, by an eastern course, along the Mediterranean coast, one comes at length to the city of Alexandria, which is the southern boundary of Egypt, and where it joins to this of Barbary. Both coasts, whether that which is watered by the Atlantic ocean, or by the Mediterranean, are most fertile in corn and pasture; the former lying towards, and being watered by a multitude of small and large rivers which come down from the great Atlas, and empty themselves into the ocean; the other extends itself by and along the declivity of a vast ridge of mountains, some of them of considerable height, and spreading themselves in depth above 40 leagues into the inland, all of them watered by a multitude of rivers, which, after a great number of long and various windings, some of them several hundreds of leagues, through a vast variety of pleasant and fertile valleys, discharge themselves into the Mediterranean. We may add, that the temperature of its climate, being all the way fituate under the temperate zone, adds not a little to its fecundity; and of course, if not altogether, yet in a great measure, frees it from the ill effects of the extremes of blustering cold and burning heat, felt by the other two. If in any thing it comes nearer to either, it is to the former; and it may be truly affirmed of both the coasts and mountains along the Mediterranean, that they partake more of the extreme colds and the one than of the heat of the other. They have great quantities of snow in the winter, and the tops of some of their mountains are quite covered with it, especially the great Atlas, all the year round.

Their winter, which begins about the middle of October, proves frequently very severe, and is attended with long and nipping frosts. The rains commonly begin about the end of the month, and continue till the end of January, and often beyond it, with this difference, nevertheless, that how severe soever the weather may be in the morning, the afternoons are commonly warm enough to dispense with a fire. In February it becomes milder, and the weather changes usually three or four times in a day. In March the west and north winds begin to blow powerfully, gradually unlock the earth, and spread universal life and verdure, which is completed by the next month. During the whole spring season, which begins about the latter end of February, the weather continues for the most part serene and pleasant, except from the latter end of April to that of May, when the kind refreshing showers begin to fall in great plenty, which, warmed by the moderate rays of the sun, bring every product of the earth to its gradual maturity; infinomuch that, by the latter end of May, they begin to gather ripe figs and cherries, in Tunis, Algiers, and some parts of Morocco; by the middle of July their apples, pears, and plums, are in their full maturity, and the gathering of grapes and other fruits is completed by the latter end of September, which are commonly more or less copious according to the quantity of rain they have had from the 25th of April to the 25th of May; on which account they style this rain by the title of Naifan, or water lent from heaven, and lay in a provision of it in vessels for their future use.

The summer begins, according to their reckoning, on the 28th of May, and lasts till the 26th of August; during which time the heats are excessive and dangerous, especially if they have great rains in June and July; at which time the atmosphere becomes inflamed to such a degree, as to cause malignant fevers, and other dangerous diseases of the putrescent kind, which carry off myriads of people, for want of proper caution in preventing, or proper skill and remedies to cure them (A).

(A) This, as we have formerly had occasion to observe, is chiefly owing to a religious, though fenefeful prejudice, not only common amongst, but deeply rooted in, the far greater part of the Mahommedans, that all such sublunary daisaters are preordained, by an unerring and unalterable decree of the Divine Providence; so that all precautions either to prevent or avoid, and every kind of remedy used against them, are not only fruitless but impious (1). It must be owned, however, that this stupid notion has been in some measure exploded among the more sensible part of the inhabitants of this coast, by their vicissitudes with Europe, and frequent commerce with, as well as in the example of, such Christians as were conversant with them; but as to the rest, they continue still so fixed in it, that they deem it a most damnable imperty to go a step out of their way to avoid a plague, or any other disastrous calamity, or to use any means or remedy against them; and this is the cause why epidemic diseases make such dreadful havoc amongst them.

(1) See before, vol. vi. p. 3. (B) Maillet, Greenhill, Perry, & al. plur.
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a Their autumn begins on the 27th of August, and ends on the 16th of November; and Autumn.

from the first of these one begins to feel a sensible diminution of the heat. The winter begins on the 1st of November, and ends on the 16th of February; on which month they begin to plow and sow their low lands, but set about that work on the high lands and mountainous parts a month sooner. They reckon the year to have 40 days of excessive cold, and as many of excessive hot weather; the former begins on or about the 12th of December, and the latter on or about the 12th of June. Their two equinoxes begin with them on the 16th of March and September, according to which they regulate all their matters relating to agriculture and navigation; and they have a great number of men among them, who are very expert in directing and establishing settled rules for both, though they can neither write nor read.

b The people of Barbary reckon three sorts of winds which are extremely dangerous and detrimental to them; viz. the easterly, south-easterly, and south, and all of them most so in the months of May and June, in which they seldom fail of blasting all the fruits, and burning up every kind of growing grain; to which the fogs and misty, which usually reign at such times greatly contribute. They are moreover greatly exposed during the latter part of their autumn, their whole winter, and the beginning of the spring, to violent rains, snow, hail, thunders, and lightnings, and are frequently damaged by them.

As for those who inhabit the higher lands, especially along the ridge of mountains of the great Atlas, they reckon but two seaons in the year; viz. the winter and the summer; the seaon of Mount Atlas, former whereof lasts from October to April, during which there fall such vast quantities of snow, that they are forced every morning to remove it with their shovels from their doors, before they can get a free passage out of them. From April to September is their summer, which, in the valleys, is commonly excessive hot, but on the higher grounds more temperate and pleasant; and on the tops, not warm enough to melt away the winter snow, which is there to be seen from one end of the year to the other, as it is on the Alps, Pyrenees, and other more northern regions; though both corn and barley grow under it in many parts of that ridge, and put forth their stems through it, and rise up to the eye as fast as the snow melts away. The grain, however, especially the barley, we are told, is apt to contract a fourth part of it; which, being the chief food of their horses, fets their teeth on edge, so that they eat it with great difficulty, unless it be mixed with some alkaline alloy.

d Thus much may serve for a general view of the climate, seaons, and produce of this country, which admits but of a small difference, and extends itself, from end to end, though in a kind of parallel, through the heart of the temperate zone. As to what relates to its most considerable rivers, mountains, lakes, and other such particulars, they will be better seen in the description of the respective kingdoms and provinces to which they belong.

Barbary is chiefly inhabited by three sorts of people; viz. Moors, or Maures, who are the original inhabitants; the Arabs, who have over-run this country, as we have seen them do in many other parts of Africa; and the Turks, who have since made themselves masters of some of the best provinces of it, and the several kingdoms of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, tho' under a kind of tribute to, or dependence on, the Oibman Porte; besides a great variety of foreign nations, Christians, Jews, and others, who live intermixed amongst them; nor to mention a most shameful, as well as innumerable, multitude of renegades, who, either through mere avarice, or to free themselves from slavery, have renounced their faith, and become the most grievous nuisances to Christianness; and, through hated and abhorred by those who encourage their apostacy, are yet suffered to live and thrive amongst them, and to be employed not only in the most profitable branches of trade and commerce, but in some of the highest posts in the army, navy, and state, for the sake of the service they do to it, by the ill offices and cruelties they affect to do, above all others, to all Christians in general, and frequently to those of their own nation, as will be more evidently seen in the sequel of this chapter.

f *Marmol, ubi sup. c. 8. & al. ubi sup.*

f *Marmol, Grammar, Davity, Dapper, & al.*

Vol. v. p. 653. frequent
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It cannot but be owned, however, that the cruel oppression they suffer under their several tyrannical governments, hath greatly contributed to their degeneracy, and that one can hardly imagine a more abject and miserable condition than theirs is, cruell, on the one hand, with a heavy load of taxes, and treated with the utmost cruelty by their inflicting masters; and, on the other, exposed to the continual inroads of the plundering Arabs, who, on such occasions, never fail of flipp'ing them of the small pitance they are able to lay up; and if they have the abject condition of its ancient inhabitants.

The Arabs in Barbary described.

The second sort of inhabitants in Barbary is that of the Arabs; but these we have else where so fully described, according to their three distinct classes, and different ways of life, that we shall have the least to say now concerning them. They are here the same as we have seen them in other parts of Africa, follow the three same ways of living, are governed by their own despotic Cheyks, and all of them, except those of the wandering kind, and those who live under the dominion of the emperors of Morocco and Fez (of whom we shall speak more largely in a subsequent chapter), in some fort tributary to the Turks, ever since they have made themselves masters of the remainder of the Barbary coast, and on that condition only permit them to live among them; and if there be any difference between these and those who are dispersed in other parts, it is this, by being under more severe and tyrannical governments, they are more grievously oppressed, and oftener punished with military execution, either for non-payment of tribute, or even for running too far in array; which often obliges proof, that their excessive oppression and misery hath not, as yet, driven them to coin or adopt into their language any phrases or expressions of impatience, discontent, murmuring, or repining at their unhappy condition, much less of curses and imprecations against the authors of it; and which, though nothing is more commonly heard to come out of the mouths of renegades and profligate christian slaves, seldom fail of meeting some severe reburkes, and sincerer marks of dislike and abhorrence.

To all this we may add, that to see a circle of them sitting at the doors of their poor cott's, with empty bellies and naked bodies, some either sneaking or telling merry tales, others singing or dancing; and, when weary, lying supinely on the ground, one would hardly fail of deeming them a happy and contented, tho' lazy, people. And from this easy disposition results another kind of virtue; that they seldom quarrel or fight amongst themselves; or if they do, they use no other weapon than the fist; so that there are few, if any, homicides to be fear amongst them; and the war lathet no longer than the heat of the blood, and ends as soon as it is cooled.

1 See the authors quoted under it.  
2 Id. ibid.  
3 See before, vol. v. p. 668, & seq.

(B) It will not, however, be displeasing to our readers, if, in spite of this frange degeneracy amongst them, and amidst their extreme poverty and contempt, we can, in justice to them, mention one remarkable virtue universally reigning amongst them, and no less conspicuous in the one than in the other sex, and that in a most surprising degree; namely, that of an unparalleled patience under all the various branches of their wretchedness and thraldom, such as the most pinching hunger and want, the oppression and most inhuman treatment of their insolent masters, and innumerable other hardships their abject condition daily exposes them to. And for this we need not seek for more pregnant and unquestionable vouchers than the two following: viz.

1. The peace and contentment that reign in every family, amidst all those great and flocking difficulties they labour under, the men under the yoke of tyrannical government, and the women under the no less galling one of their husbands, and the terrible drudgery they are forced to submit to. And, zely, And which we think by far the more cegnt

1 De his, vide Lee, Gronnay, Morell, Davenil, Dagger, Rammus, Purchas, & al. plur. them
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(a) them to abandon their habitations, and seek for new ones among the most rocky and inaccessible mountains, where they are unfur the Turkisf forces cannot come at them. This, however, is to be understood, only of those who live in the country, and along the ridge of Mount Atlas; but, as we have observed elsewhere, there is another and more civilized fort of them, who are, like the Moors, settled in some of the towns and villages, and apply themselves to agriculture, and especially in breeding that fine and so much esteemed race of horses, known to us by the name of Barbis, for which their country is famed all over Europe and the eastern parts, and of which we have given an account in a former volume.

As for the wild or wandering Arabs, who range at large along the great Atlas and other parts of Barbary, they are not only as great a nuisance as in other parts of Africa, but, in plundering, some respects, a more dangerous one, being commonly more warlike, bold, and even desperate, in all their plundering excursions, especially in their attempts on the large and rich caravans, which go from Morocco into Egypt, in which they spare none that oppose them, but slay and butcher, and carry off all that come in their way, of which we shall have occasion to give some pregnant instances; and as there are some of the most advantageous excursions, so are they the more diligent in watching for them, and most desperate in attacking them.

The Arabes of each clan are commonly much given to the study of astronomy and astrology, to both which their pastoral life, and a fort of husbandry, not only incline them, but give them time and leisure to apply themselves to it; and the natural superstition of the whole race makes them the most fond of the latter. They neither sow, reap, plant, travel, buy or sell, or undertake any expedition or matter, without previously consulting the stars, or, in other words, their Almanacks (C), or some of the makers of them, whether they be Mohammedians or Idolaters.

The third and last fort of inhabitants of Barbary are the Turks; and these are not only of much later date, and by far the fewest in number, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, but one may add by far the worst, and in all respects, except their surprizing and uncontrolled power and sway, the most contemptible of all the three, being originally no better than a wretched crew of indigent, tattered, and famished, loose, idle, and thievish fellows, inlisted in and about Constantinople, and sent from thence thither once in three years, to recruit the foldiers, and who, having once been furnished with a gun, sword, and other military furniture, learned their exercise, and been initiated into some regimen, from that time have a vote and share in the government, and from thence are raised by degrees from one post to another, even to that of admiral, vezir, &c. and thence to the Beyric. In all which, even from the very lowest, they behave with the most inoffensive insolence and tyranny over their Moorish vassals, who, by a long series and variety of oppressions, are become such daffards, that the wealthiest of them tremble at the sight of a Turkisf common soldier. And it cannot be imagined that any thing else than such a height of insolence and tyranny, could have enabled such a small number of Turkisf soldiers as are in the three kingdoms of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, to hold such a multitude of Moors and Arabs under so long and severe a subjection. How they raised themselves to that extraordinary height of power will be best seen in the history of each of those kingdoms; in the mean time, it will not be amiss to say a Barbary, why word or two concerning the origin of the name of Barbary, concerning which our authors, greatly vary in their conjectures, for little else but conjecture can be offered about it. Some will have it, that the Romans, after they had conquered that large tract, gave it that name, in contempt and dislike of the rude and barbarous manners of the natives, as they commonly did to those nations whom they subdued in Gaul, and several parts of Europe, all which they generally dignified with the name of Barbare. Marmol, on the contrary, rejecting that disgraceful etymology, will have it derived from the Arabic word Berber, a name which the Arabs gave to the ancient inhabitants, and which they still retain to this day in many parts of

(C) As it is from them, and their vicinity to Europe, that this art, so less useful in one sense, than stupid and ridiculous in another, hath paffed over to us, and spread itself through every part of it, to those aeronomical compositions have filled every where retained not only their old Arabic name of Almanach, or Al Manach, or The Diary, but have been, like theirs, for a long while, and are fill, among many European nations, intermixed with a great number and variety of astrological rules for planting, sowing, bleeding, purging, &c. down to the purging of the hair and nails, and represented, for the sake of those that could not read, in such plain hieroglyphics, or characters, as the most ignorant would easily understand. And we shall not need to wonder that such superfluous stuff should be so regarded by those Arabs, if we consider with what extraordinary care and caution such yearly productions are uttered into the world amongst the most polite nations of the east, especially in China, where they are made a particular branch of their monarch's and his council's attention; and the compilers of them are as liable to be fined or punished for any defect or oversight in the astrological as in the aeronomical branch (3).

(3) Fide int. al. vol. iii. p. 593, & seq. & nito (B).

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this tract, especially along the long ridge of the great Atlas, where they are very numerous; a which name those new invaders gave them on account of the barrenness of their country.

Much the same thing is affirmed by Leo Africanus, a half native of that country, who tells us, that it was given to it by the Arabs, on account of their strange language, which appeared to them inarticulate, and more like a murmur, or grumbling of some dumb animals, from their Arabic word Barbar, which signifies a murmuring sound or noise; but at the same time tells us, that others derive its etymology from the little word Bar twice repeated, which signifies a desert, such as it was for the moist part, till the Arabs poured their numerous herds into it; so that the fugitive king Aethiopius, from whom the whole African continent is pretended to have received its name, being closely pursued by his enemies in his flight out of Arabia Felix, and in great perplexity which way to steer his course, some of his retinue, who knew the country, cried out to him, Bar, Bar, that is, To the desert, To the desert. So that, upon the whole, its name seems rather derived from its barrenness of inhabitants, than their barrenness of manners; though it is since become one of the most fertile of the former, and barren and desolate of the latter, of any belonging to that large continent, if we except the Caifes, Giajas, and some other truly barbarous nations in the heart of it, of whom we have given an account in some former chapters; the whole Barbary coast having been little better for these few last centuries, than a continual nest of the most destructive vermin, the most infamous pirates, as will be further seen in the sequel; though in other respects, so happy in its soil, situation, climate, the number and extent of its fertile plains, multitude of its rivers, richness of its meadows and pasture grounds, and variety of cattle, corn, barley, and other grain, and products; the largeness of its woods and forests, and vast plenty and variety of game, and other considerable advantages it naturally enjoys, that, were it not for the tyranny and iniquity of its several governments, all equally destructive of every kind of industry and useful improvement, it might easily be rendered one of the happiest and most fruitful countries not only in all Africa, but perhaps in the whole world; even that part of this Barbary coast which is called EARIF, and the little Atlas ends, though rather too cold to produce any great quantity of corn, yet is so fertile in barley, as to be more than sufficient to supply its numerous inhabitants, though it be in a great measure their chief food, as well as that of their horses and camels.

Besides the Turks above-mentioned, who belong to the foldery, and have a share in the government, there are multitudes of others who come thither to seek a livelihood, invited thither by the favour of the government, and the preference shewn to them above the Arab and Moors. But these, like the reft, are too proud to apply themselves either to husbandry or any laudable and useful trades, but follow either the confair or piratic busines, as the most suitable to their high conceit of themselves, as well as the most profitable to them, being intitled to better pay, fare, and treatment, than the natives, who, whether on board or at land, are fearlessly used one degree better than the common galley-slaves, excepting their fitters.

The Barbary Turks do every-where make a high profession of Mobsmedifimus, but in their practice are the most loose and negligent observers of its precepts, and indulge themselves in so many things that are forbidden by it, that, excepting the great and laudable regard they pay to the name of God, and their severity in punishing every blasphemous exclamation, oaths, and curfes, their whole religion seems little else than a mere outside. They allow themselves to drink wine, and the eating of fudy kinds of forbidden meats; are extremely remiss in their lents and other fafts; careless in their ablutions, and addicted to a multitude of superstitions, and a diffolucion of manners, which are abhorred by all true Mobsmedians; though, in other cafes of less importance, they endeavour to appear more conformable to them. For this reason, whenever they indulge themselves in a debauch, as they frequently do, it is commonly with the greatest secrecy, and in a private apartment, where they shut themselves up with their own intimates, neither women nor children being either admitted or acquainted with it; and there they will spend a whole day and a night in smoking, drinking, and carousing, without restraint.

They allow themselves, as all other Mobsmedians, a plurality of wives, and marry and treat them much in the same manner, and usually prefer one above the rest, who, on that account, looked upon as the wife, and hath a kind of superiority over all the rest. The misfortune is, that, like the generality of the Turks, not content with such a variety of women, they are equally guilty of a shameful and unnatural vice, which modify forbids even the mention of. But the truth is, that their priests, marabouts, and fantonis, are here much more remiss, if not for the most part a gang of thieves, who readily agree with, and assist at, all fuch irregularities, which they not only know themselves addicted to, but the opposing of

* De his, vid. fup. vol. vi. p. 657.
† Leu, lib. i. c. 6.
* Idem ibid.

which
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a which would most probably produce no other effect than to put an effectual stop to their frequent applications and charitable returns, without suppressing in the least the common evil.

The Moors, or natives, are likewise, for the most part, Mohammedans, there being but few of them (and those only such as are steyled shepherds, and follow pasturage in the valleys of the great Atlas, and some other parts of the lesser one, in Nubia, Lybia, and Bideculerida, and other provinces of Barbary, and who still retain their old heathenish superstitions) who have not been either induced or forced to embrace Mohammedism, since their becoming subject to the Turks, and, to their great credit, if we may depend upon the generality of African writers, are much stricter professed and observers of every branch of it, than the natural Turks; though whoever considers their natural character, and their wretched state and op- b pression, will find reason to doubt whether their exactness be not rather owing to the dread they fling in of their tyrannical masters, than to any zeal or conviction they can have in favour of such a religion; which having so fully described, and amply exploded, as well as the pretended merit of its author, at the very entrance of this Modern History, we shall have the less need to add any thing farther on that subject; much less would our readers care to be led through that endless field of errors, absurdities, and strange superstitions, which have been forced into it, not only by the many visionary commentators and expositors on the Koran, and other Mohammedan legends, but insensibly crept into it, or been adopted in every country and nation where it hath been established, and nowhere in greater number, or of a more extravagant nature, than in this of Barbary, especially among the corsairs, and the whole piratical crew, among whom no charm or magic spell, no expedient, though ever so fœnesteles, monstrous, and seemingly diabolical, can be invented, that they will not have recourse to, preferably to any of a more rational nature and tried efficacy, whether in fights, storms, or other emergencies, attending their hazardous profession.

Neither are their soldiery, civil officers, and mercantile part, from those of the lowest to the highest rank, less addicted to the same superstitious confidence in this kind of recourse to their marabouts and other pretended conjurers: the former of whom will think himself safer under their piece of parchment wrapped up about his turban, and scratched over with some scraps out of the Koran, than under complete armour, or at the head of a well-disciplined army. Another will rather tryst to an astrological scheme, framed by some artist in that way, than to the wisest counsel and best calculated measures; and a third will deem an amulet from some of those pretenders to the magic art, of surer efficacy towards the prevention or curing the most dangerous distemper, than the best prescriptions of a skilful physician, or the virtue of the most experienced medicines. The same infatuation runs through the whole mercantile class, and every kind of handicraftsmen, even to the meanest concerns of life; and there is no sickness or ill-luck to be avoided, or good to be expected, without being previously provided with a suitable charm and counter-charm against all events (D). All which we thought not unworthy our mentioning here, as being accounting for the many and strange revolutions and disasters with which the frequent history of those republican governments, as well as that most arbitrary one under the Sharifs of Morocco, is pregnant; and the extreme misery and oppression which the unhappy subjects of both have groaned under, even since they hook off their heavy yoke. But before we come in course to speak of these several kingdoms, it will be very requisite that we give our readers an account of the various governments which preceded them, as well as of the national tribes which held the several reins of them, in order to shew by what means and degrees they coalesced at length into their present form; and that which will be best seen in the following section. In the mean time, we shall beg leave to close up this general account of Barbary with one observation from what hath been hitherto said concerning it (for as to what farther relates to its laws, customs, trade, commerce, navi- 


(D) To these we might have added others of their superstitious, and of a more impious and diabolical nature, to which not only the natives of Barbary, but all the Africans in general, are addicted to such a degree, that neither Mohammedanism, nor Christianity in Kug and other parts where it hath been planted, could ever eradicate them out of their minds, or abolish the practice of them (6).

These chiefly consist in offering of beasts, fowls, and human victims, to demons, or, as they deem them, the souls of the dead, since become inferior deities, and either of a beneficent or malevolent nature, according as they are glutted with a greater or lesser quantity of thefe, and clothing them on all emergencies, and about matters of importance. And there are still greater numbers of these diabolical ministers and pretended conjurers, who keep up that bloody practice for gain, in several parts of Barbary, though at a great distance from large towns, and dispersed among the deserts and most inhabitable mountains, woods, and caves, where they perform their infernal rites, and the people resort to consult them. But as those, whether Moors, Turks, or Arabs, who are infatuated enough to have recourse to them, are yet obliged to do it with all possible secrecy, for fear of the severest punishments which the government inflict on such offenders, and few infusions of such ever coming to light, we shall say no more on this impious subject.

The modern history of Barbary.  Book XXII.

The history of Barbary under the several dynasties of the Almoravides, Almohades, Benimcrini, &c. down to the reigns of the Sharifs, and their establishment in Morocco.

We have already hinted the revolt which the insolvency and tyranny of the Arabs caused in these parts, under the conduct of the brave Techtifen, or Tossifen, of the Zinagbian tribes, who, by the help of his marabouts, gathered up a most powerful army of malecontents, in the southern provinces of Numidia and Lybia, on which account they were nicknamed Marabites and Almoravides. This was a favourable juncture; the Khalif Kayem’s forces being then otherwise taken up in quelling other revolts in Syria, Mesopotamia, &c. and the Arabi in Spain engaged in the most bloody wars. He had accordingly all the success he could with for against the Arabian Cheysks, and gained so many signal victories over them, that he effectually drove them not only out of those two provinces, but out of all the western parts, and the whole province of Tingitania, now the empire of Morocco, and reduced all that vaft tract under his dominion before his death.

Techtifen was succeeded by his son Tuuf, or Joseph, a prince no less brave and successful, than famous for his noble exploits. From the beginning of his reign he laid the foundation of the city of Morocco, as deeming that of Aghmed, or Agmed, his father’s late residence, not grand and spacious enough for the metropolis of his future empire. Whilfit that was building, he sent fome of his chief marabouts on an embassy to Ternieten, or Ternisfin, which province was then chiefly inhabited by a branch of the Zeneti, who were of the ichmatic sect called Kemine, or Quemin, who had made themselves masters of that whole country, and were become by that time very powerful and insolent, with a design to reduce them to what he called the true faith. But these wretches, defiling his authors and remonstrances, assembled themselves at the city of Anef, or Anfa, the capital of it, and murdered his ambassadors and other marabouts, and immediately raised an army of fifty thousand men to invade his dominions, who accordingly were ordered to march with all possible dispatch, before he could have time to oppose them, and drive him out of his kingdom.

Yusef no soon heard of their inhuman treatment of his ambassadors, and their march against him, than, fired with a just reformation against those traitors and murderers, he resolved to be before-hand with them; and, having speedily mustered up his army, led it, by long marches, into their country, and crossing the river Ommirabi, put all to fire and sword where-ever he came; whilst the Zenei, finding him too strong for them, instead of opposing his progress, abandoned their country, and retired with their prince, with what speed they could, towards Fez, in hopes of receiving some succour from thence. But they found in the Fossans as bad an enemy as in the Almoravides; and whilst the latter was burning every town and place he came to, and slaughtering men, women, and children, that were left behind, the former marched out against them in the same hostile manner, as against invaders, rebels, and traitors; and meeting with them near the river Burregreg, incumbered with their families and baggage, and ready to expire with hunger and weariness, fell unmercifully upon them, and cut them all in pieces, except a small number of them, who, attempting to save themselves by swimming over that river, were mostly carried away by the current; and some others, who, in their flight, perished by their fall from the high adjacent rocks. Such was the fatal end of those proud invaders and murderers, of whom near a million of men, women, and children, are...
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a computed to have been cut off by both sides; whilst Toff reduced their whole country into a mere desert, which was, however, quickly re-peopled by a numerous colony of Fessanis, who settled themselves there, under the protection and vassalage of their reigning kings.

Yusuf led his victorious forces back to Morocco; but was not long there before he declared war against those two princes, and entered the Fessan dominions at the head of a powerful army; and having defeated their forces near mount Homegni, he made himself master, in a very little while, of all their dominions, forced the Fessanis at Tremeen to become his vassals and tributaries, and enlarged his conquests all along the Mediterranean, reduced the kingdom of Tremeen, drove the succours of Abu'l Haber, who had reigned in Kayroun, out of Bagaces, Morocco, but restored them soon after to their ancient dominions, as being Africans of the same tribe

b with himself, and who held them afterwards during the whole time of the Almoravide government. In this excursion he likewise reduced the kings of Fes and Tunis to become vassals and tributaries to him; and, after all his successe, returned victorious to Morocco, where, after his father's example, he took upon him the title of Euir Hannunin, or Euir Al Munas

c His martial and ambitious temper did not permit him to continue long in quiet there, before he returned it in such a manner as to strike a general terror among the Almoravides, who, refused to own themselves his vassals and tribute to him; among whom, he waged such a bloody war, that neither the Libyan nor Mervian deserts, mountains, nor ridges of the most stony rocks, could shelter them from his arms. He attacked them in such of their retreats, castles, and fortresses, as were, till then, deemed impregnable and inaccessible to any but those

d of that nation; and this to the great regret of the other Africans, who were no less annoyed by the ravages which his numerous forces committed in their march through their territories. Neither could he be prevailed on to discontinue his excursions against them, till he had reduced them, by fair or forcible means, to his subjection; by which time his metropolis being quite finished, he resolved to cross over into Spain, and take the advantage of its intestine wars, with which it was then miserably torn, to enlarge his conquests there.

e This resolution, however, was not taken by him, till he had received such pressing invi-Sail into tations from thence, as did, in a great measure, allure him to succours, and of his being joinedSpain. by several Moubirs princes there, who would be proud to fight under his victorious banner. He accordingly embarked, and crossed the straits of Gibraltar, full of these tempting prospects, and with a futible hope. He was, however, greatly disappointed in his expectations, though he signalized himself with his usual bravery, upon every occasion; but as the exploits of his are foreign to our present African history, we shall defer all further detail till we come to that of Spain, which will follow in due course, according to our plan, in some subsequent volume.

All that we shall say further upon it is, that, after he had repelled the Christian with great vigour, he had the mortification to see those Moubirs princes, who had so warmly invited him over to them, become, all of a sudden, as cold and disaffected towards him. This did not hinder him, however, from pursuuing his conquests; so that he reduced in that expedition the greatest part of the kingdoms of Murcia, Granada, Cordova, Jaen, and some few places in that of Valencia; after which he returned into Africa with his son, leaving those conquered

e dominions under the government of his nephew Moubammed, with a considerable part of his army.

He was no sooner arrived at his African kingdom, than he published a general Gazette, or religious war, through his dominions, and, with a fresh and numerous army, embarked at Ceuta for his Spanish conquests; and soon after rejoined his nephew Moubammed in Andalusia, where they put all to fire and sword. We shall again refer our readers to the subsequent history of Spain for a further detail of the various successe of this expedition, from which he returned into Africa three years after.

His next descent was not till five years after, when he carried his arms thither with such successes and speed, that he penetrated so far into Portugal as to reduce the city of Lisbon, and with it a great part of that kingdom, but lost the cities of Algarazir and Gibraltar, which he had taken before, but were now retaken from him by the king of Seville, Alphonso's brother-in-law. In the mean time, Alphonso having equipped a powerful fleet, sailed over with it to Africa; but defeated at meeting with that of Toff, in his way to Barbary, a hot engagement soon followed, in which for the former sunk ten galleys of the latter: after which he continued his course directly to Barbary. Here he received proposals from Toff for a truce; but refused to consent to it, unless he submitted to become his tributary; which he exasperated the Almoravide monarch, that he swore ruin and destruction to Christiand. In pursuance of which vow, he prepared himself for a fresh

f defeat, which he made into Spain, and landed, as usual, at Malaga, and led his army into the enemy's country with greater fury and renforcement, and, in all likelihood, with less caution and Spain. g conduct, than ever he had before. The consequence of which was that famous battle, since

since called the battle of the Seven Counts. For, being obliged to raise the siege of Toledo, a which he had invested, and to retire from the superior forces of Don Sanchez, who was sent by his father to its relief, he found himself so closely pursed by that brave young prince, that he was obliged to give him battle; in which, though he had the good fortune to defeat and slay him, together with a number of other noble warriors, yet he lost a great number of his own men, that he was obliged to return to Africa, where he died soon after, at his capital of Morocco, and was succeeded by his son Ali.

This prince, less warlike than his father, upon his coming to the crown, instead of minding his Spanish conquests, employed his thoughts in erecting of several sumptuous buildings, and in particular the great mosque of Morocco, which will be described in the history of that empire, whilst Alphonso, king of Aragon, was daily recovering some considerable cities from him: neither could he be prevailed upon to pass over into Spain, till strongly pressed to it by the united forces of the Moorish princes, whom Alphonso greatly harried and distressed all that time; and when at length he was obliged to come to their assistance, he spent a whole campaign there, without performing anything of consequence. He was no less unsuccessful in his subsequent expeditions; in the last of which, though joined by the united strength of the Moorish chiefs, he was defeated and slain by king Alphonso, with the loss of 30,000 men, except a small number, who escaped and fled over into Barbary, in the fifth year of his reign.

He was succeeded by his son Al Abrahám, vulgarly called Brahám, a prince altogether addicted to pleasures, and averse to martial exploits; who was no sooner declared successor to the throne, than he confirmed all the governors and chief officers of his father's provinces of Barbary, Numidia, &c. in their posts; upon which they readily acknowledged him for their sovereign, with the title of Emir Al Melemim, or Chief Commander of the Faithful, by which act, having secured the peace of his dominions on that side, and seeing all quiet at home, he gave himself no farther thought than that of pursuing his pleasures and extravagant debauchies, which in time obliged him to load his subjects with such an intolerable weight of taxes, as produced a general complaint, and ended in that strange and fatal revolution, which at once transferred the supreme government from the tribe of the noble Almoravides to that upstart one, since called, from its obscure founder, Almohadi, or Al Mobedéz, and of which we are now going to give an account, though it did not begin before the twenty-fifth year of his reign; from which the reader may judge how unworthily that monarch spent the former part of it, seeing there has nothing happened worthy to be recorded concerning him during that long period, if we except the unfortunate attempt which the Christians made on the city of Kenyewa, about the beginning of it; but which, though in some fens foreign to our present subject, yet, being both curious and interesting, we shall subjoin in the margin (A).

The author of this surprising change was a Berber, of the tribe of Muzamada, named Abdallah, and a famed preacher among those of his tribe, who were located along mount Atlas, but who, the better to succeed in his premeditated design, took upon himself the name, or rather the title, of Mabdi, or Mobbidi, and set up for head or leader of the orthodox, or Unitarian, who, by this time, were become so numerous by his preaching, and had swelled him to such a degree of insolence, as to dare even to exclaim against and bid defiance to the king; but he might easily have been suppressed, and the revolt nipped in embroil, had not Brahám been too much immersed in pleasures to regard it, and too confident to apprehend any ill consequences from such low fury miscreants. He soon, however, found cause to

(A) By this time the Christians who, in their wars with Tunis, had made themselves masters of the city of Mahdia, the late residence of the Khalifs of Kenyewa, and, as we have elsewhere, built by one of them, with all the advantages of strength and beauty, were making frequent intrusions from it into the adjacent countries, and feebly harassed the Tunesans. A considerable reinforcement being landed from Italy at Mahdia, were likewise ravaging these coasts, when an Al Faki came to them, and offered to betray the city of Kenyewa to them, provided they bestowed the government of it upon him; to which they readily agreed; whereupon he put himself at their head, and marched towards the place; but had not proceeded above two days journey, before they came in sight of the Moorish army, ranged in order of battle, and ready to give them a warm reception, whom the Al Faki immediately joined, and fell upon the Christians with such fury, that 7000 of them were killed upon the spot, and the rest, with great difficulty, retired to Mocherdis. These Mochers pursued them thither, and laid siege to the place, but without success. However, the Al Faki being, by this serviceable stratagem against the Christians, become considerable among the Mochers, turned his forces against the Almoravides; but being defeated by them, was taken in his flight by the Cheyo of Baceira, a relation of Brahám, who ordered his eyes to be plucked out, and himself to be thrown into a dungeon, where he died with misery.

It must be observed, that the Christians here mentioned, and which we call Italiens, are, as the Moorsic historian tells us, called by the Arab writers Rasutis, from the capital of Rome; as they do the Spaniards Phoenici, from their kings; the Portuguese Crumisii; the Greeks Nicoraum, or Kafrarim; and the French Frangius. And hence it is, perhaps, that no European writer before Marmol has mentioned this unfortunate expedition (1).

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AHEM, in the mean time, seeing himself master of the field, failed not to take all precautions to shut up all the passers to prevent the king's regaining his capital, whilst he dispatched another part of his army thither to invest it in form, and a third, under the conduct of Abdulmumun, to go in close pursuit of him. This last order was so punctually executed, that the unfortunate prince was at length constrained to refuge himself in the city of Fez. Here he had again the mortification of seeing the gates of it shut up against him, but opened soon after to receive his purifiers, whether out of dread of them, or hatred to him, on account of his predecessors having made Morocco the seat of the empire, we will not determine. In this extremity, he pitched upon the city of Auran, vulgarly Oran, for his last refuge, into which he was at first readily admitted; but did not enjoy that small reprieve long, before he saw the place invested by Abdolmunen, vulgarly Abdulman, and threatened with fire and sword. Upon which the magistrates earnestly intreated him to seek for some other shelter, since they were in no condition to protect him against such a force. He accordingly set out on a dark night, with only a favourite wife on horseback behind him; but being discovered by the guards, and seeing no way left to avoid falling into their hands, he, in a fit of despair, clapped spurs to his horse, and hurried him headlong, with himself and his wife, down a steep and rocky precipice, where they were all found, the next morning, dead and dashed in pieces. This was the fatal end of that unhappy prince, which put a final period to the empire of the Almoravides!

That general, being apprised of Brahem's death, caused his head to be cut off, in order to Abdolmunen, proclaimed king of the Almohades.

He had left a son behind him, named Isae, an infant, whom, at his departure from that capital, he committed to the care of proper governors. On the news of his father's death, they cauited him to be proclaimed king, and obliged the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him, of which the new Emir was no sooner informed, than he began to batter the city with all his might, and finding it make a stout defence against him, swore, in a furious fit of resentment, that he would not abandon the siege till he had reduced the place, and caused it to be fitted through a chisel. He accordingly plied his battering engines with greater vigour than ever; and, having made a sufficient breach, caused it to be mounted by his men, sword in hand, who quickly made themselves masters of the city. The first thing he did after he had entered it, was the ordering the unfortunate young Isae to be brought to him, whom he strangled with his own hands; by whose death the Almoravidic line, called by the African writers Laptunius and Marabuts, became extinct; and, to obliterate the memory of those

B Abdollah reigned just long enough to make some prudent regulations according to his feel, for the molt him establishment both of it and all left them behind in his last will. He appointed a council of forty disciples of his feel, all of them preacher's, some of whom were to regulate all public affairs, and at proper leas, to go a preaching about the country, and spread their doctrine abroad, and had sixteen other disciples to serve them as secretaries, all preachers likewise; and out of the former were to be chosen the successors to the regal and pontifical throne: for they were, after their founder's example, to assume both these titles and dignities. Their disciples, or followers of their feel, were filled Mabredin, or Al Mabudden; but the Arabian writers fille them only preachers, and the Spanish Al Molade; and the defactors and succeffors of that tribe continued to fill themselves Emir Al Mabredin, or Chief of the Faithful, or true Believers, as long as their dynasty continued, and have been very powerful both in Africa and Spain.

As to the particular tenets of this new feel, if we except their more specious pretence to orthodoxy; as firther adherents to, and preachers of, the unity of God, they had little or nothing peculiar, but what was artfully calculated by its founder, and suited to the loose genius of that people; which, added to their great outcry for liberty, and against the tyranny of the Almoravides, could not fail of alluring the greatest part of the kingdom to second the revolt, and embrace their feel and doctrine.


founders
founders of that metropolis as much as he could, he caused all its ancient edifices, particularly the great mosque, the royal palace, and other public buildings, to be leveled with the ground, causing some part of their ruins to be ground small, and fitted through a sieve, in compliance with his oath, and new ones to be built in their stead, and after a more ample and lumentious manner. These he caused to be called by his own name; but had the mortification to find their old ones remain still indelible in the people’s memory, though eradged by him from their old marble and stone monuments, and to hear these new edifices still called by the names of the old ones. He was no less inhuman in extirpating all the unhappy remains of the Aleramic tribe; and ceased not persecuting them till he had destroyed all that came either to his own knowledge, or to that of his officers. He exercised the same cruelty against the citizens, officers, and soldiers, who had most signalized themselves in the defence of that city, or for their zeal and loyalty to their infant sovereign; so that the first years of his reign were little better than an era of blood and slaughter.  

In the mean while his cruelties and swift conquests, as well as the strenuous oppositions of the Alemoric governors in most of their conquered provinces, who refused to submit to him, and of others, who, weary of the Alemoric tyranny, thought it now a lucky juncture to shake off their galling yoke, and make a brave attempt to regain their liberty, occasioned a very quick and surprising change through the greatest part of those provinces, and more particularly in Barbary, where the Arabs of Numidia, who had been driven from their seats by their Alemoric masters, and forced to retire to the mountains, and live wholly upon agriculture, and feeding of cattle, took this opportunity to invade and make themselves masters of Tunis and Trommen, and forced the native Africans to submit themselves under their dominion; but were quickly after obliged to fly from the Abbades. On the other hand, several of the Alemoric governors, taking the advantage of the wars and distractions then reigning, trebled their governments into independent principalities and petty kingdoms; and those who dwelt in the mountainous parts, into a variety of lordships, under their own Cheyks. In particular, the states of Barbary, Tripoli, Kayrun, Tunis, Algiers, Trommen, and Bajaria, had each their own sovereign. The Nubians and Libyans had followed them the example; and many others besides them were ready to follow it.  

Whilst these changes were introduced in Africa, the Alemoric princes, greatly harrassed by king Alphonso, sent in vain to Abd’almonun repeated intreaties to come over to their affinities, his own dominions requiring his whole attention against so many opposers and defeaters; and all he could do for them was to lend over to them an army of 30,000 men, from among his African mountaineers, the Gomerites, a stout and warlike tribe we have lately spoken of, who proved exceedingly serviceable to them against the Christians. All this while he was purifying his own conquests with surprising success, assisted by those of his own valorous tribe of Mozamunda, and especially those of the branch of Benuregarol, of which he himself was, and, on that account, had the greatest share in his favour and confidence. The consequence of which was, that he, within the space of a few years, reduced the Numidiens and Gallatians on the west, and the kingdoms of Tunis, Trommen, and the greatest part of Mauritania and Tinguitania, to the consent of the Arabs of Tunis, which still preferred their liberty and government, through various successful enterprises, until they were wholly subdued by the great Al Mansur, the fourth king of the Alemoric line, as will be seen in the sequel. Abd’almonun likewise dispossessed the Christians of the chief city of Africa, or Medebia, and some others on the same coast, after they had been a considerable time in their possession; besides his other conquests in Spain and Portugal. He died in the seventh year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Tufsef, or Joseph (C).  

1 Iid. ibid.  2 See before, vol. v. p. 720. sub not.  3 Iid. ibid. vid. & Grammat. ubi sup. c. 7.  4 Grammat. Afric. illustrat. lib. iv. c. 7.  & al. ubi sup.
Yusef proved a martial prince like his father, and inherited all his hatred against the Christians; so that he had no sooner quelled some slight troubles in his new kingdom, and established the kings of Tunis and Bugieia in their respective kingdoms, as his tributaries and vassals, than he prepared to embark for Spain, to the affiance of the Moors princes, who all earnestly pressed him to it, and were perpetually harrassed there by the Christian powers.

He set sail accordingly on the very entrance of the year, at the head of a more powerful armada than had perhaps ever crossed that sea, consisting of 60,000 horse, and above 100,000 foot, and, in his landing, was joined by that of the Moors princes who had invited him thither, and came, according to their engagements, to take the oaths of fidelity to him. We shall defer the detail of his various successes till we come to the Spanish history.

b and only observe here, that it did by no means answer his expectations, and that he was glad, at the end of eight years, to return into Africa, to suppress a revolt which the Zemrites had raised in the kingdom of Tremezen; and, as it was long absence which had encouraged them to it, to his unexpected return and presence quickly put a stop to it. As soon as he had made all quiet there, he raised a fresh army, more numerous than the former, and crossed over again into Spain, where he had much better success, and carried his conquests so far, that the pope and most of the Christian princes of Europe joined their forces into a kind of crusade, to put a stop to his progress; so that, finding himself on the eve of being opposed by such an united host, while he was besieging Don Alphonso Henriquez in Santarino in Spain before Portugal, as he was hastening the siege with all his might, he received his death by an arrow, shot, some say, by one of his men; others, by a Portuguese. However that be, the Moors princes raised the siege immediately after, and the African fleets sailed back into Barbary.

Yusef was succeeded by his warlike son Jakub, or Jacob, surnamed Al Manfur, or The Conqueror, who found his African dominions in the utmost confusion, and the greatest part of his tributary provinces in open revolt; and it was not without great difficulty that he reduced them to their duty. The king of Fez was one of the first who thought it the safest way to acknowledge him for his sovereign; whilst those of Tremezen and Tunis absolutely refused to follow his example, and resolved to stand out against him. This obliged him to have recourse to artifice, and to stir up the Arabs against them. To this end, he clapped Transplanting the Arabs out of the Arabs out of Tunis and Tremezen, and reduced them to submission and to submission, and, by artifice, both sides found themselves strangely over-reached; the two revolted kingdoms were easily brought under subjection, and the Arabs, who had affiled him in it, obliged to them to transport themselves from their provinces, the most considerable of them into those of Dukela, Tremezen, and Asgar, and the other part into those of Numidia and Libya; by which means, under pretense of settling them in more fertile and pleasant habitations than the barren mountains that they inhabited, he effectually weakened and dispersed them, beyond the power of reuniting and molesting these two kingdoms in haste; whilst those who remained in Mauritania and Tingitania were obliged to submit to become his vassals; that nation, known to be out of their element when driven out of their defenses, and to degenerate by degrees from their natural stoutness and courage; being forced then, instead of living upon plunder, either to apply themselves to agriculture and feeding of cattle, or to labor.

Those of the province of Asgar continued to pay their tribute to the Almohades; but those of Dukela and Tremezen, who were more considerable and powerful, soon found means not only to free themselves from it, but to oblige the native Africans to pay it to them. Thence also that were sent into Numidia and Libya were obliged to submit to the yoke, when they were unacquainted with the country; but by degrees became united, and powerful enough to make themselves masters of those provinces, and even to enlarge their dominions, and to render themselves independent of any government but that of their Cheys (D).

*(D) As these are, on that account, reckoned the most noble of all the Arabs, as forsaking all other subjection, and every other way of living but that of plunder on their neighbours and travellers, it may not be amiss to mention the method which they left take to secure themselves from their violence; namely, by applying to one of their Cheys, and obtaining, by a certain sum, or other valuable consideration, a safeguard from him, who, upon the payment of it, wrote down in his register the names of every traveller, and deputes one of his subjects to conduct them through his territory or district. The man commonly carries a lance in his hand, with a kind of bandage, on which are painted or embroidered the arms or device of the Cheyk; and goes with them till he hath brought them to the next Cheyk, where the same ceremony is to be repeated, and a new safeguard obtained; and thus, by travelling from one dour, or district, to another, under such a safeguard, one escapes*
Al Mansur having thus far secured himself both against the revolted and the plundering Arabs, and settled those parts in quiet, went on with his other conquests with such speed and success, that he saw himself master, in a little time, of all that tract of land which lies between Numidia inclusive, and the entire length of the Barbary coasts from Tripoli to the kingdom of Morocco, including with it those of Fez, Frenzen, Tunis, and Tripoli, the whole extending itself above 1200 leagues in length, and in breadth, from the Mediterranean to the sandy deserts of Libya, above 480, exclusive of his Spanish dominions and fresh conquests, and where the greatest part of the Morisil princes acknowledged him for their sovereign. So that he is justly esteemed the greatest prince, next to the Arabian Khallifs, that ever reigned in this part of Africa, as he is also better known in history by his new title of Al Manjur, or Conquerer, than by his proper one of Al-Jahub. As he had frequent occasion to cross the sea to and from Africa and Spain, on account of the revolts which frequently happened during his absence from either, he built some considerable towns and fortresses on each coast, to facilitate his embarkations, and among them the cities of Rabhioner Sale, Al Calarquivar, Al Carcar-seguide, Manfira, and some others, which we shall have occasion to speak of in the sequel; for as he never passed from one to the other of his dominions without a powerful armament, which took up a long time in preparing, embarking, &c., so it often happened that some rebellion or war broke out in the one before he was well got to the other; which obliged him to hasten back without doing any thing considerable, except quelling them by his sudden appearance. By that time he had finisht some of those, and suppressed the revolters in Africa, he caused a general Gazette to be published through his dominions (E), which brought innumerable multitudes to enlist themselves volunteers in it, by which means he quickly raised an army of 400,000 men, 100,000 of which were horse, and passed immediately into Spain, where he was joined by Fernandez de Cafron, his vicroy, at the head of another, and there gained a complete victory over the united forces of the Christians, near the city of Alarcos, on the 19th of July. From thence he pursu'd his march towards the Taye, and would have gained many other advantages over them, had not Alphonse been baffled, by the badness of his affairs, to sue to him for a truce; which he more easily obtained, because a fresh revolt in Africa demanded his immediate presence there.

This last had been hatching by the governor of his capital during his three years' absence; in which time he had found means to draw the wandering Arabs into his meshes, and had raised a numerous army in the adjacent provinces; but upon the news of Al Manjur's arrival at the head of a much superior force, not daring to meet him in the field, he had by this time retired and fortified himself in that metropolis. Thither the king led his victorious troops, and laid close siege to it a whole year; when his army desponding to reduce the whole city, that valiant prince ordered all his officers to repair to his head-quarters with scaling-ladders, of the height of the walls, by the next morning. He was so readily obeyed, that 4000 of them appeared by that time ready to mount to the assault; when putting himself at their head, We bese, said he to them, fight bitherto for the sake of glory; but now we must fight for the sake of revenge, and to wrest your wives and children out of the hands of traitors and ravishers: with these words he scaled the walls at the head of them. The assault lasted three whole days and nights; during which time the besiegers were plying with constant refreshments, whilst the besieged, quite spent for want of such succour, were forced to abandon the town, and retire into the forterefs.

Al Mansur, followed by his brave troops, entered the city in triumph; but their joy was soon allayed by the stench of the dead bodies, with which they saw the streets quite covered, and were almost suffocated; but that prince would not suffer any of them to be removed, much less interred, till they were quite consumed, and then ordered the bones to be burned; alleging, that no fire was sweeter than the flaming carcasses of a traitor and an enemy. All this while the forterefs, into which the governor had retired, with a great number of perils of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions, was so closely invested, that they found themselves under a necessity, for want of provisions, of impairing the king's mercy; and a marabout, then in high esteem, was pitched upon to apply to him for it, who soon returned to them with the joyful news that he had obtained it; upon which the governor came to the danger of being plundered, and perhaps murdered, by these freebooters, who, otherwise, spare neither Turk, Turk, or any other nation, but fall on all comers without distinction.

(F) We have already observed, that what the Mohammedans call Gaziz is a kind of religious war, like the crusades among the Christians, and by which every zealous volunteer, who enlists in it, expects to gain heaven, and, if slain in battle, to be immediately conveyed thither; and, if we were to judge of their sincerity and zeal from the infinite multitudes that are allured to it on both sides, one could not but esteem them all alike fired with the same religious ardor.

But mark the end!—The 2,000 which came thither from France, to help to wrest Toledo out of the hands of the Turks, were no sooner desir'd the plundering of that potent city, when refused, than they turned their backs in anger, and returned to their own country; refusing to strike a blow without it, even for the cause of religion itself.
Chap. i. The modern history of Barbary.

a out the next day, with all his friends and attendants, to throw themselves at his majesty’s feet, and thank him for his great clemency: but, to their great surprize, they beheld the incensed prince’s eyes still glaring with anger and resentment; till, no longer able to contain himself, he threw his flipper at his head, and then ordered him to be beheaded, with all his friends and adherents. Here the marabout, who had accompanied him to the royal presence, offered to expostulate, and inflit upon his promis; but was coldly answered, that no promise was to be kept with such perfidious traitors.

b Here we must be obliged to put an unexpected period to the history of that glorious prince and conqueror, seeing the remainder of it is wrapped up in the deepest darkness; being told by the Arabic writers, that, to the great affliction of his court, he on a sudden disappear, and wandered in obscurity.

c Tawit, the king d of Al-Andalus, in the 1st year of his reign, after having left all his treasures to his son, went out to make one of his usual campaigns in the country of the Almoravids, and was defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Al-Andalus, in the 1st year of his reign, after having left all his treasures to his son, went out to make one of his usual campaigns in the country of the Almoravids, and was defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Al-Andalus, in the 1st year of his reign, after having left all his treasures to his son, went out to make one of his usual campaigns in the country of the Almoravids, and was defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Al-Andalus, in the 1st year of his reign, after having left all his treasures to his son, went out to make one of his usual campaigns in the country of the Almoravids, and was defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Al-Andalus, in the 1st year of his reign, after having left all his treasures to his son, went out to make one of his usual campaigns in the country of the Almoravids, and was defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Al-Andalus, in the 1st year of his reign, after having left all his treasures to his son, went out to make one of his usual campaigns in the country of the Almoravids, and was defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Al-Andalus, in the 1st year of his reign, after having left all his treasures to his son, went out to make one of his usual campaigns in the country of the Almoravids, and was defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Al-Andalus, in the 1st year of his reign, after having left all his treasures to his son, went out to make one of his usual campaigns in the country of the Almoravids, and was defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Al-Andalus, in the 1st year of his reign, after having left all his treasures to his son, went out to make one of his usual campaigns in the country of the Almoravids, and was defeated and taken prisoner.

d Al-Nakir, the left wing of the Almoravids, was accordingly proclaimed his father’s successor, and with the title of Emir, or Prince of the Faithful. He proved a warlike prince like his father, and, on his coming to the crown, resolved to pass into Spain with all speed, where king Alphonso, contrary to the last truce concluded with his father, had recovered several considerate places from him. To prevent, therefore, all revolts at home, during his absence, he confirmed the two vaillant kings of Tlemcen and Tawit in their dominions, and all the other governors of his tributary province and chief officers of his kingdom in their old parts and dignities. He next raised the most numerous army that had yet been known to pass into Spain, and confined, according to the unanimous report of all the Spanish writers, of 120,000 horse, and above 350,000 foot, besides the Arabian Cheyeks, who repaired to him from the eastern and western parts of his dominions, and accompanied him thither, each at the head of his choice troops. All the Christian powers were apprised of this vast armada, and dispatched all the forces they could spare to the assistance of king Alphonso, and the pope, at the same time, proclaimed a fresh crusade, in such promising and engaging terms, as brought into that kingdom an infinite multitude of strangers, to fight against the infidels.

Mohammed, however, landed with his army in Andalusia, where he was joined by all the Moorish princes, and with them marched directly to Saloumata, the then residence of the knights of Calatrava, who had lately wrenched it out of the hands of the Moors, and after a long and arduous siege made himself master of that strong place, as will be seen more fully in the Spanish history. Encouraged by this success, he soon after ventured to engage the whole force of the Christians on the plains of Talaja, where he was, though advantageously posted, attacked with such intrepid valor, that he was totally defeated, and with the loss, if we may credit the Spanish historians, of above 150,000 foot, 30,000 horse, 50,000 prisoners, and forced to abandon his camp, with all its immense and rich baggage, to the plunder of the enemy, himself eloping with great difficulty, attended only by a small number of his men, chiefly by the feetnefs of their horfes. This famed battle was fought, according to some Arabic writers, in the year of the Hijra 609, but according to the Spanish and other historians, in 617. However, after this signal overthrow, the Christians gained still fresh advantages.

* Leo, Gramm. Marmol, & al. ubi sup. * Id. ibid.
advantages over the Moors. Mohammed was glad to make the best retreat he could to hasten a back into Africa, as soon as the wind and sea would permit him, leaving his Spaniards dominions, and the remainder of his scattered army, under the command of his brother Elb Zeyd, who became soon after king of Valencia.

The flower and regret of this defeat, at the head of so numerous and gallant an army, and the loss of so many thousands of men, the very Arabs and Africans acknowledging it to have amounted to between 70 and 80,000, joined to the cold reception he met with at his court and capital, where they scrupled not to attribute his disgrace to his blindness and cowardice, affected him so sensibly, that it made the short remainder of his reign very uneasy to him, and very probably hastened his end; which, as soon as he perceived, he immediately appointed one of his grandsons, named Zeyd Arrax, or, as others write it, Ceyz Barraux, for his successor to the crown. He expired soon after, as unwilling to survive his misfortunes; and the news of his death and successor quickly reached his conquered provinces, and caused in them an almost universal revolt. The kings of Tlemcen, Fes, and Tunis, broke forth into an open revolt, which began to flame out in the first of them, under the conduct of an African named Gamarazan Ben Zeyen, or the son of Ceyz, of the tribe of the Zeneti, and a descendant of the Abd el Kouta, ancient monarchs of that kingdom, but then vassals to the Almohades. He had put himself at the head of a pretty considerable force of malecontents; but finding it still too weak to make head against that of Al Zeyd, who was in full march against him, he was forced to retire into a strong fortresses, where, being ready to perish for want of provisions, he had recourse to a near relation, whom he sent under the disguise of a malecontent, who came on purpose to shew him a way by which he might easily ascend to the top, and make himself master of the place. Zeyd was weak enough to accept of his offer; and going out with him to reconnoitre it, was affidavit by him at a convenient place; after which the murderer fled to the cattle, and acquainted his cousin with what he had done. Zeyd's death put an sudden end to the dynasty, or government, of the Almohades (F); and the traitor Gamarazan, taking advantage of the confusion and panic which the news of it had thrown his whole army into, fell suddenly upon and totally defeated them; so that, having no enemy left to oppose him, he quickly reduced the Tlemcenian kingdom under his subject, and held it as long as he lived; and ordered his successors for the future to exchange their old name of Abd el Koutas for that of Beni Menguenit, or Beni Iouezenev.

About the same time the governor of Fes for the Almohades, named Abdallah, of the Zenetian tribe, and of the same branch of the Benimerini, likewise revolted, seized on several cities, particularly those of Roboto and Aflajit, in the kingdom of Tlemcen, and defeated the Almohades, in the plains between Fes and Mequinez, and forced them to retire into the kingdom of Morocco; by all which singular advantages the Benimerini became very powerful. Abdallah, at his death, left the Fezian crown to his son, a minor, under the government of his brother Talab, who had afflicted him in all his conquests, and who, after his nephew's death, took possession of the crown, as immediate heir to it. This left took the title of Muley Cheyl, or antient or old king; a title equivalent to that of sovereign lord, on account of his having governed the Fezian kingdom with the title of king of Mequinez during his nephew's life.

Near the same time another uncle of the young king, named Mohammed Budobas, rose up in arms in the provinces of Tdoba and Damijet; the former of which he yielded to the king of Fes, to obtain his assentance, and entered into a league with him. They accordingly marched their joint forces towards Morocco, where the young king Zeyd was; but upon the news of their approach, abandoned that metropolis, which his uncle immediately entered, and took possession of it in his own name, and at the same time dispatched one of his chief officers in pursuit of him, who overtook him at Sequelesposa, and murdered him. Budobas immediately caused himself to be proclaimed king and Emir of the Almohades; and, instead of performing his engagements with the king of Fes, turned his arms against him, declared him a traitor and rebel against the Almohades, from whom he had usurped the Fezian kingdom, which they had intrusted under his government, and himself the rightful and determined avenger of (F) We do not mean by it an utter extinction of their line; for there were enough still living of it to lay a just claim to the crown, to make some strenuous efforts to regain it; but only that they all miscarried in their attempts, by some strange or unforeseen accidents. Amongst these we cannot forbear mentioning the late king's uncle Abd al Kadi, who, the better to succeed in it, had caused himself to be chosen by the chief officers of that state; but yet finding himself too weak to cope with the power of one of his competitors, was glad to compromise the...
of his black treason; protesting, that he would not sheath his sword, till he had driven him out of his usurped dominion. Such was the consequence, as is commonly the case, of their trea-

tionable and unnatural alliance. The misfortune was, that all this vapouring and threatening ended in his own total defeat, and death of the Almohade chief, by which the kingdom of Morocco, and its conquered provinces in Barbary, fell under the subjection of the Benimerins.

and the victorious king of Fez became the head of a new dynasty, which, in process of time, reduced all the kingdoms of Tunis, Tripoli, and other inferior sovereignties. For although the several of the Almohade governors, who had revolted under the same reign, were suffered to retain their dominions, especially in the mountainous parts, those of mount Atlas above-mentioned in particular, yet was it only on condition that they should acknowledge the kings of Fez as their lords. Among those we may add a considerable branch of the Mzabamidim tribe, so called (though originally of the Barbary family) from the mount, or rather large ridge of mountains, on the great Atlas, extending itself about 20 leagues in length westward, towards the Atlantic ocean, and where they reigned a considerable time under their own princes, after the decalit and abolition of the tyrannical power of the Arabs in several parts of Africa, particularly in Numidia, Libya, as well as this of Barbary; and still retained their ancient name. They are a wealthy and warlike nation, and valued themselves for their antiquity and nobility; and were once very powerful, and continued so for a considerable time, as will be farther shewn in the sequel of this work.

Among other branches descended from them, that of the Hettenas, so called from the famed mount of that name, the highest and most populous of the whole Atlantic ridge, have also made a very considerable figure in history, under their own princes, on account of their wealth and power; and particularly for their brave cavalry; and the frequent wars they have successfully waged against the Sharifs of Morocoo, till at length the being become masters of that kingdom, and much inferior to it in strength, were obliged to set aside all farther hostilities, and crave their alliance and protection, in order to be confirmed by them in their inferior dignity and scanty dominion. This forced alliance was made by Muley Idris, one of their kings, who boasted himself to be descended from the Almohades, and, as such, began to lay claim to the crown of Africa, which they had been posseffed of before, as we have lately seen, and to assume the regal title, though he had, till then, contented himself with that title of that mountain. He was then in possession of the city and strong forts of Grom Tetid, which had been founded about two centuries before by Horata, of his tribe of Mzabamada, and had continued to be their chief residence ever since. He held also several other forts on the same mountain, all likewise advantageously situated, and watered by the river Echilem, so called from the prodigious noise it makes in its rapid descent from those heights, whence, running down into a spacious plain below, it expands itself into a delightful lake. To these he added the city of Temeliet, a small but strong fortress, situate on an eminente part of the mountain of its name, formerly built by the same tribe; and exceedingly well peopled, as well as adorned with a stately mokh, held in great veneration by its inhabitants, who pretend that the famed Maged, and his disciple Abdolummen, the first king of the Almohades, lie interred in it; from which also those of that sect affect to call the city by his name Maged.

This was the situation of Muley Idris's small dominions, when the dread of the Sharifs power put him upon that ill-concerted expedition of securing himself in them by the above-mentioned alliance, which he soon afterwards found cause to repent of. The measures he took to extricate himself out of them were no less hazardous, and likely to have proved equally, if not more, fatal to him.

This transactio, as well as the occasion of it, having something singular and instructive in it, we hope our readers will not deem it a derogation from our subject, if we subjoin a short account of it, as we find it related in the authors quoted in the margin. It happened in the reign of the Sharif Muley Hammed, by which time the Portuguese had got some considerable

gpections on that coast, and particularly the strong castle of Salé, a considerable sea-port in that kingdom; the governor of which, named Nunez, ever attentive to his master's interest, and apprised of the dread of Idris was in from his new ally, had found means to invite him to exchange him for that of the king of Portugal, who, he assured him, would prove a more faithful, as well as more powerful, protector. The juncture was then altogether promising and favourable, inasmuch as Muley Hammed had lately made himself master of the city of Morocco, that is, after the death of Naker Buchentaf, the Almohades, and last possessor of it, and was become by that means a more formidable neighbour; which circumstance, that governor presumed, could not fail of determining the alarmed Idris to accept of the new prof-

fered alliance. To effect it with the greater safety and speed, he employed a servile Jew merchant, who traded in those parts, to convey a letter to him from his Portuguese majesty, which, to avoid discovery, was few between the foles of his shoe. But the Jew, whether

† Marmol, ubi sup. * Leo, & al. ubi sup. Mod. Hist., Vol. VII. N
to avoid suspicion, or to serve some other end, took the direct road to Morocco, and not only a
said some time in that capital, but ventured to appear before the Sharif, and transact some
private affairs with him; which so alarmed the Henetian prince, that, upon the Jeu’s deliver-
ing the letter to him, he returned it to him unopened, and ordered him to carry it back to
Morocco, and put it into the Sharif’s own hand, together with another written by himself, in
which he earnestly intreated him to have a watchful eye over the Christians, who, he was well
affured, were carrying on some dangerous plot against him. This precaution, luckily for him,
which was wholly owing to his suspicion that the Jeu might have discovered his correspondence
with the Portuguese governor, had the desired effect; and Muley, now satisfied of his friend-
ship and integrity, failed not to make him some grateful acknowledgments for it, whilst he
turned his whole resentment on those strangers, who had, with such treacherous artifices, at-
tempted to deprive him of so faithful an ally, and for such treacherous designs against him, in
order to invade the more effectually the dominions of both. The Jeu was the first who fell a
victim to his jealousy, whom suspecting to be more deeply informed of their designs, he caufed
be put to the torture, which was several times repeated; and, not being able to extort any
confession from him, condemned him to be torn in pieces by four wild horses. But as he
could not penetrate farther into the mystery of this conspiracy, this fresh intrefte of the Por-
tuguese ambition and policy only served to make him have a more watchful eye over them;
and, at the same time, if he had really entertained any views against those of his Henetian ally,
it made him set them a side, for the present at least; and Idris found in him from henceforth a
friend and protector, instead of a formidable neighbour; and his succours enjoyed their small
kingdom in peace for some generations, though they were, in process of time, reduced under
the yoke of the Sharifs, as will be more fully seen in the next chapter. Thus much may
suflace for these two considerable branches of the Zeneti, inhabiting the western parts of the
Atlas, under the names of Heneta and Zamabina. Other branches of the same tribe spread
themselves likewise in other parts of Barbary and Africa, as in Numidia, Nubia, Libya, &c.
and founded some considerable cities, with an account of which we shall not here interrupt the
thread and course of our history, having applied our readers that they should be taken
proper notice of in a supplemental volume, in the fame order as they have been transmitted to
us by Abulfeda and other Arabic historians and chronologers. All that needs be added
here to that of the Almohades, lately spoken of, after having made a considerable figure in the
kingdom of Fez and other parts, during the space of about 170 years, waged very cruel wars
against the kings of Fez, Tuni, Trescom, &c. and greatly enlarged their wealth, power, and
dominions, were at length succeeded by that of the Benimerini, another, and equally emi-
nent, branch of the Zeneti, above mentioned; these last having, like all the former branches
already spoken of, held the government during the space of above 177 years, enlarged their con-
quests, and enriched themselves by their frequent incursions not only into all the neighbouring
kingdoms above-mentioned, but even Nubia, Libya, and Numidia, were at length, like the
rest of these African parts, swallowed up by the general inundation of Mohammediun, as wille more fully seen in the sequel.

All these principal branches, not to mention some others which have likewise had their e
particular share of dominion in other parts, and a much greater number of inferior ones, which
have branched out into an innumerable variety, beyond an author’s power even to enumerate,
as Leo Africanus expresses it, out of his Arabic historian; and, if they could, would be of
little use or instruction to an English reader; all these, we say, have had their several periods
of government in Barbary; and, if our author is rightly informed, were the chief, if not the
only ones, which retained so much of their Arabic extract, as to prefer the Arabic and wandering
life, as the most noble and suitable to their origin and taste, whilst they obliged those who
lived under their government to inhabit in cities and villages, to cultivate the lands and pasture
grounds, to follow husbandry and breeding of cattle, and to exercise variety of such trades
and manufactures as the exigencies of nature and society required. They everywhere re-
tained their original or Arabic tongue, in its purity, or, at least, with so little intermixture or
corruption, that whether they live in towns or villages, or roam at large in the spacious plains,
mountains, or deserts, or how intermixed learn with others, they easily understand one
another. During that long interval, each of their sects had its authors, factours, and disci-
plies, all contending with equal warmth for their particular tenets, and triumphed over the
others in their turns, and enjoyed Mohammediun of their own fabrication; till the Sharifs on
the one hand, and the Turks on the other, having reduced the whole Barbarie tract, obliged
each of them to submit to a new one of their own, as will be farther shewn in the subsequent
chapters.

† Leo, &c. ubi sup. * See before, vol. ii. 109, & alib. pass. † EEB RACHA, ep. Leo,
ubi sup. ‡ Leo, ubi sup. Davitt, Blanqui, &c. We
The modern history of the kingdom of Tremecen.

We have, by this time, gone through all we thought needful, by way of preliminary to the history of this large and opulent part of Africa; and, in order to inform our readers by what degrees and strange means the several fates that now compose it came insensibly to coalesce into the different forms of government under which they now live, we shall next give their respective histories. Nevertheless, it will not be improper, before we close this chapter, to subjoin here an account of the once famed kingdom of Telosine, or Tremecen, of which we have had frequent occasion to make some mention; especially with regard to the share it hath in the wars and other transactions with the states lately spoken of, before its reduction by, and being incorporated into, that of Algiers; in all which it hath made so considerable a figure in the history of Barbary, that it might be unjustly deemed an inexusable omission not to give it a place.

SECT. III.

The history of the kingdom of Telosine, or Tremecen.

This kingdom was antiently considerable enough to be reckoned the third in rank of Kingdom of Tremecen, or, as some write it, Tremecen, of which we shall give an account in its proper place. It stretches itself from north to south-east, that is, from the west Mediterranean to its limits, about 850 leagues in length, and about 80 in breadth; in some places, about 50, and about 26 or 21 where narrowest. On the east it hath the kingdom of Tunis, or Africa propria, from which it is divided by two rivers; namely, the Zib and the Mohaga, the former of which hath its spring-head on the Zambaghian mountains, and running thence across the countries of Quinen, Matagora, and Relk, spreads itself into a lake, in a desert south of the territory of Segenissa (A); and the latter, by a contrary course, runs from mount Atlas across the whole country, and empties itself into the Mediterranean, near the town of Oma (b). From thence to that of Gigel is the utmost breadth of its coast; this last being its utmost boundary on the other side, as the Numidian is on the south. The kingdom is divided into four principal provinces, whereof the first and chief bears the name of Tremecen; the second is called Tenes, the third Algiers (which three formerly constituted the Cifarian Mauritania), and the last is that of Magona, vulgarly called Bagata, which some geographers place in the kingdom of Tunis. These four provinces have, ever since the decay of the Roman empire, been preferred by the Arabs of the Zenatan tribe; next to them by the kings of Tunis and Fez; and last of all by the Turks, as will be seen in the sequel. The former of them in particular, who are very numerous in each, and no less stout and warlike than greedy of plunder, have proved a perpetual plague to them, being advantageously seated on the mountainous parts, where they cannot be called at, or, in case of danger of being over, are ever ready to remove their habitations into the most inaccessible part, where they range at will, and without paying any subjection or tribute to the Tremecen princes, living mostly on the spoil of their subjects below. They are divided into five branches, viz. Barbiers, Zenatis, Harrs, Zintzians, and Asoni, all of them Mohammedans, and have their mosks in great numbers, tho', for the most part, more tradable, and less averse to Christians, with whom they carry on a considerable commerce, than those of the kingdom of Morocco, who still retain an irrecon-
The modern history of the kingdom of Tremecen. Book XXII.

cleable hatred against them (B). However, the former have proved worse enemies both to a this kingdom, and Tunis, Fez, and others on this coast, ever since the Turks have been masters of so great a part of it, and have been ever ready to excite revolts, and join forces with their enemies, especially such as paid them best for acting against them.

The climate and soil of this kingdom, being pretty much the same as we have seen it in other parts of Barbary, that is, sandy and barren on the southern side, and more fruitful and mountainous towards the Mediterranean, we shall not need to dwell on a detail of its products, which are, for the most part, the same through the whole Barbary tract. That especially about the capital of Tremecen is little else than a continued barren plain of a vast extent; so that there are but few other cities of any note in its neighbourhood. But it is far otherwise towards the south, and near the sea, where the plains, valleys, and even the mountains, yield a most agreeable verdure, plenty and variety of pasturage, fruits, and several sorts of grain; whilst the southern parts are very poorly furnished with cities and towns of any note, except the capital, and are only defended by some strong castles, dispossessed at proper distances, and advantageous posts (C). The northern ones have a considerable number of them, especially upon the coasts. Yet both the inland and maritime parts drive a considerable commerce both out of the kingdom and with each other; the former with Numidia, Nigeritia, and other inland parts, for flaves, gold dust, elephants teeth, ebony and other woods, and a great variety of gums, and other commodities, and exchanges them with the maritime parts for their corn and other products, as well as a great variety of European goods, cloths, knives, scissors, razors, rings, beads, bells, and other trinkets, brought thither from Spain, France, and Italy, but more particularly from Venice and Genoa, whence a good number of merchant ships used to refit to the two famed ports of Aurun, or Horan, and Marsa Al Kefib, till both towns were taken, and the commerce quite obstructed, by Ferdinand king of Spain, as will be seen in the sequel, and was not restored till Barbarossa made himself master of the Tremecenin kingdom, recovered and repaired the maritime and trading towns, and reinstituted those merchant to revive their commerce with his new dominions, which their fear of the Christians, and the wars which had raged till then, had so greatly obstructed. We shall not, however, take up our reader's time with a detail of those towns, because we shall find the most considerable of them still standing and flourishing under the dominion of the Turks, when we come to the history of the kingdom of Algiers, of which this of Tremecen is now but a part, and where they will more properly come under our notice. At present we shall content ourselves with fingering out two of the most remarkable ones; viz. that of Ned Roma, and that

(B) There is still another class of them, more miscellaneous than the others, and these are those who inhabit the deject of Angah, which lies on the road between Tremecen and Fez, and is computed to be about twenty-eight leagues in length, and eighteen in breadth, and across which runs the Molaya lately mentioned, though everywhere else defective of water and almost every kind of food; but swarms with flocks of sheep and other wild beasts, as well as with those wandering and pilfering Arabs, as made it, on both accounts, very dangerous to the merchants who were obliged to travel from one kingdom to another.

This obliged the kings of Tremecen to keep a body of troops along the banks of the river, both to repulse the one and defend the other, which they did during the summer season, so as to make it passable all that time; but when the winter drew near, and the soldiers were obliged to go in quest of provisions as far as Numidia, as they must do every year, then do these nuisances begin to rage again, and make it exceeding dangerous to travel through that sandy and barren wilderness [3].

The Tremecen princes had here likewise erected the strong fortress of Tremeggez, on the road between their capital and the city of Fez, which stands on a high rock, in the midst of a spacious and fertile plain, watered by the river Tagge, which falls down from the mount Atlas into that of Mejerzez. This fortress was designed to guard the pass into the desert above-mentioned, on the side of the capital, from the incursions of the Arabs; but hath been since feigned and polluted by them, and since then by the Turks; who, having made themselves masters of Barbary, have fortified it, and keep a constant garrison in it (4).

(C) Amongst that number we shall only select one, to serve as an example of the rest; viz. that called by Leo Illi, and by Marmol Zensil, said to have been built by the Franks as a frontier town; but, by what one may judge from the height and strength of its walls, the beauty and largeness of the square towers, more like a work of the Romans, and probably the Giva of Ptolomies, who places it in 41 degrees 30 minutes of longitude, and 32 degrees 30 minutes of latitude.

It is这座, like that spoken of in a former note, in a barren plain, between the desert of Angah, and the territory of Tremecen, and was formerly well inhabited and garnished, having some spacious fields in its neighbourhood, which produced some corn, barley, and other provisions; till being at length taken by Turks, or Japhet, prince of the race of the Berberians, and the inhabitants expelled, it was some time after inhabited by a sect of religious monks, in great veneration amongst all the Musulmans and Arabs; insomuch that neither the prince of Tremecen, nor even the plundering Arabs, raised any tribute or exactions upon them, on account of the great holiness they exercised towards all strangers who passed by, whom they liberally entertained during three days, and disinfested without paying any thing. There is a small river passes by this castle, which supplies them, and their fields round about, with a sufficient quantity of water; without which the ground would not produce anything. As for their houses, they are mere huts, built of earth, and thatched only with leaves. So that the place hath nothing now remarkable left but its ancient high walls above-mentioned (5).

(3) Leo African, lib. iv. c. 2. Marmol Afric. lib. v. c. 3. & Grammar, & al.
(4) Marmol, lib. v. sup.
The modern history of the kingdom of Tremecen.

Chap. i. of Tremecen, the former called so for its antiquity and likenesses to the antient Rome, and the other as being the metropolis of the Tremecenian kingdom, and the splendid residence of its princes.

NEX ROMA, so called from the Arabics, importing its likenesses to that antient metropolis of the world, and built by its once lordly conquerors, whilst masters of this part of Africa, is festos on a large plain, about three leagues from the great Atlas, and about four from the Mediterranean, much resembling that of Rome in its situation; and some very considerable remains of its antient splendor not only bear still a very remarkable resemblance to that old mistress of the world, but it is the only one in all those parts that hath preferred any of them (the barbarous Vandals having, as hath been formerly hinted *, made it one part of their glory to destroy all the antient monuments of the Roman grandeur); on which account we thought that antient city might well deserve a particular notice in this place. Its walls, which are still standing, and appear high and lofty, built of large square stone, strongly cemented, and reared after the Roman style, the remains of fundry other pompuous edifices, marble colonnades, fepulchres, and other monuments, with Roman inscriptions, though, for the most part, either thrown down and lying in ruins, or terribly defaced, are still so many evidences of its antient greatness. As to its houses, they appear to have been rebuilt after the coarser African style; so that it is likely the old Roman ones were destroyed either by the Vandals above-mentioned, or during the latter wars between the kings of Tremecen and those of Fez and Tunis.

The adjacent fields are still very plesant, fruitful, and well watered by a large river, descending from the great Atlas, whose banks on both sides are beautifully shaded with variety of fruit-trees, and the neighbouring mountains are likewise covered with various kinds of trees, one of which in particular, called by the antients Karsebe, or Karbebeis, bears a fruit of a sweet and pleasing taste, and of which they make a kind of bread, which they eat all of the year round with all their other viands. They have likewise great plenty of wheat and barley, abound with excellent pasturage and variety of cattle. They have also a fine sort of cotton growing amongst them, of which they make some of the finest linen in all Barbary. Upon the whole, nothing appears more delightful and agreeable, and promising, than the adjacent parts, and the remains of this old city; nor any thing more shocking and mean than its inside; the entrance and every part of which presents you fearfully with any thing but a parcel of poor tattered buildings, mostly of earth, or at best patched up here and there with some of the square stones of the old city, and a heap of other ruins, some within and others without the walls. We shall only add, that Ptolemy, who takes it for the antient Salinum, places it in 12 degrees 10 min. of longitude, and 33 degrees 20 min. of latitude. Both the city and the inhabitants of the adjacent mountains are of the Zenata tribe, and a branch of the Tanbaghian†; they were once stout and warlike, and could bring 25,000 fighting men into the field; but, since their tyrannical subjection under the Turks, are greatly decreased both in number and courage, and remarkable for little else than their potteries or earthen manufactures; though, from the advantageous situation and richness of their fields and pastures, one would judge it to have been formerly a place of great commerce.‡

The capital of this kingdom is the other city we are now to describe. It is commonly called, by our modern geographers, Tremecen, Tremefon, Tremcen, or Tremisen; but antiently, and according to the true Arabic orthography and pronunciation, Tlemcen, or Tlem-serabed. It is pleasantly situated, about five leagues south-east of the mouth of the Sebna, upon a rising ground, below a range of rocky precipices, supposed by the learned Dr. Shaw to be the Sacribain of Edrisi, and upon the first ridge of them (for there runs another to the southward) lieth a flit of level ground, that burrits out in every part of it with springs of water, which, gradually uniting together into little streams, fall afterwards into a pleasant variety of cascades in their near approach to Tlemser. These the author last-quoted suppofes to be the springs which form the Annafani of Edrisi, they still continuing to run in the same direction, into a stream which turns a number of mills, as that river is said to have formerly done. There is besides a large source of water in the heart of the city, conveyed thither by a subterranean channel, from some other place; and the mountains above-mentioned, to the southward of this ridge, yield fuch plenty of water, that there was the left need for Marmol to fetch thofe from the Fesora of Numidia; this conduit not only yielding a sufficient supply to the city, but being conveyed from the refervoir to the cattel, moffes, and other places of reforit || (D).

* See before, vol. iv. p. 700, & seq.  † MARMOL, Leo, & al. sup. citat.  ‡ De his, vide vol. v. p. 730, sub note (Y).  § MARMOL, & al. ubi sup. Vide & Shaw's Travels, p. 47.  ‡ Id. ibid.  § Shaw, ibid. p. 45.

(D) There is likewise on the west end of the city, a large square basin, built, we are told, after the Edrisi, on which, if we believe the tradition which goes current in Vol. VII.
It is not easy to conjecture when, or by whom, this royal metropolis was first founded; and though we are told that there have been found among its ruins many rows of pillars, and other fragments of Roman altars, with inscriptions to the Dei Manes, and other Roman antiquities, yet most authors are of opinion, that it had but a small beginning, and did not arrive at its zenith of grandeur till after the destruction of that of Arsegol by the Zanbaghians, in the year of the Hejra 410, of which we shall speak more fully in the sequel. Till that time it seems to have been only a small fortres, poiseffed, if not built, as Marmol conjectures, by the Magarean Zemisti. However that be, it was known to the antients by the name of Temesi, and Ptolemy places it under the 13th degree 50 minutes of longitude, and the 33d degree 10 minutes of latitude.

The walls of it, when in their largest extent, according to our learned traveller, were, for the most part, moulded in frames, and appear to have consisted of a peculiar kind of mortar, made up of sand, lime, and small pebbles, so well tempered, that it acquired the hardness and solidity of stone. The several stages and removes of those frames are still observable to the eye, by which some of them appear to have been 100 yards long, and a fathom in height and thickness, by which one may estimate the quantity of mortar made use of at one time. They were of a considerable height, and strong enough to be reckoned impregnable; at least they proved so far such, as to withstand an obstinate siege of thirty months, in spite of the daily vigorous assaults of the besiegers, under the eye and command of their prince Abul Hafiz, king of Fez, who at length made that fatal breach in it, which occasioned the surrender and ruin of the place, and the death of its valiant prince, as will be seen in the sequel.

Till that time Fezemen was wisely divided into several distinct wards, each of which might be considered as a separate city. They were of an oblong figure like the town, and each included with its own high walls, of the same structure and materials, and were of singular use, either to prolong a siege, or prevent any insurrection, and intestine commotions among the citizens; and we are told that there were two of them still standing in the time of Edrisi. The rest of them had been demolished by the conqueror, and from the remains of it our author computes the whole compass of the city to have been about four miles. What other considerable damage this noble capital received in its several sumptuous edifices and public buildings, we are left to guess; however, after the decay of the Benimerinian family, it began to be repaired and inhabited afresh, insomuch that it soon increased, we are told, to 12,000 families. Its d public and commerce were likewise so well revived, and its merchants and citizens became so wealthy, that the palace also refurnished its pristines grandeur, so far as to vie with the city of Fez in almost every thing, but the stateliness of its buildings; so that, in our author’s time, there were many noble structures, as moels, public schools for Mohammedan preachers and professors, particularly five colleges, most sumptuously built, some by the kings of Tremecen, and others by the kings of Fez, with variety of other public buildings, as baths, hot-houses, and flately urns, or caravanseras, for the use of the merchants and strangers, and built after the African style, unto two of which the Venetians and Genoese usually referred. The Jews were here likewise very numerous, and vastly rich; but on some discontent, or misdemeanor, they were all at once brought to the lowest state of misery and contempt. This happened soon after the death of king Abubaddilah, in the year of the Hejra 923; since which time they have never recovered themselves, nor their credit. As for the citizens they lived in great ease and wealth, and each have their trades and occupations, in a particular part of the city, as they have in that of Fez.

We have already described the noble city walls, and shall only add, that they had four principal flately gates, all beautifully adorned, well fortified, and with spacious houses or rooms for the entertainment of the guards. Without the walls, on the south side of the city, stands the royal palace, built in the manner of a fortres, in which are the lodgings, or apartments, in great number, and of great strength and beauty, each of them adorned with flately gardens and fountains. The palace had two sumptuous gates, the one towards the city, and called Beb-gadit, the other towards the country, called Beb-el Gied. The city is likewise surrounded, at some distance, with other beautiful villas and houses of pleasure, and great variety of gardens and orchards, where the richer sort of the inhabitants spend great part of the summer, in among the inhabitants, the Tremecenian kings were wont to take the diversion of the water, and their subjects to learn navigation. But, as Leo Africanus rightly observes, the waters of the Sarbatain, which supply it, being easily turned off their usual course, it is more likely that this basin was originally designed as a reservoir against a siege, fire, or other emergencies, as well as to refresh a great number of beautiful gardens and other plantations below it. Edrisi mentions a structure of this kind, where the fountain of Omahult discharges itself (8).

(8) Leo, ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 10. & al. pass.
Chap. i.  The modern history of the kingdom of Tremezen.

a time of peace. These are also furnished with plenty of water, and stored with all manner of fruit trees, particularly of olive and walnut, from which they make plenty of oil. Vines are there likewise in great plenty, and furnish the people with excellent grapes, which, being dried in the sun, serve them all the year round. They do the same by their figs and other fruits, and, to close the charming account which our author, an eye-witness of what he relates, gives of it, nothing could be more delightful and fertile, of all that nature can produce in those warm climates, than what he beheld in the adjacent parts of this opulent metropolis, nor more peaceable and happy than its inhabitants; all which probably continued, if not improved yearly, till the year 1670, which was that of its last fatal overthrow, when Muley Haufan, the Bey of Algiers, having taken a dislike to the inhabitants, on account of their disaffection to him, reduced the greatest part of it into ruins; so that there was not the sixth part of it left remaining when our learned traveller visited those parts about an. 1526.

b Before we take our leave of this metropolis, it will not be displeasing to our readers to give a small sketch of its court, and of the surprising state which the Tremezenian princes took upon them, when in the height of their grandeur and prosperity; and though most of them were but mere upstarts, in comparison, yet they affected, when they could reach it, all the pomp and grandeur of the greatest eastern monarchs; one instance of which, among the rest, was, that none of their subjects were ever allowed to speak to them, or to appear in their presence, except their prime ministers, nobles, and officers of their court, and that in a manner suitable to each of their respective dignities, as every such was suited to their rank and nobility. The Officers of the court.

c Sift of these was of the lord-lieutenant or prime minister, who had the dispossess of all the inferior ones, the command of the army, and frequently led them into the field, and against the enemy. Next to him was the chief secretary of state, who minutely and recorded all things appertaining to the king. The next in rank was his high treasurer, who receives his revenues and tributes. The next was his lord almoner, or dispensator, who beffows such liberalties as the king chuses to grant. The fifth officer is the captain of his guard, who, as often as any nobles are admitted into the presence, conducts the guard to the palace gate. We omit the rest as not worth a particular mention, such as the matter of the horie, or, as he is there styled, the overeer of the saddle and stirrups; the lord chamberlain, who only attends whenever the king gives audience, &c.

d The royal revenue, which chiefly arises from the imports and exports from and to the city Reven. of Auran, where the principal custom-house was, did not then amount to above six hundred thousand crowns yearly; the one moiety thereof was appropriated to the maintenance of his forces, and the other to that of his household; and, if there arose any overplus from either, it was laid up to defray the exigencies of war. However, it is plain, that they had not attained Commerce. the art of improving so beneficial a branch of their revenue; and the Turks, since their becoming masters of this kingdom, have greatly increased it, even after the taking of that commodious port from them by the Spaniards, by removing the commerce of it to the capital of Algiers, this being no less advantageously situate for trade, both to and from Europe and Africa, as will be seen in the subsequent chapter, and hath swarmed with pirates from both coasts ever since. The Tremezenian kings had likewise a considerable trade with the inland, which the Turks have taken great care to improve; the misfortune was, the Numidians, who carried it on with them, being of such inatable avarice, that they could scarcely be brought to any equitable terms.

Upon the whole, those kings in general affected to imitate, if not to vie with, those of Egypt, of whom we shall give an account in a subsequent chapter, in the splendor and ordering of their court. There is however one remarkable singularity, which our author observed amongst them; that whenever he that was then on the throne appeared in public, or went abroad, it was always not only with a less numerous and splendid retinue than the former, but in such a plain and ordinary drefs, that he was hardly to be distinguished from a common captain in time of war; and when he travels, from any of his attendants.

e They used to stamp a gold coin of bafer alloy, though of a larger size, and of about the Tremezen coin. value of an Italian ducat and a quarter.

We shall conclude this section with such a sketch of the history of this kingdom as we have been able to collect from the authors quoted hitherto in the margin. We have already taken notice that it was known to the Romans and Greeks, under the name of Tenisfe, and was a part of the Mauritia Cesarifin., which they had subdued. After the decline of their empire, it may be reasonably supposed that it underwent the same fate with the other parts of Barbary, that is, groaned like them for a long while under the tyranny of the Arabian Khalifs, and their Cheyks, though how long is hard to determine; till, their yoke becoming intolerable everywhere, they were forced to shake it off, and to form, like the rest, a new

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* MARMOL, Leo, & al. sup. citat.  
† MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

++ Leo, ubi sup. SAW, ubi sup.  
* Leo Afric. ubi sup. c. 2.  
k ALDKETT AN. ubi sup. Leo, MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

8 government
government or dynasty of their own, from which sprang that vast number and variety, which flourished in their turns, not only in the several parts of Barbary, but of all this northern part of Africa, as far as Nubia, Libya, Numidia, &c. as hath been frequently shewn through the course of this chapter.

Accordingly those of TellemSat, or Tremecen, who were of the tribe of the Zenati, of the branch of the Magrawas, or Magroas, formerly spoken of, became the first founders of this government. They called themselves Beni Abdul'algad, and were esteemed the most antient and considerable of all the Barbary princes, living in the greatest magnificence and splendor, and keeping the most superfic court, and rate above all the rest. Their successors, as hath been lately hinted, being chosen from among the highest nobility, affected to make the most pompous appearance, and have had regiments of cavalry under them for their retinue, and all likewise sumptuously mounted and habited, even vaster above their estate and income. The prince's revenue, in spite of all their great show and state, was so small at first, that that of three whole years was scarce sufficient to maintain war one whole twelve-month; which obliged them to have recourse to the expedient of having not only their gold coin of a safer alloy, but their silver also, as occasion required. They found means, however, to augment it by degrees, as well by the taxes they levied on their subjects, as by their commerce both with Europeans and Africans; and, by customs, imposts, and exactions, to become very wealthy and powerful, and to hold the reins of that kingdom during the space of three hundred years, without any considerable alteration, excepting now and then some wars with their neighbours, but more particularly in time by the upstart Almoravides and Almohades successively, both which, in their turns, either reduced them, or contented themselves to keep them under tribute, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter. Yet, under all these disfactors, they seldom failed of recovering their liberty, and putting themselves again in their quo.

One of the most remarkable of these revolutions happened in the time of one Ghamrazen, or, as others call him, Gamazaz, a man of valour, of the family of the Beni-zejens, who headed a revolt against the Almohades, towards the decline of their government, and recovered the kingdom of Tremecen out of their hands, and left it to a series of successors, who took upon them the new name of Beni-zejens, instead of the old one of Abd'alladis, and reigned there during the space of near 380 years, according to Leo and Grammav*, but of only 160 according to Marmal. However, they were forced, during the latter end of that interval, to sustain several very fierce wars from the kings of Fez, who had once driven them out of the greatest part of their dominions, making some tributary, obliging others to flee for refuge among the barren and inhospitable mountains, and holding the rest under a severe subjection. They were no less harassed by the kings of Tunis, under whom they fought several unsuccessful battles, and endured many obfinate sieges in their capital and other fortresses, besides other dreadful ravages they committed in their frequent incursions.

But the most dreadful siege this capital of Tremecen underwent was under Yuuss, king of Fez, which lasted seven whole years successively; that prince, having built a strong fort on the east side of the town, reduced it to such distress and want, that the citizens began to labour under an intolerable famine. Upon this they all agreed to apply to the king in a body, and, in the most pathetic terms, to beseech him to have compassion on their distress, and not to deliver them up to the dreadful effects of a general assault, after having sustained this obstinate siege in his defence. The king, who was then at supper upon a piece of horse-flesh, stewed with barley, admitted them to his presence, and pointing to his homely faire, plainly shewed them how little better his condition was than that of the meanest of them. This allayed their clamours for the present; quickly after which, having called them together to an assembly, he exhorted them, in the strongest terms, to consider how much more noble and glorious it was to die sword in hand, in defence of one's own country, than to submit to a life of the basest and most ignominious slavery? This alternative the generous prince displayed in such lively and affecting colours, that they unanimously resolved to fall out upon the enemy, with a becoming bravery, on the next day, and either conquer or die. This noble resolution was immediately put in execution, and all proper preparations were made with all possible diligence, against the next day, which they all now waited impatiently for. However, before the wished-for morning appeared, they were surprised with the sudden news of a more effectual deliverance, as well as more suitable to their singular bravery, beyond what their most sanguine wishes could have imagined or expected. The Fezian king was murdered that very night by one of his own subjects; the news of which, being brought to the city, inspired the king and its citizens with fresh courage; upon which they followed him out of the gates, and fell upon the enemy's camp, then in the utmost confusion and disorder, with the utmost fury and resentment, killed vast numbers, and totally dispersed the rest, who left their camp, with all its plenty and variety of provisions, as well as immense store of other rich plunder, behind, as

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* Lib. iv. c. 1.
Chap. i.  The modern history of the kingdom of Tremecen.  

a A spoil to the starved Tremecenians, and a due reward of their singular bravery and constancy; and the wealth they found in their camp helped to repair, in a great measure, the damages which they had received during that long and dreadful siege†.

About forty years after, Abu'l Hassán, the fourth king of Fex, of the Marinian family, built a fortress within two miles westward of Tremecen, after which he began that long thirty months siege, lately mentioned, making daily some fresh and obstinate assaults, and every night erecting new forts against it; so that, at length, the Fexians made a sufficient breach to scale and enter the place; and, having made themselves masters of the Tremecenian king, carried him captive to Fex, where he was quickly after murdered, and his body cast among the common filth of the city, by order of his inhuman conqueror‡.

b This did not, however, prevent the Tremecenian crown continuing in the same family about 120 years, without any considerable alteration, excepting that they were constrained for a short space to become tributary to Abu Ferez, king of Tunis, and to his son Hutman; but the tribute was withdrawn on the demise of the latter. They continued in the quiet possession of their dominions, and of a most advantageous commerce with the Genoese and Venetians, who yearly reforted with their merchant-ships to the two considerable sea-port towns of Aurun and Marsalquibir, till the time of Ferdinand king of Spain, in the reign of Abu-Chemen; upon which the Tremecenians rebelled, and drove him out of his dominions. This last was no better than an usherer, who had revolted from his uncle Abu-zejian, and kept him confined several years; but, upon the expulsion of the traitor, he was again restored to the crown. He did not, however, enjoy his kingdom long before he was slain by the Turkish pirate Barbarossa, who had, by this time, made himself master of this kingdom, as we shall see more fully in our history of Algiers; upon which Abu-Chemen resolved to make a second effort to wrest it out of his hands. But as he had neither power nor interest sufficient for such a bold enterprise, he applied to the emperor Charles V. for assistance; offering to become his vassal and tributary, and to entail the same tribute on his successors, from the moment he had acquired the quiet submission on his possession of it. The emperor easily listened to this proposal, and furnished him with men and money for that purpose, so that he was soon put in a condition to attack Barbarossa, and to drive him out of his new conquest; after which he severely revenged himself on such of the Tremecenians who had been accursary to his expulsion. He likewise gratified the Spanish soldiers who had assisted him, and sent their officers home laden with tokens of his gratitude and generosity, and allowed the emperor a large yearly revenue, as long as he lived. But, after his death, his brother Abd'alla, who succeeded him, relying on the power and friendship of the Turkish Sultam, Solyman, then on the throne, refused to continue that tribute any longer; and kept quiet possession of it till the year 1526, when it was again reconquered by the Turkish Algerians, and has continued in their hands ever since, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

† Leo, Marmol, Grammay, & al. plur.  ‡ Leo, Grammay, Marmol, & al.
The modern history of the kingdom of Morocco.  Book XXII.

CHAP. II.

The modern history of Morocco and Fez.

These two kingdoms, which now compose one empire, were once part of the ancient Mauritania, described in a former part of this work *, and are situate on the western borders of Barbary, being bounded on that side by the ocean, on the east by the river Muleya, which parts it from Algiers, on the north by the Mediterranean, and on the south by the great Atlas, or rather by the river Sus, which divides Morocco from the province of Dabas, and by part of the kingdom of Tafilet. The whole empire extends itself from 28 to 36 degrees of north latitude, and from the 4th to the 6th degree of west longitude from London. Its greatest length is from the north-east to the south-west, amounting to above 590 miles (A); but in breadth not above 260, according to the most recent observations, where broadest, but not above half of that narrowest.

Each of these kingdoms retains still its old name, though the empire and emperors are chiefly called by that of Morocco, or, as the Spaniards write it, Marruecos, as the most considerable of the two. Each of them is likewise divided into inferior provinces, of which Morocco contains seven; viz. Hea, Sus, Gafuta, Morocco proper, Ducula, Esfura, and Teldes, and that of Fez seven more; viz. Azgar, Chaus, Erift, Fez proper, Garet, Hafra, and Temfine *. Some only divide the whole empire into three principal provinces; viz. Morocco, Fez, and Sus; and others again enlarge its boundaries beyond the last-mentioned province southward, as far as the river Niger, which would give it near 1200 miles in length from north to south; but if any of the Sharifs of Morocco ever extended their dominions so far, all that lies beyond the river Sus is so desert and barren, that it hardly deserves being looked upon as a part of that empire, especially as it is inhabited chiefly by wandering Arabes, who acknowledge no submmission to any but their own Cheyks *.

The climate is everywhere hot, and much more so as it extends itself more to the south, yet is generally healthier than those of Algiers and Tunis, being pleasanly diversified and moderated by mountains and plains, and cooled by the sea breezes, which fan it, especially on the west, from the Atlantic ocean; so that it is reckoned much more temperate than one would imagine it from its situation. The great mount Atlas, which surrounds it on the south like a cresent, hath its tops covered with snow a good part of the year; and even in the valleys it freezes sometimes very hard in the night, during the winter months, but the next day’s sun commonly melts it away; so that there is scarcely any to be seen by noon-tide. Their rainy feathor usually begins about October; and if it continues too long in summer, it seldom fails of producing some pestilential fevers: the north-west windslikewise, which begin to blow about March, prove sometimes so sharp and violent as to affect the lungs, nerves, and limbs, as well as their fruits, and other products of the earth. In other respects they enjoy a clear and serene sky, and wholesome air, as they have but very few woods to irritate it; and those they have are in some measure defitute of timber trees. The country in general is well watered with springs, and very considerable rivers; most of the latter have their source on mount Atlas, and empty themselves either in the Atlantic ocean, or in the Mediterranean, after a course of windings of some hundreds of miles *. These mountains likewise abound in mines of sundry metals, especially copper, breed vast quantities of cattle both small and great, as well as of horses, mules, and asses, all useful in their kinds.

This country hath been always famous for its horses; which, though inferior in size, make up that defect by their fine shape, fleetness, and particularly by their peculiar docility. The inhabitants have been no less celebrated for their dexterity in breaking, training, and riding of them, ever since the time of the Romans†; and even to this day are allowed to excel all nations, and to be, in some measure, inimitable in both. They have two other creatures

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Vide Leo Afric. i. ii. c. 1, & seq.  
Gramm. l. ix. c. 2, & seq.  
Marmol, l. iii. c. i, & seq.  
Davitt, Dapper, Baudrand, & al.  
Vide also. sup. citat.  
Idem ibid.  

(A) This length is variously taken and reckoned; we have computed ours from the two most opposite points, in a transverse line, from N. E. to S. W. that is, either from Cape Fourcas, or rather from the mouth of the river Muleya, to that of the river Sus; whereas, taking it in a direct line from north to south, it will be found to be little more than 500 miles. The breadth we likewise compute from mount Muharr, near the spring head of the Muleya above-mentioned, on the Algerine side, to the mouth of the Oumrabi, near the seaport of Asmun, where it extends itself from east to west almost six degrees. 

(1) Concerning these limits the reader may collect the different computations from the authors above-mentioned, compared with the map hereto annexed.

which
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a which are extremely useful to them, and well suited to those climates; the one for speed; viz. their dromedaries, of which we have spoken in some of the foregoing chapters; and the other for burden, and for long journeys over those dry and barren deserts, through which they are forced to travel in their caravans to Egypt, Arabia, Libya, and other countries; viz. their camels, a creature seemingly designed by Providence for those climates, and with which this country abounds more than any other in Africa, and which, as we are told, vastly exceed those of Asia; for they will not only travel ten or more days without water, but without any other sustenance than what each part of their bodies contributes to their preservation; so that in such cases their bunches will be first observed to decrease, next to that their bellies, and lastly their hinder parts; by which they become at length so feeble and emaciated, that they will sink under a load of 100 weight; whereas they could carry one of above 800 or 900 at their first setting out, and would continue so to do, if supported with sufficient nourishment, to the end of their journey (B).

The lands in general, both upper and lower, are so good, that, if they were cultivated with more industry, they might be made to yield most of the products of other parts of the world, and in as great plenty. But that is not to be expected in a country which grows under such a tyranny government. They are commonly computed to be capable of producing 100 times more than the inhabitants consume, and, where dully cultivated, will yield two or three crops in a year; yet lie waste, and without a proprietor every-where, except about three or four leagues about their towns and cities, through the cruel exactions of the government, and the frequent inroads of the plundering Arabs. The northern parts, however, are most productive of corn, oil, wine, fruits of all sorts, wax, honey, silk, and the finest wool; and the southern of dates, sugar, cotton, indigo, variety of gums, ginger, &c.  *

The inhabitants of this empire are, like those of Algiers and Tunis, a mixture of 1. Berbers, or, as they style themselves, the antient natives, who still follow their old customs, language, and poor way of living in huts on the mountainous parts, for the sake of enjoying their liberty; so that these have never been entirely subdued. 2. Arabs, who are here also of Arabs. 

the wandering kind, and range from place to place with their numberless herds, cultivate the plains, sow corn and other grain on the most fruitful spots, and whose chief wealth consists in their cattle, horses, and grain. These are no less impatient of all foreign yoke; and, tho' they are under a kind of tribute, live under Cheyks of their own race and chusing. Some of their tribes are, however, who live rather upon plunder than industry, and cannot be easily suppressed, as they commonly live in some of the most inaccessible parts, from which they make their excursions on the low lands, and against the caravans and other travellers. The Moors, who are mostly the descendants of those who were driven out of Spain; and Moors, though poor and oppressed, are very numerous, especially along the sea-coast, though they have no trading vessels of their own, nor drive any immediate commerce with foreign nations. These are reckoned covetous and superstitious to a great degree, great cheats, jealous, vindictive, and treacherous, yet inferior to. 4. The Jews, in crafty and villany. They like Jews' wife are, for the most part, such as were obliged to flee out of Spain and Portugal; and, tho' the greatest rogues under the sun, are yet suffered to be the chief traders, factors, masons, and bankers, in the realm; and, by their fraudulent ways and impolities, make themselves ample amends for the grievous taxes and imposts with which they are loaded. But the worst of all are, 5. The renegades, who, though not so numerous in these parts as in Algeria and Tunis, yet make a distinct class of people, though hardly less detested by the rest of the inhabitants, than they are by the Christians; and for that reason, though not employed like the slaves in the lowest and vilest works, yet are not exempt from hard service, such as the guarding the gates of the royal palaces, and fortified places, and such other employments as they are fit for. Some of them are likewise distributed among the governors of the provinces, to be by them made use of as occasion offers. We are even told, by M. St. Olen, that, in time of war, they place them in great numbers at the front of the battle, where they run the risk of being cut in pieces if they are observed to flinch. 6. The slaves, make another considerable class, being here very numerous, and much more inhumanly treated than those of Tunis or Algiers, whose thraldom and misery, hard as it is, is a state of reft and happiness, compared to that of those in the Morocco dominions. These all belong to the king, yet are treated far worse in every shape than in any other country, their labour being

(B) The greatest part of these, as well as their fine horses, are bred by the Arabs, who live altogether upon those wild uncultivated mountains, and, having fitted them for use and service, sell them to the townsmen, or exchange them for other commodities with the Jews and other traders; from hence they are transported into other countries, and are commonly known by the name of Barbary horses (2).

(c) De his, vide Leo Afric. lib. ix. p. 295, & seq.  f idem ibid.
of the hardest and vilest kind, and almost without intermission, their pittance a pound cake of a coarse barley bread, faddon in a little oil, which yet they are often forced to cram into their mouths with one hand, while the other is employed in some grievous drudgery. Their lodging at night is a subterranean dungeon, about five fathoms in diameter, into which they go down with a rope-ladder, which is afterwards drawn up, and the mouth of the prison is fastened with an iron grate. Their drefs is of a piece with all the rest, consisting of a long coarse woollen coat with a hood, which serves them for a cap, shirt, coat, and breeches. To crown this quintessence of their misery, they are harried in carts, with mules and asles, and more unmercifully lashed for every little inadvertency or intermission of their bufinefs, though owing, perhaps, solely to their strength being quite exhausted through labour, hunger, and drought. In a word, those monsters of cruelty take a singular pleasfure, and even make a merit, to torment those unhappy wretches; and the only alleviation they allow to their woe than Egyptian thraldom is, that they exempt those that are married from hard labour, the women on account of their breeding and nursing a new brood of flies, and their husbands probably on the same account; but neither the one nor the other are fed, clothed, or lodged, better than the rest. Some of them are, moreover, permitted to make brandy, the materials for which they furnish them with, and pay a tax for it to the emperor, who is made to believe that the Europeans would lose all their vigour and ingenuity, if they were not revivified by that liquor. These are the six different forts of people who inhabit this large empire (C), and of whose various conditions it may be justly said, that bad is the very best, but the worst hath nothing equal to it on this side hell.

But there is still another nation whom we have not yet mentioned; viz. another race of Moors, which is the only one that bears the greatest sway, and makes the noblest figure in all those dominions, especially ever since Muley Iftmael obtained the government of them, tho in all respects they are no less exposed to that Tyrannical government, and even more to the avarice, jealousy, and cruelty, of a sovereign, merely on account of the wealth and privileges they enjoy under him. A danger which the rest can more effectually ward off, by concealing the little they have, and letting nothing appear among them but poverty and misery. b

We have formerly given some account of the principal rivers of this country, and endeavoured, notwithstanding the variety of names by which some of them are called by ancient geographers, to ascertain their correspondence with their modern ones; and shall now only supply what is wanting in the descriptions, or omitted in the enumeration of them.

We begin with the Mulooyab, Molución, Muvita, by Marmol, Muloya, but more properly Mulooyab, which divides the kingdom of Fez from that of Algiers. It springs from the foot of mount Atlas, in the province of Chaus, runs through the defert of it, and between those of Garret and Angued; then winding round the mountain of the Benizet, falls into the Mediterranean, near the town of Califaca. Taga, by the ancients Taluda, Tamuda, and Tamuda, springs from the same mount, and discharges itself into the Mediterranean, but much nearer to the Strights of Gibraltar, to the eastward of the promontory of Gebea. These two are the only ones of note that fall into that sea; and the left is only remarkable for a city of its name built on the banks of it, and suppos'd to be the Tamudajenis Epiphopatus, under the jurifidiction of Caribage.

Those that fall into the Atlantic are the Sebou, or Cebou, and Subro, which runs from mount Atlas through the provinces of Fez and Asgar, and in its course cuts its way through two steep rocks of a prodigious height, near the mountain of Beni-yazga, and falls into that sea near Mamor, a city destroyed by Almanzor, about twenty miles north of Salee. The method which the mountaineers have to convey themselves from one side of this dreadful chasm to the other, is no less singular than hazardous, which is by feating themselves in a strong barker, big enough to hold about ten people, and runs by a pulley along a stout cable, which is

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(C) To these we might add another fort, that feem to differ wholly from the rest in every thing but their human shape, and who lie dispersed in most provinces of the realm, especially in that of Hafra. These are always in arms, live wholly upon the plunder of their neighbours, and of every thing that comes into their way. They have no notion of justice or probity; can neither write nor read; climb up the steep rocks, and ravage the plains like wild beasts, and eat, lie, and fight, like them. They use lances, bows and arrows, but without method or order; and, when closely pursu'd, flee to the tops of the mountains, or narrow defiles, whence they endeavour to overawe their pursuers with their weapons and volleys of stones. They are very robust, and their wives very handsome, which makes them extremely jealous of them, and use them with the utmost cruelty, upon the least occasion. They profess the Mohammedan religion, but know no more of it than their Alfaiks are pleased to teach them, which cannot amount to much, seeing these are for the most part ignorant of it (3).

(3) Boulet Hif. des Chérifs, c. 1. Paris 1733.
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a fastened at both ends to two beams fixed in the rock, and is drawn by the people on the opposite side; so that, if the basket or any of the tackle chance to break, as it hath sometimes done, by the weight of the passengers, they fall into the river from a height of above 1500 fathom. This river, which Marmol styles the largest in all Mauritania, abounds with the most excellent fish, the farm of which brings in to the emperor above twenty thousand ducats.

b The next in rank is the Ommirib, or Aminrab, corruptedly Marbea and Umarabea. It hath its spring-head on mount Mograu, one of the heads of the Atlas, in the province of al-Merbea, Teiz, near the confines of Faz, whence it runs through the plains of Adackien, through sundry frail vallies, in one of which it hath a beautiful bridge built by Abd el Hjsen, the fourth monarch of the Beni-merini; thence, winding southwards, it waters the spacious plains between Dukala and Temesjina, after having received the Durme and Niger, as Marmol calls it, or, according to Leo and Sanfin, the Quadel or Huedai-abad, that is, the River of Servants; from thence it widens considerably in its approach to the ocean, into which it discharges itself, and forms a capacious bay, on the east side of Azamor. This river is fordable neither in summer nor winter; so that the inhabitants are forced to ferry their effects over by the help of basksets, fastened to leathern pontons, or over rafts. Its fifth furnishes not only all that country, but even Spain and Portugal.

c The Tenfis is deep and large, and springing from the heights of the Atlas, near the town of Antimney, or rather Hanum-mey, runs through the provinces of Morocco and Dukala, and enters the ocean near the port of Safi. It receives a considerable number of other rivers in its course, the most noted of which are the Gisfelmel Agmed, and Hued Nefus, or Nefes, which have their spring near the same mountain; and, having watered the fertile plains of Morocco, fall into the Tenfis. This last, though, for the most part, very deep, is yet fordable in many places, during the summer season, and hath, in the neighbourhood of Morocco, a most lofty stone bridge, of fifteen arches, built by the great Almamor, which is justly esteemed one of the noblest structures in all Africa. But three of these arches have been demolished by Abu Dukha, one of the last kings of the Almohade race, to prevent his rival following him over it, and have never been rebuilt. Hence the Tenfis parts the provinces of Dukala and Hes, and is supposed to be the Punt of Ptolemy, who places the city of Asama at the mouth of it.

d The last river of note in this empire is the Sus, which gives its name to the province which it waters in its course from the Atlas to the Atlantic ocean, and is the southerly boundary which divides it from the province of Darba. This river is very large, and, by the inhabitants, cut into a vast number of canals, which renders the province one of the most fruitful, tho' the most southern, of all. Each side of its banks is variegated with rich corn and pasture lands, gardens, and orchards; it turns a great number of sugar mills, so that the inhabitants of this province, who are chiefly Berbers, of the tribe of Mafamada, are very numerous and wealthy, and live much more comfortably than those of Hes, especially those who live in the towns, and are employed in the sugar manufacture. Most geographers take the Sus to be the Una of Ptolemy, who places it in the 8th degree of longitude, and 28 degrees 30 minutes of latitude. It is commonly full and rapid, and often overflows the low lands in winter, but in summer is both shallow and narrow.

e Besides these six principal rivers, there is a prodigious number of others that fall into Hued Agmed them, some of which are also cut into many channels, and greatly enrich the lands on both sides, but have nothing else remarkable, if we except that of Hued Agmed, which hath its fountain-head on the mountain of that name, and whose water is always clear. It waters the fertile territory of the city of its name, once the capital and seat of the empire, and about eight leagues east of the city of Morocco. It runs through some vast fertile tracts, quite to that metropolis; from after which it sinks under ground for some space, and then rises again, and falls at last into the Tenfis.

f With regard to the mountains of this empire, we have already observed that the great Atlas surrounds it on the south, in the form of a crescent, and divides its dominions from the province of Darba, or, in a larger lefne, divides Barbary from Biledulgerid. This large chain, which stretches itself from west to east, that is, from the city of Mefja on the Atlantic ocean, in 30 degs. 30 min. of west long. tude, and 30 deg. 15 min. of latitude, quite across Barbary, to mount Atlas, in the desert of Barce, about 80 leagues west of Alexandria, is called by the natives Abydul, but changes its name often, according to the multitude of territories it runs through, and the vast chains of plains and vallies that intersect it, in the same manner as the Pyrenee, Alps, Apennines, and many other ridges of that kind, are found to do, though they bear one general

1 Leo, i. ix. Maron, i. iv. c. 127, & al. 2 Maron, ibid. c. 22. 3 Id. ibid. Davy, Daper, Bovitt, & al. 4 Vide supra. Sup. citat. 5 Leo, i. ii. & ix. Maron, i. iii. c. 26. 6 Davy, Daper, & Grammar, lib. ix. c. 2, & seq. 7 Id. ibid. Grammar, lib. ix. c. 2. 8 Mod. Hist. Vol. VII. 9 Q. q

name.
name. This we are upon is called great Atlas, to distinguish it from the little one, which is another ridge that extends itself along the Barbary coast, from the foot of Gibraltar quite to the district of Bona, in the kingdom of Algiers, and is, by the natives, called Erriff. Both chains being of such a vast height, and, for the most part of the year, so covered with snow, as to be seen at a vast distance off at sea, are called by the Spaniards, Montes Claros, or Bright Mountains, and by the natives, formerly, Dyris, and Adyris, according to Strabo, who hath probably given that Greek termination to the Phœnician Dyrim and Adyrim, which, in that language, signifies anything that is mighty.

The great Atlas, though running through so warm a climate, that is, almost under the 30th degree of latitude, is, nevertheless, in many parts, uninhabitable, either through their extreme heat and coldness, their ruggedness and inaccessible places, or the vast forests which cover the eminences, and shade and darken the valleys below, from which such a number of springs and rivers flow. The highest and most difficult of ascents are those in which, as one ascends along the confines of the kingdom of Tremeceen, and the coldest, those that extend themselves along those of Morocco. As to the generality of the rest, they enjoy a much kinder climate, and are not only inhabited by the various tribes of Berbers, Arabs, and other African people, but, in many places, well cultivated and fertilized, and a number of towns and villages dispersed in them, well inhabited, and stored with abundance of cattle: though in many of these they are obliged not only to retire into their vast caverns all the winter season, which is there very long, but to take in with them all their numerous herds, which would otherwise perish with excessive cold, and deep snows, as well as those who were left to take care of them (E).

But as soon as the snows begin to melt, the mountains yield such plenty of herbage, besides good barley and other grain, that they appear quite covered again with men and cattle, and all severally expressing their joy at their return to a kind of new life, and the all-reviving summer season. For in all these parts they can hardly be said to have any more than these two; the former of which, and a most dismal one it must be supposed to be, begins about October, at which time the snows begin to fall, and force them into their gloomy retreats till the month of April, when the other begins; and, by a gradual thaw, discovers the grass, barley, and other herbage, which had grown up under the snow, in their most delightful verdure, and ready to raise into a thick, as fast as the warmth of the weather comes on. Some of the inhabitants are even so industrious, as to form terraces on the declivity of the bare rocks, and to build a kind of wall on the bottom, to prevent the earth being washed away.

The branches of the Atlas in this empire.

As the several branches or parts of this great chain are more or less dispersed through all the fourteen provinces of this empire, as well as through the kingdoms of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; and we have, in these three last, given an account of the most remarkable of them; so we hope the reader will not be displeased if we do the same, in a few words, in this chapter, both with regard to the mountains themselves and their inhabitants. We have already taken notice of these wild ones that inhabit the mountainous parts of the province of Hea, who prefer a plundering wretched life to industry; and though those are not the only mountaineers who do so, yet there are a much greater number of a different character, especially among the antient Berebers, about whose lofty habitations we find plenty of the necessaries of life produced by their labour. Such is the mountain called Beni Mager, so called from the vast numbers of pines, cedars, and juniper trees, which grow upon it, but which, by the industry of the inhabitants, produces great quantities of corn and barley, and other necessaries of life. This mountain, which is in the province of Dukela, hath a lake at the foot of it, filled with the greatest variety of fish. That of Morocco hath no less than eight such mountains, whose inhabitants are equally fit for the sword and the plough, and abound with grain, fruit, cattle, and pasture grounds. The chief is called Deren-deren, whole inhabitants were with great difficulty subdued by the Sharifs, though headed by a young heroine, who behaved

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(E) The snows falls so thick, in the valleys especially, that their houses, or rather huts, will be covered with it in one night; so that, by the next morning, they are obliged to let all hands to work, to sweep or shovel it in heaps, to open a way out. And there is a long and narrow Inlet or Inlet near the town of Agenet, through which the caravans from Numidia pass into Barbary, with their camels loaded with dates, about the month of October, where the snow sometimes falls above a rod deep in one night, and overwhelm both man and beast.

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a with surprising valour and conduct. The mountain of Zalag, or Seleg, in the province of Fez proper, and near the capital of it, is covered with vines, which yield excellent grapes, and is pleasant, that many of its citizens have their country feasts upon it. That of Zarbon, or Zaraouan, resembles a kind of forest, from the prodigious quantities of olive and other fruit-trees that grow upon it. The men are martial and stout, and the women hand- some and polite. There is an old castle upon it, which they pretend to have been built by Pharaoh's Ptolemaic, King of Egypt, who pursued Moses in his flight, quite to these parts; but which is called more likely to have been the work of the Goths.

b The mountain of Aaron, in the province of Habat, is mostly inhabited by Berbers, who are famed for their valour and indefatigable industry, and are accounted the best soldiers in all Barbery, but are, on that very account, so heavily loaded with taxes, that they can justly bear labour. The Sharifs allow them neither arms nor horses; but if they are obliged to it, on some particular occasions, they make both away from them as soon as the campaign is over. They are reckoned about 10,000, all fit to bear arms.

c The next to it, called Beni-zeker, is still larger, and contains 15,000 men fit to bear arms. Beni-zeker. But these are richer, and drive a good trade in honey, wax, and hides, which they exchange for wheat and barley, which are here very scarce. Amarga, in the famous province of Habat, though covered with timber-trees fit for shippage, doth yet produce great quantities of corn and wine. And that of Hued-Idris, called also Guadres and Fais, sittuate between Cento and Tangier, is inhabited by such warlike people, that the kings of Granada chose them above all others for their guards. And it was upon this mountain that the celebrated African warlike Babu-lul was born, whose memory and name are still held in the highest veneration. The province of Errif hath above 24 of these spurious mountains, though not equally fertile and populous. That of Beni Origan is covered with vines, cedar-trees for building of galleys, olive and other fruit-trees. The women are arrant fluts, and very lewd, and their husbands Beni Manzar, no less jealous and vindictive. That of Beni Manzar, contiguous to it on the east side, is of a larger extent, but nothing near so fertile. The inhabitants gather fearce any thing besides a little barley and millet, which are their chief food; but hold a yearly fair for the bringing of other provisions to them.

d The province of Guaret hath, among others of less note, those of Quizina, or Tezuz, Quiza and Guadan, the former inhabited by Berbers, and the latter by Arabs; both of them rich Tezuz.

and warlike, and enjoying, by means of some small tribute, a greater share of liberty and politenesse than any in the empire. Those of the province of Cuz, or Chaus, about fifteen in number, spread themselves above 35 leagues from east to west, and about 14 from north to south, and are inhabited by Zenegua, a different tribe of Berbers, stout and valiant indeed, but fierce and cruel, who put all to death that fall into their hands, and to whom the cruel tribes are forced to pay a tribute, to avoid their fury. Some of these mountains have mines of Silver; but these barbarians chafe rather to get that metal ready coined out of the pockets of travellers, than to dig it out of the bowels of the earth. That of Maath byr, or Hundred silver mines.

e wells, so called from the great number it hath of them, is not so famous upon that account, as for a superstitious tradition, which was current amongst the Fezans, that those wells were filled with treasure; and thousands of idle fellows were continually sent by them in quest of folly, it, for a long series of years, without being discouraged by the ill successes of those that had gone before them, or deterred by the many lives that were lost in that dangerous search, till a lucky accident, which happened to one of them, convinced the rest of their folly, and put an end to that stupid notion (F). This mountain hath neither village nor house, but some antiquitites ruins on the top, and a well so deep, that the bottom could never be found out * We shall conclude this article with observing, that many of theses mountains are so high, and the night so piercing cold, that the inhabitants, who breed up great quantities of cattle, are obliged to gather them about their huts, and to keep a constant fire all the night, which prefers them at once from being frozen to death, and from the jaws of the lions, which haunt these mountains, but are kept at a distance by the fires 7.

(F) These wretches were forced, in their search after this pretended hidden treasure, to pry into those subterraneous places from one hole to another, by the help of lighted torches, but which were often put out, by the flutter which the bats, owls, and other such creatures, made with their wings; after which they wandered in the dark, till they were almost perished with hunger and cold. But one of them at length having the good fortune, in groping his way out, to take hold of a creature which they call Dabah, and is, according to Leo Afric anus, of the bigness of a wolf (5); he followed him through a long cleft in the rock, which opened into a thick wood, at the bottom of the mountain. This aperture was no sooner perceived, than multitudes came on purpose to dig on each side of the cleft, but had the misfortune to see their works overflowed with water; which put an end to their proceedings and hopes, though not to their notion of hidden treasure (6).

* Davy, Dapper, Marmol, &c. 7 Idem, ibid.

Chief cities of the empire. It is time now to leave these poor and cold eminences, to take a more delightful view of their cities, those at least of every province which have any thing worth notice in them; which is the case of so few of them, that our readers will be glad enough to be eafe of the dull round of all the rest, especially as they have little eile to present to their view, but some melancholy monuments of their antient splendor, and these mostly destroyed by time, wars, and Mohammedan fury, and half buried in the common ruins. We begin with the capital, from which the whole empire now hath its name.

Morocco. By its pleasant situation, and the number and variety of its noble edifices, may be justly esteemed the richest and most considerable city in Africa, though much funk from its priftna grandeur, both with respect to the number of its houses and inhabitants, and the magnificence of its palace and other public structures (G). It is conveniently seated between two rivers, the Nephis and the Agued, and upon that of the Jessa, all spoken of before, on a spacious plain, reckoned above 50 miles in length, about 16 north of mount Atlas, 170 from the Atlantic ocean, and near the same spot where Ptolemy places the antient Bocanum Hemerati, if not on the ruins of its. The city is encompassed with very high stone walls, the cement of which refists the force of the pick-ax, and will even strike fire; insomuch that, though it hath undergone much frequent and obstinate sieges, and been so often plundered and damaged within and without, there is not the least token of a breach to be seen in them. They are likewise flanked with strong and lofty towers, with bastions and other bulwarks, and surrounded with a wide and deep ditch. The gates are fill 24 in number, and retain some tokens of their pristine strength and beauty, though not of their use; and the houses are dwindled from 100,000 to less than one third of that number, the rest lying now wafte, or turned into gardens, orchards, and corn fields, and many of the noble structures that adorned it, either destroyed or gone to ruin. However, there remain in the part which is inhabited many flately buildings, particularly the royal palace, three magnificent mosques, some few baths and hospitals, together with some antient inscriptions in Arabic, which seem to indicate the name of the founder, in words to this effect: Under the reign of 'Abdala Ebn Teyfyn, &c. (H).

The castle and imperial palace, its fortifications. The Al Cafoora, or Michouarit, within whose circumference is the imperial palace, is a large fortress on the south side of the city, and capable of containing above 4000 houfes. The walls that surround it are high and strong, flanked with lofty towers, bastions, and other works, and surrounded with a good ditch. It hath only two gates, one on the south, facing the adjacent country, and the other on the north, leading to the city; both of them very grand, and guarded by a company of soldiery, to prevent any Christian slaves going out without their keepers. This gate faces a strait handfome street; at the end, and in full light of which, in the center of a spacious court, stands the magnificent mosque built by Abdalmummen, king of the Atoufis; but which, they tell us, being too low for its bulk, was raised 50 cubits higher by his grandson Al Mansur, who also built the great tower of it; which, for height and beauty, is only to be equalled by those of Rabat, in the kingdom of Tramar, and of Seville, in Spain, which were the works of the same architect. This noble building was moree embellished with carvings of jasper, marble, and other costly stone, which, together with the rich flately gates of the cathedral of Seville, covered with bass-relievo work in brass, and bolts of the fame metal, that conqueror caused to be brought from Spain, by way of trophies, to enrich this new fabric. On the top of the tower above-mentioned were fixed through an iron spike four large balls of copper, plated fo thick with gold, that they were supposed to be all of that rich metal. These were of different sizes, the largest capable of containing eight, the second four, the third two, and the uppermost one, lacks of wheat, all the four together weighing 700 pounds. Their origin, and many other particulars relating to

(G) The founder of Morocco is supposed to have been the famed Abi Tchibjen, and his warlike son Toleph the flower of it, after the many signal victories which he gained in Spain, whence he brought 50,000 slaves, whom he employed in surrounding it with walls, 12 miles in circumference. It is affirmed to have contained 100,000 houses, 24 flately gates, and a vault number of palaces, mosques, and other magnificent buildings, many of which have been destroyed by civil war, or left to go to ruin. So that it comes far short now of what it was in its most flourishing state, notwithstanding the new buildings and other ornaments which have been added to it since by many of the Sharils (7).

(H) Marmol mentions a strange one which he saw over a tomb, without one of the gates of the city, which runs thus: Here lies Sultan, the son of Atta, who commanded over 100,000 men, had 10,000 horses, and caused 101 words to be digged in one day, to supply them with water. I married 100 matrons, 1000 virgins, and 1000 women, and one of the 24 generals of Al Mansur. I ended my life in my 40th year. Let him that reads this epitaph pray to God to forgive me (8).

the reader may see in the margin (1): they being either so little credited or minded by the late Muley Hoomael, that he made no scruple to take them down, and convey them into his treasury.

Under this large moshk is a deep vault, of the same length and breadth with the building, in which is reposited an immense quantity of corn, belonging to the emperors; but it was at first designed for a capacious cistern, to receive the rain-water which fell upon the leaden covering, and was conveyed into it by pipes of lead. The buttresses of the tower are of such an uncommon height, and offer to the view such a vast prospect round, as seldom fails of striking the beholder with sudden dizziness, from which one cannot easily recover one's self; whilst the tallet men below appear like so many little children; and from thence upwards arises a spire of about seventy feet high, on the top of which were fixed the four (Leo says only three) balls above-mentioned. The royal apartments, the scraglios for the Sharif's wives and concubines, the state-chambers, halls of audience, and the galleries leading from one to the other, are no less splendid and lofty; pillars, moldings, ceilings, and other ornaments, all shining with gold, and the furniture answerable.

The gardens within, if not so regularly designed and variegated, do nevertheless shew something of an uncommon magnificence; being adorned with terraces, fountains, spacious fish-ponds, shady pavilions, &c. Great variety of fruit and other trees, fragrant verdures, and every thing that is curious and delightful. But in the midst of all this splendor, one sees other noble buildings, such as palaces, colleges, baths, hospitals, halls, and other ancient edifices, with all the marks of their former splendor, running or run to decay. About 400 Other fabrics aqueducs, fountains broken down, others tottering, and all of them shamefully neglected (K), going to decay. The houses of the rich and noble are indeed built of stone, but much out of repair, and, which hath still a worke appearance, stand at such a distance from each other, as hardly to form one contiguous street in any part of the city; whilst the chafins between are filled up either with precious apples were too powerfully guarded ever to become objects of the like futile attempt. And they were not undeceived in this superstitious notion till a long while after, when Muley Hoomael, who reigned when Marmol was a slave in that capital, caused them all to be taken down, and turned to better advantage (9).

Among those once noble structures, we may reckon near a dozen palaces (for such they were) built by the great Al Monzar for his several ministers of state, guards, treasury, exchequer, halls of audience, judicature, arsenal, magazines, granaries, &c. A little further stands a magnificent pile, which served formerly for a school to the young princes of the royal blood. Another large one, where the kings gave audience to foreign ambassadors. A third, where these held their conferences with the ministers of state. Others for their wives, concubines, children, &c. To these we may add a great number of halls or colleges, where the sciences were taught, and where the doctors and scholars were lodged in neatly appointed apartments; together with hospitals no less sumptuous, and richly endowed.

In the first court of the royal palace, the apartments, though built in the morocco style, appeared with a surprising grandeur, adorned with fountains and fountains of the finest marble and workmanship, and shaded with citron, lemon, and orange trees, and other odoriferous verdures. The next was embellished with galleries and colonades of white marble, so exquisitely wrought, that some of the nicest judges in architecture, of ours and other nations, have beheld them with the greatest admiration, even in their decaying condition. In this court stood likewise a great number of marble fountains and vases, full of water, in which the Moors made their frequent ablutions before prayer. The stables both for riding and carriage horses, mules, camels, &c. were no less splendidly built and roofed; near them were two granaries, capable of containing each 30,000 loads of corn. These were two stories high; the lower for the wheat, and the upper for oats and barley, which were conveyed, by an easy ascent, on mules, to the top of the building, and

(1) Some writers affirm these four balls, or golden apples, as they style them, to have been the dowry of some queen of Morocco, who was daughter and heiress of the king of Gagga, who, to eternize her memory, caused them to be thus planted on the top of that tower. Others say, that one of the wives of the famed Jaacob Al Monzar fold all her jewels to defray the expense of this whimsical ornament.

However that be, the notion that went for current among them was, that they were set up by some extraordinary conjurer, under a proper constellation, and that it was either impossible, or at least extremely dangerous, to attempt the taking them down, and would be attended with some fatal calamity. This notion, the Al-faks tell you, was so impressiond on the minds of the people, that several of their kings had essayed to take them off: and particularly that, an. 1500, Nake Beuchentus, being exhausted by an expensive war with the Portuguese, Arabs, and Frants, having ordered one of them to be taken down to pay his troops, the people surronded him in a tumultuous manner, and told him they would sooner fell all their, even to their wives and children, to raise him money, than suffer it. Beuchentus was soon after treacherously poison'd by Muley Hoomael; and the place interpreted as a just judgment for his avarice and irreligion. This did not deter Hamed, in a little time, from attempting the same thing, and with better success; because he went more cunningly about it: for having caused it to be taken down in the night, and the gold to be taken off by a Tew, who gave him 25,000 pilotes for it, he ordered it to be barely gilt, and set up again in its place, and the Tew to be hanged near it; and caused it to be given out, that the demon to whom the care of these balls was committed had inflicted that punishment on him, for having stolen it. After this report, he had been spread abroad, which was readily swallowed down by the populace, there seemed to be a final end put to their fears of their being ever taken away: and after such a severe example on the impious Tew, they relied themselves satified, that those...

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with such mud houses as all the meaner fort are forced to take up with, with kitchen gardens and orchards, or with old ruins and houses uninhabited and ready to tumble down. This is the present state of that once opulent metropolis, which, in Leo's, and even Grammay's time, contained no less than forty-five wide spacious streets, intersecting each other at right angles from end to end, all finely built, and well inhabited, as well as the prodigious number of fanes that ran parallel and collaterally to them. All which doleful dilapidations are, in part, owing to the frequent wars it hath been exposed to, the change of sovereigns it hath gone through, but most of all to the tyrannic government it hath groined under ever since the Sharifs made themselves masters of it.

Other gardens. The gardens, which stand at the farther end of the castle towards the country, and the park almost contiguous to them, shewed both some eminent tokens of their former elegance and comfort, when Monquet was there; the former of which, besides a prodigious variety of fruit and other trees, shrubs, flowers, &c. was adorned with a noble square spot, raised in with a marble balustrade, in the center of which stood a column that supported a lion, both of the same stone. This last threw a fine stream of water out of his mouth into a large basin within the rails, on the four corners of which stood four lions, curiously carved, Likewise of white marble, beautifully spotted with round spots of a green colour, and natural to the stone. In the others were to be seen a variety of wild beasts, such as lions, tigers, leopards, elephants, hyenas, deer, &c. Our author adds, that he saw the lions kept in a large ruinated building, quite unenclosed, and to which one ascended by a flight of steps.

Marble fountain. At a small distance from the palace above-mentioned stands the quarter of the Jews, inclosed within its own walls, and with only one gate, which is guarded by the Moors. Monquet tells us, that in his time there were at least 4000 of them that lived within that precinct, and paid a certain tribute to the government. The foreign agents, and even embassadors, chose to live in that place, rather than in any part of the city. As for the rest of the Christian merchants, they commonly live near the custom-house, which stands about three miles distant from the palace. The Jews have always been highly taxed for their liberty and trading; in spite of which there are many of them very rich, as they are the only agents, brokers, money-changers, and minter, in the empire, and there is no doubt but the number of them is greatly increased since that author wrote. But it is, however, their constant policy, in all these despotic governments, to make the meanest appearance in their dwellings, houses, &c. to avoid being still more oppressed; and well may they do so, when the natural subjects are obliged to do the same, for fear of becoming a prey to those rapacious monarchs, or their ministers. Hence the miserable show that the houses of the middling and common people make, in all the parts of the city that are still inhabited. As for those of the Alcaydes, nobles, military officers, and courtiers, they are lofty, strong, well-built, and surrounded with stout walls, and flat on the top, with a turret in the middle, where they commonly spend the evening in fresco, after the African manner. The river Tetif runs through the city, and hath a handsome bridge over it; on its banks are a variety of mills turned by it, for divers purposes, and from it is conveyed a sufficient quantity of water into all the houses, gardens, &c. to serve their necessities. Thus much may suffice to give our readers such an idea of this famed metropolis, both in its flourishing and declining state, as may enable them to guess at the rest. All we shall add is, that of the twenty-four gates it formerly had, each of which was usually kept by a captain at the head of a thousand horse, there are not now above five or fix in use, and guarded by a few rascally Moors; whilst the inhabitants, who, we are told, are reduced to about 25,000, occupy but one or two quarters of the place, which lie between the gates of Dukela and that of Zoco, the one facing the south, and the other the north; all the rest being either turned into gardens and orchards, or which is worse, into a wilderness.

Fez. The next in dignity, as being the capital of the once powerful kingdom of its name, is divided into the old and new city. The first of which is the most worthy of notice, as being computed near nine miles in circuit, and is not only the largest, but the most populous, wealthy, and best governed, in all Africa. The immenmes riches of all forts which the

thence thrown into their proper chambers by trap-doors, and thence, with the same ease, distributed again into the stables and mangers, by proper conduits. The reader may see a more copious description of the beauty and splendor of all these grand edifices in Leo Africanus, who saw them when they were in their full perfection, and Monquet, who viewed them in their decline (30), but which our limits will not permit us to dwell longer upon.

(30) Leo Afric. I. II. vid. & Grammay, Marmol, Monquet, & al. sup. citat.
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Moors brought thither from Spain, contributed not a little to reftore her to her pristine greatness, after a long series of destructive wars had brought her to the lowest ebb. And next to that, the great concourse of scholars, who come from all parts of Africa to study the Mohametean law, hath helped at once to augment the opulence as well as the number of her inhabitants; to which if we add, that it is the center of commerce in this empire, our readers will not wonder at its far eclipsing its rival of Morocco, nor at our confining our description chiefly to it; that which is called New Fez having scarcely any thing worth our taking notice of, in a work so extensive as this (L). Old Fez stands on the declivity of two mountains, and the valley that lies between them, and is surrounded by a strong wall of square stone, flanked with flatter towers. The houses are square, terraced on the top, and without any windows fronting the streets, like all the rest in Barbary. Those of the rich and wealthy, as well as the colleges, hospitals, mosques, cloisters, baths, &c. have spacious courts, adorned within with sumptuous galleries, fountains, basins of fine marble, fish-ponds, &c. shaded with lemon and orange trees, which are loaded with fruit all the year; all which are plentifully supplied with water from the river Fez, which here divides itself into six branches, and turns about 400 mills for grinding, fulling, and other uses, as well as for conveying water into all those public buildings, and into every house.

The city hath seven flately gates, but no suburbs. The streets are narrow, but mostly frost; and are shut up at night, to prevent people going out at that time, except upon extraordinary occasions. Most of the houses have turrets on the top, in which the women have neat apartments, and delight themselves with the fresh air and the fine prospect of the city and country. The river here hath no less than 250 stone bridges over it, some of them very beautiful and grand. There are 336 ovens, which are daily employed from morning till evening.

The mosques are computed to amount to 500, fifty of which are reckoned of the first rank; Mena, among which there is one that exceeds all the rest. It is called the Caroowin, and is affirmed to be near a mile and a half in compass, including the college and cloister belonging to it. It hath 30 flately gates, a roof 150 cubits long, and 80 in breadth. The minaret, or tower, is of a stupendous height, supported in its length by thirty, and in its breadth by twenty pillars. The body of the roof is divided into seventeen arches, besides a good number of inferior ones, and the whole supported by 1500 pillars of white marble. Every arch hath lamps burning in them, of a large size, and curiously wrought, particularly that which hangs over the Alfaki's desk, which is of a prodigious size, and surrounded with 150 smaller, all finely cast in brass. They reckon 400 cisterns in the cloister, in which the people repair to make their usual ablutions before prayer, and forty-two galleries, where they keep the sacred utensils belonging to the mosque. Within the circuit of the mosque is a noble spacious college, in which divinity, college, philosophy, and other sciences, are taught by their most learned men, the chief of whom is chosen president over the rest, and raised up the dignity of Grand Mufti. In this college is likewise one of the most valuable and largest libraries in all Africa; a thing one would hardly expect in this country.

We have no room to go through their other public buildings, which are very numerous, spacious, and stately; the colleges and hospitalls are richly endowed; the magazines and warehouses of the merchants are plentifully furnished with all sorts of merchandizes, both domestic and foreign. We are sensible that Mr. Brailbouwet, who had an opportunity of seeing


(1) Most authors make three cities of it, as being built at different times, the most ancient of which is called Belfud, and stands on the east side of the river Fez, and is said to have been built by an Arabian king called Muligi, or, as La Croix and others will have it, by Idrijf, the son of Idrij, an Arabian patriarch, about 801. However that be, it is computed to have above 4000 inhabitants, and is adorned with the noble gardens and fountains of Zingford. The other old city, built on the opposite side of the river, and founded by prince Haflem, the grandson of the patriarch above-mentioned, is called Alou, and is computed to contain above 40,000 inhabitants. But in this and both cities became subject to different masters, who were often at war, till Fez. an Almoravide king, conquered them both, and put them to death; and, to prevent all future quarrels between the two cities, broke down the wall that parted them, built a bridge over the river, and joined them into one city (1). The third, or new city, built by Tassouk king of Fez, of the race of the Benimerini, to serve as a citadel and place of residence, stands about a mile distant above the old, and is computed to contain near 10,000 inhabitants, who are divided into fifteen quarters, or wards, according to their different trades and occupations. Besides it, it hath a royal palace, which is a noble edifice, some flately mosques, colleges, baths, and other public edifices; it is very well fortified with walls and other works, and is comprehended with the other two under the common name of Fez; which name, signifying gold, some suppose to have been given to it on account of a great quantity of that metal, said to have been dug up in the laying of its foundation, but which it more properly took from the river on which it is situate (12).
this famous city, in his way to the court of Marquezs, anno 1727, not only gives a more dif-
a advantageous account of it, with respect to its populousness, magnificence, &c. but cries
down the descriptions that have been given by most authors that have written before him,
as greatly exaggerated in all those respects *; and it is not unlikely that the vicissitudes it had
undergone since its becoming subject to the Sharifs of Morocco might have greatly diminished
its grandeur by that time, especially at this present juncture, when it held out against the
forces of the emperor on the throne. However, we cannot reasonably suppose, that if so
many learned authors, some of them natives, had so greatly exceeded the bounds of truth,
some of those many Europeans, who have since them been in the place long enough to be
better informed, would not long ago have contradicted them, and given us a more exact
state of it. But be that as it will, we are farther told, that there are no less than 200 inns,
both large and beautiful, for the entertainment of strangers, which pay a certain tribute to the
government for their licence. The misfortune is, that, excepting those which are frequented
by the Christians, all the rest are a downright sink of unnatural abominations, acted not only
impunely, but barefaced; insomuch, that the manners of those Sodoms in miniature are per-
mitted not only to entertain a number of cananites for the use of their cutomers, but even to
stand before their doors, or move about the streets, some in women’s cloaths, to entice people
by their effeminate voice, and lewd gestures and fongs, into their houses. It is true, indeed,
that the Mutfi, to shew his abhorrence of those prostitutes, in a city which is looked upon
as one of the chief fanckuries of the Mohammedian religion, debars them from entering into
the mosques; but that is all the penalty he can inflict upon them; whilst the emperor, who draws a
considerable revenue from those houses, openly tolerates and protects them (M).

In other respects the government of the city is under very good regulations, and the ma-
gistracy very strict in keeping it up; and so they had need to do, considering the vast num-
ber of its inhabitants, amounting to near 300,000, besides the great concourse of merchants
and other foreigners with which it teems to swarm. The prime magistrate, who is filled prov-
obly of the merchants, and is much like our lord-mayor, hath several inferior ones under him, and
usually resides in some of the most populous streets, that he may be near at hand to punish
all delinquents. Those streets are crowded all the day long with merchants, tradesmen,
farmers, custom and other officers, cryers, &c. This chief magistrate is chosen from among
the citizens, not by rotation, but merit and ability; but, besides that, there is a governor ap-
pointed by the emperor, who hath a Kadi, or judge, under him, to try criminal cases.

When a person is condemned to death, if he be a plebeian, he is led through the chief streets
of the city, with his hands tied behind, to the place of execution, and is obliged to proclaim
his punishment, and the crime for which he has been condemned; and when he is come to the
gallows, he is hanged by the feet, and hath his throat cut. But if a gentleman, or person of
higher rank, his throat is cut before hand, and the hangman marches before the body, and
proclaims his crime. A man that is guilty of murder, is immediately carried to the nearest
religion of the deceased, who may either condemn him to what death he pleases, or compound
with him for a sum or fine. But if he denies the crime, he is tortured either by the bastinado
or scourging, which is done in such a severe manner, that most of them die under the execu-
tioner’s hands (N). These severities are, nevertheless, in some measure unavoidable in such
populous cities, and among people so naturally given to all manner of pilfering, villainy, and
lewdness.

Fez being the emporium and common magazine of Barbary, to which all manner of com-
modities are brought and exchanged, either for import or export, all the streets swarm either
with merchants, or men of all trades and professions *.

*M* We meet with a flagrant instance of this infamous fornication in Sharif Mammed, who being reproved
for making war against the king of Fez, who was of his

*O* Revolution of Morocco, p. 162, & seq. & seq. & seq. & seq.

Mamol, l. iv. c. 5 & 22. D. Torres, Davity, Dapper, & al.

*O* Leo, l. iii. Grammat., l. x. c. i.

(N) There is still one circumstance more inhuman at-
tending this kind of ordeal; which is, that when the ac-
culcated hands proof against it, and is declared innocent, if he hath not money enough to pay the Kadi’s and his se-
cretary’s fees, the former condemns him to such an addi-
tional number of blows or lathes as he thinks will be an
equivalent to them (14).

This punishment is likewise for lesser crimes; and often,
for want of a prefent to the Kadi, is executed with such severity, that the person dies under it, or soon after, in the same manner as it is done at Algiers.


*(14)* Idem ibid.
The imports chiefly consist in spicery, cochineal, vermilion, iron, brads, flax, wire, arms, ammunition, drugs, watches, small looking-glasses, quicksilver, tartar, opium, alom, aloes, English and other linen and woollen cloths, muffins, calicoes, fultians, gold wire, silk of all kinds, brocades, damasks, velvets, red woolen caps, toys and trinkets of all forts, Guiney cowries, combs, paper, and a great variety of earthen wares.

The exports consist in hides and leather of all sorts, particularly the Moroccin, which is the manufacture of the country, skins, furs, wool, dates, almonds, reeves, figs, olives, honey, wax, silks of their own manufacturing, cotton and flax, cloth of the same, horsec, otrich feathers, terras, variety of pot-ashes, gold-dust, ducats, &c. of both which the Jews have the fole brokerage, for which they pay a considerable tribute to the government. The city is defended by two castles, the one old and decayed, and the other of a much newer date and form; but neither of them have any cannon, or any defence but that of a guard of a few companies of Moors. Besides those two castles the city walls have two acute bastions built on two of the highest parts of it, which have only a few old pieces of cannon, and an incon siderable guard.

Fez stands in 38 deg. of latitude, and 4 deg. of west longitude. Mequinez, or Miquinez, is another considerable city, situated on the river Sebu, or Subre, Mequinez. In a large and delightful plain, about twelve leagues westward of Fez, and three to the east of Sallee. It is three miles in compass, surrounded with stout walls, at the feet of which are very delicate gardens, which spread themselves out into the country all around. The inside of the city is full of mofks, colleges, baths, and other public buildings. It hath a continual market, to which the Arabs resort in shoals from all parts, to sell their hides, honey, wax, butter, dates, and other commodities. The palace resembles another city; and, though built in the Morerfic style, hath something surprizingly grand, though much out of repair. The apartments, offices, &c. which are almost without number, are intermixed with parks, gardens, pavilions, and other decorations. It stands on the highest part of the city, and is surrounded with flately white walls, and consists of a great number of spacious squares, and two noble mofks. In one part is the ferraglio, a vast extensive edifice; in another the halls of state, audience, council, &c. a third is for the handicrafts trade that works for the armory; and in a fourth are lodged the king’s artillery, magazines, and a number of his guards. The galleries of all these grand apartments are adorned with variety of mosaic work, the walks, pavements, alleys, gardens, &c. are all kept in good order; and the whole fabric is inclosed within a cincture of three miles in compass.

The Jews have their quarter in the heart of the city, and have here, and in most parts of the empire, the privilege of flutting their gates up at night, on account of their usefulness in carrying on the commerce (O). Mequinez is parted only by a road from Negro-town, so called Negro-town, from the king’s black troops which are quartered in it.

Sallee, Talee, or Calè, a city mentioned by Ptolem., stands on the banks of the Gueron, Sallee. now Buraara, or Buregres, which divides it into two parts; the northern, called by the natives Sela, and by us Sallee, is encompassed with a strong wall, about six fathoms high, and half a fathom thick; on the top of which are battlements, flanked with towers, of a considerable height and strength. The southern part, on the opposite side of the river, is called Rasat, or Rabat, and is of a much greater extent, but incloses a great number of gardens, orchards, Rabat; and corn fields, in which they may fow wheat enough to serve 15000 men. This is likewise surrounded with high walls, said by the natives to have been built by those Christians Wallis, which Jacob Al Manzor, king of Arabia Felix, brought hither from Europe, after his conquest of Spain. On the south-east quarter stands a very high tower, from which they can see a ship at great distance. It is much lower than it was at first (P), yet serves still for a landmark.

(O) Or rather, perhaps, to prevent their being robbed or insulted by the pillaging Moors, fix of whom were some time ago crucified here, for the murder of a Jew. In other cases they suffer them to be abaied by every rascally Moors, as they go along the streets, who call them Corondas, cuckold, dogs, and even pelt them with dirt. The noblemen and princes of the blood beat them severely with their whips, if they dare to come in their way as they ride along; and, as a still greater mark of contempt, suffer them not to go out of their quarter with either shoes or boots, but bare-foot and bare-legged. All which they are forced to bear with singular patience, it being sure death to them to lift up a hand against a Moor or Negro (15).

(P) This was owing to a clap of thunder, which struck off some part of the top, and caused a wide rent on the south side, which runs from top to bottom. The tower is 50 feet square, built of stone, joined by a strong cement, and opens towards a flatly mok 1400 paces long and 500 wide; in the cincture of which is a well 100 feet wide and 30 deep, for the ablutions of those that go to prayers there (16).

(16) Dovvty, Depot, & al. abf. p. 5.
mark in the day-time, and for a light-house in the night; and under it are the two docks a
belonging to the town, the one for building of ships, and the other for them to winter in. The ascent between thee and the tower is so easy, that a man may go up it on
horseback.

**Harbour.**

The harbour is large, but shallow, seldom rising to above twelve feet at high-water; so that the corsairs which belong to this place are obliged to put into the Island of Fedal, at a small distance from it; the entrance of the harbour having a bar across it, which prevents any but the lighter sort of vessels from failing into it. The town is now guarded by two
castles, the old and the new; the one stands directly at the mouth of the river, next to
which the walls are built on rocks, and high enough to shelter the governor's house from cannon-shot. The fortifications of it are very irregular, but such as the ground would permit; and within its walls, which are mostly of square stone, is a fort, just before the principal gate, which commands the whole town. Below it, next to the sea-side, near the point of the rock, facing the bar, is a bastion, mounted with five pieces of cannon, to secure the vessels that come to anchor in the road, or to shelter themselves from the pursuit of the enemy.

**New castle.**

The new castle is seated on the west side of the town, and of a square figure, flanked with
towers and battlements, like the walls of the city. There is a communication between one
castle and the other by a high wall, flanked with two towers, and built upon arches, under
which the people pass and repass to and from the fortress. On the west side, before the breach
in the town-wall, stands another bastion on a rock, but much neglected of late, which re
ders the taking of this part of Saltee very easy. The emperor sends thither a governor,
who presides over the city council, which is chosen from among the citizens. All mer
chandizes, imported or exported, pay a tenth part of their value to the governor: but the chief wealth of the place arises from the piratical trade carried on by the corsairs, who are the expertest and boldest of any on the Barbary coast 1.

**Government.**

From Saltee one may behold, in a most spacious plain, about eight or nine miles distance,
the noble ruins of the ancient city of Tefou-fara, situate on a fertile territory, and inhabited
by the Arabs, who have hitherto prevented it, as they have Marmora, Almedina, Alcazar, and a great many more from being rebuilt, that they may have the greater freedom to range
about with their herds.

**Tefou-fara.**

Mazagan. Mazagan, by some Mahgian, stands on the same coast, and about ten leagues south
west of Saltee. It is a strong and well-built town, in the hands of the Portuguese, who keep a
good garrison in it, to prevent the Moors retaking it from them, as they did the strong city
of Larach, situated on the same coast, near the mouth of the river Lucus, or Luceria. Maz
agan is surrounded with a stout wall, so thick that fixes horsemens may ride abreast upon it all around, and well furnished with cannon. The worst is, that the pirates often intercept the provisions that are sent to the garrison, which obliges it to make incursions on the neighbouring
Arabs for subsistence. It was this inconvenience that caused the loss of Larach, though much more strongly fortified *.

**Alcazar.**

Alcassar, Alcazar, or Alcazar, formerly Cesar Al Cabibis, is on the same western coast, and
was once the residence of a governor. It is said to have been built by the famed Jacebe Al
Manzer, during his war with Spain (Q), and was formerly a town of good trade, till the
Portuguese made themselves masters of it, an. 1458. But though it did not continue long
in their hands, it is since gone gradually into decay, and lies now in a ruinous condition 5.
It is called Alcazar Quibir, or the great castle, to distinguish it from Alcazar Zequir, or the
little palace, in the same kingdom.

**Arzila.**

Arzila stands upon the same coast, within eight leagues of the strongholds of Gibraltar,
and about forty-eight from Fez. It is another of those cities that were taken and held for some

1 Leo, ubi sup. Grammay, ubi sup. c. 4. Marmol, ubi sup. c. 14, & al. sup. citat.


3 Id. ibid. vid. & Hilt. Moroc. an. 1750, p. 335.

4 (Q) The occasion of its being built, we are told, was that conqueror's being likely to have perished in a tem
petuous night, among the marshes, in pursuance of his
hame, and at a great distance from his return; when rece
ving a fisherman's hut, he went into it, and was kindly
entertainied by the poor man. He asked him whether he
could conduct him to some adjacent town; and was an
swered, that it could not be done without imminent haz
ard of both their lives: and, on the next morning, the
king being fully satisfied of the truth of what he had
told him, bid him make some recompence for his hospita-
ty; to which he modestly answered, that he should be very
thankful to have a better house built on that spot.
Upon which that generous prince caused a noble palace
to be built there, and made him keeper of it, with a
handsome pension, and used often to reft his thiner for
his diversion, and called it by his name Aribel Kerine.
He afterwards fortified it; from which time it grew to a
considerable town, had a good market referred to by the
Arabs, who brought thither their dates, wax, honey, corr
castle, &c. (17)

17 Leo, 1. iii. Grammay, 1. x. c. 6. Marmol, t. iv. c. 41. D. de Terra, Dacity, &c. al.
Chap. 2. The modern history of the kingdom of Morocco.

a time by the Portuguese; but being afterwards abandoned by them, have been decaying ever since. It was antiently called Zitlis, and supposed to have been built by the Romans, about twelve leagues south of the freights 1. Tangier, on the same coast, but about two miles within the freights above-mentioned, Tangier was antiently called Tangis, and was the capital of the Mauritanis Tingitana 2. It stands on a handsome bay, and was once a very conderable place, and is said by the African fabulists to have excelled all the cities of the world for largeness and magnificence, and to have been surrounded by walls of brais. It had, however, many sumptuous edifices and palaces, and a conderable number of noblemen who resided there in the time of the Goths and Arabsians; but being taken by the Portuguese, in 1471, or 1473 according to others, 3 grew more conderable for its strength than beauty. At length finding the expence of keeping it exceed by far Portuguese, the advantage they reaped by it, it was readily yielded to the English, as part of the dowry of 3 added to the princesses Catherine of Portugal, upon her marriage with King Charles II. who, at an immense expence, and labour, made it one of the strongest places on all those coasts, and built a deep mole, which ran 300 fathoms into the sea. But finding it too chargeable to keep, and the parliament refusing to vote him the sums demanded for its maintenance, caufed all those fortifications to be blown up, after twenty-two years possession, in 1684. Since which time the Moors have endeavoured to repounce it; but have not hitherto been able to raise it above the degree of a mean fishing town 4.

Ceuta, no less conderable for its advantageous situation at the entrance of the Mediter-Ceu. 5.

c raneean, than for the beauty of its public buildings, and the strength of its walls and bulwarks, by which, and a good garrifon, it held out, not indeed a vigorous fiegfe, as the Spaniards style it, but an obfinate blockade, against an army of Moors, is situated on a rifing ground, at the foot of the mountain of Apen, which juts out into the freights, and makes the nearest point to the Spanifh coasts. It is well very conderable, and a bishop's fee, hath a good palace, and noble cathedral. Near it stands the celebrated mountain with feven summits, known to the antients by the name of Septem frates 6. The Moors laid fiege to it, in 1697, and have kept it block'd up ever since, without intermiffion, though without any great likelihood of their ever muffering it.

The extreme indigence of the natives round about Ceuta makes them so surprifingly active; The people very d that they will go, we are told, from Tetuam to Mequinez, which is 150 miles, for a ducat, poor and without minding heat or rain, in less than twenty-four hours. A river in their way caufes no delay, because they swim across it with the fame expedition that they make on land; and their whole fupport is only fome meal, a few figs or raisins, which they carry in their gortex, and their richest liquor water, mixed with a little honey.

Seven leagues south of Ceuta stands the city of Tetuan, al Tetegi, or Tetteguin, upon Tetuan, the rifing of a rocky hill, on the freights mouth. It is neither large nor strong, being surrounded by a wall made of mud and mortar, framed in wooden cafes, and dried in the sun, without any mixture of broken bricks or stone. Here are not above 800 houfes; but the inhabitants, what with piracy and a good trade for leathr, wax, honey, raisins, &c. are most of them in good circumstances, without daring, however, to make any fhew of it, left that should give occasion to the government to fcelce and oppref them. Its chief ftrength conffits in a ftrong garrifon of about 1500 foot and 400 horfs; and the port is guarded by a large square caflle, flanked with towers of the fame materials with the town walls, and, in time of danger, can entertain a garrifon of 500 men; and, though it is commanded by the adjacent mountains, yet of great security, and affords a fafe shelter to the coafters, who refort here in great numbers, to take in provisions. Which account the Spaniards attempted to choke up the mouth of the river, by finking veffels loaded with ftones, but the Moors found means to open it again.

There is in the heart of the city a large musfornor, or dungeon, wherein they lock up Dungery, their chrifian slaves at night, which are here very numerous, and as hardly used as in any part of Barbary. The inhabitants are mostly the defendants of thofe Moors and Jews who were driven out of Spain; the latter of whom carry on here a very conderable commerce. The houfes are kept so continually white-washed, outside as well as in, that the refle& of them quite dazzles the beholders eyes in the fun-fhine.

The Bafha's palace is not only a curious but a magnificent ftructure, as is also his villa, Bafhts palace, about two miles out of the town. The mosques and other public buildings are likewise very grand, though in the moreco taste. There are likewise about a dozen clofeters belonging to their Saunts, or monks, which are afy of all manner of crimes, except thofe againft the turufets of government. The Jews, who are computed to be about 3000, are allowed to make wine and

1 Id. ibid. 2 Ant. Hist. vol. v. p. 493. vii. p. 139. 3 See Braithwait Revol. of Morocco. 4 Idem ibid. & al. 5 Idem ibid. 6 History of Morocco, an. 1750. Braithwait Hist. Revol. Moroc. & al. sup. citat. 7 brandy,
brandy, by the help of which they often cozen those they traffick with. They have seven synagogues, and no more than 170 houses. The people here, as at Algiers, and other parts of Barbary, visit one another from the tops of their houses, which have handsome turrets on them, in which they regale themselves in the cool of the evening, and which add much to the beauty of the town.

But what completes the delightful prospect is the fertile territory that surrounds it, and which is covered with fine gardens, orchards, villas, with shady walks, avenues, and other fine viftos, especially a spacious burying-ground, on an adjacent eminence, which is adorned with such a beautiful variety of cupolas, pyramids, and other monuments, that it looks like a fine city in miniature. To which, if we add its fine prospect towards the sea, and adjacent hills and plains, and the courtlessness and affability of the people, beyond what they are even in their most noted capitals, we shall not scruple to pronounce it one of the most agreeable cities in all Barbary.1

We have now taken a review of the most considerable cities of the two principal provinces, of kingdoms, of this empire; viz. Morocco and Fez; it is now time to say something of those of the third and last; viz. that of Sus, Sous, or Souza, the most southern of all the three. The river of its name, which, as we observed before, was the southern boundary of the whole empire, divides it from the province of Darab, of which some part still retains the name of Farther Sus, as that on this side of that river is called Firther Sus. But whether the emperor receives any tribute from the former is not certain, nor very material.

The province of Sus is mostly, more especially on the south side, interfaced by several ridges of the Atlas, from which the many springs that flow render the whole country very fruitful in pastures, corn, rice, sugar, indigo, &c. dates, vines, and other fruits. The river Sus in particular, which, like the Nile in Egypt, overflows all the low lands, and is, like that, cut into canals, doth exceedingly enrich all the territories it runs through. Some of the mountains yield copper and almon, and those of Tibar gold in great quantities, which is called by the negroes Nack-naki, and is conveyed away by the caravans that trade here, and deal likewise in flaves and other merchandizes. The Sus, and other inferior rivers, drive a vast number of sugar mills, as well as for grinding of corn, &c. and the indigo, which grows wild in all the low grounds, without art or culture, is of a most vivid colour, and is made and exported in great quantities. The warmness of the climate, joined to the richness of the soil and plenty of water, makes the harvest very forward, it seldom beginning later than the month of May. The inhabitants, who are mostly Berbers, are very industrious, and many of them live in towns, and are wealthy, and much more polite than those in Fez and Morocco.

The two most remarkable capes are those of Ager and Nan, or Non; the former on the north-west of the mouth of the Sus, near which the Portuguese built the town of its name, which was at first taken by the famed Diego Lopez de Seguerra, who made afterwards a memorable voyage into the East Indies. This adventurer finding the town to have a convenient harbour, famous for its fishery, built a stout fort to defend it. Soon after which Emanuel king of Portugal, having bought it of him, added several other fortifications to the old ones, and put a strong garrison into it. But they were afterwards driven from it by Mabammed, the youngest of the two Sharifs, who became soon after emperor of Morocco and Fez, as will be seen in a subsequent fection. The other, about seven miles more south on the fame coast, was called Non by the Portuguese, by whom it was imagined the Ne plus ultra, beyond which none had as yet ventured to fail.1

The cities of this province are not very considerable, either for strength, bigness, or beauty.

Messa is situated on the river Sus, where it discharges itself into the sea, and at the foot of mount Atlas. It is divided into three distinct quarters, about a mile distant from each other, and each inclosed within its own walls. The inhabitants cultivate the lands about it, which are greatly fertilized by the overflowing of the Sus; though, whenever it fails to do so, as it often doth, they are obliged to live moitly upon dates, which are here much cheaper than in other parts of Africa. As that river forms no haven, they have but little commerce abroad. The shore before it being flat and shallow, it frequently happens that great whales are cast upon it; and there stands a mosk between the town and the sea, the beams, girders, &c. of which are made of the bones of that fish; which induces the people to believe this to be the place where Jonab was cast on shore. Some ambergris is likewise found on this shore, which is sold very cheap, the Mosers looking upon it as no better than the excrement of a whale, or of another fish which they call ambracan.

On the same river, and about three or four miles from Messa, stands Teffit, Tejcut, or Tebent, and, like it, divided into three parts, but much larger, and more populous. In the heart of them is erected a flately moos, through which a branch of the river runs. The plain

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1 See History of the Revolutions of Morocco, ubi sup. Torres, Dapper, Mouquet, Braidwait, &c. Leo, Marsiol, Grammay, Davity, D. de
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on which the town is seated, is spacious, and fruitful in corn, barley, pulse, sugar, and variety of fruits. The town is supposed to contain 4000 families, most of them industrious and in good ease. The sugar manufactory flourishes, and the finest Morocco leather is dressed here, and exported in great quantities.

Tarudant, though not a large place, is in a flourishing condition, and carries on a great Tarudant commerce with the Berbers, who refer to its markets, and are wealthy. Its buildings are handsome, and the adjacent plains fertile. It was once the residence of its own princes, who adorned it with sumptuous edifices, and is now that of the governors of the province, and its inhabitants are reckoned courteous and polite.

Tedzi hath about 5000 inhabitants; the sugar manufacture is their chief wealth and employment. The most magnificent is the residence of the Alakites, whose chief is sole judge in all religious matters. Its market on Mondays is resorted to by merchants from many parts of Barbary and Negerland, besides the Arabs and Moors. The traffic consists in leather, cattle, horks, linen and woollen cloths, sugar, wax, honey, butter, and a great variety of iron tools. The Jews are numerous and rich, and the people much cried up for their singular courtliness to strangers. The Sharif keeps a governor in it, with 400 horses, to protect the commerce, which is one of the richest on that side of the Atlas. It was formerly a little commonwealth, governed by an officer of its chief inhabitants, who were chosen and changed every six months; but was afterwards subdued to the yoke of the Benimerini, and since to that of the Sharifs.

Tagost, or Tagooff, the largest city in the province, was built by the natives on a spagyrous and fertile plain, and surrounded with walls now decayed. It is computed to have about 8000 families, of which about 4000 are Jews; the rest, who are Mohammedans, preserve nevertheless, a kind of veneration for the great St. Auffin, whom they affirm to have been born there. It enjoys several markets in the week, to which the Arabs and Moors resort with their commodities, and the negroes to buy cloths. Gared was built by Sharif Abd alla, who was still reigning in Marmol's time, but is only worth notice for its manyugar mills, and its leather manufacture, the exportation of which into Europe alone, is laid to bring in to the Sharif 34,000 l. yearly. Thus much may suffice for the geography of this empire, and of its three principal provinces or kingdoms. We have now only to speak of that of Tapiblet, once a kingdom of itself, though no very considerable one for any thing; but now become subject to the two emperors, ever since the reduction of its capital of the same name, by Sharif Muley Hamet.

This kingdom, which hath its name from its capital, situate on a river of the same, is a Kingdom of Tapiblet, of long tract of dry and barren ground, running almost east and west, being bounded on the north by Fez and Frenesen, on the south by the Sahrah, or desert, on the east by Segelmessa and the country of the Berbers, and on the west by Morocco and Sizur. The extent of it, including the provinces of Ifnata, Darba, Sakrah, and Touret, is of a prodigious extent, and too variously computed for us to adjust the figures, considering the little knowledge that can be had from the helps now extant of those parts. The country is, for the most part, so family and hot, that it scarce produces any thing of either corn or fruit; the only place where they can row any barley is along the banks of the rivers, and even there it grows with great difficulty, but in small quantities, through the violent heat and parching drought that reigns through all these regions the greatest part of the year; so that the Alcaisides and perfons of distinction are only able to purchase it, the common people being so poor, that they are forced to live mostly upon dates and camels flesh, both which are here in great plenty. Water is likewise so scarce here, except where they live near some river, that they are forced to fave that which falls from the clouds in winter, to serve them the whole year. What grows Prodict in greatest plenty, and without art or culture, is their indigo, which, however, yields a more vivid and lasting blue than that which is cultivated with so much care and labour in the American plantations, and brings a very good profit to the inhabitants. They have likewise abundance of ostriches, of a prodigious size, and good to eat; camels, which carry vart burdens through these barren deserts, and dromedaries (R), exceedingly swift, and chiefly used for

1 Id. ibid.
2 Leo, Gramm. Marmol, l. i. c. 23. Torrey, & al. sup. citat. St. Olam, etat de Morocco.

(R) We took notice, a little higher, of a particular excellency of these creatures, as in their human owners fyle it, that they will travel with their heavy burden, without food or drink, till they are quite emaciated, and sink under a tenth part of its weight (18). Thoef of Tapiblet will do almost the same, and differ only from a camel in that they have but two bunches upon their backs, one larger than the other, and are more finely flapped. And we much question whether a circumstance, which we are told by a judicious author, concerning their young ones, be not chiefly owing to the hard use they are put to; viz. that after they are newly foaled for

18 See before, p. 146 & al. Marmol, Afr. i. i. c. 25; Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.
for expedition, they commonly travelling 120, or more miles, in one day, and with little a
sufferance or refreshment. The chief commerce of the Tapbiletans and Yetans, besides the
indigo above-mentioned, consists in their dates, and in a sort of leather, made of the hides
of a creature they call Damos, or Lantos, which come from Numidia, and are here fabricated
into excellent shields*. They likewise make a sort of striped silk of various colours, much
used by the Moors and negroes, and also fine caftocks and caps for the men, veils for the
women, curious carpets, and other such ornaments. Most of the dates that are brought into
Europe come from Tapbilet, the emperor not permitting them to be exported from any other
place of his dominions, and they are reckoned the best that grow in his whole empire. We
are told moreover, that the fine leather that is made here is tainted with the stones of that fruit.

Governed by young Sharifs.

Their force.

Tapbilet has always been put under the government of one or other of the emperor's sons, b
not so much, perhaps, on account of its having been formerly under its own kings, or Cheyks,
as because Mulay Ishmael and other Sharifs were natives of it; though it is the leaf coveted by
those young princes of any in Morocco. They entertain here commonly about 4000 troops,
mostly horse, to keep the people, who are chiefly Berbers, or Arabs brought hither by the
Sharifs, in subjection.

The emperor, among his other titles, takes that of lord of Tapbilet and Darba, and often
permits the prince, whom he sends thither governor, to take that of king of Tapbilet. And it
is likely that the boundaries of this tributary kingdom, which are so variously fixed, extend
only as far as these governors think it worth their while to send their troops to levv the usual
tribute; but what that amounts to is beyond our power to tell.

City of Tapbilet.

Inhabitants.

Manufactures.

Road through Atlas.

Province of Gesula.

Situation.

* De his, vide Leo Afric. lib. ix. & al. sup. citat.

they will be motionless for a long while, and as in a deep sleep, sometimes about eight days, notwithstanding their running with such incredible swiftness, when they are come to their full strength (19).

(8) This weakness is not confined to the Arabs of this city, but extends to all the Arab tribes throughout this vast tract, and beyond, and hath communicated itself even to the Berbers. They are not only strict observers of the Mahomedan law, and frugal in their usual ablutions before prayer, five times a day, and in their drees and eating, but will not touch a bit of flesh, unless the creature hath been killed by one of their felt, which is done in the following manner. The butcher, turning the throat of it towards Mecca, speaks these words: O God, behold this wild animal I am going to slay, and grant that I may eat of it for thy glory. They are no less frugal in fasting the flesh from any of the lean remains of the blood.

They pretend to be the only true observers of the Koran; which they lay by the feet of the law of Jesus Christ, who ordained even the very drees they were to wear. They have therefore neither gold nor silver among them, wear neither linen nor silk, but wrap up their bodies in a woollen cloth, two or three times round, leaving the arms and legs uncovered. This they call a

Hock, which, they say, ought always to be of a white colour, for then they say, they are not riding the hock, but the hock is riding them.

In their morning prayers, after the usual washing of their feet up to the knees, and their hands to the elbows, they turn their faces towards the sun rising, and fitting themselves down on the ground, call upon Cidy Mohammed, their prophet, and afterwards on Cidy Balibeyk, by whom they mean St. Austin, and some other of their saints, among whom they number Cidy Nofacix, which is the name they give to Jesus Christ, whom they believe to have been born of a pure virgin, and conceived by the breath of God; but acknowledge only one person in the Godhead.

With respect to their more ridiculous superstitions, we shall only lay in general, that they pay a singular regard to a sort of pretended conjurers and charm-mongers, without whose advice they undertake not anything of moment, and are by them furnished with amulets, and other pretended preservatives against sickness, fire, water, and other accidents; and these they religiously wear about them, sleeping and waking, and place a greater confidence in them than in their prayers, or other acts of religion. In all which juggling tricks, one may disover a strange medley of astrological and other conjuring arts and superstitious truths, not worth any further notice (20).

The modern history of the kingdom of Morocco.

The country is mostly dry and barren, the inhabitants poor and brutish, and the best part of them employed either in the iron or copper mines of the country, or in the fabricate of those metals into all manner of utensils used in Barbary; and where they exchange for hores, linen and woollen cloths, spices, and such other commodities as they want, either by carrying them in other parts of Barbary, or by the frequent fairs they hold in their plains, or in their large towns (for they have no cities), some of which contain 1000 houses, or more.

Here is one fair in particular, which is kept in a large plain, and lasts two months, and which is referred to by strangers from most parts of Barbary and Nigram. During the whole time, the Gefulans, though naturally brutish, seem to lose their savage temper, and to shew an uncommon courtesanship to all corners; insomuch, that, though they commonly amount to about 10,000 at least, they are all maintained, during their stay, at the public charge, with their servants and cattle; there being persons appointed on purpose to dress their victuals, and furnish them with all other conveniences, all which is done without tumult or disturbance; to prevent which, as well as quarrelling, fighting, thieving, and such-like disorders, there is always a sufficient number of soldiers under the command of two captains, who immediately seize and punish the offenders; and, if a thief, he is immediately put to death on the spot, and his body is thrown to the dogs. One remarkable custom is here established, and religiously kept, that let them be at war with whom they will, they observe a truce three days in the week with all strangers, for the encouragement of their commerce; and the same is likewise done during the two months of the above-mentioned fair.

The inhabitants of this province are said to be numerous, that they are able to bring above 6,000 into the field. Their weapons are the scimitar, dagger, spear, and short gun; which last they are supposed to have taken up since their becoming subject to the Sharifs, whom they serve as foot-guards, armed with that and their broad sword. Their dress is only a short Drab, stripped linen or woollen jacket, with half-sleeves, over which they throw a kind of long coat or gown of coarse woolen cloth, and under which hangs either a dagger or a short two-edged sword. Some suppose them to have no religion at all, at least not that of Mohammed, Religion; but so much as to be certain of their ferocity, but because they chuse to begin their great fair on the birth-day of that pretended prophet. They have neither gallows, wheels, nor croffes, but every capital offender is immediately pierced with darts, and his carcass thrown to the dogs.

Their country produces very little corn, but plenty of barley, dates, good pasture, and a variety of cattle. The Portuguese had once made themselves masters of part of Gefida, and brought it under tribute, but they soon recovered their freedom again, and held it till the Sharifs subdued them; which second loss seems to have been owing to their frequent hostilities against them, and their often plundering their metropolis. But since their reduction, we see the Sharifs are told, they have continued very faithful to them, though rather under the name of allies, than subjects and tributaries.

The government, laws, religion, trade, learning, and customs, of the empire of Morocco.

There is not, perhaps, under the cope of heaven, a more despotick and tyrannical government than this, especially since the Sharifs have made themselves masters of it; though it was not much better even before that time. Religion, laws, ancient customs, and inbred prejudices, all conspire to render the monarch absolute and arbitrary, and to confirm the subjects in the most absolute and miserable state of slavery. The former is not only allowed to have an uncontrollable power and power over the lives and fortunes of the latter, but, in a great measure, even over their confidences too; insomuch as he is the only person who, as successor of Mohammed, sets up for the principal interpreter of the Koran, and appoints all the judges under him, of whom those of Marrakesh and Fez are the chief, whose business is to explain and dispence all matters relating to their religion; and, being his creatures and dependants, dare not speak otherwise than as he directs (A). Whenever, therefore, any of his laws

(A) This is not, however, to be stretched so far as to neral are very strict and zealous observers. For in such flagrant breaches of their law, of which the Moris in ge-
laws are once enacted by him, and proclaimed by his governors in all places of his dominions, as it is commonly done, that none may plead ignorance, they are everywhere received with an implicit and religious submission. On the other hand, the subjects are bred up with a notion, that those that die in the execution of his command, are intituled to an immediate admittance into paradise; and those that have the honour to die by his hand, to a still greater degree of happiness in it. After this we need not wonder at finding so much cruelty, oppression, and tyranny, on the one side, and so much submision, paffiveness, and meitery, on the other.

This latter, however, extends no farther than the Moors; for as to the Arabs, the subjection and tribute they pay to those tyrants was always involuntary, and altogether forced; and as for the negroes, their zeal and attachment is owing merely to the great sway and power which they had gained in the government during the last reign, both on account of their being better soldiers than the Moors, but more especially out of a particular regard which Mulay Ismael had for them, on account of his mother being a negro; so that, being now grown in a manner too strong to be oppressed, their loyalty and affection to those monarchs, whom they strive to imitate in all their vices, must be suffered to rise and fall, according to the favour and encouragement they receive from them. And they are now the only ones to whom those tyrants intrust their perfons, their treasure, and their conceptions, and whom they raise to the highest posts of authority and trust (B), and whom they suffer, not to lay encouragement, by their own example, to tyrannize and oppress their native, as well as their most faithful and submissive subjects.

But we shall, perhaps, find less reason to wonder at this compliance, if we consider, that, sooner or later, all the extortions of those blood-suckers come in course into their own treasury, either by the heavy fines they impose upon them, upon any complaint preferred against them, or upon any other, whether real or pretended, mal-administrations, or by extorting on all their ill-gotten wealth at their deaths. For the emperors here have found means to establish another branch of debauchery, which renders them still more powerful and formidable to their subjects; viz. their making themselves their sole heirs, and, in virtue of that, freeing upon all their effects, and making only such provision for their families as they think proper; and often, on some frivolous pretence, leaving them destitute of any, according to the liking or dislike they bear to the deceased; so that, upon the whole, they are the only masters, judges, and interpreters, and, in many influences likewise, the executioners, of their own laws, which have no other limits than their own arbitrary will. To preserve, however, some specious show or shadow of justice, they allow their Mufits a kind of superiority in spirituals, and a sort of liberty to the meanest subject to summon them before his tribunal. But the danger with which such an attempt would bring upon a plaintiff, perhaps no less than death and deprecation, is of itself sufficient to deter any man from it; especially confiding with little probability there is that the judges of it would run the risk of declaring themselves against a monarch whose whole creatures they are, and on whom their lives and fortunes so absolutely depend. The titles which the emperors of Morocco assume, are those of Moft Glorious, Mighty, and Noble Emperor of Africa, King of Fez and Morocco, Taphilet, Suez, Darha, and all the Algarbe, and its territories in Africa; Grand Sharif (or, as others write it, Xarif, that is, successor, or vicegerent) of the great prophet Mohammed, &c.

The judges, or magistrates, that act immediately under him, are, as hath been already hinted, either spiritual or temporal, or rather ecclesiastical and military. The Mufits and the

a D. Torres Relat. de los Xarifs. Mouquet Voy. c. 2. Braithwaite Hist. of Morocco, 1750. c. 1.

b Ibid. Ibid.

denn a prince, though not openly, much less make it a pretence for rebelling against him. Witness the reign of that monster of cruelty, oppression, drunkenness, and debauchery, Mulay Ismael Deboby, who, though he lived in open contempt of the Koran, and encouraged it in all his ministers (1), infomuch that he preferred pets, to strictly forbidden by their law, and for detested by all Mahometans, to all other flesh, except a roasted fox, which was his beloved dish; yet was never disturbed by any opposition, except what was raised by his brother Muly Abd el Mihel, who, being older than he, had the fairer title to the crown, and with it all the opposite virtues to his brother's vices. But though these advantages procured him the good wishes of all the Moors, yet it was not without great difficulty that he wrenched the sceptre from him; nor was it long before that tyrant was recalled and re-enthroned by his subjects, in spite of all the opposition his brother could make against it, as shall be shewn in a subsequent section (2).

(6) Some negroes, ever since their adhering so closely to Muly Ismael, have been in high request with his successors, and make the main branch of the beldirey, both of horse and foot. They are brought so young out of Guinea, that they quickly lose the memory of it; and having no relations or friends, nor dependance, but on the emperor's favour, are the more ready to obey his orders in all things. They are at first brought up to be foot soldiers, and after so many years forsoe in it, or sooner, if their behaviour deferee it, are advanced to the cavalry, which is a great honour in that country. They are taught little else except the exercise of arms, and to obey the emperor's orders (c); and, by the easiest compliance with his views, politics, and instructions, advance themselves to the highest posts under him (3).

(1) Braithwaite Relat. of Morocco, pp. 2.
(2) Ibid. p. 153. & seq.
(3) Id. p. 350.

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a Kadis are judges of all religious and civil affairs; and the Bañas, governors; Alcades, and other military officers, of those that concern the flate of the army. All of them the most oblique creatures and slaves of their prince, and no less the rapacious tyrants of their subjets, and from whom neither justice nor favour can be obtained, but by mere dint of money, and extortionate bribery, from the highest to the lowest. Neither can it, indeed, be otherwise, in such an arbitrary government, where the highest posts must not only be bought of the prince, at a moft extravagant price, and kept only by as exorbitant a tribute, which is yearly paid to him, but where no one is sure to continue longer than he can bribe some of the courtiers to inflinate to the monarch that he pays to the utmost of his power, and much beyond what was expected from him. Add to this, that those Bañas, governors, &c. are obliged to keep their agents and spies in constant pay at court, to prevent their being flepplanted by higher bidders, flanderers, or other artful underminers.

From what hath been said under this head, it may be reafonably concluded, that this branch of the imperial revenue must be very considerable, though there is no possibility to make any other conjecture of its real amount, than that it must be an immense one. Another considerable branch is the piratical trade, which brings the greater income into his treasury, as he is not taken at any expense, either for fitting of corvair vessels out, or maintaining their men, and yet hath the tenth of all the cargo, and of all the captives, besides which he appropriates to himself all the rest of them, by paying the captors fifty crowns per head, by which means he engrosses all the flaves to his own service and advantage. This article is, indeed, a very considerable addition to his revenue, not only as he sells their ransom at a very high rate; but likewise as he hath the profit of all their labour, without allowing them any other maintenance than a little bread and oil; nor any other assistance, when sick, than what medicines a Spaniard convent, which he tolerates there, gives them gratis; and which, nevertheless, is forced to pay him an annual present for that toleration, besides furnishing the court with medicines, and the flaves with lodging and diet when they are not able to work. Another branch of his revenue consists in the tenth part of all cattle, corn, fruits, honey, wax, hides, rice, and other products of the earth, which is exacted of the Arabs and Berbers, as well as of the natives; and these are levied, or rather farmed, by the Bañas, governors, Alcades, &c. with all possible severity. The Jews and Christians likewise pay an income, or capitation, the former of six crowns per head, on all males from fifteen years and upwards, besides other arbitrary imposts, fines, &c. that on the Christians, for the liberty of trading in his dominions, riles and falls according to their numbers, and the commerce they drive; but which, whatever it may bring yearly into his coffers, is yet detrimental to trade in general, being it discourages great numbers from settling there, notwithstanding the artful invitations which the emperors and their ministers make use of to invite them to it; for, besides those arbitrary exactions, there is still another great hardship attending them, viz. that they cannot leave the country without forfeiting all their debts and effects to the crown. The duties on all imports and exports, of which we shall speak under a subsequent article, is another branch of his income, the amount of which, communibus annis, no author hath yet given us any account of; only conflit Hasfield hath computed the whole yearly revenue, including ordinaries and extraordinaries, to amount to 500 quintals of silver, each quintal, or 100 lb. weight, valued at somewhat above 350 l. sterlings so that the whole amounts to no more, according to him, than 165,000 l. a small revenue, indeed, for so large an empire, if the calculation may be depended upon. But St. Olav, the other, he doth not pretend so much as to guests at the yearly amount of it, doth in general represent it as so considerable, that Muley Ismael was reckoned to have amassed out of it a treasure in gold and silver of about 50 effective millions, but whether of crowns or livres he doth not tell us; nor how he came by his knowledge of it, because that politic prince, even by his own confession, not only caufed all his riches to be buried in sundry places under ground, his gold and silver to be melted into great lumps, and laid in the fame privacy under ground, but likewise all those whom he intruded with the secret to be as privately murdered. However that be, we shall, upon the whole, have the less cause to wonder at these exorbitant exactions which he extorts from Chifitian princes and states, whenever they are obliged either to seek his alliance, or to obtain some redrefs in favour of their trading subjets; much less at the shameful delays, infuls, extortions, indignities, and injustices, which their ambassadors must be content to put up with, to obtain the least favours from their rapacious ministers; of which we need not a more flagrant instance than the strange treatment which Mr. Ruffel met with at that rapacious court.

* BRATWART, in loc. p. 377.
* Ibid. de Morocc. p. 105, & seq.
* St. Olav, et al. de Morocc. p. 105, & seq.

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Book XXII.

The navy of this empire hath been always inconsiderable; neither is the number of their ships fixed, but rises or falls according to the present emergency. In St. Olau's time it consisted of no more than twelve sail, one half of which belonged to the emperor, and the other to private subjects; most of them in bad plight, carrying at the most 18 or 20 cannon, and about 200 men, poorly armed and accoutred. In Mr. Braithwaite's time their whole naval force consisted only of two ships of 20 guns each, the biggest not above 200 tons, a French brigantine they had lately taken, and a few row vessels; and yet with these, well filled with men, they failed out of Salee and Mamerse, and made a great number of prizes. And it is a constant maxim with them, if they find, in a ship of a nation with whom they are at peace, a man of a different nation, to make a lawful prize of her. And it is a singular happiness for Christian traders that the Morocco dominions do not afford one tolerable good harbour; that of Salee, which is by far the best, being almost dry at low water; besides a very inconvenient bar, of which we have already taken notice (C), which prevents ships of any burthen from entering; for if they had better ports, it might be an inducement to them to make a greater figure at sea, and become a greater annoyance. Another want they labour under, besides that of timber trees for building of ships, is that of tackle to rig them with, and with which, as well as powder and shot, they are furnished by England and Holland. And such is their provens at sea, that, about 34 years ago, a single small English frigate of 20 guns, with an active commander, by taking some of their ships, and running others on shore, had struck such terror among them, that the name of captain Delgarve, like that of other formidable warriors, was used by the Mamea and Salee women to fill their peevish children with fear.

The land forces would, indeed, make a much greater figure, were they not dispersed in small numbers throughout this large empire, or were they better disciplined and accoutred than they mostly are. We have already hinted, that the greatest part of their renegades are forced to lift amongst the foot, and sent to distant parts to garrison castles and forts on the frontiers. Their pay is only 20 Blankits, that is 40 pence per month, and a small allowance of flour. However they are commanded by an Alcaide of their own, that is, one who is a renegade, and hath a final allowance. Those whom our author saw at Fez were drunken profligate fellows, half-naked and half-starved. The Moors are not much better paid, or equipped; but the choice troops, both of horse and foot, are the negroes, who, being brought here from Guinea very young, and trained up for the army, commonly make the best soldiers, and are most relied on, as having signalized themselves upon several occasions, particularly at the siege of Oran and Ceuta, of which we shall speak in the sequel. These are computed to amount in all, horse and foot, to about 40,000, and the Moors pretty near as many. He might, indeed, easily increase that number in a war against the Christians.
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a wherein they come more voluntarily, than when it happens to be against any of the Mekki-menian princes. But how to arm one quarter of them would be very difficult, his armory being scarcely sufficient to furnish above 10,000 with firelocks and scimitars, besides 150 pieces of cannon, part of which were taken in the Spanish Capitana, and the rest were brought from the fortresses of Larrache, when the Spaniards were driven out of it; all which are there laid up, as well as his treasure, for the use of that son whom he designs for his successor, against any of his contending brethren, or any other competitor. For he that can make himself master of these two repositories, is, in a great measure, sure to gain the crown; which being neither wholly elective nor hereditary, commonly falls to the share of the strongest and best provided with those two main finewons of war, especially if he hath had the address to make himself beloved or esteemed by the negroes, who, as was hinted before, are the safe guards of the king’s person, palace, treasure, wives, concubines, and whole family, and who have the government of the most considerable provinces and cities in the empire, next to the princes of the blood.

b There is little or no foreign commerce here, but what is carried on either by the Jews or Christians. The Moors neither understand it, nor have any trading vessels of their own; so that the whole navigation is carried on by European ships, but chiefly English and French. But the want of convenient harbours on the one hand, and the exorbitant duties laid on all imports and exports, to say nothing of many other frauds and exactions, with which the foreign merchants are oppressed, is such an obstructive to it, that it is not the fourth part so extensive as it would otherwise be.

c The chief exports are copper, tin, wool, hides, honey, wax, dates, raisins, almonds, olives, indigo, gum-arabic, sandalwood, cordovans, ostrich feathers, elephants’ teeth, and fine mats; as for corn, none is suffered to be exported, that being expressly forbidden by their Koran, though the Tunisians and Algerines usually dispense with it.

d The usual imports are cloths, linens, lead, iron bars, hard-ware, arms, bullets, and gun-powder; all which paid a duty of 10, but now only 8 per cent.; besides which, the ships 8 per cent. trading to these dominions pay one barrel of gun-powder for entrance, with twelve for lading and anchorage, and twelve more to the captain of the port. But vessels failing to or from Gibraltar pay but half of that duty, by a former indulgence, granted by the late Muley Ismael, who had a particular regard for the English above all other Europeans. English and French consuls are in eight dollars; and every French and Spanish ship pays three more to the hospital, or convent, of Spanish friars, founded there for the benefit of Christian slaves. It is a politic maxim among the Moors of this empire, and might be universally observed every-where, to policy among them. A excellent trade with any ship that comes into their ports, though belonging to a state at war with them, and trade with them for all such commodities as they have occasion for. They will even permit their consuls and merchants to live with them in the same security as if they were at peace with them.

But they have another which is as detrimental to them as beneficial to us, viz. to cheat all the strangers they can, both in weight and measure, particularly in their silver coin, which, besides its wear, is commonly clipped or leffened by the Jews; so that, if a man doth not carry a pair of scales to weigh, as well as a good pair of eyes to examine, what he receives, he is fure to be cheated.

But besides their commerce by sea, they carry on a very considerable one by land by their Landcommerce caravans, which set out twice a year from Fez to Mecca and Medina, and carry variety of their wares, woolen manufactures, some of which are exceedingly fine and beautiful, besides cochineal, indigo, ostrich feathers, and Morocco skins; in return for which they bring silk, muffins, and variety of drugs (E). They likewise send large caravans into Guinea, consisting of many thousand camels, which the length of the way and the difficulty of the passage, through deserts void of provisions and water, render absolutely necessary, every other camel being loaded with those necessities. The others carry thither salt, cowries, woolen and silk manufactures, oil, &c., which they exchange with the negroes for gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, and negro slaves (F).

1 St. OLAN, ibid. p. 117, & seq. 2 BRATHWAITE, ubi sop. St. OLAN, ibid. 3 St. OLAN, p. 140, & seq. 4 BRATHWAITE, Hist of Morocco, p. 356. MOUQUET, ibid. c. 15, & al. 5 Id. ibid. 6 Id. ibid.

(E) Hist. of Barbary, p. 358. Hist. of Barbary.

(2) This branch of trade from Mecce might be easily put a stop to by England, by our transporting fools from Turkey to Barbary; by sea; and the emperor would most probably encourage it, for the sake of the duty of 10 per cent. on goods imported on English bottoms, as it would likewise prevent many of his subjects going to Mecca, where the Turkish government, which is much milder than his, invites many of those traders to settle themselves, as under the bent tyranny of the two (E).

6 Hist. of Barbary, p. 357.
The coin of this empire is of three sorts; the lowest of which, called a Furse, is a small piece of copper, somewhat less than our farthing, twenty of which make a Blankit, another small coin of silver, of the value of about two pence English. This last, for want of being milled, is so liable to be clipped by the Jews, and, being most in use, grows so very thin, that, if one does not take care to weigh them, one is sure to be a loser by them. For though both Jews and Moors will strive hard to put them off; yet, if they be light, they will refuse to take them, except by weight, in order to be melted again. For those Jews are both meeters and coiners, and get considerably by both. They likewise exchange good money for bad; and which, besides the payment of the difference, they extract an extravagant premium. This makes it very troublesome and chargeable in marketing, because, if one of these pieces be cracked, it will be refused; and yet most large payments are made in that coin, gold being both scarce and kept up.

The gold coin is the ducat, not unlike that of Hungary, worth about nine shillings sterling, three of which make a moidore, and are generally so changed. Merchants accounts are kept by ounces, each of which contains four Blankets, and four of which make a ducat account; or, as they style it, a Methica. But, in payments to the government, they will take no less than seventeen and a half for a gold ducat. These three last ounces and ducats, or Meticals, are imaginary. As for the three real species above-mentioned, the Mohammedan religion not permitting them to bear the prince’s or any other effigy, they are only stamped with some Arabic characters. As for foreign coin, whether gold or silver, it is valued according to its weight, and as if it was to be melted; and the Jews make a considerable profit not only in the exchange of it, but in filing, levelling, and even debasing it, which makes it dangerous to take any from them without the scales or the touchstone.

We have already said something of their learning, in speaking of the university of Fez; and all that we can add to it is, that it is in a great measure wholly confined to their priests and doctors of their law. As for the rest, they think themselves learned enough if they can but read, write, and cast accounts; and even these are much neglected, even by their princes and nobles, many of whom, like the late emperor Moulay Ismael, can neither read nor write. Though this seems to be a degeneracy of no longer standing, perhaps, than since their falling under the subjection of the Sharifs, and quite opposite to the proverbial saying of theirs, A hore, a woman, and a book, which expressed their three predominant inclinations. The two former of which they retain as much as ever, no nation being more expert and dexterous in all kinds of horsemanship, nor more addicted to women than they. But at present their appetite for learning, for which they were so famed heretofore (F), seems wholly extinguished among them in every respect, except, perhaps, in the great regard they still pay to their doctors and proficients. They are likewise much addicted to astrology, and place great confidence in charms, magic, and other superstitious tracts. They have no physicians except quacks, who deal much in simples, amulets, and other pretended conjurings. Their surgeons are not much better; which gives the renegades an opportunity to set up for physicians and surgeons, when they can pretend to nothing better.

They have regular schools in all their cities and towns, and teach children to read, write, and cast accounts; and all the books they are taught are some short catechisms of their faith, and laft of all the Koran. And when a boy hath once gone through this laft, he is handomely dreefed, and set upon a horse and led in triumph through the city by the rest of the schoolboys. The children never receive any chastisement, either at school or at home, but on the sides of their feet, with a small rod or flat rule. All other punishments of them, especially some in use amongst us, are abhorred by them.

Their martial skill and discipline, notwithstanding their continual wars at home and abroad, and the care which the late Sharifs have taken to breed their negro troops to arms from their

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(F) We have formerly shewn, that these countries, barbarous as they were called by the Romans, were not without their arts and sciences, at the time they were conquered by them (7). Since which, both the Moors and Arabians, especially the latter, have rendered them still more considerable by the branches of learning they cultivated among them, such as philosophy, astronomy, physics, history, &c., as well as by the many learned authors they have produced, such as Abulferazi, Algaral, Abnus, Main'mate, Abul'far, Abitennin, &c., and a great many others, whom we have had occasion to mention through the course of this Modern History (8). So that this great decay of learning among them can hardly be ascribed to any other cause than to the many long and dreadful wars, vicissitudes, and devastations, they have since undergone, and to the tyrannical government they still groan under. Those very causes having everywhere, and in all ages, produced the same effects (9).

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a infancy, is still amazingly rude and imperfect in every respect, excepting, perhaps, their dexterity in riding and horsemanship; and even in this they rather shew an unusual agility than any military skill, their horses being now rather remarkable for their docility and fleetness than for true martial exploits; and yet, in antient times, the Mauritanian cavalry was reckoned of all others the most formidable. The foot is still worse disciplined, and worse armed and accoutred. When they engage the enemy, their method is to place the horse on the two wings, and the foot in the center, which extends itself in the form of a crescent; and, where the ground will allow it, never consists of above two ranks, which are the more easily broke by the horse, whenever these can come to attack them, because the foot have neither discipline nor order to prevent their breaking in upon them; and what is still worse, c stand in such dread of them, that 500 foot will be put to flight by 50 horsemen. They make but a poor figure at all, either in marching, encamping, or fighting; and the only mark of courage they shew, is when they are going to engage the enemy; at which time they begin the onset with a loud shouting, which is followed with some short ejaculatory prayer for victory. The cavalry which is nearest to the emperor, and chiefly consists of negroes, is armed with guns, pilafts, and feynfils; and that which is farthest from him only with muskets and lances. The infantry is variously armed, some with guns, others with bows, flings, short pikes, clubs, and broad-swords. With these weapons they engage the enemy, especially Christians, rather with a kind of enthusiastic fury than like a well-disciplined army; but if they meet with a brave opposition, or an unexpected repulse, they are the more easily put to the rout; and when fo, are with great difficulty rallied again, if at all, especially if the enemy be of the same religion with them; in which case, they usually engage them with an ill-will, and will fight no longer when they think themselves in danger of being killed, or when they can see a way of saving themselves by flight. As to the Arabs, or Berbers, they are seldom called in as auxiliaries, because, being under a kind of forced subjection, they cannot be safely trusted by either side; but what is required of them is, that they furnish the emperor’s troops with provisions of corn, barley, meat, butter, oil, honey, &c. under pain of military execution, where-ever they encamp. They are very numerous, and for the most part brave and stout, and fond of liberty, and would soon shake off the irksome yoke, if they were not kept under by oppressive taxes, and the want of good arms. But as they are all of the Mohammedan religion, the Sharifs, when at war with any Christian powers, will venture to oblige them to fend a certain quota to fight under their banner; at which time they will furnish them with fire and other arms, and even with horses; all which they strip them of again, as soon as the campaign is over, before they are suffered to return to their own homes.

We have already hinted that the establishment religion throughout this empire, both among Moors and Arabs, is that of Mohammed, which, and its four principal sects, has full account hath been given in a former volume. There are strict followers of that of Melekh, whose extravagant and superstitious doctrines they have adopted, and without the belief of which they think a Mohammedan cannot be saved. We shall have further occasion to mention some of those strange tenets in a subse-quent chapter, as they are still more firenously held at Algiers, Tunis, Tafilet, and other parts of Barbary, where we shall speak more fully of them; all that we shall observe concerning them here is, that, of all others, those of Morocco and Fez are not only the most zealous ticklers for them, but have introduced several others, equally impertinent and ridiculous, and of which they are no less strict observers, such as feeding on certain days variety of viandals to be placed on the tombs of their deceased relations; their burying gold, silver, and jewels, and other conveniences, with them, that they may live the more at their ease in the other world; the digging their graves narrow at the top and broad at the bottom, to give the deceased more room, and greater facility to gather up his bones at the resurrection; on which account, and to prevent any mixture or collusion, they never inter two persons in one grave. They pay a great veneration to those sepulchers, embellish them with tomb-stones, cupolas, and other ornaments, and forbid all Christians, even ambassadors, to approach them. Every Friday, which is their sabbath, those sepulchers, which are commonly out of town, are crowded with men and women, in a blue dress, which is the colour for their mourning; but mostly by the latter, who are allowed to repair thither, to pay their tribute of tears and prayers for the dead; and by marabouts, who commonly have their cells in that neighbourhood, and, for a little money, join in their devotions with feeming zeal and fervency, this being a considerable branch of their trade. They all ply here with their beads in their hands, and repeat a certain number of passages out of the Koran, more or less, according to the generality of their devotees.

w "Id. ibid. ubi sop. vid. St. Olan, p. 113, & seq. Brathw. p. 350.


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Hatred of all Christians.

They profess a more than common abhorrence against all Christians, and breed up their children to the same. The usual name they call them by is that of dogs; and they seldom make mention of any without tacking some hearty curse to it. The very ambassadors themselves are not exempt from their insults and curses as they go along the streets, and are often pelted with stones and dirt by the populace.

Strange regard to Mecca pilgrims; estranged even to husbands, &c.

They not only pay a great veneration to their marabouts, an idle pack of priests, who live and thrive on the folly of the superstitious laity, as they do at Algiers, Tunis, &c., but to those who have made their pilgrimage to Mecca, whom they style Hedges, or saints, and allow them several considerable privileges. But what is still more singular, the very camels and horses that have been there are esteemed so holy, that they are exempted from future service, well fed and kept, and when they die are allowed the same kind of burial as they do to their nearest relations.

Their worship in their mosks is much the same as we have already described in other parts of the Moslem dominions. They enter them bare-footed, and behave with great decency and feeming devotion. If a man be convicted of having abjured himself from them during eight days, he, is, for the first fault, rendered incapable of being a witness in any court; is mulcted for the second, and burnt as a heretic for the third. As for the women, they being looked upon as only created for procreation, and apt to inspire men with impure thoughts at their devotions, they are not permitted to enter those places, but pray at home, or at the sepulchres lately mentioned. They allow salvation for all, of what nation or religion soever, that die before they are fifteen years of age; but to none beyond it, unless to the Moslems of their own sect. And those females of other religions that die virgins under the age above-mentioned, are referred to make up the compliment of seventy females which every male will be intitled to in paradise. They reckon idots, madmen, and pretended forcers and charm-mongers, among their faults of the first clas, and build chapels to them after their deaths, which are visited with great devotion; and those places, as well as the sepulchres of their Hages, or Mecca pilgrims, whether men, camels, or horses, are allowed sanctuaries for all crimes, except treason. The Koran forbidding all games of hazard, that prohibition is so strictly observed in these dominions, that the people of all ranks content themselves with playing at chefs, draughts, and other such like games, and express an utter abhorrence for cards, dice, &c. If any person hath lost his money at any game, and complains of it to the Kadi, he will order it immediately to be restored to him, and the winner to be banished or fined. The same punishment is assigned to all those that are caught playing at any chance game, or for any money, except a mere trifle by way of diversion. They suffer neither Jews nor Christians to enter into their mosks, or to have any carnal conversation with their women; and if any of them are found guilty of either, they must either turn Mohammedans, or be burned or impaled alive. They have one settled maxim among them, which is religiously observed by all, from the highest to the lowest; viz., not to keep faith with infidels; in consequence of which they make no confidence to lie, forswear, and violate the most solemn engagements. For which shameful practice one of their Talbes, or priests, did not scruple to give this reason to the French ambassador, that they would soon become slaves to the false religion and idolatry of the Christians, if they were, like them, as great ones to their engagements with them. But whatever their motives be for it, one may safely affirm, that there is hardly a more rapacious or faithles court and ministrv than that of Morocco, nor a more cheating and perfidious people than the subjects of that empire. They verify a proverb, current among them, that given vinegar is sweeter than bought honey. To close up this article of their religion, they are exact observers of the superstitious part of their law, beyond all other Mohammedans in Barbary, and especially of their Ramadan, or lent, which is kept with such strictness, that they will not, during that whole month, taste one drop of coffee, or a whiff of tobacco, from two hours before sun-rising till after it is quite set; much les will they touch any viands or refreshment. Their young children are so enured to the same abstinence, that we are told, that Mula Benna, who was a very strict Mohammedan, in the first audience he gave the French ambassador, had one of those horses led before that he rode on. It was fumphuiously clad, and, among other marks of distinction, had a young Christian slave to hold by his tail with one hand, and with the other a pot to receive his extremities, and a napkin to wipe him clean. 

Absence from their mosks how punished.

Women excluded from them.

Sepulchres esteemed panteurs.

Games of hazard forbidden.

Their faithfulness how palliated.

Wretched character of the court and people.

Strict observers of lent.

(G) These sandaled boots are easily distinguished by the beads and other relics and ornaments about their necks, which are commonly some verses out of the Koran, upon parchment or paper, and sewn in a piece of rich silk or brocade. If their owners are not in a capacity of keeping them, they procure them a maintenance from the revenue of the mosk or parish they belong to; and there never want some devotees, who take a singular pleasure in visiting and feeding them.

(10) St. Olau, etat de Moroc. p. 58, &c. feq.
that it becomes natural to them; their very coifrons, though the basest villians under the sun, will keep this long fast on ship-board; and if a renegado is found to neglect it, as they often do, he is punished with 100 or 200 bafinadoes on the soles of his feet. Strange infatuation, this, to imagine that a regular repetition of praying, washing, fasting, &c. shall alone for the vilest frauds, oppreffions, cruelty, perjury, and the most immoral and unnatural vices, and the violation of all moral rectitude and virtue!

Their punishments are much the same as those we have already seen in other parts of Barbary, except with regard to such as flow from the arbitrary sentence of their monarchs; such as sawing in funder, either length or cross-wife, burning by fire, or other things which they seem to delight in, but which are a flame and abhorrence to human nature; especially considering how often the most cruel of them fall upon the innocent, and are the mere and sudden effects of jealousy, revenge, detraction, and often of drunkenness or disappointment. The renegados are here likewise punished with fire, but with some additional ferocity, they being stripped quite naked, and anointed all over with tallow, and having a chain fastened about their loins, are dragged from prison to the place of execution, and there burned. Jews who deface the coin, or wrong the king, and slaves that attempt to run away, are likewise punished with greater severity here than in any other parts of Barbary, though inhumanly enough every where.

The drees, customs, marriages, burials, food, drink, baths, houses, &c. having nothing of particular worth notice, we shall refer our readers to the general account we shall give of them in a subsequent chapter. Only one custom we cannot pass by, which seems to be peculiar to them, is, that it is reckoned a shameful thing for a man to make water in a standing posture, that those who are found guilty of it are excluded from being evidence in any trial among the men.

Whether this be to prevent any drop of their urine from falling upon their cloaths, which is esteemed a legal defilement, or upon any other account, we cannot determine; only we are assured by most writers that they are very careful to squat down, like the females, whenever they have occasion to empty their bladder. The women have likewise a strange superstitious custom when in labour, which is, to send to the school for five little boys, four of whom are employed in holding the four corners of a cloth, in each of which is an egg tied, and which are carried through the streets, singing some prayers alternately; upon which the Moors come out of their houses, with bottles or pitchers full of water, which they throw into the middle of the cloth; by which means they expect to be more easily and quickly delivered.

The language of this country is, without all peradventure, one of the most extensive in the whole world; namely, the Arabof, or modern Arabic, which is here spoken not only in towns and cities, but in all the villages, adowards, tents, and mountains, of this empire; nay, those western Barbary Moors are underfoot all over the Turkish dominions; the reason of which may be their frequent pilgrimages to Mecca, from this and other parts of Barbary; by which means that language is so naturally kept up, that Turks, Moors, Algerines, Tunisians, Tripolitains, Pezans, and Moroccans, understand one another perfectly well. What that language is, and what affinity it hath with the antient Arabic, Hebrew, and other eastern tongues, the reader may see in the history we have already given of the antient and modern Arabic, and in other learned authors quoted by us there.

Hitherto we have mentioned little relating to the religion, manners, &c. of the Moors; some laudable customs among them, we shall now, in justice to them, acquaint our readers with what we find to be most commendable among them. And first, they cannot be too much admired for the great regard they pay to the name of God; that great abhorrence which they bear to the impious custom, so much in vogue among Christians, of wearing upon the most trivial subjects, which the greatest aggravatfed refinement cannot provoke them to; much less to blasphemous and indecent expressions of him, not having so much as a word in their language to express it by.

Neither do they suffer their quarrels and contentions with each other ever to transport them so far as to come to blows; much less to flab and murder one another, as is too common in ours and other Christian countries. They never kill but in war; their religion allowing of no pardon for murder: and it is with the utmost reluctance that they engage in battle against those that are of their own religion.

Their respect and obedience to their parents, superiors, and even of a younger brother to an elder, is no less exemplary and praiseworthy; before whom they never dare to sit or speak without bid. They are extremely jealous of the honour of their wives, and impatient of the least blinthe or fulpicion that is cast upon it. We likewise took notice, at the beginning of this section, of their extraordinary loyalty to their princes, even to the most brutish and abandoned of them; and we may add to it here, their singular zeal and bravery in

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* Idem ibid.  
* Graithwait, p. 366, & al. sep. citat.  
* Graith, p. 371.  
* Graith. ubi sup. p. 354.  

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in defence of their country, though the small property they enjoy in it one would hardly think a
worth the tenth part of the trouble and hazard they go through to preserve it. They are more
very moderate in their eating; and as for their drinking, wine and other intoxicating liquors are forbidden by their law. And though this prohibition is perhaps the least observed by them, many even of their great men indulging themselves in drinking privately, yet in general those persons, of whatever rank, that abstain from them, and regale themselves only with such liquors as brandy, and such sober beverage, are the most esteemed. And even in their licensed houses for wine, brandy, &c. if any Mohammedan is proved to have drank to excess of these, not only he, but the retailer, is severely punished, either by fine or banishment, and the Kadi's officers come and take all the vessels. They have indeed a much better succession at hand upon such occasions; viz. their opium, which, moderately used, hath all the invigorating, cheering, and healing qualities of the noblest wines, without any of their pernicious effects.

Their visits are commonly short, lasting no longer than the business which occasions them requires; and the visit only treats his visitor with coffee, or herbet, and a pipe of tobacco, unless on particular occasions. The women have their particular apartments, where they receive their female visitors, and from which the husbands are excluded. We have already mentioned their forbidding of all games of chance, or playing at any other, except for a regale of coffee, herbet, or other such small refreshment. But what must they think of our suffering men and women of all ranks, ages, and conditions, to murder their time, waste their fortunes, ruin their families, neglect their own and the public welfare, in those very games which are moreover rendered more dishonourable and destructive, by the base and scandalous abuses that are suffered to reign impunitely, at almost all those places of resort? Lastly, when any person is convicted in any of those states of Barbary of a capital crime, he is conducted to the place of execution by two or three officers, without any retinue, or any other crowd of spectators, than a few unruly boys. But what must they think, were they to see the crowds and tumults that attend our most common executions, to see so many myriads neglect their own affairs, hire seats on scaffolds, raised at an extraordinary charge, run the risk of breaking their limbs or necks, to behold some uncommon criminal put to death, and, with as much avidity as they would behold a coronation, triumphant cavalcade, or magnificent spectacle, behold, at their ease, the distresses, dying agonies, and destruction, of an unfortunate person, whom either his crimes, misfortunes, or perhaps his enemies, have brought to an untimely end?

With respect to the policy of the government, they have one maxim, which we have lately hinted at, and which several eminent civilians have wished was universally observed; which is, that though they are at war with almost all the Christians, except the English, and even when they have been at war with us, they nevertheless permit our consuls and merchants to reside in their ports unmolested, and will trade with any vellel that comes bound to their ports, of what nation soever, for what commodities they fland in need of, and suffer every trader to live with them in as much security as in time of peace. It is, indeed, the emperor's interest to fuffer his subjects to carry on a piratical war with as many Christian nations as they can, because it brings him a considerable income, without putting him to any charge to fit out ships; for besides the tenth of all the cargoes of the prizes, he hath, as we hinted before, all the captives to himself; which fill adds to his wealth, as well as to his grandeur, by the excessive price he puts upon their ransom, and the profit he makes of their labour, without allowing them any thing but a small pittance of bread and oil. But as the foreign commerce is likewise a considerable branch of his revenue, it is no bad policy in him to preserve and encourage it for the sake of the large duty which he lays on all imports and exports; especially as this is the great promoter of the inland trade, by caravans, all which help to increase his revenue; whilst the subjects of Christian princes, though at war with him, find their account in making use of this liberty and encouragement of trading thus un molested in his dominions.

Another political maxim which the emperors of Morocco are obliged to observe, is, at any rate, to keep in friendship with the states of Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, but more particularly with the latter, not only as the most powerful and warlike, as they have formerly found to their cost, but as will be seen more fully in their history, but as being their strongest barrier against the Ottoman Porte, and, on the other hand, screen them from any suspicion from that jealous court. The necessity of this policy will be best understood from their history, which we are now going to give.

1 De his, vid. MARMOL, DAVITI, DAPPER, ST. OLAN, BRAIT. History of Barbary, &c.
S E C T. III.

The history of the Sharifs, or Emperors, of Morocco.

This empire, as well as the rest of the states of Barbary, having continued about four centuries under the Roman yoke, from their first conquest by J. Cæsar, to the declension of the Roman empire, fell immediately under that of the Goths, who, as we have formerly seen, crossed over from Spain and made an easy conquest of all those provinces, whole inhabitants rather chose to submit to them than make their captivity harder by fighting for their old oppressors. This new government lasted only till about the year 600, when the Saracens, a nation no less furious than the Vandals, tyrannized over them in their turn, till they were driven out by the Arabs, who, besides their natural ferocity, burning with a fiery zeal to propagate their Mohammedanism everywhere by force of arms, over-ran this whole country among the rest, and obliged them to submit themselves to their religion, as well as government.

By their quick success Christianity was banished out of Africa, which, from that fatal epoch, took a quite different face, and was divided into variety of kingdoms under diverse princes, who governed their new subjects with wisdom and mildness; yet, by frequent discontents and hollownesses against each other, caused those strange alternations and incidents of which we have already spoken in some former chapters, and sailed at length the family of the Almoravides to the sovereignty. Tiflis, the second monarch of that line, was the Moroccan person who built the city of Morocco, and conquered the kingdom of Fes, and the Moorish dominions in Africa till El Niech, together with the sovereignty, were left by his grandson Alhous Haji, the fame who caused the works of Aquienna to be compiled by a fet of Arabian doctors, in the form we now see them. This prince having been defeated and killed in Spain, the crown passed to the Mehedids, or Aboumeddes, by the defeat and tragic end of his son the Almorabab. It had not continued in it above three generations before Mohommed, the son of Heded, defeated Al Moufrik, a prince not less worthy of the crown than his father, lost the famous battle of Sierra in Spain, in which 200,000 of his Moors were slain, which caused likewise the loss of several Spanish conquests, which Alphonso X. retook from him immediately after.

Mohammed died soon after, and left several sons, whose mutual feuds ended in a bloody war, during which the viceroys of Fes, Tumis, and Treheneen, found means to flake off the yoke, and strengthen themselves so well in their respective governments, that none of his descendants could afterwards reduce them. One of the princes of the royal blood of Treheneen various kings having put to death Cezed, al. Cezed, one of Mohommed's grandsons, and defeated all the dominions of Spain.

Aboumeddes, gave his government a kind of new form, and settled himself at the head of it: soon after which Abdellah, of the family of the Merini, having made himself master of the kingdom of Morocco and of that of Fes, installed these two crowns on his own family. Some of his successors, having chosen the latter for their royal residence, contented themselves with sending their viceroys to the former; who, by their cruel extortions, almost unpeopled that great metropolis. Those Merini, or Bensi-merini, having been ousted in their turn by the Serini Oustazes, or, as they are called by others, Bensi Oustazes; who, by their ill conduct and go-outs by the vernment, joined to the wars which Don Manuel king of Portugal had been successfully waged against the Moors for a considerable number of years; (A), gave a long withered-for hand to the old Sharif Hafesin and his sons to drive them from the throne, and by the midst unheard of artifices, dissimulation, and treachery, to make themselves masters of it; and these are they who have kept themselves upon it ever since.

(A) That prince was at this time possessed of most of the strong ports of this empire, both on the Mediterranean and Atlantic ocean; viz. Crato, Tangier, Arcilla, Algofarosqueir, Algar, Mazagon, Sefri, Cape Aguer, and the cape of Ergues; in all which he kept very strong garisons both of horse and foot, and a sufficient quantity of galleys in the state of the country, when the Sharifs above-mentioned laid the first plan with their politic father for bringing it under their yoke (1).


Mod. Hist. Vol. VII. Y y
This is the sum and substance of the revolutions which have happened in this part of Barbary, from the expulsion of the Vandals out of Africa, to the time in which the Sharifs began to lay the foundation of this new empire; an attempt to deeply laid, and so strenuously as well as successfully pursued, that a curious reader will hardly think it inconsistent with our designed brevity to be acquainted with their original, and the various means which those consummate politicains made use of to accomplish it.

Of the empire of Morocco, founded by Haacen, and his three sons.

Hascen, or, as others call him, Hassen and Hassen, who pretended to be of the race of the Sharifs, a title affected by the descendants of Mohammed, was a native of the city of Tignedet, in the province of Dhara, and first projector of this plan, had already acquired such a reputation for wisdom, learning, and sanctity, whilst this country was torn in pieces by intestine jars, and a bloody war against the Portuguese, that he was looked upon as the oracle of his time. He had three sons grown up to manhood, viz. Abdelqibir, Hassan, and Mohammed, whom, to raise the same degree of esteem and confidence, he sent on a pilgrimage to Mecca; during which they behaved with such circumspection and seeming piety, that, upon their return, the people came in crowds to kiss the hem of their garments. Both Hessen and they pretended to strange ecstatic visions and revelations, and an extraordinary zeal for the Mohammedan law, and as such were looked upon as sent by heaven to be the defenders of it.

The two youngest of them the old Sharif, who moved all this scene as it were behind the curtain, sent to Mohammed Dalek king of Fez, where they so far inflamed themselves with that cedulous prince, that he immediately raised Hammud, the elder of the two, to the professor's chair, and intrusted the youngest with the education of his sons; soon after which, they as easily obtained from him the government of the provinces of Sus, Morocco, Hec, Trissek, and Dacata. His brother Muley Nacer, a person of much deeper discernment than he, and who could better penetrate into their sinister views, tried, indeed, by all proper means, to alarm him against putting so great a confidence in these two artful hypocrites, rather than in his own tried peers and officers. All his judicious representations proved in vain, and the two brothers hastened their departure to the province of Dacata, in the kingdom of Morocco, where they had a good number of friends; and where, without having ever made any trial of their martial genius, they attempted at once the siege of Safi, then in the hands of, and strongly guarded by, the Portuguese. Finding the place too strong for them, they proceeded to the cape Ager, in the kingdom of Sus, where they made some successful inroads against the Portuguese, in that and some other provinces; by which means, as well as by their affected sanctity and zeal against those enemies of their law, and the strict discipline they maintained among their troops, they gained so far the esteem and confidence of the Moors, that when they were just upon the point of disbarring their troops, for want of proper remittances from the court, the people immediately agreed to pay them the tenths of all their income, to help to maintain them. Among others, the inhabitants of Tarudant and Fesli signalled their attachment to them, by chusing old Hassen, their father, for their chief, and affixing him a regiment of 500 horse, with a proportionate stipend, to enable him to defend them from the frequent incursions of the Arabs, by whom these and other cities were greatly impoverished, and in some measure uncoupled. In the first of these places Mohammed, the most active and enterprising of all his sons, having built the fortress of Saragea, and obtained a new commission and supply, led his forces against the city of Mossor, whose inhabitants had sided with the Portuguese, and made himself master soon after both of that and the whole province of Dhara, then in their possession. These successes raised their reputation to such a height, that not only the king of Fez and his subjects, but all the Moors in general, congratulated themselves upon it, and began to entertain the greatest prospects from such a successful, wise, and zealous warriors. Muley Nacer alone, who penetrated through their pernicious views, was the only one who secretly bewailed the evils which he was unable to prevent; whist those consummate hypocrites, under pretence of afflicting the other provinces against the Christians, made themselves masters, in a short time, of those of Hec, Dacata, and Trissek: the city of Teddett, capital of Hec, was the only one that ventured to oppose him, but was quickly forced to submit; and, being the place which the traitor Mohammed had pitched upon for his residence, he immediately caused it to be well fortified, built himself a fumptuous palace in it, and took upon himself the title of prince of Hec.

In the mean while the continual inroads which he made against the Berbers and Arabs in the Portuguese service, obliged Tadjay Ben Tafsil, one of their tributary princes, to call in Nuguo Fernandez, governor of Safi, to his assistance; and these two having formed a small army of 400 Spanish horse, 3000 Moors, and 8000 Arabs, of foot, marched directly to Teddett, in hopes to surprize that place. But Mohammed had timely intelligence of their coming; and trysting more to his fortune than his forces, went out to meet them at the head of 4000 horse; and was fearfully got three miles out of the city, before he saw the enemy's vanguard.

f Mamol, i. ii. e. ult. & auæ. sup. citat.
a commanded by Tijay, who, without waiting for the rest, fell immediately upon him, and put his troops to flight, and him after them. Being thus unexpectedly repulsed, and not daring to return into Teddheit for fear of being besieged in it, he saw himself obliged to abandon that city to his pursuers, who immediately entered it; but found that the inhabitants, who were wholly devoted to Sharif Mouhammed, had also forsaken it, and had betaken themselves to the adjacent mountains; and, having with ease reduced all the adjacent country, returned to their respective homes. They had not been gone long before Mouhammed, in order to repair his Renate Teldlos, sent for his brother Hammed, who joined him at the head of a powerful army: and sett these two, taking the advantage of an uproar that had been raised in Teddheit, easily got possession of it again.

b To this high pitch of power and reputation were the Sharifs grown up, when Hafciyen their A.D. 1516. father died; about which time the Portuguese were besieging the city of Anega; upon which Old Hafciyen the three brothers, his sons, marched with a powerful succour to its relief. "A bloody fight ensued, in which Abdulghir, the eldest of them, but the least active and warlike, was slain; but Mouhammed and Hammed gained the victory, and took Lopez Barriga, the Portuguese commander, prisoner, and with him a good number of other officers of the same nation, defendst the Some years after this, they formed the design of making themselves masters of the city of Morocco, which, with only a small territory about it, belonged to a prince of Cyd Hennat, named Nazer Buxentuf, and, to avoid the length and uncertainty of a siege, agreed, if possible, to win the place by treachery. Buxentuf was easily captivated by their flattery and took Mokafaat promises, and received them into it with all the marks of honour. They soon infinuated rocco. themselves into the esteem and confidence of the inhabitants, by the same artful treachery; and no sooner found them firmly devoted to them, than they got Buxentuf to be poisoned at Treachery to a hunting match, without being in the least suspected of it. Hammed found no difficulty to get himself proclaimed king in his stead by the inhabitants, in prejudice to the deceased’s children; upon whom he, however, to avoid all suspicion, bestowed some considerable lands and governments in the remote provinces. But not thinking himself yet sufficiently strong to Embassy to the pull off the mask, he thought fit to send a pompous embassy to the king of Fes, accompanied with vail presents, and the assurances of an entire submission, and a yearly tribute, which met with a ready acceptance from that weak prince 2.

c It was not long, however, before an opportunity offered itself to the two brothers, which at once enabled them to take off the disguise, and to render themselves more powerful than ever. Two considerable Adelars of the Arabs, in the province of Duccata, were at war with each other, and both had applied to them for assistance, and received a promise from them. Treachery to the Arabs. Hammed and Mouhammed marched accordingly out of Morocco at the head of a powerful army; at the sight of which the two Arabian chiefs fell furiously on each other, in full confidence that the Sharifs were come to succour them; but, to their great surprize, instead of afflicting either side, they saw them stand only as unconcerned spectators, till, their forces on both sides now nearly exhausted, they immediately rushed upon them, and cut all the remainder in pieces; and, feizing upon all their arms, horses, and warlike stores, returned to Morocco in a king of a piece. Immediately after this open piece of treachery, Hammed, resolving to give Hammed’s to the Mouhammed Oataz died soon after of grief, as it is supposed, and was succeeded by his son Hammed Oataz; who, having grief, been educated under Mouhammed, the youngest of the three Sharifs, whether he retained any real regard for him on that account, or, which is more probable, for want of sufficient power to punish the perfidy of his elder brother, let him know, that he would be contented with a small yearly tribute from him. This illursed condescension easily convinced Hammed that he had nothing to fear from that side; however, to prevent coming to an open rupture with him, Treachery to he sent him word, that, being defended from their great prophet, it was neither lawful nor Oataz, honourable to pay tribute to any prince whatever; and that, if he thought fit to treat him

d Grammyay, Marmot, & al. ubi sup.

(B) The tribute which Hammed had engaged to pay to that monarch, ever since he was become master of Morcco, was the fifth part of all the horses, camels, prisoners, arms, and ammunition, that he took in war (2); so that the finding upon this occasion, where he had carried off such a vast plunder of all sorts, only six lean camels, and as many horses, could hardly be considered as any other than an avowed insult on that generous, tho’ weak monarch; but which the treacherous Sharif knew was out of his power to revenge.

(2) Marmot, lib. ii. cap. viii.
as a friend, he would always prefer a grateful remembrance of the favours which he had received from his father and him; but that, if he went about to obstruct him in the wars which he was waging against the Christians, he could expect nothing less than some grievous punishment from God and his prophet, for his impious; and that, as for himself, he neither wanted courage nor strength to repel force by force.

All this while his brother Mohammed, whom he had made governor of the kingdom of Sus, had been fortifying and embellishing the city of Taroudant, the metropolis of it: but having lately made an unfortunate attempt against the Portuguese at Capo Ager, which had obliged him to abandon Taroudant, the king of Fez, provoked at the insolence and successes of the two brothers, resolved to lay siege to their capital of Morocco; but being stoutly repulsed by the garrison, was forced as flamboyantly to raise it; of which Hammed having timely notice, pursu ed him with such speed, that he cut the greatest part of his rear in pieces, and obliged the province of Esfoure to pay him the tribute which they were wont to pay to the Fezian kings. He did the same by several other provinces, whilst Onas was employed in quelling a rebellion a brother of his had raised against him; which he had no sooner done, than he raised a more powerful army than his first was, with full resolution to exterminate, if possible, the two Sharifs and their forces, and marched at the head of them to the banks of the River of the Negroes, near the town of Bucacobo, where the enemy was already posted. Here the two armies met, and thought that of the Febians was by much the stronger, yet they continued three whole days, one on one side the river, and the other on the other, without any hostile motion. At length Onas, having given the command of his vanguard to his son Mohammed, who had under him Abdala Zobibie, the refugee king of Granada, who had been driven out of his dominions by the Spaniards, and that of the main army to his brother-in-law Moley Dris, or Idris, and referred to himself that of the rear, which consisted of the noblest and bravest personages of his kingdom, Zobibie immediately crossed the river, and found him with his troops, to facilitate the coming over of the cavalry. The two Sharifs, who had divided their forces into two bodies, thought it a proper time to fall upon him; which they did with such fury, that they drove him back into the river, poured whole showers of arrows and musquet-shot upon them, and the rest of the king's forces, who, being thus intangled with each other, could neither come over nor fight. The king, who beheld this from the opposite shore at the head of the rear, did what he could to encourage them; but not being able to prevent their betaking themselves to a flamboyant flight, was forced to flee after them, leaving all his cannon, tents, baggage, and wives, behind. His son and the Granadan king lost their lives; and the victorious Sharifs, marching acroa a branch of mount Atlas, with all their immense booty, went and besieged Taflet, with the artillery they had taken from the Fezian monarch, and in a few days made themselves masters of that capital, and its large territory: from thence they spread their conquest over all those mountainous parts, and obliged the inhabitants to become their tributaries, by which they prevented that unfortunate prince receiving any farther assistance from those parts. This obliged him, both by way of reprisal, and in order to support the shattered remains of his army, to send them in two bodies to raise contributions in the province of Sus; but here also they were repulsed by the superior forces of Mohammed.

This last, flushed with his successes, resolved soon after to take the strong fortresses of Ager fringe, on the cape of its name, which was kept by a strong Portuguese garrison; and, after a stout defence on both sides, made himself master of it, but lost 10,000 men before it; in revenge of which he put the whole garrison to the sword, except the brave Mont Ray, the governor of it, to whom he gave a kind reception, rather on account of his beautiful daughter Donna Mericia, than of his valour or merit (C).

The reduction of this place soon infected a terror among all the Moors and Arabs of those parts; insomuch, that those that were in alliance or under tribute to the king of Portugal came over to the conqueror; and that prince, finding that the towns which he held on the

(C) This young lady, no less admirable for her virtue than her beauty, having rejected, with scorn, all the caresses and offers of the enamoured Mohammed, and even his promise of marriage to her, was left upon the point to be delivered up to the brutal lust of his Moor by the exasperated conqueror. The horror of such a dreadful doom soon determined her to capitulate, and to consent to the marriage, upon condition that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion, and be regarded as his lawful wife.

Mohammed made no scruple to consent to these conditions, and married her accordingly. But his other wives, exasperated at the preference which he showed to the young Portuguese lady above them, found means to poison her in her first pregnancy, soon after which, to shew his grief and tenderness for her, he restored her father to his liberty, and sent him homeward laden with presents (J).

(J) D. de Torres, Relat. de los Xerifes, lib. i. Boulet, Hist. des Chérifs, ibid. Marmol, lib. ii. & ult. -

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a Atlantic, cost him more to keep than they were worth, ordered them to be forthwith dismantled and abandoned. By this means our young Sharif easily became master of Sefi, A- Hamm, Akka Sani, and Alc сразили, Azamor, and Alcazar-reguir; after which he made no longer frequenter to take the royal title and ensigns, and to reckon himself as more than on a level with his brother Hamm, whom he now exceeded as much in power, as he had all along in valour and policy. This behaviour failed not to cause a most dangerous rupture between them; which, in spite of all the remonstrances of Cid Arrabi, an Alkabi of great senfe and probability (D), ended in an open war.

Mohammed, however, wisely forbore all kind of hoffilites, till he was attacked by his brother; and till then contented himself with apprising the great officers of his army of b that army's treachery and ingratitude; and giving them such an account of his own actions and behaviour, as he knew would most effectually incline them to his side; and, putting his hand to his beard, assured them, that they should see, in a few days, that haughty and perfidious Hamm vanquished and made his prifoners.

Accordingly, having fent part of his army before, under the command of one of his beft officers, to secure a pass on the south side of mount Atlas, leading from Fardan to Morocco, Hamm, who had been apprised of it, marched his army on the opposite side. He had given the command of his vanguard to Muley Nacer, his second son; who, being overtaken in a narrow defile by Harran the fons of Mohammed, a prince already experienced in war, a bloody skirmish soon ensued, which was followed by an engagement of both armies, in which 

c that of Hamm was defeated, with the loss of 8000 men, and himself and Babunzen, another of his fons, were taken prifoners, as he had foretold. Upon this overthrow, Muley Zidan, his fons taken another of his fons, who had happily escaped, and thrown himfelf, with the small remains of his army, into the city of Morocco, proposed at first, in a kind of despair, to apply to Charles V. for affiftance; but was diffuaded from it by his friends, as such a step would have rendered him odious to all the Africans; and might, perhaps, engage them to join all their forces againft him. At length, by the strenuous interputation of his own daughter, who They are therefore was then married to prince Harran, Mohammed's eldeft fons, and of some of the greatest men, months on both fides, a partition treaty was concluded between the two brothers, in which it was agreed, that Mohammed should poffefs the kingdom of Suts, and all provinces on the south side of mount Atlas, together with Numidia and Libya, and be paid one half of the vaffet treasure, which Hafcan, their father, had left to them; and that Harran, his eldeft fons, should be declared heirs to both kingdoms, and after him Muley Zidan, according to their father's last will. Hamm, being fet at liberty in virtue of this treaty, had no sooner reached his capital of Morocco, than he absolutely refufed to ratify it, as prejudicial to his eldeft son, and began to make great preparations for renewing the war. Mohammed did not give him time to do it, but marched directly with his army towards Morocco, and was met by his brother's forces at Quebera, about seven or eight miles short of that capital. Both armies engaged with unufual fericeness; but whilef that of Hamm was employed in difengaging the royal fandard, which had accidentally intangled itself in a thicket, Mohammed charged them with such for- prizing speed, that he put them to the rout, and purfued them all the remainder of that day, and the following night, and found himself on the next morning within sight of Morocco. He immediately fnmmoned it to furrender, and a report to be spread, that Hamm had been killed in the late action; upon hearing of which, Gibani, who was left governor of it, afraid to incur the difpleasure of the conqueror, delivered it up to him, together with all the garrifon, arms, treafury, and feraflio, of his brother. Mohammed, upon this occasion, fhewed an extraordinary moderation, and forbore laying his hands either on his treafury, or on the effects of the inhabitants; but this did not hinder the fearful Hamm from miftrumfing him; and, instead of endeavouuring to treat with him, he fent his two fons to the king of Fez, to beg his affiftance againft his brother. Oustaz, who thought this a fair opportunity to recover some of his loft provinces, readily engaged to fend him a powerful succour, with all pofible expedition; but Mohammed, who forefaw how prejudicial fhuch an alliance might prove to them both, chose rather to perfunade him to come to a new composition, and eafily brought him to agree to break off his alliance with the Fidissi king.

1 Gramm., Marmol, &c. ubi fop.

(D) This brave officer, who was a freeer friend to them both, having represented to them the imminent detriment which this rupture would infallibly bring to their common interest, as well as to that of their religion, had so far succeeded, as to bring the two parties to an interview. But, upon their first mutual embracing, Hamm, the strength of the two, taking full hold of him, threw him flat upon the ground. Mohammed, no left nimble and active than his brother was strong, soon recovered himself; and, having upbraided him of his perfidy, in the severest terms, went away full of anger and resentment; and with a full resolution never more to be reconciled to him, but to let the fortune of war decide the difference between them (4).

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(4) Iedem, ubi fop.
In this second interview, which was under a large pavilion, where Mohammed was seated on a flately throne, the vanquished Hammad was conducted by his two nephews, and stood some time before his brother, in a kind of gloomy mournful silence, to give him an opportunity to break it first. Mohammed, after a short demur, taking him by the hand, caufed him to fit down by him, and made him a moft pathetic speech, intermixed with severe reproaches, and brotherly affection; wherein he told him, among other things, that he must blame his own unnatural perfidy to a faithful and affectionate brother, if Providence had now delivered him up to the mercy of the man whom he had lately treated as a mortal enemy, and would, if he had got him into his power, have ufed with the utmost cruelty. "But," added he, "though I have great reason to be offended at your ungrateful behaviour; yet I cannot forbear looking upon you as my brother, as well as my prisoner, and as such am willing to give you an opportunity of repairing the injuries you have done me, and retrieving your honour and royalty. Restore but to me your brotherly affection and confidence, and I will promise to restore to you your own dominions, and with them my zeal and allegiance; and will be content to obey you in the quality of your grand vizier. One thing only I must beg of you, that you will retire with your whole household for some time to the province of Taffilet, that I may acquit myself of my promise to the inhabitants of your metropolis, and free them from the dread they are in of your extreme resentment, for having so easily opened their gates to me. As for the wrong you complain to be done to your children, in yielding the succession of the kingdom to mine, according to our father's last will, you may assure yourself, that, as soon as you and I join forces, and act in concert together for the interest of our religion, we shall not want for new conquests sufficient to make up that loss to them; and that I shall make it my chief glory, to give them fresh opportunities of displaying their merit, and advancing their fortune." Hammad seemed deeply affected with this speech; and only answered it by some feigned excuses on his past behaviour, and promises of a more conformable one for the future; and, on the next morning, departed with his retinue and family to the kingdom of Taffilet. Mohammed, having thus far succeeded in all his views, began now to think on some pretence for declaring war against the king of Fez, whom he looked upon as not only an enemy, but as an eclipser of his glory, on account of his boastful long series of royal ancestors. He therefore sent to demand of him the restitution of the province of Tedla, which belonged to the kingdom of Morocco, of which he was now possessed; and had no sooner received his absolute denial, than he raised a powerful force, and laid siege to the castle on the frontiers of Fez, but was quickly forced to raise it; partly by the bravery of Oussar, who commanded it, and partly on account of the approach of the Fesian army; who, with Oussar at their head, were in full march against him. It consisted of 30,000 men, among whom were the chief nobility of his kingdom, Venes and Dubu; besides some Arabian Cheyks at the head of their troops; 800 Turks, commanded by a Persian; and 1000 archers on horseback, who came and joined the body of his army.

Mohammed's army consisted of 18,000 choice troops, and 1200 archers; nevertheless, trusting partly to his own good fortune, and partly to the inconstancy of the Arabs and Fesians, marched by show journeys towards him; and had the pleasure to hear, from day to day, that the Fesian army continued to decrease, either by the defection of his own subjects, or the retreat of some of his allies. This obliged that prince to engage him as soon as he could; which Mohammed perceiving, only reminded his troops of the great conquence of this present action; which, if crowned with victory, would infallibly open a way to them for the reduction of all Barbary; and, as he was leading them to the onset, he farther assured them, that not a man of them should fall, except a negro; and that the king of Fez would be taken prisoner; all which, he told them, he knew by his skill in the magic art. The two armies met; and Mohammed, having given express orders to his, not to stir till the signal was given, Oussar gave the fame to his own; but the former only waited till the hot sun, which shone too full against them, was declined far enough to do the same to the enemy; and then gave the signal for the onset. Both sides engaged with equal ardor, till Mohammed's center, where he commanded, opening to the right and left, discovered a battery of cannon, which he had concealed there behind the ranks; which, as soon as it began to play, spread such an universal panic among the Fesians, that they betook themselves to flight. The king himself was hurried away by his own officers after them; but in his flight had the misfortune, wounded as he already was, to fall off his horse, and to be taken prisoner, and brought bound to Mohammed. The first interview of those two rivals having something singular in it, we shall content ourselves with giving our readers the substance of it in the margin (E), to avoid interrupting the main thread of the history.

MARMOL, GRAMMAY, & al. sup. citat.

(E) As soon as Mohammed saw the unfortunate Oussar brought prisoner before him, he addressed himself to him in words to this effect: "Thou fortune hast now made you my prisoner, yet the remembrance that I was once your
After this victory, Mohammed, by the consent of his royal prisoner, marched his army directly to Fez, where they both supposed the inhabitants would readily yield him the province of Mequinez, as a ransom for their king. They were got within two leagues of that metropolis, when they received news, that the Fezians, to whom Muley Nacer, one of the king's sons, had fled immediately after the battle, had raised him to the crown, on condition that he should surrender it to his father, as soon as he had regained his liberty. Oataz thereupon sent his son orders, that Mequinez should be surrendered to the Sharif, as the only ransom he would accept of; to whom Nacer answered, that he was ready to comply with it; but required a longer time to dispossess the council, and others concerned in it, to an agreement. This he did only to gain time, till he could make himself master of the Horung; and, by that means, hinder the Sharif's retreat, himself designing to surmount his camp in the night. Mohammed, who had noticed of his defign time enough to prevent it, marched, with the utmost speed and fury, quite to the walls of the capital; where, having seized upon 200 burghers, who were walking along the walls of it without suspicion or fear, he caused them to be strangled in his flight. Then, taking his two royal prisoners with him, he caused them to be led in chains to Morocco; and sent his two sons Harran and Abdell Cader, with a powerful army, to ravage all the territories about Fez.

Muley Nacer, wisely foreseeing that the longer he delayed his father's ransom, the more Oataz ran difficulty he should find to content an enemy, who daily gained ground of him, fell immiately on a negotiation with his two sons, and soon after put them in possession of Mequinez; but their father, who pretended to know nothing of this new treaty, absolutely refused to ratify it, unless Oataz engaged to surrender the city of Fez to him, whenever he should think fit to demand it of him; to which harh offer the unfortunate monarch was forced to agree, though it gave him a specious pretence of renewing the war against him, whenever he pleased. Oataz, having upon these hard terms obtained his liberty, returned directly to his own capital, where his sons, upon his arrival, readily surrendered the crown to him.

"Your tutor inclines me rather to give you, as I was wont formerly to do, some useful lessons, rather than tenderness than remonstrance. You cannot, indeed, be blamed for any thing, but the negligence of punishing a great variety of atrocious crimes, which your subjects impiously commit in your metropolis, once so famed for religion and learning, but now the scene of impiety and every kind of vice. But since it is so, that you had not the courage to make use of the authority which God had intrusted you with, to suppress these enormities, if you see yourself now deprived of all your royalty, do not imagine me to be the author of it, but think rather, that it is God himself, who hath fought on my side against you; and that your defeat is only a sword wound of God to make you a greater king.

"Great kings are seldom able to see truth, but thro' mists and clouds, or to receive the wholesome counsels that are given to them, till some misfortunes oblige them to open their eyes. It is, therefore, to render you more obedient to his voice, that he hath brought you to this low estate; and now injoins you, by your mouth, to restore religion, arts and sciences, to their antient splendor; by punishing those who are enemies to them, and whom you have hitherto tolerated within your own dominions. As for me, do not think that I will take any advantage of your present ill fortune; for, tho' I have just cause to rebuke the affianced which you offered to my brother against me, yet I know as well how to forgive as to revenge, as an injury, when I have just cause to do it. Be therefore of good courage, and depend upon it, that it will not be long ere you are restored to your dominions."

Thus far the falible Sharif, whom Oataz heard with as much patience, as the execrable heat of the day, the smart of his wounds, and the insolence of the speaker, would permit him. But, as soon as he had the liberty to speak, he made him a most noble reply, in terms to this effect. "The few words to remember, to injure a man of their victory as you do, yet I can hardly believe that you took up arms against me merely to give me this lefien. However, since you give it me as a matter, I will receive it rather as a disgrace than a prerogative; and, in hopes that my answer may prove as useful to you, as you think your advice is to me, I shall readily own, that many abuses and irregularities may be introduced in a state which is not in the power of a monarch to foresee, or remove. But, granting that thence you charge me with being too great and enormous, and entirely owing to my neglect of suppressing them, doth it belong to such a man as you to take the punishment of my misconduct upon yourself? You, whom my father, at my request, had raised from the vile employment of a schoolmaster, to the height of credit and fortune to which you are arrived, upon the ruins of our family? Is it for you, upon whom I have heaped the greatest favours, to repay me now with the blackest ingratitude; and this, under the specious cloak of virtue and religion? But to avoid saying anything that may expose the unparalleled dissimulation you are so great a matter of, to thence that here us, be perfused rather, that Providence hath now delivered me up into your power, to try what use you will make of your victory, and whether, after you have violated the most solemn treaties, and broke the most sacred oaths of allegiance and gratitude, your heart can be capable of relenting. And, since you have gone so far to make me feble of my duty, let us now see how well you can perform your own; and whether you can perceive how far the inconstancy of fortune hath made us stand in need of each other. As for your complaint of my afflicting your brother against you, I did not to justify an action so laudable in itself; and which ought only to make you feble, how ready I should have been to have done the same by you, had you been in his case. This answer, veiled and mortifying as it was, was received by the artful Sharif with a smiling countenance. But, to avoid all further replies on either side, he ordered the king, out of a pretended regard to his wounds, to be conducted into a lately ten tent to his own; where he had the mortification to hear, that Abul Omar, to whom he had committed the government of the fortresses of Fuzata, was come to deliver the keys of it to his competitor (5).
Mohammed had no sooner taken possession of the country of Mequinez, than he came back to demand the surrender of the city of Fez, according to the late treaty; to which Outaou, in the utmost perplexity, answered, that it was out of his power to oblige the inhabitants, scarcely recovered out of their fright, at the dreadful slaughter he had lately made of them, to open their gates, or suffer him to enter into their city; upon which refusal, the impatient Sharif ordered his two sons to join him with a powerful army, and came and encamped before the place.

In the mean time his brother Hammèd, having broke his promise a second time, had sent a powerful succour to the Fezian king, under the command of his eldest son Moulay Zidan. The two armies met, and a long and desperate engagement ensued; in which, though neither party could claim the victory, yet Zidan gave such marks of his valour and conduct, that the Fezian king began to look upon him as the chief prop of his crown. But this unfortunately raised such a spirit of jealousy between his own sons and that brave young hero, that he retired soon after, in great discontent, to Taflilet, where his father still resided. This did not hinder Hammèd from carrying on the siege of Fez; and though it advanced so slowly, that he had already lain near two years before it, yet was he not discouraged from pursuing it with a surprising avidity. At length the inhabitants, quite exhausted and tired with the length of it, as well as the want of victuals, found means to treat privately with the Sharif; and, on some advantageous confederations, agreed to deliver up the old city to him. The king, who was in the new city, and had some intelligence, or at least suspicion, of this treacherous negotiation, ordered his general, named Boubazon, to make a sally, with his cavalry, and endeavour to surprize the besiegers camp in the night; but the Fezians immediately acquainted the Sharif with it; who caused two ambuscades to be laid so closely for him, that he was repulsed with great loss; and with only twelve of his men recovered the city, whilst the rest made the best of their way towards Velez.

At length Mohammed, having made himself sure of the inhabitants, approached nearer to the walls, and caused a breach to be made, at which he entered sword in hand, and was received with demonstrations of joy by the treacherous citizens, before the king, who was still in New Fez, had any notice of it. He came out, however, time enough to flout his progres; and might, in all likelihood, have repulsed him, if his troops had had no other enemy than he. But, whilst both sides were hotly engaged in the streets, one side crying out, ‘Long live the Sharif, and the other, ‘Long live the Merini,’ at length a new outcry was heard above the rest, Long live the man that gives us bread; upon which, men and women got up to the top of the houses, and threw such volleys of stones on the king’s forces, as obliged him and them to retire to the new city; upon which Mohammed returned to his camp. Boubazon, seeing the enemy master of Old Fez, advised the king to fly with him to Velez, and try to obtain some succour from the Christian princes, who were now highly concerned to put a stop to the Sharif’s career; but as that could not be done, without abandoning his mother, wife, and family, to the mercy of an exasperated enemy, he rather chose to send Lela Mababib, the old queen, in the guise of a supplicant to him, to obtain, by her prayers and tears, the best conditions he could for herself and her unfortunate son; or, at least, that he might allow him such a maintenance as was suitable to his dignity, and in such a part of his new dominions, as he should think fit. The tyrant at first agreed to it, upon condition that her son abandoned the city to him, and departed out of it, with his whole family, within three days; which being complied with, he ordered the king to Morocco, and his two sons to Taridant; threw a strong garrison into the city, and, having taken possession of the royal palace, obliged the king’s daughter to marry him; which was done with great solemnity, in order to make himself some colour of a title to that great metropolis, and to the greatest part of the Fezian kingdom, which he was now possessed of.

He was no sooner settled in that capital, than he sent orders to his brother Hammèd to leave Taflilet, and retire to Tagoref, or the country of Taglura, in the defect of Zabara; who, f to regain, if possible, his confidence, sent him his four sons as hostages. But Mohammed sent him back the two eldest, with the same orders, and married the other two to two of his own daughters; and, having thus for a while his power to hurt him, ordered his own son Abderraham, or Haddarraham, to take the government of Taflilet, in Hammèd’s room. Not long after Mohammed sent his three other sons Harran, Abdelcader, and Abdalla, to take the city of Tlemecen, which surrendered to them almost upon the first summons. Harran gave the government of it to Abdalla, intending to surprize that of Oran; but was taken ill before he could come near the place, returned to Fez, and died there. This we may look upon as the beginning of his misfortunes, as he had been so surprisingly successful hitherto, as well as his sons who had fought under him; but was now bereaved of that whom he designed for

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a for his successor, not only on account of his primogeniture, but much more of his conduct and bravery. Not long after his death, a rumour being spread that the Algerines were coming, with a powerful force, to retake the city of Tremezzen, Mohammed sent his next son thither, with a strong reinforcement; and, at the same time, dispatched an express to Habdarraiman, then at Tepsilet, to join his brother with another body. This last obeyed; but a misunderstanding happening between them (F), the former suspecting nothing of the treachery of the latter, but depending upon his being bravely seconded by him, engaged the enemy with his usual valour; but, to his great surmise, Habdarraiman, instead of coming to his assistance, fled Habdarraim
to his brother;
only as an idle spectator, and saw him fight like a person who was resolved to conquer or die, while he was actually killed, and his brother Abdalla dangerously wounded in the arm. Babani, b the son of the brave Abdelcadar, seeing his father and uncle in such imminent danger, went and inquired of Habdarraiman, why he did not second them with his forces? but received no other answer from him, than a blow with his back-sword across his arm: upon which he went and complained of him to his grandfather; who, to punish his perfidy, caused him to be privately poisoned, as is supposed, for he died about a month after. By this time Moham
ed, worn out with old age and the fatigues of war, and his late ill success, and more with grief for the death of his two sons, had contracted such a strange moroseness, and brutish jealousy, that he cau$d the unhappy king of Fez and his son to be strangled, merely on suspicion that they had encouraged an insurrection in the province of Derendorians, tho' his own enactations and tyranny were the most probable causes of it; which made those brave moun
taineers fight with such fury and intrepidity against his son Abdalla, that he could not, with all his forces, valour, or policy, reduce them to their obedience. The old Sharif, provoked that his son should meet with so many bloody repulses, resolved to march himself against them, but had no better success; and was forced to return, without any other achievement than plundering some few of their villages at the bottom of the mountain.

In the mean time the sad catastrophe of the Fezian king had reached the ears of the noble Bubanzen; who, ever since that monarch had declined his advice of asking assistance from the Christian powers against the incroaching Sharifs, had retired to the Pennon of Velez. This old minister, who was himself of the royal blood, tried in vain to engage the emperor Charles V. and other Christian princes, to restore him to the Fezian crown, promising them to become tributary to them, and to deliver up the Pennon above-mentioned into their hands. Mohammed, who was thoroughly acquainted with every step he took, was no less indolent in breaking all his meafores, the last of which was a treaty he had made with the king of Portugal, which, instead of answering his gauine hopes, served only to haften his ruin. He returned to Africa with the small assistance which he had obtained from that monarch; and no sooner landed his forces at the port of Albusamas, than he was forced to defend himself against the neighbouring inhabitants, who had taken up arms against him; and, which was still worse, whilst he was engaged against them, Salba Rais, governor of Algiers under Soltan Soleymen, attacked his forces at sea, towards land-sea, and continued fighting them all that night. On the next day, Bubanzen expostulated with him for falling thus upon him, whilst he was waging war against the Sharif, their common enemy; but was answered, that he was justly punished for begging help of the Christians, instead of applying to Soleymen, who had fend Sinnan, his admiral, with a powerful fleet, to fight against them, and was ready to restore him to his loft dominions. It is not improbable, that the Algerine Rais had some private instructions for what he did and said, either from Zidan or the Porte; however that be, it made such an impression on Bubanzen, that he was easily perfused to join forces with him against the Christians; upon which they both together began to advance towards Fez, whilst the old Sharif was taken up in reducing the revolted Derendorians. As soon as he heard of the danger Mohammed marched to fez; and, advancing towards Tzeug, on the frontiers of Tremezzen, continued there 50 whole days, expecting the Algerine Rais; who, on his side, was advancing by flow marches, in order to avoid his cavalry, which was sent to range along these roads, and gain an opportunity of increa$ing his forces as he went. But having one day fallen accidentally on Mohammed's rear

p Marmol, l. ii. cap. ult.

(A) Abdelcadar and Habdarraiman, who were born of different mothers, and always entertained an emulous jealousy against each other, which increased at this juncture, on the following occasion. The elder, as being the elder of the two, and whole hope was already quite fatigued, desired of the latter to exchange 2000 of his, which were quite fresh, for an equal number of his own, which he at first absolutely refused; but, at the desire of Abdalla, the other brother, agreed to it with some diffi

culty. He carried his resentment so far, however, that he would not be present at the battle; and, by thus sacrific

ing his brother to the enemy, became the just victim of his own perfidy (6).

(6) Marmol, &c. ab. sup.
guard, commanded by his son Abdalla, a desperate fight ensued, in which the young Sharif was totally routed, lost all his artillery and ammunition, and was forced to march night and day to reach the city of Fez. But Salba Rais, a few days after this defeat, encamping his army along the banks of the Cebu, or Cebro, soon obliged him to take the field again, to prevent the surrender of a city (G), in which he knew he had so few real friends, and his competitor so many. Mohammed therefore was, much against his will, obliged to rally out against him, which he did only at the head of 8,000 men; but suspecting the Turkib captain of his guard of holding an intelligence with Salba Rais, he caused his head to be cut off before he ventured farther; after which he sent the Rais word, that he came with full intent to engage him. His whole army consisted of 8,000 horse, 8,000 of which he sent to oppose his passage over the river; but they were so briskly cannonaded from the other side, that they were forced to retire, and shelter themselves behind a rising ground; upon which he immediately crossed the river; and, having cast up in haste a flight intrenchment, ordered his army to continue in arms all that night. On the next day both sides prepared for the engagement; in which the Rais at the first gained an advantageous post, which Mohammed had been puffed off of, and which proved a kind of omen or prelude to his victory. The Turks, refenting the straggling of their captain, and seeing a body of renegades placed before them, loft all patience, threw down the Sharifi's standard, and fell on the renegades and what other troops stood before them; while the Fezian troops, disconcerted at the fire of the enemy's artillery, betook themselves to flight; upon which all those, who were in prince Buhanzon's interest, forsook the Sharif, and came over to him. Mohammed thereupon immediately ordered his son Abdalla to go and force himself, if possible, into Old Fez; which he, with some difficulty, did; and, causing the artillery of the ramparts to fire upon the enemy, made the Rais suspect that the inhabitants were resolved to hold out against him. He complained bitterly of it to Buhanzon, who had affurred him that they were all in his interest; upon which this prince, in a fury, took 500 Janisaries with him, broke one of the city gates open, and entered the place sword in hand, which obliged Abdalla to retire into New Fez, where his father was already got. They soon discovered how impossible it would be to hold it out against the victorious Rais; and being resolved to abandon it out of hand, Mohammed ordered his wives and household to get on horseback, and take with them their most valuable effects; and arming himself only with a sword and shield, hastened with them to a place of safety, while Bidecar, d one of his captains, guarded the gate, to prevent his being purled.

Buhanzon thought now of nothing but of being proclaimed king of Fez, and put in possession of the vast treasure which Mohammed had been forced to leave behind. But the treacherous Rais, under pretence of his being too great a favourite of the Christians, for whose help he had gone a begging so long, caused him to be thrown into a prison, set prince Merouii upon the throne, and feiziz upon the Sharifi's treasure. This strange behaviour, joined to a report that he had murdered prince Buhanzon, railed such a tumult in the city, that he was obliged to produce him to the people, and settle him upon the throne; but, in revenge, sent a man after Mohammed, under pretence of treating with him about some female prisoners of distinction, but in reality to invite him to return, and to promise him his allegiance. Finding, however, that he was now too far engaged in another war to accept of his offer, he resolved to pay the inhabitants to him a fine of an ounce of silver per head, and returned to Algiers laden with an immense spoil.

Buhanzon, being thus settled on the Fezian throne, sent his son Mohammed to demand the restitution of the Penon of Velez, with which the Sharifi's governor immediately complied. Neither was this the only place of consequence which that prince took from him; Abdalla being obliged to abandon Mequinze, to join his father, now engaged in a new war, that city fell immediately after into his possession.

Mohammed had at this time two enemies to struggle against under his present ill fortune; viz. Buhanzon, now on the Fezian throne, and, what grated him still more, his brother Hammed, who being informed of all that had passed, and thinking it now a proper time to revenge himself of him, had found means to get out of his desert, and to make himself master of Tafnilis. He lost no time in deliberating, but sent immediately his son Abdalla, e

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(G) The city of Fes, which, as we have shewn before (6), is situated upon the Cebu, both, from time immemorial, enjoyed this singular privilege, that it can for render itself to an enemy, as soon as they are advanced within half a mile of its walls, if the king do not find another army, or is not strong enough to oppose them. Every monarch, at his coronation, is obliged to ratify this privilege to the Fezians; which, it is suppos'd, was granted to them by some of its founders, who thought it unreasonable that so considerable a place should be lost, out of an ill-timed fidelity to a prince who was not in a condition to defend it (7).

(6) See before, p. 155, & seq. (7) Marmol, D. de Torres, & al. ubi sup.

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A.D. 1556.

At the head of a strong army, against the former, whilst he led another in person against the latter. His son no sooner advanced towards Fez, than Bubanzon sent his two sons, Muley Nacer and Mohammed, against him, at the head of a numerous host: but these two young princes, through an emulous jealousy, refusing to engage the Sharif jointly, Mohammed was rath enough to engage the enemy without him, in hopes of securing to himself the sole honour of the victory, and was quickly put to the rout: whilst Nacer, more cautious than he, chose rather to retire to Fez, than to hazard the loss of his forces by a second engagement, which he easily forewore would only yield his antagonist the glory of a double victory. However, this did not discourage their father from making a fresh attempt; who falling out at the head of those very troops, before Abdalla could put his own in order of battle, fell in un

Exceedingly upon him, that he put him to a shameful flight, and pursu’d him to the very walls of Morocco. It happened luckily for the old Sharif, who then held his brother Hammed closely besieged in Tapislet, that he heard the news of his son’s victory before he did that of his defeat and flight; which gave him an opportunity to give out, that Bubanzon, after a total overthrow, had been obliged to refuse himself in the Penon of Felez, whence he would be quickly dislodged, and sent a second time a begging for help from his old Christian friends. For this so alarmed Hammed’s dread of his brother’s revolteniment, that he immediately sent his two sons to implore his mercy; and, upon his promise of it, surrendered himself into his hands, and was sent by him into a Turkish monastery, where he was ordered to be kept confined for the rest of his life. Mohammed, having thus easily recovered the city of Tapislet, left a strong garrison in it; and taking his two nephews, Nacer and Sidon, with him, hastened with all speed towards Fez; but, in his way, cau’d the two young princes to be butcher’d, to prevent their raising any commotions in favour of their father, or of themselves. In the mean time Bubanzon, flushed with his late victory, would not let him come too near his capital; but went to meet him at some distance, fully resolved and prepared to give him battle. His son Mohammed, who commanded his van-guard, consisting of 9000 Arabians, made a great slaughter amongst that of the Sharif, who, coming speedily to their assistance, obliged him to retire. Upon which Bubanzon, who knew that his all depended on the success of this engagement, advanced with his other son Muley Nacer, and charged the enemy with no less conduct than braver; but having received a dangerous wound in his thigh, which had laid him flat on the ground, his trumpets, who suppos’d him to have been kill’d, betook themselves to flight; Nacer was the only one who could find his ground for some time; but finding himself overpowered, was at length forced, with a few straggling soldiers which he rallied, to betake himself to the adjacent mountains. He was quickly followed thither by his brother Mohammed, who seeing their father dead, had immediately retired into Fez; but, fearing left the inhabitants should betray him to the enemy, had abandoned the place, and fled to the mountains; upon which Mohammed entered the city in triumph.

The two unfortunate princes found not better resource than to retire to Maguem, and thence to Salies, where embarking in an European merchantman, they were taken by a corsair, commanded by a renegade of Brabant, in full sight of the Spaniards coasts. Mohammed stay’d not long at Fez, being resolv’d to go and suppress the mountaineers of Deresdon, who had already given him so much trouble; and, leaving Abdalla with a strong garrison in that metropolis, march’d directly to Morocco, whence he sent a sufficient force against thee revolters; and having in a great measure reduced them, and nothing now to apprehend from any side, he invited his brother Hammed and his whole family to his capital; and then gave himself up to his old nuptial delights (H). He was again soon satiated with them; and putting himself at the head of 12,000 Turks, of which his guard consist’d, besides a great corps of cavalry, he march’d directly from Taroudent to Sus, which proved the most unfortunate expedition he ever took.

By this time Haifen, or Hassan, the son of the celebrated pirate Barbarossa, the late tyrant of Algiers (of whom we shall speak more fully in a subsequent chapter) had succeed’d him in that kingdom, and was in constant fear of being invaded by the old Sharif, and in no condition to make head against him, resolved, at any rate, to rid himself of so dreaded an enemy.

(H) The old Sharif, no less uxorious than warlike and ambitious, was accustom’d to add every year a new wife to his old ones, and to indulge himself in dalliance with them, whenever fortune favour’d him with a vacation from his martial toils. He had now, according to custom, ca’d his affections upon a beautiful young damsels at Taroudant, with whom he intended to solace himself, being now free from any apprehension from his brother, who kept in some measure prisoner in his capital of Morocco. But whether his removing now to Sus was only design’d as a journey of pleasure with his new bride, or, which is more probable from the effort that follow’d him, to quell some new revolt, our authors have not told us (8).

(8) Marmel, D. de Terris, &c.
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He had in his service a Turk of his own name, every way qualified for any base exploit; and this desperado he engages, by a large sum, and larger promises, to undertake to assassinate him at all adventures; and engaged to pay his surviving family a considerable pension, in case he perished in the attempt. Fruited with these hopes, the wretch hastens to Fez, where he pretended to Abdalla to have received some ill treatment from the Algerine governor. The young Sharif, who never looked upon the Turks but as a set of treacherous villains, without admitting him to his presence, bid him go to his father, who put greater confidence in them, and would readily take him under his protection. He was accordingly received by the old Sharif with singular favour; and in a little while made captain of his guard; which made so deep an impression upon the villainous assassin, that it was a long time before he could prevail upon himself to perpetrate the horrid deed on so generous a benefactor, or to contrive a way to execute it without suspicion or danger. At length, as they were on their march from Tarudant towards Sus, he discovered such a general murmuring and discontent among the Turkish guard, on account of their pay being with-held from them above a year, as led him no room to doubt of his easily engaging a sufficient number of them into his perfidious design, by the prospect of the Sharif's treasure, which he promised to share amongst them, and to secure them a safe retreat in Tremacen. The place they pitched upon for the execution of their plot was the Straight of Bibona, which crosses part of Mount Atlas. Mohammed was then sitting at his tent door in the cool of the evening, attended by a few guards, and a favourite renegade, where Hasen and his assassins prefented themselves before him, as it were to pay their obedience to him, when the renegade, perceiving the foremost of them to draw their cygmars, cried out, Trafon, and called to the Sharif to run for his life. He did so; but in his hasty flight fell upon his face; upon which Hasen, who was got close to him, cut him across the hand; and the reft falling upon him, pierced him through with their swords, and left him weltering in blood, with his Portugese renegade, who had defended him to the last, expiring by his side. Such was the tragical end of that great warrior and wicked tyrant, who, under the specious cloak of religion, had raised himself to the summit of power and grandeur, by the blackest treason and basest ingratitude. Hasen had no sooner perpetrated the horrid deed, than he cauffed it to be proclaimed through the camp, that they had assassinated the tyrant; and without meeting with the least opposition either from those troops, or, which is still more surprising, from any of the Sharif's sons, feized upon his treasure, wives, and children; and professed his protection to as many of his forces as would come over to him. He thence marched to Tarudant, and made himself master of the town and castle, and all the treasure he found in them, the young Sharif, who commanded in it, being fled at his first approach. This young prince had some time cauffed a renegade Fex to be imprisoned for debt, or rather for having found him too dangerous and enterprising a fellow. Him Hafen soon released, and made him chief judge of the city; and he, in return for the favour, advised him to fortify himself in that place, till he had received the reinforcement which had been promised from the governor of Algiers; which, if he had done, might have greatly embarrased the measures of the new Sharif. But whether this gave him a mistrust of his fidelity, or his guilt made him apprehend the arrival of some forces from Morocco and Fez, instead of following his advice, he suddenly abandoned the place, and, marching through all the most defert parts of the country, strove to reach the city of Tremacen with all his ill-gotten treasure. The Fex, on the other hand, to re-integrate himself with the new Sharif, and maintain himself in his new poft, sent immediate notice of his flight to that son of his who had lately fled at his approach; upon which he got together all the Arabs and Berbers in that neighbourhood, and went at their head in pursuit of them with all imaginable speed. They were fortunate enough to overtake the traitor, and all his accomplices, and cut them all in pieces, except five, whom they took prisoners; and recovered all the treasures and young princes whom they had carried off, and brought them safe back to Tarudant. The first thing which the young Sharif did after his return, was to drive all that was suspected of disaffection out of that city; after which he readily surrendered it to Abdalla, as the immediate successor of Mohammed. In the mean time the news of the old Sharif's assassination having reached the city of Morocco, Halil ben Budaib, then grand vazer and governor of it, fearing left any insurrection should be raised in favour of Sharif Hammed, whom his brother had left prisoner with him, cauffed him, and feven of his sons and grandsons, to be murdered, without Abdalla's orders or knowledge; so that these two rival brothers, who had so long contended for the empire, were cut off within a very short space of time from each other by a violent death, and left Abdalla in the quiet possession of it. We have dwelt the longer on the reign of that prince, as he was the founder of the new monarchy, in order to shew our readers by what means, and variety of events, he arrived at this excessive height of power and grandeur. Several of those that followed it, having little g

*Marmol, D. de Torre*, al. sup. cit. 

A.D. 1556.

The traitor fleus on his treafure. 

A.D. 1537.

Mohammed and his fax murdered at Morocco.

Mohammed removes from Tarudant to Sus; and in the way is affafinated by a Turk.
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Chap. 2.

a. Else worth notice, but the bloody wars that happened between the competitors to the succession, and the oppression and misery beneath which their subjects groaned under each of them, we shall, for that reason, forbear to enlarge upon, till we come to that remarkable one of Muley Ishmael, the first of this dynasty whose reign hath made any considerable figure in the history of that empire.

b. To return to that of Abdalla; the officious cruelty of Buddhur on so many young princes, did not go unpunished. Among those whom that prime minister cauht to be cut off were two sons, whom Zidan, Hammud's eldest son, had by Mariam, Abdalla's beloved sister; at which that prince was so grievously affected, that her repentment soon furnished her with the most effectual means to ruin the murderer. She began with infusing some jealous fears Their death fer of his benefactions, as if he had burdened those young princes with no other view than to deprive his son, then a minor, of the succession, in order to raise his brother to the throne after his death. The Sharif being impatient to have some further proof of it, immediately devised a stratagem, which failed not to convince him of it. She took the opportunity of Abdalla's sickness to debar every one from coming to see him. Among the rest, the vizier Halis was very frequent and importunate in his visits; but the king, being full denied access to him, and suspecting him to be really dead, he took the liberty to tell her, that there was an absolute necessity of his being satisfied on that point, seeing everything was kept in such suspense, that no matter, how important forever, could be determined without it. The prince thinking it now a proper time to spring her mine, went in to her brother, and, with his consent, throwing a covering over his face, called in the prime minister, and told him the king was indeed dead; and asked him what was proper to be done in such a juncture. Upon which Halis, throwing off the disguise, told her boldly, that he thought the king's son by far too young to succed his father; that the state required an intrepid governor, who was capable to hold the reins of it with his own hands, in order to quell the troubles that might arise, punish the crimes which Abdalla had connived at, and compensate the services which he had overlooked; that he could see none fitter to restore the peace of it than his brother; and that, notwithstanding his great obligations to the late king, he should be the very first who should oppose the succession of his son in favour of that prince. He was going on, when the king, no longer able to contain himself, uncovered his face, and d. and, shaking the stick on which he leaned against him, asked him, whether it was thus that he requited the signal favours he had heaped upon him? adding to it the most severe reproaches and dreadful threatenings; insomuch that the vizier, confounded and terrified beyond measure, ran home with all the speed he could, and having disguised himself in a woman's apparel, made the fame halfe out of it. But while he was waiting under an olive tree for some horses, a man's dress, which he had ordered to be brought to him there, some huntsmen, who happened to ride by, taking him for some common prostitute, and pulling off his veil, presently knew him, and brought him back to the palace in that disguise; where Abdalla, not yet recovered from the sight of his brother's violence of his repentment, cauht him to be beheaded upon the spot.

From this time Abdalla, growing more and more jealous and cruel, as well as more de
bauched (1), removed from him every thing that might interrupt either his repose or his pleas liveries, cauht his nephew Mubahmed, the son of Abdullah, to whom he had given Lala Sophia, his sister's daughter, in marriage, to be put to death, merely because his singular merit and valour made him too much beloved by the people. He continued committing the most horrid cruelties on his ministers and subjects; and though he became thereby more hated and dreaded by all, yet he was happy enough to keep himself in quiet possession of his vast dominions, and at peace with all his neighbours. He began his reign in the year 1557; being then about forty years old, and died anno 1574, in the 17th year of his reign. He was policed of the two Mauritians, and a great part of Numidia (K); the former of which con-

(1) Abdalla was excessively given to wine and women; and when he had once fusbed his enemies around, and secured himself from any further attempts from his brother, he gave himself up entirely to drinking and debauchery. He was seldom sober, but most frequently drunk; and when so, indulged himself in the most flagrant acts of injustice, cruelty, and lewdness; insomuch that he scourged not, among other odious women, whom he forced to submit to his brutal lust, to debauch his own sister Lala Mariam, though he had above two hundred concubines in his harem. He was of a brown complexion, middle size, but fat and corpulent towards the latter part of his life, homely and unpollished (9).

(K) According to Marmol, who was there in his time, his dominions reached, north and south, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the frontier of Benoy Negroes, on the further parts of the kingdom of Sue; and, east and west, from the Atlantic Ocean to the kingdom of Trenchen; which tract included the provinces we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (10): to which we may add some other countries which he held in Numidia and Libya, as far south as to Tagoaft, which is reckoned eight days journey from the nearest frontier of Sue, and to Taguina and Tequa on the confines of Gaing, countries which are inhabited by several warlike nations (11).


Marmol, D. de Torres, &c. ub. sup.
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His dominions and forces, 1574.

Tained fourteen large provinces; among which those of Suez and Sfax furnished him yearly a

with 15,000 horse, the kingdom of Morocco with 25,000, and that of Fez 15,000, besides 5,000 more which belonged to his life-guard; the whole amounting to 65,000; he also kept a good number of harquebusiers, both of foot and horse, in his garrisons, particularly in the city of Fez, which he made his residence. The Berbers and Arabs were obliged not only to pay him a constant tribute of corn, barley, dates, and other produce, but likewise a certain quota of forces, whom he only maintained during the war, and after that was ended, diffused them to their respective Adowaars. He built several flatly palaces at Fez and Morocco, together with some public buildings, particularly a spacious college, consisting of 400 halls, or schools, for teaching the Koran. His successors, who are still possessors of this large empire, have ever since trod in the same track of politics, and maintained the same maxims of arbitrary government, which Mohammed his father, as founder of that monarchy, had settled among them; except, perhaps, that all his successors, that have hitherto reigned, have exceeded him in their oppressions and extortions, cruelty and perfidy.

Muley Mohammed, 1574.

Abdalla was succeeded by Muley Mohammed, surnamed the Negro, because he was born of a negro woman; who had no sooner got possession of the crown, than he caufed one, some fay two, of his brothers to be feized and beheaded, and the third, who was still young, to be clofely confined, and kept prisoner. But being himself detained by his uncle Muley Moluch, al. Melekh, was forced to flee to Sebastian king of Portugal, who failed into Africa with a powerful fleet and army; but being a prince of more courage than conduct, was defeated and killed at the famous battle of Alcosefor: Muley Mohammed was likewise slain in it, or, as others fay, was drowned in his cowardly flight in endeavouring to cross a river. c

Muley Moluch, or, as others call him, Abdel Melekh, who fought against the Portugalíe king at the battle, being then very ill of some grievous disease, was brought to the field of battle in his litter; and having tried, in spite of his illneces, or rather of nature, to affift at it on horseback, was soon exhausted to such a degree, that he was forced to be brought back to his litter, where he expired almost as soon as he was placed in it. Some fay that his illness was caused by a dose of poison which a Granadan Alcaide had given him. However that be, he shewed to the last more concern for the victory than his life, commanding those about him to conceal his death, in order to save his troops; insomuch that his brother Muley Hammed was so thunder-quick, when, coming to the side of the litter to speak with him, he found him quite breathless and cold, that he could not refrain himself from tears and grievous outcries, if they were not rather owing to the sudden joy he conceived at the prospect of raising himfelf to the throne, as he actually did immediately after the battle; and was acknowledged by all the officers of his army, and soon after by the provinces of the empire. After this he put himself at the head of an army of 60,000 horse, and a great multitude of his tributary Arabians; and taking his eldest son Muley Cheyak, he made his four brothers that were with him, viz. Bal Hafien, Bouffers, Sisani or Zidan, Assi or Haxu, together with all the Alcaides and the whole army, take the usual oaths to him; and then proceeded to the conquest of the kingdoms of Gago and Tombut. He had already signified himfelf by several victories, and almost reduced those kingdoms, when Muley Nacer, his nephew, and the fon of Muley Moluch, returning from Spain, where he had been detained seventeen years, that is, ever since his father’s death, being now flushed with the prouze of a considerable assistance from Philip II. came over, and, having raised an army of mountaineers, renegades, and other disbanded troops, in the neighbourhood of Fez, drew a considerable party over to his fide. Against him Muley Hammed lent his fons, at the head of a powerful force, who engaged and defeated him. Nacer being dangerously wounded, was put to flight, and left his camp, arms, and baggage behind. After this victory Hammed reigned peaceably and happily, being a great lover and encourager of learning (L), and highly respected by his subjects, and died on the 29th day of August 1603, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by f his fon Sisani, after a reign of twenty-six years.

Succeeded by his brother Muley Hammed. 1595.

w D. de Torres, Davity, Boulet, &c. y P. de Guadalazar, prefa del Arcache.

X Thuan. Hist. i. c. 5. & seq. De Torres, Davity, & al. z Lid. ibid.

(L) This prince is said to have been a good proficient in the mathematics, and especially in astronomy. His wars and conquests in the two great kingdoms above-mentioned made it, in a great measure, necessary; because there is no other way to cross these vast deserts but by the compass, and astronomical observations; for which he always carried with him a base-dome apparatus of them. He took no less care to make himself amends for the cost and pains of conquering these two kingdoms; from one of which he brought thirty mules loaded with gold dust, and from the other fifty quintals (or one hundred weight) of the fame (12).

(12) Vid. Davity, &c. aq. ab eo citat.
Chap. 2. The modern history of the kingdom of Morocco.

a But immediately after this the empire was torn into so many factions, that, in less than six weeks, there were not less than three kings proclaimed, besides Sidan, who, though the youngest of all, had caused himself to be crowned on the very day on which his father died. The other three brothers, equally contending for the throne, were at length overcome, after great many bloody wars, which he was forced to sustain against them, and more especially against Mouly Cheyk, his eldest brother, a prince of great valour and conduct, highly esteemed by the subjects and soldiery, and who had, besides, procured a considerable assistance from Spain. So that it was not till after a great deal of bloodshed, and many considerable losses, both by sea and land (M), that he got the better of them, and was enabled to restore the peace of the state. But a gang of pirates, who had settled themselves at Salza, a famed port in the kingdom of Fez, soon disturbed it again, by the frequent outrages and depredations they committed within the inland provinces; to suppress which, he sent a splendid embassy to King Charles I. of England, to induce him to send him some ships, ammunition, &c., who readily complied with his request. Zidan soon afterwards made himself master of Salza, destroyed all the pirates he could come to, and, in return for the king’s timely assistance, sent him 300 Christian slaves as a present. After this he reigned very peaceably all the remaining part of his life, except that he was often perplexed by the Alarbs, or Arabs, of the province of Morocco, his invertebrate enemies, who had once forced him to abandon his capital to escape their fury. But having at length overcome some of them, and gained others by treaty and presents, he returned to Morocco, and there continued in peace till the year 1630, in which he died. 

b He was succeeded by his eldest son Mouly Abdelmelch, a prince who soon became odious to Abdelmelch because of his inordinate cruelty, cruelty, and other vices; it is said that he was of such a character that he would not suffer any persons who offended him. He invited a younger brother of his, named Hammed, to come and reign over them; but finding him no less tyrannical and cruel, they dethroned and imprisoned him. Abdelmelch was likewise opposed by two others of his brethren; but they were too strong in their preparations, that they gave him time enough to be before-hand with them, and to put them to the rout. He had hardly reigned four years in his debaucheries, before a Christian slave, named Maria, whom he designed to have castrated, entered his tent, he being then in the field, in the month of December, and finding him asleep, and drowned in wine, shot him dead with a pillow (N).

c He was succeeded by his brother Mouly Elowaly, or Elqalid Elgwal, called, by the Dutch Mouly Elwally, and relations and the Provincials, Mouly Lwally, whom he had condemned to lose his eyes a little before; but his being assassinated prevented the execution; for, on the contrary, and above all expectation, he was fetched out of prison to ascend the throne. He was a prince of so sweet and affable a temper, that he quickly gained the love of all his subjects. He began his reign with the enlargement of several prisoners of state, and raking the pay of his officers and soldiery. Among the prisoners which he had released was an Andalucian Aleyed, named Maqari a rebhmmand Zarvy, who was ingratitude enough, presently after, to join with prince Semen, a brother of Elowaly, in a rebellion against him; but being defeated and taken, the former was beheaded, and the latter strangled. After which Elowaly reigned peaceably the remainder of his life, and died in the 12th year of his reign. It was from him that monseigneur Sanfons, the

(M) Amongst these losses there was one considerable one; namely, that of 3000 Arzit volumes on phylosophy, a mystery, and divinity, which the Spaniards took from him at sea; which he regretted more as they fell into such hands. This sea-fight happened in the year 1611, the year after his competitor had delivered up the important forres of Acharis, or Laricha, to the count St. German, the Spanish commander, who was sent to his assistance by Philip III. of Spain (1).  

(N) Abdelmelch is reckoned the first who took the title of Emperor of Morocco, Fez, Sid, Tafshait, &c. He pretended to a great deal of religion. He ordered an universal mourning for his father, in which the subjects were obliged to have their veryStrict dyed blue, which is their colour for it. He was very fond of Christian slaves that turned renegades, and put more confidence in them than in his own Moors. But he was no less cruel and inhuman to those who refused to turn Mohamedans, and made it his chief diversion to have them devoured by some fierce lions, which he kept for that purpose, and sometimes would hatch them in pieces with his own fingers.

The French ambassador having made pressing complaints of this to the Porte, and of his being still more inhuman to the French slaves than to those of other nations; and being answered, that the King his master’s arms were long enough to do himself justice, Abdelmelch refrained it to such a degree, that he swore by Abraham he would destroy the first ambassador that came to him from the court. By good fortune monseigneur Sanfons, herald at arms, who was lent thereto in that quality, had notice given him, by a French renegade, of a noble family, who advised him to appear only as a private merchant. He was, however, sent for, and firmly questioned by the king, who had an executioner ready in the next chamber to dispatch him; but he had the address, or rather good fortune, to aver the danger, and got off unhurt (14).


(14) See Davitiis, Africa Vizito de Rietier, p. 78.
French ambassador, who had so narrowly escaped being murdered by his brother, obtained a treaty for the mutual exchange of prisoners. He was succeeded by his brother Muley Hammed Cheyk, the last surviving son of Sidan, a prince so strongly given to women, that he seldom stirred out of his feraglio, or troubled himself with any affairs of state, but let a few rapacious favourites govern the realm; which gave the Arabbs, or Arabs, about Morocco, the irreconcilable enemies of the Sharifs, a fair opportunity of believing him in that capital, of which they easily made themselves masters, and having murdered him, elected Crumel Hack, one of their princes, to reign in his stead; which he did for some few years, and was succeeded by Sharif Muley, king of Taphibet. This shaft, being soon after at war with Sidi Omar, prince of Illech, had the misfortune to be defeated and taken prisoner. During his tedious, rigorous confinement, he begot two sons on an ugly negro, whom Omar had lent him; the eldest of whom, named Muley Archy, succeeded him in the kingdom of Taphibet; during whose short reign nothing considerable happened, except that, having drank to excess, and riding furiously on an unruly horse, he fractured his skull in a grove of orange trees. Upon his death, Hammed, one of his nephews, then baha of Morocco, caused himself to be proclaimed king, whilst his brother took the same bold step at Taphibet. But Muley Ismael, the other son of Muley Sharif, and brother of Muley Archy, found means to overcome those two competitors, and, in a short time, to wrench both kingdoms from them, and to raise himself to a higher pitch of power, wealth, and grandeur, than any of his predecessors had ever attained to.

Muley Ismael, so famed throughout Europe as well as Africa, for his policy and cruelty, and what must seem most strange, if not a downright contradiction, his zeal and strick observance of his religion (O), began his reign in the year 1672: but excepting the two victories which he gained over his nephews, lived more like a private man than a king; and took up his residence at Mquinez, which was then no more than a cottage, situate about twelve leagues from Fez, but in one of the most delightful and rich spots in all Barbary, where he at first spent his time in cultivating the adjacent lands; and being no less fond of money than agriculture, applied himself likewise to commerce. The charming situation of Mquinez soon made him resolve to make it not only his chief residence, but the metropolis of his kingdom; and, in order to that, he adorned it with many sumptuous buildings, some of which he would again cause to be pulled down, and rebuilt in some other place; insomuch that it is reported, that if they were all now standing, they would make a contiguous street that would reach quite to Fez. But his pretence for building and pulling down in that extravagant manner was, he used to say, to keep his subjects employed: For, added he, if I keep a bag full of rats, they'll eat their way through, if I do not keep it in constant motion. And sure it is, that in this, and all other respects, he treated them no better than as so many vermin, whose lives and all were at his arbitrary disposal; insomuch that he made it even a piece of diversion to flout or beseech them, to show their dexterity: and as for the rest, he loaded them with such taxes and labour, and other oppressions, that their fate was much more to be pitied than that of those whom he sent out of the world. So intent was he in heaping up riches, which his frugality would not permit him to enjoy, that though he was ever levying some new taxes or impolls on the people, yet would he be at no expense in maintaining either his houholders or his army, but obliged his Moorish soldiery to serve him, without allowing them either pay, clothing, arms, or victuals. He gave a signal instance of this unnatural barbarity to them not many years after his accession to the throne; when, having ordered them to join his son Muley Sidan, to go and retake the city of Morocco, which Muley Mohammed, another of his sons, had made himself master of, upon their officers applying to him for a stipend to maintain them, he gave them this brutal answer; Do you see, ye Moorish Doos, any other of my mules, camels, or

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(O) His frugeness was such, during his whole reign, that he would never drink any wine or strong liquor. He obeyed the Ramadan, or Mohamedan lent, four whole months (15) every year, and with a more than ordinary abstinence. He was so left foripulous an obser- ver of the usual watthing, public prayers, and other branches of his law; and never undertook any thing of moment without provitring himself a good while upon the ground, and praying for the divine direction and af- finite, fully satisfied that Mohammed would obtain it from heaven: so that whatever was the result of his de- votions, he firmly believed it to be the immediate direc- tion of that prophet. In his administration of justice, in which province he always shewed himself very ready and easy of access, he was very rigid and impartial, yet would sometimes run into some wild extravagancies; of which the following instance may serve for a tale. A poor farmer of the Bretheren race having complained to him, that some of his negroes, whom by the way he was nod for keeping at short allowance, had stolen from him a yoke of oxen, which were his sole dependance, he ordered his whole negro guard to pass before him, and there one of whom the farmer accused the negro, for asking him afterwards what amends he could make him for the loss of so many stout negroes, and the man being at a loss what to an- swer, he made him undergo the same fate with the robber-ers (16).

(15) D. de Torres, Boulet.
(16) History of Barbary, &c. al.
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a other beasts belonging to my empire, ask me for any maintenance? Do they not take it where they can find it, without troubling me about it? Go, march with all speed whither I send you; and do you maintain yourselves as they do. This was, indeed, the most effectual way to fet both officers and soldiers a plundering all that came in their way. This, and many other such acts of oppression, the effects of his intangible avarice, occasioned a general decay of trade, misery and poverty among his subjects, a most shameful corruption among his ministers, and an universal deluge of injustice and oppression throughout every province in his dominions (P).

He was no less cruel and tyrannical to his wives and concubines; of which he kept no less than 3000 of the former, and 5000 of the latter rank; and among whom he was looked upon as such a monster of inhumanity, that it was with the greatest dread they approached him; and not without just cause, seeing they often were made the victims of his ill-humour. Some of them he caused to be punished for the least word or action that displeased him, in a most barbarous and shameful manner, by his eunuchs and slaves; others to be strangled, or otherwise dispatched, for the least fault, such as plucking off an orange, or other fruit in his garden. His very children, for some of whom he had an uncommon fondness, were, nevertheless, so much the objects of his jealousy and mistrust, that the least apprehension made the father degenerate into a tyrant; in so much that those who were his greatest favourites, had the greatest cause to dread him. This was the real picture of Muley Ijmael, upon which we have dwelt the longer, as it cannot but be looked upon as the most surprizing of all, to find that a perfom of his hateful character, and detested tyranny, did yet keep himself on his throne during the longspace of fifty-five years, in a country where rebellions, dethronements, and afflications of princes, were so very frequent, without meeting with any disturbance from his oppressed subjects, or his jealous neighbours, or indeed from any quarter but from his own son Muley Mohanned, the most beloved of all his children, who openly having attempted to wrench the crown from him, felt an unhappy victim of his ambition and his resentment.

This prince was born of a beautiful Georgian slave, brought up in the Christian religion, and who superior charms to all his other wives soon ingrained his father’s affection, as he himself did by the beauty of his person and mind; so that he only had a royal education given him, whilast the rest of his brethren were brought up in the most profound ignorance; but it was this partial fondness that occasioned his ruin. Laila Aijakab, a fat negro woman, since styled Suliana Sidana, or Suliana Queen, who had a great ascendency over Muley Ijmael, beheld with fitch inward dread and jealousy the preference which he gave to this favourite above her own eldest son, named Sidan, that she resolved to ruin both the mother and the son as soon as possible. The first she quickly accomplished by a false accusation of infidelity, for which that jealous monarch caused her to be put to death, though he was soon after undeceived, and highly grieved at his credulity and precipitation. But Laila had still a more dangerous victim to sacrifice to her fear; and Mohanned, who was become a greater favourite of the king, on account of his innocent mother’s untimely death, as well as for all his other good qualities, made her look upon him as a formidable rival to her son Sidan, a brave, cruel, and profligate prince, and hated by all that knew him. The king could not but be sensible of her hatred to him; and, in order to put it out of her power to raise any fresh cabals against him, ordered him a sum of 15 quintals, 100 weight of silver, and to go and take upon him the care and superintendence of his old seraglio at Tepbilet (Q), where he had not

(P) As it was a constant custom with this rapacious monarch to make every thing subservient to his avarice, so, whenever any complaint of theft, fraud, or injustice, came before him, his sentence always was, first, that thite restitution should be made to the owner of the wrong, not indeed to the plaintiff, who in that case reaped no other advantage than the pleasure of seeing the offender punished, but to himself, to whom alone he pretended the satisfaction was due. But this did not excuse the offender from an additional fine, such as he pleased to impose upon him. Sometimes, especially if the accused was suspected to be in good circumstances, he would condemn him to some severe punishment, merely to oblige him to pay it at the double rate. And it was with him such a crime for a man to be rich, that the bare name, or suspicion of it, cost oft the life of a great number of his subjects; which was always followed with a concatenation of their all into his own treasury (17):

(Q) Muley Ijmael kept there an old seraglio, to which he used to send all his cast off wives, with all their children, whenever he took it in his heart to fresh-colony his new one at Mejouir. The government of it was usuallly given to some favourite officer, or prince of the blood, together with a sufficient annual revenue, or maintenance, for all that were then thither. But a complaint having been sent to court, that the present government abused his trust, and sunk the money into his pockets, and suffered those ladies to want their usual allowance, he sent this favourite son with his quinails of silver to take the care of it upon him. It fell out soon after, that the two brothers, being obliged to sit at a public ceremony, had this dreadful recital about the precedence, in which several of their retainers were killed on both sides, which obliged the king to have them both brought in chains before him (18).

The modern history of the kingdom of Morocco. Book XXII.

Falls out with his brother Maimon. The latter disgraced.

The king's strange behaviour to them.

The Sultan contrives his ruin.

Her strange ascendency over the king.

been long, before a very dangerous rupture happened between him and another brother, named Maimon, who was then governor of that city, a very debauched prince, about precedence, which occasioned a bloody encounter to enufe, and they were both ordered to court in chains, by the express order of their father, from whom, upon their first approach, they received a short but very severe reprimand (R). They were next ordered to plead their cause before him, which they did in such a manner, that Maimon, whom some of the king's brothers did then accuse of sundry heinous crimes, was sent with disgrace to Tazami, a cattle about nine miles from Taphilet; but, upon his departure, he told the king, that nothing grieved him so much as that that Christian, meaning Mohammed, should get the better of him. This raised a fresh contet between them, which grew to such a height, that he at first ordered a fcymitar to be given to each of them, that they might have an opportunity to fesh which was the better man; but, at the earnest intreaty of some of the nobles that were present, he ordered the fcymitars to be exchanged for a couple of cudgels, which they plied against each other with such fury, that they were both quickly covered over with their own blood. The king in vain commanded them to leave off; but Mohammed, without regarding it, continued his blows; upon which the king took Maimon's cudgel, and struck him with it; which so enraged him, that he seized Maimon by the collar, threw him upon the ground, and flapped his foot on him; for which his father was going to pierce him with his spear, but recalling himself, he was contented with giving him a flight blow with it, and, upbraiding him with his Christian blood, bid him go and eatwine's flesh with him. It was not long, however, before his tenderest got the better of his resentment; so that, to make him amend for his harsh words, he offered him the government of Taphilet, which he refused for that of Fez, where he was better pleased. He had not long enjoyed the happiness of it, before the king sent him orders to go to that of Taphilet; to excuse himself from which he pretended to be very ill, and forced to keep his bed; upon which the king immediately dispatched the doctor belonging to the Christian religion to him. The young prince tried in vain several ways to avoid being seen by him, and, when forced to it, to prevail upon him to impose upon his father. The old gentleman, on his return, told him honestly, that his son was quite cured before he could find out his deatmer. Mohammed was immediately sent for to court, and severely reprimanded for his disobedience and pretended sickness; and yet was easily escaped from going to Taphilet, and sent to Montigara, along with his own brother Maley Sharif, whom he dearly loved, and with whom he continued five years in that place with all possible content. But at the end of that time, a sedition being raised in the kingdom of Suez by the governor of Taradants, Maley Ismaili, who had caused him to be headed for it, ordered that favourite son of his to go and take the government of it, as being the most considerable in the whole empire; which he thankfully obeyed, and quickly restored peace to that remote province. But his Success and preferment failed not to awaken the jealousy of queen Laila, and to make her look upon him as the person designated for the successor, and who, in that caise, would infallibly revenge his mother's death on her and her son; to prevent which, and bring on that dreaded rival's ruin the more effectually, she took advantage of the king's absence, who was then at the siege of Oras, procured a letter to be counterfeited under his hand and seal, and sent it to Mohammed, wherein he was expressly ordered to put an old venerable Arabian Cheykh, whom the king highly esteemed for his signal services, to immediate death; which he accordingly did, and sent the same courier back to acquaint the king with it. The express arrived at the court of Mequinez soon after the king's return; and much about the same time came the toes of the deceased Cheykh, who were come to make their complaints to him; at which he was so highly provoked, that he ordered his son to repair to him with all speed. He did so; and, upon his arrival, found his father in the greatest fury, and attended with the Cheykh's children all in tears. The first question he asked him was, in an angry tone, Art thou Sharif? To which he, rightly judging at the cause, readily answered, Thuou knowest whether I am or not. I have only executed thy commands, and here they are under thy hand and seal, giving him the forged letter. The king had scarce read it before he got on horseback, and made such speed towards the palace, that every body concluded that he was gone to sacrifice the Sultanate. But she found means to appease him by either that you think yourselves to be without a father, or forget that I am he. You appear, indeed, as mere as lambs before me, but out of my sight you are worse than roaring lions. If, while I am still alive, you have the boldness to take up arms against each other, what will you do when I am dead? Let me therefore hear, without any disguise, the occasion of this quarrel of yours, that I may apply a speedy remedy to it."
Chap. 2. The modern history of the kingdom of Morocco.

Some specious pretence; so that he contented himself with distributing some money among the weeping orphans, and sent them and his son back to Tarudant. It was now impossible for Mohammed not to perceive, as well as resent, at once the Sultan’s treacherous designs against him, as well as the great affluence which she had over his father; from which he could but too plainly conclude, that the would leave no stone unturned till he had wrought his total ruin. All these bad prospects were fully in his mind, as he was returning to his government, when he unhappily met with the Alcaid Cadir, on his return from Guinay, who guarded an immense quantity of gold belonging to the king, and seized upon it for his own use, and prevailed upon several of the Alcaid’s retainers to follow him to Tarudant. As soon as he arrived at his government, he sent a letter to his father, conceived in such terms as should plainly indicate his revolt; and another to the Sultana, full of reproaches and bitter reflections against her and her son Sidan. All which so exasperated the old king, that he was upon the point of setting aside for a while his intended expedition against Algers, to suppress this new rebellion before it grew to a head. But his ill fortune made him determine otherwise; and though his army consisted of above 50,000, and that of the Algeirs or Algerines, no more than 12,000, yet those being by far the better soldiers, totally defeated him, killed a vast number of his men, and forced him to a shameful retreat. By this time Mohammed had so far increased his army, and so many discontented Alcaids Mohammed went over to him, especially after his father’s defeat, that, though he had neither artillery nor revolts, and other materials for a siege, yet, trusting in the affections of the people, he marched directly to Morocco, and summoned the governor of it, an old experienced officer, to surrender. He found, however, an opposition there, which he did not expect, and which made him have recourse to the following stratagem, which succeeded to his wishes. He ordered his army to march off, as he had abandoned the siege; and was scarcely gone a league, when, as he expected, the governor fell in pursuit of him, at the head of 8000 men, whom he so closely surrounded by the disposition of his own forces, that he either killed or made them all prisoners, and, amongst the latter, the governor, several other Alcaids, particularly Kahl Bouchafo, a near relation of the Sultana; all whom he ordered to be conveyed to Tarudant. After which he entered the city with sword in hand, feigned on all the treasures he could find, and gave the plunder of the place to his troops. But hearing, quickly after, that his brother Sidan was coming with a great army to besiege him in it, he immediately marched away to Tarudant with all his rich spoil. Here the artful Alcaid Bouchafo, his prison, in order to betray him the more easily to his father, had so far influenced him into his favour, that he became privy to all his designs, of which he gave immediate intelligence to the court, and would in all likelihood have ruined all his measures, had not some of his letters been intercepted and brought to Mohammed, who caused them to be openly read in his council, and asked them what the treacherous writer of them deserved? Bouchafo, who was then present at it, to remove the suspicion from himself, was the first who condemned him to death: upon which the Sharif told him, that he had pronounced sentence against himself, and, by a double stroke of policy, ordered Melech, the late governor of Morocco, to cut his head off (S). Mohammed being now become more powerful than ever, resolved to go and engage his brother Sidan, who was making long marches at the head of a powerful army against him. But when they came to engage, Melech, whom Mohammed had intrusted with the command of his negro troops, either in revenge for the late affront, or to regain the emperor’s favour, suffered himself to be surrounded by Sidan’s forces, which obliged his brother to betake himself to a shameful flight; after the loss of a great number of his own. The king, as soon as he heard the news of Sidan’s victory, ordered him to send all the prisoners to him, who, fearing for Melech, to whom he owed it, earnestly interceded for him; the same did his wives and children, but all in vain: the king told them, that he forgave him, but the Sultan and her relations never would his cutting Bouchafo’s head off. The cruel monarch, Melech’s instigator by his queen and her relations, and some treacherous Taliks, ordered that faithful and brave officer to be publicly fawned in the middle with the utmost cruelty (T); and, in excuse for

(S) Melech having displayed so singular a fidelity to the king at the siege of Morocco, it is not unlikely that Mohammed suspected him to be privy to the pernicious steps of Bouchafo; he, therefore, took this method to gain so valuable a prisoner to his own interest, as he knew it would prove an effectual bar to his being ever forgiven him; the king, cutting the head off of so near a relative to his favourite Sultana. But the sequel will soon show how much he was out in his politics (19).

(T) To add to the pomp of this dreadful execution, the cruel monarch had obliged the relations and friends of the unfortunate Melech to play at Mequins, in hopes of his pardoning him; and, on the other hand, caused all the numerous family of the Loubzii, which was that of the Sultana and Bouchafo, to be presented at it, to the amount of several thousands. Between these was the prisoner, led by six stout negroes, who held muleshocks cocked against him, to the mode called Gemna

for his extreme barbarity and ingratitude, alleged, that Melech, having proved a traitor to his son Mobammed, as well as to him, he had ordered him to be thus lawed into two parts, that each of them might have one half of his body. In the mean time, Mobammed having reached Tarudant with the shattered remains of his army, the victorious Sidiou purged him thither, and laid close siege to it; but was so often repelled with great loss, that, despairing to get it by force, he retired to Morocco, where he contrived such a lucky stratagem, as soon put an end to the rebellion, and to the life of its chief author.

Mohammed had been to visit his camp out of the city on a Friday, which is the Mobammedan Sabbath, and, on his return, fell into an ambush of negroes, whom the Allizya Abdercary, a creature of Sidiou's, had set near the gate to intercept him; at which he immediately cried out, that he was Mobammed: to which they answered, We know thou art; and b are ordered by the king to seize thee; and immediately surrounded him on all sides. He made several efforts to break through them, in order to gain the city gate; but finding it shut against him, he fought so desperately among them, that he laid a good number of them wounded at his feet; whilst they, afraid of shedding a Salihi's blood, dared not lift their weapons against him. At length, one of them advised the rest to cut off the legs of his horse; upon which they easily seized on his person, and carried him prisoner to Morocco, whence Sidiou caused him to be conveyed to Mequinez, under an effort of 500 horse.

The king, upon the first notice of his coming, whether to avoid the solicitations of his court in favour of his son, or for any other view, set out of Mequinez, attended by 2000 horse and 1000 foot, and waited for him at Beth, the place where he designed to punish him for his revolt, and, to add to the horror of the cavalcade, was preceded by forty Christian slaves, who carried a monstrous copper, with 100 weight of pitch, and the same quantity of oil and tallow, and were followed by five butchers with large knives in their hands, and a cart loaded with wood; which dreadful apparatus filled the city of Mequinez, who had so lately beheld the execution of the unfortunate Melech, with the utmost horror and confusion; but more especially Mobammed's daughter, who, attended with a number of ladies, and others of his friends, came to implore the king's clemency in his behalf. The very Sultan, his bitterest enemy, could so far dignify her hatred as to become one of his intercessors. All these the king received with an affected coldness, and, by way of comfort, told them, that he designed him no other punishment than pouring a little boiling oil upon him. He was a whole day and night without seeing his son, who was arrived at Beth the day before him; but, upon his appearing prostrate before him the day after, the king clapped the point of his spear to his breast; upon which, and seeing the butchers, and the rest of the dreadful apparatus, he cried aloud to him, For God and his prophet's sake, forgive me, I beseech thee. But he, without minding his cries, ordered one of the butchers to hoist him on the cart, and cut off his writ on the rim of the copper. At which the fellow in a fright protested, that he would lose his life sooner than shed his son's blood; the consequence of which was, that the king cut off his head with his own hand, and ordered another of them to go up and perform the operation, who immediately obeyed. Whilst this was doing, the king called the children of Bouchafra, and bid them look at the hand and foot of that traitor, and, as soon as the execution was performed, asked them, whether they were satisfied? To which they answered, with great submission, in the affirmative. He then cast his eye on his bleeding son, and, in a sultry tone, asked him, whether he knew his father now? Then, drawing his sword again, chopped off the executioner's head at one blow. At which his son could not forbear crying

Kadra, where they made him sit upon a stone, and wait his doom. Here perceiving several of the Talibs, or priests, very pressing for his death, he cried out, Why may I not be brought to the king, and acquaint him with your treason? For the cutting off Bouchafra's head was forced upon me; but you wore the treacherous dog that sent his letters back to Mobammed, which were divulged for the king. For they were the perfons who, by intercepting Bouchafra's letters, had caused him to be put to death; and it was their fear of his discovery, that made them so urgent with the king to have him haled to execution. This was the reason why he was hurried away to the fatal place with such cruel speed, mounted on a mule, with his hands and body chained, amidst the dreadful cries of his friends, and the thongs of his enemies the Lounds, whilst he alone appeared calm and unconcerned, and rode with a pipe in his mouth. Being arrived at the market-place, he was taken down and stripped; and the Talibs took care to have all the papers that were found about him burnt, for fear of a discovery. Immediately after this, the lawyers laid him flat upon a plank, fastened his hands and feet to it, and were going to begin their work at his feet; but Bouchafra's children, to whom the king had given leave to order the manner of his execution, to make his tormentors last the longer, commanded them to begin at the other end, which forced the most dreadful outrages from him. When they had proceeded as far as his navel, they were ordered to draw their faw, and begin now at his head, which they did; and, when they had gone through their work, they divided his body into two parts; after which they went to the king with their faw wrapped up in a cloth, who, seeing highly satisfied with what they had done, ordered two documents to be given to the two journeymen, and four to their master. This was the dreadful reward with which that inhuman monarch recompensed the fidelity of that brave old minister, and may serve to give a lively idea of that detestable court and government (18).

(18) De Torei, hist. Inf. des Chejifs, &c. al.
out to the spectators, Behold my father's valour, who equally puts to death those who obey his commands, and those that do not. The king only flaid to see his arm and leg dipped in the melted pitch to staunch the blood, after which he mounted his horse, and returned to Mequinez; not without leaving express orders with four of his alcaçyes, to bring his son alive thither, under pain of death.

It is impossible to express the doleful cries, and bitter weeping, with which the news of this execution filled the whole palace, especially the women's apartment; inomuch that the king could find no other means to suppresse them, than by threatening immediate death to all who should be heard to weep; and, to shew them that he was in earnest, ordered four of them to be strangled, who had not been able to conceal their grief. Mubammed's daughter was the only one to whom he indulged that liberty, and whom, for that reason he carefully avoided; whilst one of her brothers, being denied that poor relief, threw himself down a high terrace, and died of the fall.

Towards the close of the evening Mubammed entered Mequinez, mounted on a mule, with his arm in a scar, and his leg in a wooden box; and, being arrived at the house appointed for him, received the visits of his friends on the next morning, with a seeming cheerfulness, and was constantly attended by the Christian surgeons; though others affirm, that he would not suffer any to come near him, and that he tore off the plaisters, which his servants put on to staunch the blood: however that be, thirteen days after the amputation, a gangrene having seized upon his wounds, carried him off; and, according to his desire, he was buried without ceremony than was used to the poorest Negro (T).

dian was no sooner rid of his rival brother, than he was sent back with his army to reduce the remainder of the revolters, who were still in arms at Tarudant, and besieged that capital so closely, that, for want of a fresh supply of victuals, above 100,000 of the besieged died of downright famine; and were at length obliged to surrender themselves at dictation. A bloody massacre of them soon ensued, which set the streets of the city streaming with human gore; whilst those, who had the greatest cause to fear his fury, defended themselves to the last breath, to avoid the exquifite tortures which he committed on those who had the misfortune to fall alive into his hands. He had no sooner glutted his cruelty by the most horrid butcheries, and excruciating tormenters, which he inflicted upon those traitors, than he sent himself upon fattizing his most rapacious avarice, by making a strict search for those great treasures which his brother had laid up there, as well as those of the great alcaçye and principal officers, who were come over to him; and which altogether amounted to an immense value, besides the plunder of the city, and of all the adjacent countries. All which dreadful cruelties and depredations inflicted such an universal terror all over that province, that Moors, Arabs, Berberes, and other inhabitants, fled to the most inaccessible deserts, mountains, and caverns, to avoid him; insomuch that the city of Santa Cruz, tho' at a great distance from it, and very Santa Cruz strongly fortified, was abandoned both by the governor and garrison, and none of the inhabitants left in it, but a poor old Moor, and a few blind with old age. The very trading vessels, that rode at anchor there, had likewise taken the alarm, and fled, till a proclamation, issued some time after, gave them fresh assurances, that they might safely resume their commerce as formerly, on condition that they paid the usual duties.

In the mean time his great success, numerous forces, and immense treasure, soon alarmed the old king's jealousy, and made him repent that he had ever intrusted him with so much power. He tried, in vain, all the fair means and stratagems to draw him from Tarudant to his son, Mequinez, or to oblige him to send him some of his forces for the siege of Ceuta. Sidan was never at a loss for some plausible excuse for his non-compliance, which forced him at length to have recourse to artifice.

He began with confining himself to his apartment, without being seen by any but the servant, mother of Sidan; a few days after which a rumour was spread abroad, that he was taken ill of the strangury, of which the sent notice to his son, advising him, as a mother, to draw nearer to Mequinez, with as little noise as he could, as the most effectual means of securing his succession; to which he sent word, that he knew his father too well to trust himself to near him. The king, continuing still invincible, a diversity of opinions was spread abroad, which put the kingdom into confusion, and obliged her to send a second express to acquaint

H. of Barbary, p. 325. H. des Cherifs, & al. ubi sup.

(T) This he did by way of reproach to his father, by whom, he said, having been treated more like a vile profligate than a prince, he desired his funeral might be agreeable to his treatment when living.

The king, however, caused a flayed Manufalem to be erected over his grave, supported by four marble pillars, and covered with a wooden cupola, painted over with green.

He likewise ordered his favourite brother Maly Shereif, then in his government of Muntigara, to bring all the deceased's children to court; on whom he heaped many signal tokens of real tenderness and affection (19).

Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.

(19) Idem ibid.
The modern history of the kingdom of Morocco.  

Book XXII.

The Sultan raises a riot there:  

The king appears and quells it:  

Sidi's wives to murder him.  

Muley Abdel.  

Muley Ishmael had not long enjoyed the delightful prospect of a more peaceable reign, much resorted to Sus.  

Muley Ishmael alters the succession:  

his death:  

A. D. 1727.  

(U) Our readers will perhaps wonder to find this jealous and exasperated father, after having caused his rebellious son to be so unnaturally dispatched, should so soon after reenlist for, as to cause the authorities of his death to be sacrificed to the furious resentment of the Sultana; and to order the most magnificent obsequies that had ever been seen in his dominions, to be performed to his remains. But it must be remembered, that all this was done in order to pacify his exasperated mother, who not only had the greatest attendance over him, but from whose vindictive temper he had everything to fear, as he was now in his decline: So that, not daring to refuse her anything, he was forced to give way to her desire; not only even of Sidi's wives, who had had a hand in his death, but even the wine-merchants, and others, who had供应ed him with those liquors, with which he was wont to inebriate himself; all whom he sacrificed to her resentment. She showed a more uncommon inhumanity against three of the former, whose breasts she ordered to be cut off, and, having forced them to eat them, caused them to be strangled.

He was no less obligeing to her in the interment of her son, whose body he caused to be embalmed, and brought from Taradan to Mogrines, under an effort of 6000 horse (who, by the way, being denied a passage thro' the mountains of Tedia, were obliged to obtain it at the price of 2000 piasters), and to be buried with great pomp in the common sepulchre of the Shairis. What is still more extraordinary, he caused a flaxen model to be erected over his grave, which was to be ever after a fanthony for malefactors (20). Here a vile debauched prince, guilty of all manner of vices, cut off in open rebellion against his father, and in a most beastly excess of wine, a liquor forbid by the Mohammedan law, was raised to the dignity of, and prayed to as, a saint after his death. And, in his life-time, was justly detested by all mankind: and all this to calm and appease an impertious wife, or perhaps to avoid her sacrificing the part he bore in his death.

(V) We are told, that notwithstanding his extraordinary folly and temerity, which is so rarely found, but that of women, no man in his kingdom carried to a greater height, towards the close of his half-fickned there
Chap. 2. The modern history of the kingdom of Morocco.

a Or Deby, according to his appointment. His death, pursuant to his order to Baha Empfael, Suceed by the chief of his eunuchs, was concealed during two whole months, in order to give Hamed Maliki Hammsed Deby time to secure himself agains his two brothers; but this caused such an universal discon- tent, that Empfael, under pretence of shewing him alive and well on the next day, as if to go some moke to return thanks for his recovery, brought him out accordingly in his close chariot, and went himself to take sanctuary in the house of a famed saint named Muley Idris; and the attendants, finding only his dead body, brought it back with the same pomp to Moghires, where he was magnificently interred, and his son caused a flatly monument to be erected to him. 4

b In the mean time one of his brothers, named Muley Abdalla, who had some time before been Abdaa re- fused to withdraw the public discontent to get himself raised to the throne, by forcing himself into his father's apartment; but met with such a stout repulse from the guards, that he was forced to retire, but was soon after received into favour.

Muley Deby, being now in quiet possession of the crown, soon began to give evident Muley Deby's tokens of a more rapacious temper than even his father, in whose treasury he found the amount of 50 millions, besides jewels, and other riches, to an immense value. This prodigious treasure was still increas'd by ten millions more, which he had saved, or rather extorted, in that government, which he had enjoyed during his father's life; yet was he so rapacious, as to strip his last 800 wives of all their gold and jewels immediately after his death.

c avoids, however, the odium of such an unnatural conduct, which began to shew itself everywhere, he caused a declaration to be published, by which he promised to exact of his subjects no other tax than the tenth, allowed by the Mahommedan law, and confirmed all the ministers of the late reign in their respective offices. By this flep having, as he imagined, secured himself from any rebellious attempts, and seeing himself possesse'd of such an immense treaury, he immediately plunged into all kinds and exceses of debauchery; insomuch that the people began to curse his father for pitching upon the very worst of his sons for his successor. This discontent threw itself still more in the kingdom, and more particularly in the city of Fez; and the people into a ferment, where his deputies having been sent to exact the usual oaths of allegiance, the inhabitants an- swered, that the news of the late king's death had afflicted them to such a degree, that it would require, at least, five days before they could be in a capacity to deliberate upon so important a matter. This excuse, which was only a pretence in order to gain time, joined to the general ferment, drove him upon a new expedient, which rendered him still more odious to his Moorish subjects; for, growing deficient of them, he began to secure to himself the affections of the Negroes, not only by large donatives, but by intruding them with the management of his most important affairs; so that an open revolt broke out immediately after in the city Fez revolted, of Fez, where they massacred his governor, with about 80 of his head officers, and drove all his Negro soldiers away, in revenge of the great exactions and cruelties they had suffered from him.

This was soon followed by another at Tetuun, where the governor, being forced by the inhabitants to abandon the place, caused the magazine of powder to be set on fire, by which above 60 houses were reduced to heaps of rubbish, and the rest greatly shattered and endan- dangerd. In revenge of which the Tetuaners fapp'd the foundations of the Baha's palace, one of the noblest structures in Barbary, and reduced both it and its magnificent gardens into heaps of ruin and rubbish.

d All this while the Tetuaners did not pretend to take up arms against the emperor, but against his tyrannic Baha (W); and sent a deputation to court against him, where he was sumonned to appear, and articles of reconciliation were drawn up; but he, refusing to sign them, 5

e D. De Torres, Braithwait, Revol. p. 6, & seq. & al. 2 Idem ibid. autf. & Braithwait, Revol. ubi sup. p. 9, & seq.

f stormed a such a fence out of his body, that he was abandon'd by all his servants, not one being able to approach him, tho' there was a continual mutilation made of the most aromatic gums, and other perfumes; so that he had not so much as an eunuch or a slave to stift him in his last moments, or to see him breathe his last. The dif- ference of which he died was an inflammation in his bowels, which, turning into a mortification, created that intolerable fech. He had, however, been so far from fol- lowing the Mahommedan doctrine of predelination, which makes most of its professers defile the help of phyic and surgery, that he had been consulting all along the most skillful physicians in both about his disease, against which he used to receive great ease from riding and exercise; but quickly sunk under it as soon as that help began to fail him (21).

(W) We must observe here, that the Tetuaners generally take their measures from the Feziers, by reason of their mutual intercourse; but the adjacent mountaineers were the first who took up arms against the rapaccious Baha, under the command of the famed Belfia, an old ex- perienc'd officer, of an ancient family in Adalufa, who held a private intelligence with Tetuan. He began with a powerful deponent on the Reftiers, who were all kindred, tenants, or friends, of the Baha who, to revenge the bold attempt, first asked the Tetuaners asistance against those rebel, but was refused on pretence that it might give them a handle to come and plunder the city during

(21) Dizs. de Torres, Boulc, Braithwavt, 4 & seq. & al. fig. citat. their
them, took the direct road to Tangier, and they that to Fez. The Fezians, being informed by these of the success of their stratagem, resolved to follow their example, in hopes to gain time, being otherwise fully resolved to declare for prince Abdelmelech, as soon as they were in a condition to do it. This prince was the king's uterine brother, and by much his most powerful competitor, not only as he was at the head of a potent army, and had the hearts of all the people; but much more so, as he had just before routed the royal forces commanded by Hali, another brother, whom the king had sent against him; and who, upon his defeat, was disgraced and confined to his own house. Abdelmelech was, however, guilty upon this juncture of an indiscipline, which was likely to have been fatal to him, not only in the cruel treatment which he flewed towards his Negro prisoners, but in his solemn declaration, that he would not suffer any of them to come near his person, when he was once got master of the throne; for that not only made them all declare for the king, but likewise resolve to join with any other competitor against him.

They were not long before they made him feel some effects of their resentment. He had, soon after his victory over Hali, made himself master of the city of Morocco, and by that means fixed the affections of the Fezians more firmly in his interest; when these exasperated Negroes put themselves under the command of Tarifia, an old experienced officer, who immediately put the fatal stratagem in execution against him, which failed not to disconcert all his measures and hopeful prospects: and, under the appearance of coming to besiege him in that capital, drew him and his army into an ambuscade, from which he did not extricate himself till after the loss of a great part of his forces, and receiving three flight wounds. What was still worse, a report being judiciously spread that he was killed in the action, the Fezians, losing all further hopes of him, made their peace with the king by means of a magnificent present, and a numerous ambaject; all which was the more readily accepted by that monarch, as he well knew, that his rival brother was still alive, tho' forced to retire out of Morocco into some of the neighbouring deferts. The Tetuaners were no les alarmed and disheartened at the pretended news of his death. We have already seen what a bold stand they made in his favour, tho' under pretence of acting against their rapacious Basha; to pacify whom the king had sent a new one, named Abdelmelech Busra, who entered the town about the latter end of July, and was received with great joy by them (X). They soon after altered their tone and behaviour, when, Basha-like, he condemned Paise, their governor, to be feized and hanged, for obstructing his first orders about repairing the fortifications of the place, but which they all refused to obey; so that he, from that time, contented himself to go his pace, for which they allowed him an honourable maintenance. In the mean while it is supposed, that the old Basha Hammed had obtained a secret permission from the king, to take a proper opportunity for surprizing the city, and seizing upon his old government; who appeared accordingly at the head of his Reoers, and attacked the place on that side at which they least expected them; upon the surprise of which, the citizens all quitted the breach-work, without giving one fire, and made towards the town, which gave an opportunity to the enemy to enter it on all sides. Basha Busra was one of the first who rode off with his brother and servants. But whilst the Reoers were busied in plundering the town, the townsmen, now recovered from their fright, got up to the tops of the houses; and, with a little danger to themselves, killed them as fast as they were making off with their spoil, and purloined the rest out of the walls.

They had no better success against the castle, which the Basha ordered them to attack; at which he was so enraged, that he caufed all the plunder that was brought out of the city to be burned; which occasioned such a general disorder among them, that instead of making use of the only means left of murthering the town, which was the 16 pieces of cannon left upon the breach-work, which they might have turned against it, there being powder and ball left near it, they ran away without so much as nailing them up. Night coming on, the townsmen, being without their arms and ammunition, were forced to shelter themselves and family in a fortress belonging to it (22).

(X) The Tetuaners, after the retreat of their old governor, had chosen one from among themselves, named Paise, a blacksmith, but a bold intrepid fellow, and a great enemy to the Basha. Some add, that they had likewise appointed Bulluya, mentioned in the last note, to be their Basha. But we are assured, that this last never acted in that quality, though the former, as we shall soon see, shewed himself very active in his. However, it plainly appears, that the townsmen had formed themselves into a small republic, the form and government of which they changed, as often as their fears and jealousies created new difficulties of one another; but were still waiting for news of Abdelmelech (23).

(22) Teuret, Boulet, Braithwaite, &c., ubi sup.

(23) Braithwaite, p. 16, & 24.
men took courage again, and drew them into the town, and barricaded every avenue with them, which frustrated all farther attempts of the Bahfa, and obliged him to retire with shame and disgrace, he never once appearing at the head of his daftاردly troops during the whole of the siege, but beheld their several repulses and defeats from a neighbouring eminence. 

Whilst the Tetuaners were congratulating themselves upon their deliverance, fresh news came from court, which at once damped all their joys, viz. that the king had reinfated Bahfa Hammed in his government of Tetuan, and all its other dependencies (Y). A council was immediately called, in which it was unanimously resolved, at all adventures, to obstruct his return; and, in cause of the worst, to put their city under the protection of the Spaniards, rather than comply with the king’s orders. However, as they were still in the dark about the prince Abdelmalecch, of whom they had heard nothing for several months, to avoid farther danger, they agreed, that Mr. Raufel should accompany their governor Bustra, and ten of their deputies, to court, in order to obtain there, by their rich presents, a revocation of the order made in favour of Bahfa Hammed. They set out accordingly; and, at their arrival at Fez, found it closely besieged by the king’s forces, where the inhabitants of the old city had murdered several Ladies (to they call the king’s guards), who were the king’s relations, and had been sent thither to keep the townsmen in awe; and heard, moreover, that both city and country were in a kind of war, and Moors, as well as Arabs, divided between the two contending brothers. During their stay there, they saw Maley Amsteady, the king’s brother and chief favourite, and the grand Mufis of Miquin, arrive, with new proposals for a reconciliation, which were, however, rejected; and, on their refusal, the flag of defiance was again hoisted up, and hostilities renewed. The besiegers piled their batteries against the town with fresh brentkifens, but with little success, the badness of their artillery, whilst the besieged made frequent overtures to them with no better fortune, they being still repelled by the enemy’s cavalry. Tired at length with the siege, the Fezians sent deputies to court to treat of peace on such terms as the emperor should please to grant; who, highly pleased with the proposal, sent his son thither again, with some old experienced minions, who, at last, terminated that affair to the satisfaction of both sides, and was soon after invested with the title of governor of the place.

Whilst these things were transacting, one of the sultanas and her fitter were found guilty of holding a correspondence with Abdelmalecch (who still kept himself at a distance at the head of some faithful troops), and were both condemned by the king, the former to be strangled, and the other to be imprisoned for life. At length Abdelmalecch ventured to send some offers of peace to his brother, promising to lay down his arms, on condition that he resigned to him one half of the empire, treasuries, horses, arsenals, and magazines, which his father’s régime had left behind him at his death. His proposals were rejected by the whole court, though the emperor himself would have gladly accepted of them, that he might the more quietly pursue his drunken and other debauches, in which he had already so far drowned himself, that every day of his life was witness of some of the most flagrant instances of tyranny and cruelty, of lewdness and drunkenness (Z).

This excelse grew to such a height, that neither deputies, alcaydes, nor even ambassadors, could get access to him, because he never was in a condition to be seen, which gave birth to the most enormous disorders in his capital. He was even so raffish, as to go one morning to the court attended by his council, so very drunk, that he fell down flat on the ground, and vomited up a large quantity of wine. His eunuchs quickly carried him out of the mosh to his palace, where some of his wives, and other sultanas of authority, took the liberty to represent to him the bad disorders which his debauches caused, both in his seraglio and the city.

(Y) One efficient method, which the politic Bahfa made use of, besides a great perfection of pretexts, to get himself restored to his government, was his intimating to the king, or rather his prime minister Emplial, that Bahfa Bustra, and the Tetuaners, kept Mr. Raufel, the British ambassador, and all the great presents which he brought from his court, from hastening to Miquin, until they saw what successes would attend Abdelmalecch’s revolt. And it was indeed that single consideration that had detained Mr. Raufel so long at Tetuan. This was therefore thought the most likely means to make him hasten his departure to court, as it actually did.

(Z) To give our reader a taste of some of his barbarities, he castrated one of his Negroes to be hung from the top of a terrace, for stopping his pipe too hard; and another to be tied in a blanket till his limbs were dilated, for not bringing his dogs to him so soon as he expected. Neither did his wives and concubines fare better; one of whom, on some trifling displeasure, he condemned to have all her teeth drawn out; a few days after which, having forgot his barbarous order, he commanded her to come to him again; and, being told the misery she was in, ordered the tooth-drawer to be served in the same manner, and sent his teeth to her in a box, to comfort her for the loss of her own. He castrated two young women, newly married, to be brought to him, and, having defecied them, fent them away to their husbands; a few days after which finding that they had been regifted as his concubines, and that they habited with their husbands, he castrated both couples to be murdered. His misfortune was, that being always affable, loving, and even generous, in his drunken fits, but brutish and cruel when sober, those who were obliged to approach him, had no other way to escape his fury, than by making him drunk as soon as possible, and keeping him so as long as they could (24).
and in the whole empire; he only rewarded their zeal with a severe beating. This treatment fo exasperated them, that they made no difficulty to apply to the Muffti, Cadi, and some of the most considerable ministers, and upbraided them with their puillanity, and servile ob-

A. D. 1728. Abdelmelech is chosen in his stead.

The people war against him.

and forms of a prince so unfit and unworthy to reign. New complaints soon came from other parts of the empire; even the Negroes, who had so much reason to be dissatisfied with his brother Abdelmelech, joined with the Moors and Arabs in a revolution to dethrone his unworthy brother.

At length, a general assembly of the most considerable alaclydes having been convened at Mejuzzez on the 2d of March, Abdelmelech was declared emperor, and letters were dispatched to hasten to him some and take the reins of government upon him. In the interim they sent c

Public entry into that city. 1728.

c

b

Orders his brother’s eyes to be put out. Opposed by the Talbs.

Orders his brother’s eyes to be put out. Opposed by the Talbs.

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Hiss character, and short reign.

His character, and short reign.

Abdelmelech thinking now he had nothing to fear from that quarter, began to flee his natural temper more than he had ever dared to do, in treating his ministers with haughtiness, his Moors with scorn and hard usage, his Negroes with hatred and cruelty, his people with tyranny and oppression, and his Christian slaves with uncommon barbarity. For though he was a sober prince, with regard to drinking, wholly abstained from wine, and a strict observer of the Mohammedan law, yet he had a great share of fierceness and cruelty in his looks and temper. He even offended some fathers of the redemption, who had brought large sums, and some rich presents, and were come to treat about the release of Christian slaves, to be seized and brought before him, whom having stripp’d of all their effects, he ordered to depart out of his dominions in three days, on pain of being burned alive for having entered them without his permission (A). He had been scarcely three months on the throne, before his cruel usage of the negroes exasperated their whole body against him. They soon formed themselves into an army of above 40,000, some 80,000 men, horse and foot; out of which they detached a corps of 10,000 to his brother, then at Tapiblet, to beg pardon for what they had done against him, and to invite him to resume the imperial dignity. Maley Debaby, who had by that time raised a small army of about 15,000 Moors, put himself at their head, and was soon after joined by the rest of the Negroes. Abdelmelech, greatly surprized to see such a vast army so quickly raised, and making such long marches towards his capital, made what hasty preparations he could for its defence; but being quickly besieged in it, was forced to retire with his garrison into the Alcazare, or royal castle. The city was immediately entered, sword in hand, by the enemy, who had it betrayed to them by the

The negroes resist throne his brother.

(A) In order to understand the motive of this arbitrary and unjust proceeding, the reader must know, that the emperor Maley Debaby, had a little before his being dethroned, formed a generous project for releasing a great number of his christian slaves for a certain sum per head; and had actually sent two of every nation upon their parole into their respective countries to transmit and forward it. The two Frenchmen accordingly arriving at Fontainebleau, where the court then was, met with such a ready compliance to their requets, that they embarked soon after with the missionaries above-mentioned, but had the misfortune to be detained by contrary winds;

and, upon their arrival at Salles, were surprised to find that their good friend Maley Debaby had been dethroned, and his brother Abdelmelech raised to the throne. Being, however, unwilling to lose their labour in so charitable a design, they resolved to try their fortunes with the new emperor, who being informed of their arrival and business, before they could make their way to the throne in the usual form, caueth them to be seized and brought to court. We have already seen how he treated the old fathers; as for the two young Frenchmen, he ordered them to be immediately loaded with their usual shackles, and to be conveyed to their old metamur, or prison (15).
Chap. 2.  The modern history of the kingdom of Morocco.

a treachery of about 4000 of his troops. The reader will easily imagine, from the fierceness Mequinez and remnant of the Negros, what horrid massacre they committed in that capital. As cruelly plundered, for Hammade Debaby, his chief employment was to caufe as many as fell into his hands, of his brother's partizans, to be nailed alive to the gates of the city, and to expire in the most excruciating tortures; and, after he had glutted his remnant, he gave the city to be plundered by his negroes and Moors, which was executed with no less cruelty during the space of three days. Abdelmelech, who, through the treachery of his troops, had been forced to abandon that city to its fury, soon reached that of Fez, but was closely besieged in it by his victorious brother, who, flushed with his late success, and made sensible by his past misfortunes of the danger of his former conduct, had closely pursued him thereto, at the head of a formidable army, before he, or the citizens, could have time to make the necessary preparations for a siege. He began with making some general assaults; but being as stoutly repulsed by the garrison, saw himself obliged to believe it more closely on all sides, to prevent any provision being carried into it. This succeeded much better, incomprehensible that, in three months, famine obliged them to capitulate; and the emperor inflicting on no other terms than their submission, and the delivery of Abdelmelech to him, they readily complied, and brought his brother bound before him. Upon his appearing, every one present, considering the fierceness of the king's temper, expected he would have instantly sacrificed him to his remnant; especially as he was found to have a pistil and dagger concealed under his garment, which carried a very treacherous appearance; but, to their great surprise, he had no sooner told him, that they were no other than he usually carried about him, than he delivered him up to a Baifa, to be conducted to Mequinez under a strong guard, and to be kept closely confined in his house, without any further tokens of remnant. Which singular and unexpected mildness made so great an impression upon his people's minds, that all his former debaucheries and cruelties seemed to be quite obliterated by that generous act. Happy had it been for Mouly Debaby, if he could as easily have overcome his passion for wine; for this it was that ruined his constitution, and brought upon him such an obstinate dropary, as all the efforts of his physicians could not overcome. So that having tried in vain a multiplicity of medicines, and finding his end approaching still nearer, he sent orders to have his brother strangled, which was accordingly done; two days, some say five days, after which, he was Strangled. The emperor died in the same week of a dropary, 1729.

d The throne was no sooner vacant than a number of competitors appeared in arms, among whom was Mouly Boufifar, the eldest son of Mouly Debaby, who seemed to have much the pretentions. Notwithstanding which, one of the late Mouly Ishmael's wives found means, by the great sway the bore with the grandees, and the vast sums the distributed among the blacks, to turn the election in favour of his son Abdalla, who, till then, had appeared to be Abdalla a prince of a mild temper, which seldom fails of gaining the people's affections. He was no mounter the proclaimed emperor, than Mouly Boufifar retired into the kingdom of Sus, fully reproving him. On the other hand, Abdalla left no time to march against him, at the head of a numerous army, and had the good fortune to defeat and take him prisoner, together with a Sannoos, who was at the head of his council. Abdalla spared his nephew's life; and, as some add, gave him his liberty; but beheaded his counsellor with his own hand, with this report: Let us see now whether thy sanctity can save thee from my hands. After this important victory he went and laid close siege to the city of Fez, which he had refused to acknowledge him. It proved an obstinate and bloody one, and lasted full six months; at which he was so exasperated, that he made a full resolution totally to destroy it, and would surely have done so, if some of his better counsellors had not represented him it. That city had a celebrated Sannoos for its founder, who was so reverenced and prayed to by the whole country, that he could not do it so signal an injury without incurring the hatred and abhorrence of the people, the remnant of the saint, and the curse of the almighty. Soon after this the inhabitants of Sus and Telga came to pay their homage to him, and with some difficulty escaped his remnant for having been so tardy in it. For he had now no measures to keep any longer with his subjects, and so began by degrees to discover that Abdalla gave some pregnant tokens of his cruelty. A dreadful instance he gave of what he and his partisans entitled justice, was one of the highest pieces of inhumanity on a considerable alcase, who being accused of having refused to pay his yearly quota of tribute, the more effectually to deter others from following his example, he caused him to be brought before him; and, in presence of his whole court, he condemned him to a punishment

of his own deviing, and such a one as hath been unpractised, and unheard, if not unthought of, in any part of Barbary, or indeed, in any nation, ancient or modern, if we except the old Persian one of boating, from which he probably took the hint, and which we have fully described in a former part of this work. How nearly this new one resembled it, the reader will see in the margin (B). But not to dwell any longer on such scenes of cruelty, which those inhuman tyrants imagine to be the only means of keeping an oppressed, discontented people in subjection, and of which we shall have fresh occasion to speak in the course of this bloody reign, let us now pass on to the arrival of the famed duke of Ripperda into these dominions, after his banishment out of Spain.

The design of his coming to the court of Mequinez was to engage Muley Abdalla in blocking up the two strong fortresses of Ceuta and Melilla, in running of the Spanish coasts, and in uniting in a league with the other piratical states of Barbary, to transport an army of Moors into Spain, sufficient to undertake the reconquering of that rich and fertile country. His proposal gained credit the more easily with that monarch, as Admiral Perez, who in a late reign had been sent ambassador to the British court, and since then to the Hague, had given him and his court a high character of his abilities, and artfully intimated into them the great apprehensions which the European powers were in on account of his attachment to him; upon which it was unanimously agreed, that his scheme should be put in execution, and that the whole conduct and preparations for the war should be entirely left to his care.

Ripperda now became a great favourite at court, and raised to the dignity of a Baasha, having informed himself of the latest and most of the Spanish garrisons and fortresses on the Barbary coasts, immediately proposed the opening the trenches before Ceuta; which, when it came to be debated in council, the most experienced officers among the Moors strenuously opposed, on account of the many fruitless attempts that had been already made against that place, as well as the vast expence of blood and treasure which the bare blockade of it had cost their monarchs, who must by this time be sufficiently convinced that it was absolutely impregnable. Ripperda heard them all out with abundance of pleasure, because he well knew that they had not raised any objection which he could not answer, nor any difficulty that he could not remove, as they chiefly sprung from their ignorance of the European ways of carrying on such difficult sieges with success; but when he came to open to them those various and new invented methods of acting offensively and defensively, of which himself was a thorough master, he easily brought them all over to his opinion; and the siege of that place was unanimously agreed to and resolved on without any further delay.

That nothing might be wanting to the carrying on of this favourite project, Abdalla nominated that apostate duke to be commander in chief, and raised some other renegades to considerable commissions under him. He also assembled a choice body of infantry, consisting of about 10,000 men, at the head of whom Ripperda marched directly to Ceuta, where he directed every thing with such surprizing judgment and unwearied industry, as failed not to inspire the rest of the troops with fresh vigour and courage, infomuch that they now no longer deemed this blockade an intractable task, which could only end with their deaths, as their language formerly was, but looked upon the carrying of the place as a sure and easy one, under such an experienced commander, whom they looked upon as sent from heaven to free them from thraldom and misery, and to lead them to a plentiful harvest of laurels and wealth, especially as he took great care to shew himself at their head in every expedition.

As soon as he thought he had sufficiently inspired his troops, and given the engineers the best rules how to proceed in the siege, he returned to Mequinez, where he was received with the greatest marks of favour and esteem. His design was to solicit that court for a new supply of provisons, ammunition, and artillery. His motion was immediately seconded by ad-
a Ripperda was now at the summit of credit and happiness, if any share of the latter can fall to the lot of a renegade to his God and country, when all was overcast again by the arrival of his faithful spy Martin, who brought him the unexpected news, that the Spaniards were preparing to transport an army into Africa to retake the city of Auran, or Oran, if not before and to extend their conquests still farther. The declaration was dated June 6, and contained the reasons which had induced the Spaniard monarch to this expedition; for which a sufficient number of ships, men, and arms, was dispatched at the same time; all this Martin gave a full account of to the count of Mequinez.

Abdalla, though not a little surprized at the news, was yet glad that he had so able a general as Ripperda to oppose against the famed marquis of Montemar, who commanded the Spanish forces; and as that place was then in the hands of the Algerines, his allies, he wholly committed the defence of it to him. We shall not here anticipate the successes of that expedition, of which we are to give a full account in a subsequent chapter; and in which he was forced to yield to the superior valour of the Spanish forces, through the baseness and cowardliness of his own. This unavoidable disgrace, however, was so far from discouraging him from pursuing his old scheme, that the wreck of the country had scarcely oblige the Spaniards to quit the field, than he started a double project, for the one for the renewing the siege of Ceuta, and for the recovery of Auran, both of which he represented to the Ripperda as being much practicable and easy, provided he could engage the free Moors, that is, the Algerines, the Tunesians, and Tripolitans, to join heartily and unanimously in it. He found little or no difficulty to engage them all in it; and, in a few days after, his couriers returned with the agreeable news, that they were all in full march to reach the army before Ceuta. Upon which Ripperda immediately set out, and found them accordingly encamped about two leagues short of that place. But here he was likewise informed, that the garrison had received a considerable reinforcement, and was marched out to engage in the open field. This last piece of news would certainly have given him the greatest pleasure, as it did a most wished for opportunity of signaling himself so critical a juncture, had he not had too great a care, from their former behaviour, to mistrust the firmness of his Moors' troops, on which the whole success chiefly depended. To confirm them, therefore, the more in it, he made his fine harangue to his Moors to cease fighting, charging, rallying, and expounding himself every moment to some fresh danger. At night, after a long and bloody action, the Spaniards were totally defeated, and forced to retire to Ceuta in great confusion, after a very great loss of their best forces and officers.

Flushed with this signal victory, the ambitious Balha began to open the trenches in form before Ceuta; and at the same time sent a reinforcement of 30,000 men, under the command of Halli, to assist in the forming the siege of Auran. But unfortunately for him, whilst his troops, elevated with their successes, lay carelessly straggling along the trenches, and their advanced guard was at a good distance from the head quarters, the governor thought fit to fly, and thus to fly upon them in the dead of the night, at the head of 6000 men, besides 500 pioneers, and several officers of distinction. The design was so well conducted, that the Spaniards quickly drew the Moors out of their trenches, and filled them up, nailed their cannon, plundered their head quarters, and forced Ripperda to flee in his tent to Tetuan, leaving the greatest part of his infantry to be cut in pieces by the enemy. And a much greater slaughter would have been made among them, had not the cavalry come timely to their rescue, and by charging the enemy with fresh vigour, given an opportunity to some corps of foot to form in the plains behind them, who having repulsed them, happily recovered their posts. However, the engagement lasted near seven hours before the Spaniards retired; so that the great number of the slain, the great loss they took, and the standards and trophies of honour they carried into the place, joined to the great disgrace of the Spanish Balha, who had been the first projector of that siege, wholly qualified that enterprize, and made the Moors glad to lay quiet awhile, without attempting any new one, till towards the latter end of the year, when, having increased their army to about 50,000 men, they resolved upon renewing that of Auran, in which they proved more successful, as we shall shew in the following history of Algiers.

In the mean time Abdalla, disappointed and defeated in his favourite design against Ceuta, and other flattering prospects with which Ripperda had raised his ambition, grew more tyrannical and cruel.
and cruel than ever (C). His oppressions and excesses grew to such a height, that the Alamis, 
a no longer able to bear them, took up arms against him, and gave him a signal overthrow in a 
pitched battle near the city of Fez, which he only reversed by acts of the most barbarous 
nature against the inhabitants of that place. His mother, dreading the consequences of it, 
tried all ways and means in vain to reclaim him; sometimes by prayers and tears, at others by 
severe reproaches, and apprising him of his danger. He made no scruple at last to tell her, 
that his subjects had no other title to their lives than his will; and that it was one of his greatest 
pleasures to kill them with his own hands. Her frequent remonstrances made him at length so 
far forget what he owed to her, not only as a parent, but as it was by her intrigues and 
interest that he obtained the crown, that he resolved to rid himself of her at all adventures: 
of which having, by good fortune, got timely intelligence, he found no better expedient to 
escape his unnatural fury, than by pretending a solemn pilgrimage to Mecca; yet he quickly 
after gave a signal, though little expected, instance of his humanity, even to those Alamis 
who had so lately defeated him; for those elated by that victory had ventured to return to 
the charge; but being totally routed, in their turn, were glad to come and prostrate themselves 
before the number of 400,000, stripped as they were of all their cloaths; which made, it 
seems, such an impression upon him, that he could not forbear expressing a great repentance, 
that men should use their enemies in so barbarous a manner, and ordered some comfortable 
cloaths to be distributed among them. But whether this was owing to the impressions which 
his mother’s remonstrances had made on him, or whatever other cause, it was not long before 
he was guilty of a much more egregious instance of barbarity against them, as a juncture when 
he had the greattest caufe to court their friendship. 

The general of his negroes had, upon some discontent, raised a revolt among his troops, 
on pretence, whether true or false, that Abdalla had formed a design against his life, and so 
patriothically expressed the ingratitude of that prince to him, from whom he had received 
the greatest services, that they all agreed to dethrone him, and to place Mulay Hali, the brother of 
Hommed Debaby, on the throne. Abdalla, now became as timorous and cowardly as he was 
before arbitrary and cruel, not knowing which way to turn himself, quickly left the city, with 
a design to refuge himself among those Alamis whom he had used with so much clemency. He 
was then on his way towards them, when he was met with by eight of their deputies, who 
were lent, as is probably conjectured, to offer their services to him; but taking the advantage 
of his present distress, began to make some feameonable remonstrances to him on his past con 
duct; but that prince, whom no misfortunes could refrain from his sanguinary disposition, 
was so exasperated at the liberty they took with him, that he killed them all with his own 
hand, though at that time he was debilitate of all fale refuge, and was going to put himself 
under their protection. All this while Mulay Hali, at the head of his Negroes, was marching 
towards Mequinez, and entered that metropolis almost without opposition; but was not a 
little exasperated, when, instead of finding those treasures in it which he expected, he was told, 
that Abdalla had taken them away with him. He at first vented his resentment against his 
father and the governours, and other officers of the feraglio and city. 

Abdalla, on the other hand, having carried off a vast treasure with him, made use of 
some part of it to corrupt a great number of those blacks, who had but a little while before 
shewn no less a readiness to drive him from the throne, and whom Hali was not in a con 
dition to bribe at the same high rate. Abdalla was by their means restored to the crown, by 
whom he had been deprived of it; and when the negro general upbraided them for their 
braveries and inconstancy, they only told him, that they did not think Mulay Hali a prince 
worthy of it: and it must be owned, that he had so far befotted himself by the excessive use 
of an intoxicating drug, called by the Orientalis Archiach, or Archicha, and not unlike the 
Turkish opium, which, taken moderately, hath an exhilarating, but when to excess, a lethargic 
quality, that he might justly be looked upon as quite unfit to reign. 

Abdalla had no sooner recovered the crown, than he ran into his old excesses of cruelty. 
The city of Mequinez was one of the first that felt the dreadful effects of his rage; every 
individual of whose garrison he caused to be beheaded, and the governor’s youngest son to be 
flayed, whole father, foreseeing the florm, killed himself, after having first cut the throats 
of his wives and children, to avoid their falling into the brutish hands of that exasperated 

(C) He not only punished with death the officers of 
his army for the least offence, but for the least mistake, 
or even for no other fault than want of success, though 
irrespective in all other respects. But what was still 
more tyrannical, he carried his inhuman remonstrances 
against things of the most innocent nature; of which the 
following is a most flagrant instance: there is a strange 
prevailing custom all over Barbary, as well as here, that 
in their marriages, when the bride proves a virgin, the 
bride-men and maids carry the insignia of it in triumph 
through the city; upon which the bridegroom, in a 
jealous manner, puts himself a king, and imparts some 
trifling taxes upon his friends, which he exacts under 
some penalty. But Abdalla was too jealous of the royal 
title and prerogative to admit of any such harmful imitation 
of it, and ordered eight of those bridegrooms to be tied to 
miles stones, and dragged through the streets of the city till they expired (26). 

Chap. 2. The modern history of the kingdom of Morocco.

a tyrant. After that dreadful execution, he ordered the city to be plundered, and the citadel to be rased, for having, perhaps much against their will, been forced to receive his competitor within their walls; and having, in all probability, felt the sad effects of his resentment, when he found it stripped of the royal treasure he expected to have found in it. But these are confidations of little weight, even with their best monarchs, in those arbitrary governments, and of little less to such an inhuman tyrant as Abdalla.

In the mean time the general of the negroes, far from being deterred by these butcheries, from his first design of absolutely stripping him of the regal power, revived his old complaint of his life being threatened, and of the necessity there was of setting up Sidi, another prince of the royal blood, on the throne, (seeing Maley Hali was unfit for it) in order to rid the empire of such a monster of ingratitude and cruelty. He was in hopes, that the present ferment it was then in would induce not only the Negroes, but the Moors likewise, to join with him in it: but to his great surprize found himself deceived; whilst Abdalla, at the first news of it, betrayed to Maley Hali, and had recourse to his old stratagem, and found means, by his large donations, not only to reconcile the Negroes to him, but to engage them to deliver up their general alive into his hands: whereupon that unhappy officer, seeing himself thus safely betrayed by his own troops, betook himself to an artifice; which, considering the superstitious devotion of the Moors, he flattered himself could hardly fail of securing, at least, his life. With this view he took sanctuary in a much reverence mosh, on account of some great santo, to whom it was dedicated; and, putting on the cloaths of the saint, suffered himself to be brought before the emperor in that venerable disguise. Abdalla, though far from being such a stiff devotee as in a joint's bad. his father Maley Ishmael, yet confounded to kill the holy robe with a seeming respect; but ordering them immediately to be taken off, plunged his spear into his bosom, and called for a cup to receive some of his blood, with a design to drink it, in token of revenge. But here his prime minister took the liberty of diverting him, by representing to him how much such an action was beneath his dignity; and offered to drink it himself, as being a more proper person for such a draught. Abdalla consented to it; and the prime minister, to express his Stabbed by A strange in- feriority. faith and loyalty, confounded to an action, which, compared to that of Atreus, would mask him appear the greater monster of inhumanity. His death, however, did not put an end to Abdalla's fears, much less to the ferment that still reigned through the whole empire by his oppressions and cruelties. The people had some hopes left that Sidi, who had still a strong party in Fez, might, by some unexpected turn of fortune, wrench the crown from him, especially as a general discontent had spread itself among the Blacks, upon account of their being disappointed of those vast sums which they were made to expect upon the delivery of their general, which were, indeed, so large, that the emperor was not then in a condition to pay, nor, indeed, it seems, even their usual stipends, which yet is all they have to subsist upon. This soon induced them to enter upon a clandestine correspondence with Sidi's party at Fez; of which Abdalla being apprized, he lost no time to try to nip it, if possible, in the bud. So that having mustered up what forces he could get together, he resolved to lay close siege to the place. But this not succeeding to his wish, he plied his attacks more briskly and frequently, being determined, as it were, to venture the fate of the whole upon some decisive stroke: but even here he was also unsuccessful, the enemy getting ground of him, whilst his army grew less and less, both by losses and desertion, which obliged him at length to retire. The difficulty was how to do so without exposing himself to the form that was gathering on all sides against him. In this pressing diffrs the most expeditious way appeared to him the safest; so that taking his son, mother, and most favourite wives, and whatever treasure he could gather up together, he retired with them to the mountains to wait for more favourable times.

He was no sooner gone than the Feziens sent to invite the negroes to come over to Maley Sidi, assuring them, that he was much more worthy of the crown than his cruel and perfidious competitor; and what proved a more powerful motive, engaging that he should pay them the 400,000 ducats of Abdalla's arrears. This failed not to bring them all to his side; and Sidi was now looked upon as firmly seated on the throne, having both Moors and negroes in his interest; and long might they have continued so, in all probability, had not his breach of promise, and other irregularities, altogether inconsistent with the character which the Feziens had given of him, occasioned soon after a general disgust, which displayed itself at length in a general a deflection. Abdalla did not lose so fair an invitation to appear again in arms in defence of his imperial dignity. He engaged his rival accordingly, at the head of an army gathered up in haste, and had the good fortune to give him a total overthrow. Sidi, who received a dangerous wound in the action, narrowly escaped with his life, and left him master of the field, as well as full possessor, once again, of his tottering state.


C H A P.
THE history of Algiers, from its foundation by Barbarossa; and from that down to the present time.

SECT. I.

A geographical description of Algiers.

Algeria, whence so called.

The Algerine kingdom made formerly a considerable part of the Mauritania Tingitana, described in the Antient History; and filled also Mauritania Caefarina, from the city of Casarea, built there by King Juba, in honour of Augusus, who had restored him to his native kingdom. Cluverius is the only author who places this Roman province in Darab, in the Bledaghierid, but without any foundation.

Algiers, or Algier, hath its name from its metropolis, the only city of note in the whole kingdom; and called by the Turks Algazair, since then corrupted into Algiers, of which we shall treat farther in its proper place.

How divided by the Arabs.

This kingdom was, soon after its conquest by the Arabs, divided into four principal provinces; viz. Tremeacen, al Tiffen, or Tiflene; 2. Algiers Proper; 3. Bujejab, vulgarly Bugia; and 4. Tenzez, or Tenez; to which some authors add a 5th; viz. Constanalia; all which had their names from their respective capitals. But after Algiers became the metropolis of the kingdom, and Tremeacen was become subject to it, the Turks, under whose protection the Algerines had put themselves, divided it into eighteen provinces; viz. 1. Algiers Proper; 2. Tremeacen; 3. Tenzez; 4. Bujejab; 5. Angad, or Angue; 6. Beni-Asraz; 7. Miliana; 8. Cucc; 9. Labeza; 10. Tisseza; 11. Human-Var; 12. Harego; 13. Oron, or Auran; and Horan; 14. Mesfangan; 15. Bona; 16. Sorgel; 17. Geger, or Gigeri; 18. Constanalia. All these are so named from their respective capitals; besides which, some of them have only two or three inconsiderable towns, and others only one.

By the Turks.

The extent of this kingdom from east to west, that is, from the town of Tabarca, on the river Zaine, or ancient Tasse, in 9° 16' east: from London, to that of Toaut, and the mountains of Trava, 6° 16' east, is variously computed by geographers. Sanfon, who bounds it between the Zaine and the Muluya, or Malicie, gives it 900 miles in length; La Croix 720; Layiti 630; but to name no others, according to the latest and best computation, the utmost length of it amounts to no more than 460 miles. They agree somewhat better about its breadth; none of them giving it less than 150 miles where narrowest, and 240 where broadest; but even in this they exceed all the later and more accurate observations. Some parts of it, particularly from Tlemcen to the sea coast, being hardly above forty miles wide; and near the springs of the Sig-Habra and Sheliff about 60, which, in the western part, may be taken at a mean for the extent of what the Arabs call the Tel, or Tifilleg Land. But from Algiers, eastward, it is considerably broader, particularly under the meridians of Bujejab, or Bugia, and Bona, where it modestly extends itself above 100 miles, especially upon that of Gigeri, or Gigeri, in lat. 36° 55', to Luolabah, situate among the mountains of Atlas, in lat. 44° 50'. As to the Algerine dominions beyond the Tel, or more advanced parts of Atlas, they are so uncertain and precarious, that the northern shores of the Sabara, or desert, seem to be the proper boundaries on that side. They may, indeed, have still a good number of villages beyond this, in the country of Zaab, which pay some kind of tribute; but they are not worth further notice here. But in the general Algiers is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, on the east by the river Zaine, which divides it from Tunis; on the west by the Muluya, and the mountains of Trava, which part it from Morocce; and on the south by the Sabara, or Numidian desert.


The
The climate of Algiers is, in most parts of it, so moderate, that they enjoy a constant verdure; the leaves of the trees being neither parched by the simmer's heat, nor nipped by the coldness of the winter. They begin to bud in February; in April the fruit appears in its full bigness; and is commonly full ripe in May. The grapes are fit to gather in June; and their peaches, melon, tamarises, figs, olives, nuts, &c. in August, where-ever the foil is fuit to them. But this last differs very much, some parts being excessively hot, dry, and barren; and, on that account, lie uncultivated, the inhabitants being generally very negligent of agriculture. Other countries, especially the mountainous parts of Tunis, Bugiyad, and Algiers proper, are fertile in corn and other grain, and variety of fruits; and others afford plenty of excellent pasturage, especially the northern coasts of Tlemcen; whilst the southern hide, and those parts at a distance from the sea coasts, are wild and barren, and harbour a great variety of wild creatures, as lions, tigers, buffaloes, wild boars, horses, porcupines, monkeys, ostriches, and other wild fowl, game, &c. on which account they have but very few towns, and those but thinly peopled, in comparison of the provinces nearer the sea; notwithstanding which, some are so advantageously situated for trading with Bledulgerid, and other parts of Negro the west, as to drive a considerable traffic with them.

The Algerines, inhabiting along the sea coasts, are a strange mixture of various nations; but for the most part Moors and Morisco, driven thither from Catalonia, Aragon, and other parts of Spain. There are also great numbers of Turks, besides those belonging to the militia, who poverty sends thither from the Levant to seek their fortune; to fay nothing of the Fezacs, who swarm along the coasts, and a great number of Christian prisoners taken at sea, and brought hither to be sold for slaves. Other Christians there are also who are free, and traffic with the rest of the inhabitants unmoiited. The Berbers or Beresburis are some of the oldest inhabitants of these parts, and are fupposed to be descended from the ancient Sabeans, who came hither from Arabia Felix, under the conduct of one of their princes; others believe them to be some of the Canaanites, whom Joshua drove out of Palestine. These are dispersed all over Barbary, and divided into a multitude of tribes, under their respective chiefs; they are the most of them inhabit the mountainous parts, some of them range about from place to place, and live in tents, or portable huts, others in scattered villages; and have, nevertheless, kept themselves for the most part from intermixing with other nations. These are reckoned the richest of all, go better clothed, and carry on a much larger traffic of cattle, hides, wax, honey, iron, and other commodities: they have likewise some artificers in that metal, and some manufacturers in the weaving branch. To these we may add the Zewoads, called by our European authors Azuques, or Asques, dispersed likewise all over most parts of Barbary and Numidia; and great numbers of whom inhabit the mountainous parts of Conoso, Labes, and other Algerine provinces, and lead a kind of wandering pastoral life. These are very poor, yet stout and warlike, and are taken into the service of the government. The Moors of the towns, the most numerous of all the inhabitants are the Moors and Arabsians, of whom we shall now give a short account. The Moors, so called from their ancient county Mauritania, are of two sorts: those that inhabit the cities and towns, and carry on some commerce, either by land or sea, and under the commiion of the Dey, Bays, or Agas, of their respective abodes, bear offices relating to the concerns of their own nation; some follow trades and manufactures; others are farmers, gardeners, graziers, &c. They have houses and lands of their own, and may be filled the citizens of the Algerine kingdom; many of whom grow rich enough to purchase estates, and have a considerable share in the ships that go cruising abroad.

The other sort are of the wandering kind, without lands, houses, or patrimony; and in all respects very poor. They are multiplied into a prodigious number of tribes, distinguished either by the names of their chiefs, or the places of their abode, or both. Each of them forms a kind of itinerant village, or adawar, as they term it; each family of which lives in its particular tent, or portable hut. Each adawar hath his Cheykh, or chief, who, in conjunction with (1) Leo Afr. p. 5. Marmon Afr. i. iii. c. 17, & seq. Dapper, Davity, Tassy, et al., &c. (2) Gramma i. i. c. 6. Dapper, Davity, Tassy, et al., et idem ibid. (3) Gramma i. i. c. 5. Marmon Afr. i. iii. c. 17, & seq. Leo Afr. lib. i. p. 5. Dapper, Davity, Tassy, & al. (4) Cod. C. 39, & seq. Dapper, Davity, Tassy, l. i. c. 2. Shaw's Travels p. 46, 121, & alib. Bauprand, & al. (5) Marmon Afr. i. iii. c. 17, & seq. Leo Afr. lib. i. p. 5. Dapper, Davity, Tassy, & al. (6) Idem ibid. (7) Idem ibid.

(A) The name of Brerera is supposed to have been given to them on account of their letting at first in some defert part. Upon their increasing in processes of time, they divided themselves into five tribes, called the Zafegians, Maymedians, Zemias, Hautas, Genesras; and these having produced 600 families, did also subdivide them-selves into a great number of petty tribes; some of whom retained the names of their founders, others added that of the country they lived in; which not only occasioned a confusion among their tribes, but very frequently wars among them (1).
with his affluents, form a sort of petty aristocracy, and govern the whole community with great equity and tenderness. They live entirely on the produce of such lands as they farm from thence we called above the citizens; to whom they pay their rent in kind, whether fruits, herbs, corn, honey, wax, and the like; and the remainder they sell to the neighbouring towns, as opportunity offers. They are particularly skilful in the choice of the most advantageous soil for every field, and no less careful to avoid the neighbourhood of the Turkifh troops. Each adowar pays a tax to the Dey, in proportion to the number of its families; for which their Cheyk is answerable to him, and the whole community for each individual. These wanderers being scattered all over this part of Africa, in Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, &c., where we shall have occasion to speak of them again under their heads, it will not be amiss to give our readers a little further notion of their manners, religion, customs, &c. here once for all, especially as they are for the most part common to them, throughout all the vast tracts of ground they poffefs, and under every government they are tributary to.

Their adowars are a perfect emblem of misery and wantonness; and so poorly furnished are their tents, that a handmill to grind their corn, a few earthen pitchers, wherein they keep their oil, rice, flour, &c., a few mats to fit and lie upon, and a pot or two to boil their rice, are all the household-goods they contain; and yet are big enough to contain two or three families, parents, children, servants, horses, cows, goats, poultry, cats, dogs, &c., only this last creature is obliged to lie out of the tent, to keep guard against the approach of lions, foxes, and other beasts of prey; and to drive away rats, serpents, and other vermin, which are in some parts very numerous and hurtful. The Cheyks tent is only distinguished from the others by its height, and being pitched in the center of the raft. These huts being supported by two large poles, form a kind of pavilion; the door of which is made of the boughs of trees; the middle is a small square, which divides the apartments of the Moors from those of their beasts; in the center of which is the hearth, upon which they bake their cakes, boil their rice, and other food; and round the sides are spread mats of palm trees, which serve for tables to eat at, and beds to lie upon. The tents are covered with sheep hides, black, white, speckled, as it happens; and every thing in them is mean, nasty, and loathsome.

Their diet is chiefly cakes baked on the hearth, rice, pule, fruits dried and green, milk, &c. They eat little or no flesh, except on some great holidays, because they can turn it into money; and their drink is commonly water; and a little oil and vinegar mixed, to fertilize their bread in is reckoned a dainty sauce. The men perform all the husbandry work, and go about to fell their corn, fruits, poultry, and other commodities, whilst their women and children take care to feed the cattle, to get in the water and water, to provide victuals and other necessaries for their family: they likewise keep a vast number of bee-hives under their care, and breed great quantities of silk-worms.

Their dress is as mean as their food; that of the men consists only in a haik, or coarse piece of cloth, four or five ells long, which they wrap about their shoulders, and comes down to their ankles; to which they add a cap of the same cloth, or some rag which they twist about their head. The Cheyk's dress is a shirt, and a cloak all of one piece, which comes down to the calf of their legs, and a cowl upon his head (B) of a finer sort of cloth. As to the children, girls as well as boys, they let them go quite naked, till they are about seven or eight years of age, when they tie a rag or two about them, rather for ornament than decency. While they are fucking, their mothers carry them, often two in a bag, tied upon their backs, when they go to fetch water or wood; but they are generally so Stout as to begin to walk by that time they are six months old.

The dress of the Moorifh women is only a piece of woollen stuff, which covers their bodies from their shoulders down to the knees. They wear their hair braided, and adorned with glass bugles, coral chaps, fish's teeth, and other such baubles; the bracelets on their arms and legs are either of horn, wood, ivory, or other such mean stuff; whilst their cheeks, foreheads, arms, and legs, nay, their thighs and fingers ends, are embelished with black spots from their very infancy, which is done by pricking the face with a needle, and rubbing it with some sort of black powder. Their complexion in general is very swarthy; but their constitution robust and lively. They marry very young; the sons at fourteen or fifteen, and their daughters at nine

1 Marmol, Dapper, Davy, Tassy, & al. sup. citat.

(B) There are here and there some wealthy Moors that wear such a cloak when they go abroad; and look upon it as a choice ornament, that they commonly make it serve two or three generations; and so careful are they in preferring it, that if they are caught in a shower, they immediately pull it off, and fold it up, lay it upon some stone, or dry spots, and sit patiently naked upon it till the rain is over, and their skin dry enough to put it on without damaging it. But the generosity of them is so poor, that they can hardly afford themselves a haik long enough to cover their knees (2).

2 Marmol, Dapper, Tassy, & al. sup. citat.
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a or ten, or even at eight years of age. And as these are commonly very fertile, it is an extraordinary thing to see them suckling of their children at ten or eleven, and sometimes even earlier.

When a young man hath got leave to court a man's daughter, he is to bring the number of horfes, cows, sheep, or other cattle agreed upon, to her parents hut, where she, without any reluctance, receives him for her spouse; upon which some of the by-standers asking him what his bride hath coif him, he answers, A virtuous and industrious woman cannot be too dearly bought. After the mutual congratulations are over, the young women of the adowar are invited to the feast; and the bride being set on a horse of the bridegroom's, is led to his tent, with the acclamations of the retinue; and being arrived at the door of it, is offered a mixture of milk and honey to drink, whilst the rest of the company sing her epithalamium, and conclude it with the usual good wishes to the new married couple. The bride then alighting, her companions put a flax into her hand, which she thrusts as far as she can into the ground, saying, that as the flax cannot be removed thence without force, so neither will she quit her husband, unless he forces her from him; upon which, before he admits her into his tent, he delivers up a flock to her, which she leads to some neighbouring pasture, by which she is given to understand, that he expects her to labour, and to take care of the family; and, upon her return, she and her retinue are admitted in: the feast begins and ends with singing, dancing, and other rejoicings till the evening, when the bride is presented to her husband, and the company take their leave. She is afterwards to wear over her face a veil during a whole month, and not to stir out of the tent till that be over; from time she enters into that province of the family economy that is allotted to the retl of the married women, who are here excluded from intermeddling with any public matters; and are so well satisfied with it, that they would be highly displeased with their husbands, if they should offer to communicate any affairs relating to the state to them.

These wandering Moors are generally very stout and warlike, skilful horsemen, and value themselves very highly, notwithstanding their poverty, for not being confined to towns, like the other Tartars, whom they look upon as tame slaves, always at the mercy of the Turks; so that upon any insult or ill usage received from a Turkish Aga, they immediately return it in a hostile way, till the town is in the hands of Moors, who cannot submit without being supplied with provisions from them, nor upon a dislike secure themselves from their depredations, have meditated a peace between them. To keep up this martial temper among them, the chiefs of every adowar meet in a circle round their Cheykh every evening, to discuss the public affairs; after which they divert themselves with their usual exercises on horseback; in which they are so dexterous, both in the management of that creature and their graceful posture of sitting, that they can take up any thing from the ground with their lance in full speed. In this exercice they continue till the time is come for retiring. Their usual weapons are a zay qar, or short lance, which they always carry in their hand, and a broad cutlass hanging below the left elbow.

They are commonly so addicted to robbing, that one cannot travel safely across the country, or at a distance from the towns, without a guard, or at least a marabout, that is, one of their priests or monks, for a safeguard. For, as they look upon themselves as the original proprietors of the country, and not only as disposessed by the rest of the inhabitants, but reduced by them to the lowest state of poverty, they make no scruple to plunder all they meet with, by way of revpril. However, notwithstanding their pretence of being the true descendants of the first inhabitants of this country, they differ from the Berbers, who lay a much juster claim to it, in that they have kept themselves from intermixing with any other nations; but the Moors have mixed themselves not only with the descendants of the antient Africans, but with the several other nations that have conquered it, down to the establishment of the Turks in those dominions. Thus much may suffice with respect to these wandering Moors, for so far as they differ from those that are settled in towns. In other cafes, such as their language, which is a corrupt Arabic, and their religion, which is a corrupt Mohammedan, they only differ from them, in having adopted a fuller number of superstitious in their faith, one of the most glaring the reader may see in the margin (C): the rest are scarce worth further notice.

(C) The Moors, in general, whether of a city or country, as well as the Algiers Turks, have, through the knavery of their marabouts, so disfigured the Mohammedan religion, that a true Musulman would hardly know it, as we shall have occasion to show when we come to speak of the present Algerines. But among a vast number of grofs and unnatural superstitions they have imbibed from them, the following one is well worth being taken notice of; viz. Their happiness in the next life will be greater or less, according to the number of Christians they have slaughtered in this; so that those have but an indifferent title to any share of it, who have not had the good fortune to dispatch at least one or two before they die. They differ, however, in their opinion about the manner in which this ought to be done; some of them maintaining, that it ought to be only in battle, duel, or in a fair assault; whilst others affirm, that it will avail let it be done by ever so unfair or unjust means, or on what account soever, so it be but done. This, however,
The other considerable nation that is scattered through all the provinces, not only of the Arabine dominions, but through all the other parts of Barbary, is that of the Arabians. We have given a full description of these, of their origin, religion, customs, language, &c., both in our Ancient and Modern History*. Thence we are now speaking of are a mixture of a variety of tribes, defended from those Moorish Arabians which over-run this part of Africa; from which being afterwards driven by the Turks, they fled to the mountainous parts of it, to save themselves, their cattle, and effects, where they have enjoyed their liberty ever since; and by their labour and industry have improved those barren and desert lands into pleasant and fruitful territories. These are, like the Moors, divided into a multitude of tribes and little governments, under their respective chiefs, and value themselves highly upon their having preserved their blood untainted by mixture with other nations, and express the utmost contempt for those, who, preferring their ancient habitations in towns and cities, submitted to a foreign yoke, whom they call, therefore, in derision, citizens and courtiers; and as they have intermarried with strangers, they are reputed no better than Moors. The Algerines, indeed, who make no distinction between these two sorts of Arabs any more than they do between the wandering and city Moors, call them all four alike by the common name of Moors; in which inaccuracy they have been followed by many of our Europeans, who seem to make no manner of distinction between the Turks, Moors, and Arabians, of this kingdom, for want of being better acquainted with it.

The Turks, upon their first subduing of this country, knew so little of the mountainous and desert parts of it, that they gave the Arabians an opportunity of seizing upon the passes that lead to the kingdoms of Fez and Tunes; but upon taking a further survey of it, and raising of fortifications on the most advantageous posts, they soon obliged them either to retire or submit; which they could do more easily, both by the help of their fire arms, and the increasement of their forces by the arrival of thousands of Moors and Jews drawn thither from Spain. So that many of these Arabs agreed to become tributary to them, rather than abandon their old habitations; whilst others, feigning a foreign yoke, retired into the more inaccessible parts of the kingdom, and lived free from tribute; and a third part compromised matters with the new conquerors, by a mutual obligation of not molestation each other, as will be seen more fully in the sequel, when we come to speak of the Southern government of Algiers, where the greatest part of them are seated. But these two last stand in little or no awe of the Algerine government, who, on account of their martial temper and happy situation, dare not give them any molestation; for as often as any such attempts have been made, either upon their freedom or their effects, either formerly by the Turks of Badia, or since by any of the Deyes, they immediately concealed their corn, and other provisions, in some spacious caves in the rocks, and drew their cattle towards Beldugheri, or some other inaccessible mountainous parts, where they could not only bid them defiance, but plague them likewise by their frequent incursions. There is still another sort of these Arabians that wander along the banks of their rivers Ziz and Hued-Abra, and some other parts of Algiers. These never give themselves the trouble of tilling their ground, but range from place to place for pasture, and live chiefly upon the plunder, not only of villages and adowers, but towns and cities. The province of Oran is one of the most infested by these plundering desperadoes.*

The Algerines in general do chiefly live upon piracy, and are sufficiently looked upon as the most dangerous of all the African corsairs. They are very greedy of gain, which makes them bold and venturous, cruel to those that fall into their hands, especially to Christians, and make no scruple to violate the most sacred ties, whenever they stand in competition with their interest. The corsairs are no less savage and inhuman, sparing neither wreckers nor sailors, whether friends or foes; only when the latter happen to be Mohammedans, they will bestow a small viaticum upon them to help them homewards: but at the ship or cargo, though it belong to the Turks, or to the friends of the State, the Dey has not authority enough among the greatest part of them to give any of it to the owners, except by composition.

The militia designs the Turkish Baldis. Apollo. Algiers hath still retained the title of a kingdom, though the government was once dwindled into a downright republic, as we may gather from the title of their ordinances, edicts, and other public acts, which ran in the following terms: "We the great and small members of the mighty and invincible militia of Algiers, and of the whole kingdom." This change was occasioned by the avarice and tyranny of the Baldis, or viceroyes, set over them by the Ports, under whose protection they had been so long, that they were become in some mea-


However, is not so wide a comment on Mohamad's doctrine, as the Gene, or religious war on all infidels, especially the Christians, is one of the most meritorious parts of his religion, as that which initiates his followers to the highest degrees of sensual happiness in his promised Paradise.
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The sure subject to it: till at length the Turk's Janissaries and militia being become powerful enough to suppress the tyrannic sway of those Bajtas, and the people almost exhausted by the heavy taxes they laid upon them, the former resolved to depose those petty tyrants, and set up some officers of their own at the head of the realm. The better to succeed in this attempt, the militia sent a deputation of some of their chief members to the Porte, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, to complain of the avarice and oppression of those Bajtas, who sunk both the revenue of the state, and the money remitted to it from Constaninople, into their own coffers, which should have been employed in keeping up and paying the foldery, &c.

b

by which means it was become so weak, that they were in continual danger of being overpowered by the Arabians and Moors, who, if ever so little affrighted by any Christianty power, would hardly fail of driving all the Turks out of the kingdom. To this they added a representation to the Grand Vizir, shewing how much more honourable, as well as easier and cheaper, it would be for the Grand Signor to permit them to chuse their own Dey from among themselves, whose interest it would then be to see that the revenue of the kingdom was rightly applied in keeping up its forces complete, and well paid, and in supplying all other exigencies of the state, without any further charge or trouble to the Porte, than that of allowing them its protection, whilst they, on their part, engaged always to acknowledge the Grand Signors as their sovereigns, and to pay them their usual allegiance and tribute. This last proposal was highly relished by that prime minister, as it would save the Porte some considerable annual sums, and improve a means of establishing a better understanding between the two powers than ever, and

c

of keeping the Turk's forces upon a better and more complete footing than their Bajtas had done. Upon which all accounts the Sultan was easily persuaded by his minister to agree to it, rather than perhaps run the risk of a total revolt, and lose the small remains of his authority in that kingdom. By this concession the Janissaries became still more powerful, because the Dey had the choice of those Deyas wholly invested in them, and they were to chuse them from among themselves. This elective body, called the Douwan, vigorously Divan, or common council, at first consisted of about 800 militia officers, without whose advice or consent the Dey could do nothing; and, upon some urgent occasions, all the officers that resided in Algiers, amounting to about 1500, were summoned to assist. But since those Deyas, who may be compared to the Dutch Statesholders, are become more powerful and independent, the Douwan is principally composed of thirty Yiah-Bajtas, with now-and-then the Mufti and Cadi, upon some emergencies; and, upon the election of a new Dey, the whole foldery, are then allowed to come and give their votes. All affairs of state are to be determined by that assembly before they pass into a law, or the Dey hath power to put them in execution. But for the last forty years this assembly is become of so little account, that it is only convened out of formality, and to give an affent to what the Dey and his chief favorites have concerted before-hand; so that in reality the whole power is now lodged in one person, only with this small retraction, if it be any, that the Grand Signor still files him his viceroy, or Bajta, as he doth the people his subjects (D), and challenges to himself the power of approving or disapproving of his election, though it is seldom found that he ventured to disannul it, for fear of

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losing that shadow of authority he claims over them.

The Algerine Deyas are, as was hinted above, chosen out of the militia; the most inferior of which hath an equal right and title to that dignity with the highest; every bold and aspiring folder, though taken from the plough or cart, being there considered as heir apparent to the bold attempts on the throne; neither need he wait till the present possessor be deprived of it by age or sickness, if he be but able to maintain himself upon the fame seyminar which he ventured to thrust in his predecessor's bowels. So that, as a reverend and learned traveller says, who resided several years in that kingdom, the supreme command lieth here, as it did in the declension


(D) This plainly appears from the tenor of the letter, sent by the Grand Signor to the Dey Mohamed, in favour of the Dutch, on 1719, and particularly from the pompous supererogation of it, which ran thus:

"To Mohamed, Dey and Bajfa of Algiers, a prince choosen to enjoy the dignity he is possed of, who has been preferred by the favour of the Moth High, and to the learned Mufti, and to you the Cadis and Judges excelling in eloquence and equity, and to all others amongst you who abound in knowledge, and to all the Chiefs of the militia, who fight for the faith; and alo to all our Algerine Subjects, greeting."

In which letter he complains, that the Dey had not only declared an unjust war against the Dutch, then in

amicity with the Porte, but likewise, that, instead of complying with his former orders, by which he had been enjoined to negotiate a peace with them, he had forcibly taken 50,000 dollars from them, and obliged their ambassador to retire into France.

Wherefore he now charges him afech to fend forth with two of his officers, with proper powers, to Constaninople, to answer their allegations, and to transact and conclude the said peace. And concludes with reminding the Dey and his Douwan, that such as refuse to obey their emperor's orders are criminals before God and men, &c. Which order the Dey, upon that justurc, chose to comply with, rather than to fall out with the Porte; and a peace was soon after concluded accordingly between Algiers, and the states of Holland (4).
of the Roman empire, open, and exposed to every bold pretender, who, if he hath but resolution to attempt, will hardly fail of carrying it. This evidently appears, by the quick success which hath been observed to happen among the Deys ever since they have been permitted to be chosen by the militia, scarcely one in ten of them having had the good fortune to die in his bed; that is, without a musket ball, or fysmitar; even those few who have been blessed with a more peaceful exit, cannot be said to have been beholden for it either to any higher regard or esteem which the army had for them, but rather to their own good fortune or foresight, in nipping a new insurrection in the bud, by the death of the conspirators, before they could bring their designs into execution. Neither is it their male-administration, tyranny, or avarice, that haften their ruin, any more than the contrary amiable qualities can preserve them from it. The very want of success in an enterprize, though ever so wisely concerted and carried on, is a sufficient crime with those superstitious and mutinous troopers, to cause an insurrection, and cost the best and most sagacious Dey, or officer, his dignity and life; nay, they are often cau’d upon no other foundation than a desire of change, blown up by some bold aspirer to the supreme power (E). This, however, helps to keep up in some measure the credit, or, at least, the shew of the Dowan, which might else have been quite abolished ere now; and a Dey is often obliged to assemble, and consult them upon all important matters, merely to screen himself from popular discontent; though in reality the chief members of it, being for the most part his creatures, he may be said to act with a despotic authority, there being no appeal from this supreme tribunal, but by way of insurrection, or open rebellion. We have already observed, that the whole body of the militia is concerned in the election of a new Dey, and that the lowest person in it hath a right to vote as well as the highest; and as there are commonly several candidates to that dignity, the election can hardly be suppos’d to be carried on without some tumult, if not blows and bloodshed. But when once the choice is agreed on, the person elected is saluted with the words Aïla Bark, that is, God beles, or prosper you! immediately after which, he is invested with the kaffan, or insignia of sovereignty, whilst the Cadys, or chief judges, address him with a congratulatory speech, which is generally closed with a pathetic exhortation, imploring that, as he hath now pleased the Almighty to raise him to the supreme dignity of the kingdom, it is now his duty to govern it with justice and equity, to preserve his new subjects in their rights and liberties, and to make it his chief care and concern to promote their safety and welfare, to the utmost of his power. The next officer in dignity and power to the Dey, is the Aiga, or general of the Janissaries, who is one of the oldest officers of the army, and enjoys his post only two months; and is then succeeded by the Chiah, or next senior officer, or eldest Yiaib-Bafha. During those two months the keys of the metropolis are in his custody; all military orders are issued out in his name; and the sentence of the Dey upon any offending soldier, whether capital, or only corporal, is to be executed in the court of his palace. And as soon as he is gone through this short office, he is considered as mazoul, or superannuated; receives his pay regularly, like all the rest of the militia, every two moons, exempt from all further duties, except when called by the Dey to give his advice at the grand council; to which he hath, however, a right to come at all times when he pleaseth, but hath no longer a vote in it. The next to him in dignity is the secretary of state, who registers all the public acts; and next to these are twenty-four, or, according to Dr. Shaw, thirty Chiah Bafhas, or chief colonels, under the Aiga, who fit next to him in the same gallery in the Dowan. Out of this class are commonly chosen those who are to be sent on embassies into foreign countries, or to convey the Dey’s orders throughout the realm. Next to them are the 800 Bolluk Bafhas, or eldest captains, who are next in

(E) Nor is this bloody method of rising to, and maintaining themselves in, that high dignity to be so much wondered at, if we consider, 18. That the folly, by whom they are chosen, amounting to about 1500, are either Zard or menagedees, and both generally proud, rapacious, and untractable, and naturally expect to be very considerable gainers, if they prove but successful in these kinds of new elections, to which there seldom fails of being several candidates. ady, that military discipline is greatly wanting and neglected, or, to speak, perhaps, more truly, is not incompatible with the temper of those troopers, that it might be dangerous to attempt the establishing or re-forming it among them; so that when one of them hath served some time under those colours, comes to think himself sufficiently qualified, either to make a bold push, for the day-ship, or promote some other to it, he is sure to find partisans enough to affect him in it, though with no other view than that of some gain accruing from it. It is true, indeed, that this ambitious humour hath of late years been very much alayed by the many severe, yet tolerable, executions that have been made of those turbulent and aspiring spirits, if we may believe some of our latest accounts from thence (S). Yet in such ungovernable constitutions, there will never be wanting those, who, upon the least favourable opportunity, will be ready to blow the flame of sedition and assassination afield. We need not doubt but the former Deys were as little sparing of the lives of those bold aspirers; and yet we do not find that, of the first fix that were chosen to the dignity, since the year 1700, above one of them has died in quiet possession of it; four of them having been massacred, and the fifth forced to save his life by a timely resignation (6).

(5) Dr. Shaw, ub. sup. p. 311, & sq.

(6) Tassy & Morgan, ub. sup.
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a rank to be promoted to that of Chiah Bañas, according to their seniority. The Oldak-Bañas, or lieutenants, are next, who amount to 400, and regularly raised to the rank of captains in their turn, and to other employments in the state, according to their abilities. These, by way of distinction, wear a leather strap hanging down behind to the middle of their back. One rule is strictly observed in the rotation of these troops from one deputy to a higher; viz. the right of seniority; one single infringement of which, upon whatever pretence, would cause a revolt in the soldiery, and endanger, if not cost the Dey's life (F). Other military officers of note are the Vekilars, or purveyors of the army; the Peys, who are the four oldest officers, soldiery, and nearest to preferment; the Soullacks, who are the eight next in seniority to them, and are part of the Dey's body guard, and always march before him when he takes the field, being distinguished by their carbines and gilt eyemirars, and a brass gun on their caps. The Kayats, or Turkijsh soldiery, each band of whom have the government of one or more Moorish adowars, and collect their taxes for the Dey; and the Sagiars, who are Turkijsh lacemakers, 100 of which always attend the army, and watch over the water appointed for it. If we might add the three Beys, or governors of the three great provinces of the realm; but we shall have a more proper occasion to speak of them when we come to the division of it. All these officers above-mentioned compose the Dowwn, or great council; and of them only The Dowwn, the thirty Chiah Bañas have a right to sit in the gallery next after the Dey: the rest are obliged to stand on the floor of the hall, or council-chamber, with their arms across, and as much as possible without any motion: neither are they permitted to enter it with their swords on, or with any other offensive weapon, to prevent a tumult. As for those who have any suit, or other matters to transact with the Dowwn, they must stand without at the gates, let the weather be ever so bad; and there they are commonly presented with coffee by some of the Chiahs, or inferior officers, till they are dispatched. The method of their gathering the votes in the Dowwn is something singular. The Aga, Strange mer. or president, pro tempore, first propounds the question, which is immediately repeated with a loud voice by the Chiah Bañas, and from them echoed again by four officers, called Bafsal-dalas; and from them repeated from one member of the Dowwn to another, with strange gestures and contortions, and with a most hideous noise and din, when the question is not to their liking. From all this the Aga easily concludes on which side the majority leans, and proclaims it accordingly; so that it is seldom seen that these assemblies end without some tumult, quarrel, or disorder; and no wonder, considering that the far greater part of the members are persons of mean extract, rude and illiterate, and are biased by their own private interest and passions, rather than by reason or the public good. And this seems to be one main reason why the Dey's have of late years taken such pains to suppress those among them, as they knew to be ill affected to their measures, and to foment as few as they can into the council, besides his own creatures. It has likewise been a custom with them of late, immediately upon their election, to cause all the officers of the Dowwn, who had opposed it, to be strangled, and to fill up their vacancies with those who had been most zealous in the promoting of it: by which means the far greater part of that supreme court becomes wholly devoted to his will.

In this, and all other publick courts and assemblies, as well as state records, the Turkijsh Language is the only language that is allowed to be used; which obliges the Moors and Arabians, as well as the Christians, to make use of interpreters, whenever they have any complaint, suit, or other matters to come before any such courts. But the language of the present natives is a kind of compound of Arabic, Moorish, and of their ancient one; which, as we have formerly observed, was most probably the old Phænician. However, in their public commerce with other nations, they chiefly make use of the Lingua Franca, which is no other than a rude ungrammatical jargon, or mixture of Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French, which has been long since in vogue, not only among all these Barbary coasts, but likewise through most parts of the Levant; and this is also of great use to them in their piratical trade, which is above all others that which suits best with their temper, and brings them in the greatest advantage; on which account they are become the most formidable of all the Barbary corsairs. Nevertheless, they suffer free Christians, Jews, either natives or foreigners, Arabians and Moors, to exercise

* Tassy, lib. ii. c. 7. Shaw's Travels, p. 315.  
* Tassy, ubi sup.  
* Tassy, Cornelles,  
Baudrand.  

(F) This seniority, not of age, which has nothing to do here, but of standing, may nevertheless be purchased, with the Dey's leave, by a junior from a foreigner, in which case the latter defends to the rank of the former. In all other cases they must wait till their turn comes, either by death, degradation, by way of punishment, or by the removal of the Aga to the supernumerary station, which, as was hinted a little before, happens every two months; at which time the whole militia is regularly paid, and the Aga regains his place to the Chiah, or officer immediately next to him (7).

(7) Tassy, i. ii. c. 7. Shaw's Travels, p. 315, & seq.
a fair commerce both by sea and land; together with other trades and manufactures in silk, cotton, wool, leather, and other commodities. But these are mostly carried on by Andaluzans, Granadan, and other Spaniards settled in that kingdom, especially about the m-tropolis of it. Carpets are another manufacture of this country, though much inferior to those of Turkey, both in beauty and fineness; but being both cheaper and softer, are preferred by the people to lie upon. There are also at Algiers looms for velvet, taffeties and other worsted silks; and a coarse sort of linen is likewise made in most parts of the kingdom; of which Sufa produces the finest. Most of those manufactures are consumed at home; and some of them, especially those of silk and linen, are so inconsiderable, that they are obliged to supply the deficiency of them from the Levant and Europe. These parts of Barbary fend very few of their commodities, or even produce, into foreign markets; oil, wax, hides, pulpe, and corn, being but barely sufficient to supply the country; though before the loss of Oran, the merchants have been known to ship off from one or other of the Barbary ports to the amount of seven or eight thousand tons of corn. The consumption of oil, though here in great abundance, is likewise so considerable in this kingdom, that it is seldom permitted to be shipped off for Europe. The other exports consist chiefly in ostriches feathers, wax, hides, wool, copper, ruggs, silk fathes, embroidered handkerchiefs, dates, and christian flaves.

The imports, whether by way of merchandise or prizes, consist chiefly in gold and silver fluffs, damasks, cloths, spices, tin, iron, plate, brasses, lead, quick-silver, cordage, fiefcloth, bullets, linen, cochineal, tartar, alum, rice, sugar, soap, cotton, raw and spun, copperas, aloe, and logwood, vermillion, arsenic, gum-lack, sulphur, opium, anife, and cummin, c. feed, mastick, farfapilla, apfe, frankincense, galls, honey, paper, combs, cards old and new, dried fruits, and variety of woolen fluffs. But though there is a constant demand of all these commodities, yet only a small quantity of them is imported by the merchants, on account of heavy duties, frequent exactions, precariousness of payments, and the uncertainty of the returns; so that those who are in want of any of them will wait to the very last, in hopes to meet them on board some prize, for it is chiefly by their corsairs that they are supplied with them. The misfortune is, that both the manufacturers and shop-keepers, which last are chiefly Moors or Jews, are very severely used by the government; and often heavily fined for flight, or even pretends faults, which keeps them so poor, that it frequently puts them upon cheating their customers, either in weight or measure; though they are sure, if caught, d to be treated with the utmost severity in their purge, or by corporal punishment, and often with death. The corsairs of Algiers form every one a separate kind of republic; of which the Rais, or captain, is the supreme Bafa, who, and the officers under him, compose a kind of Douwan, in which every matter relating to the vessel is decided in an arbitrary way.

The coin in vogue here is chiefly foreign, their own being only of three kinds; viz. the barba of copper, fix of which were formerly worth an aper; but now only half an one. This coin has the arms of the viceroy stamped on both sides. The aper is a small square piece of silver with Arabic characters, flamed likewise on each side, fifteen of which make a Spanish ryal, and twenty-four a dupla, worth about a crown. They have likewise three forts of gold coin, but these are coined only at Trenecon; viz. the rupee worth thirty-five aipers, the median fifty, and the zian, or dian, one hundred; which last was the antient coin of the kings of Trenecon, or Telenfin, upon which account that province hath alone the privilege of coined the golden pieces, which are flamed with the viceroy's name, and are also current in the kingdoms of Coce, and Labez, though these have likewise their own particular coin. Besides the, the Turkish sultan of gold worth about a ducat, the mottacles of Fez about twenty-two pence, the Spanish ryals, French crowns, Hungarian ducats, and other European money, are likewise current among them. Only it must be observed, that there is no fixed standard for these foreign coins; because strangers only compute their value by what they go for in their respective nations. The only fixed species here is the patacachica, or pataca of aipers (an ideal lumb, like our English pound, or the French livre), worth always two hundred and thirty-two aipers, and is the third part of a pataca gorda, commonly of the weight of two piloles and an half; but that weight is frequently raised or lowered at the Dey's pleasure, or the exigence of the government. But, according to the last writers, the

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The jebus have the superintendence of the silver mint at Algiers (if not also of the gold coin at Tramcoen, for which they pay a good round sum yearly to the Dey).

We have already given some account of the rivers of this kingdom in the ancient history of Mauritania Tingitana. But, as the limits of this disquisition, we shall here confine a short description of the principal ones belonging to this kingdom. 1. The first is the Zbe, or Ziz, Zha, which runs across the province of Tramcoen, and the defiles of Aiguid, and falls into the Mediterranean near the town of Taberrita, where it has the name of Sirou. 2. Harregol, supposed to be the Sciphon of the ancients, and is inhabited on both sides by Arabs, which are rich and warlike, and can bring two or three thousand horse into the field. 3. The Celef. Susay, supposed to be the ancient Carthensa, falls into the sea about three leagues west of Algiers, after a short course of eighteen or twenty leagues. 6. The Hued al quivir, supposed to be the Hued al-Nazabata, or Nofaza, of the ancients, and called by the European Zingamur, runs down, quivir, with a swift course, through some high mountains of Cumo and Abuz, and falls into the sea near Bajeyab. It abounds with variety of fish, which is nevertheless neglected, on account of the great plenty that is caught on those coasts. 7. Sief-Gemar, or Sief-Gisumar al Run-Sief-Gemar, a large river, which runs through some great defiles, the lake of Titeri, and the frontiers of Tramcoen and Tenza, and falls into the sea a little above the town of Moghajen. This is supposed to be the Cnastaph of the ancients, and is inhabited on both sides by Arabs, who are rich and warlike, and can bring two or three thousand horse into the field. 8. The Ladeg, or Ladeq, runs down from Mount Atlas through part of Conphantania, and falls into the sea a little eastward of Bona. 9. Guadi, or Guadi-Berbar, springs near the Garhul, Bar-head of Orbus, or Orbus, in Tripoli, runs through Bajeyab, and falls into the sea near Tabarca, bar.

It is supposed by some to be the Tufca, or Rubricatus, of the ancients. We omit fundry others not noted; and as to the Malca, or Malja, which divides Algiers from the kingdom of Fez, we shall give an account of it when we come to speak of the latter. We do not find, however, that the Algerines are very solicitous to make the best advantage they might of those that belong to them, though many of them are large enough, and of a sufficient extent, to be made serviceable in carrying on a communication between the inlands and the sea coasts. But their genius leads them too much to the piratic trade to mind any such real advantage; and it is not unlikely, that their tyrannic government may deter the Arabs, and other nations feared along their banks, from trying to reap any other benefit from them, than that of pasturage, and of canvassing some of their commodities in flat vessels from one canton to another.

(A) This river, we are told (1), is now called Cena by the Moors, from a Marathon of that name, who had rebuilt the town of Barbalah on the banks of it, which had been destroyed by the Spaniards. (B) We are told, that whilst this river was in the hands of the Christians, the mouth of it, which is very narrow, was so choked up with sand, that no vessel could come up to it; but that, in the year 1555, the great rains swelling it to such a height, that it carried off all the sand and mud; so that galleys and other vessels which, always, entered it with ease, where they lie safe from storms, and all winds, but that which blows from the north (2).

(1) Corvelli. (2) Marmol, ubi sup. lib. v. c. 49.

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The Algerine religion at present differs only from the Turkish, in cherishing a greater variety of superstitions. Theie African states had been converted from their ancient idolatry 9 to the Christian faith, ever since the fourth century, when some Sicilian and Pagilian lords, who had seized on some parts of Barbary, first introduced it there, and what a quick progress it made soon after, may be guessed from the number of African bishops, that met at the council of Carthage, anno 411, amounting to 286, besides about 120 more that did not asssist. But the church was soon after infected with Arianiel, and other heresies, by the Vandals, and other northern nations that passed thither from Spain. At length the Arabs brought in Mohammedism, which they propagated by the sword, about the beginning of the seventh century, and which hath taken such deep root ever since, that it hath reigned paramount to this day, and hath multiplied the old superstitions to a monstrous degree.

The Algerines acknowledge the Koran as the rule of their faith and practice, but are generally remiss in their observance of it. They have three principal officers, that preside over all religious matters; viz. the Mufti, or high priest; the Cadi, or chief judge in ecclesiastical causes, and such other matters as the civil and military power turns over to him; and the grand Marabout, or head of the Maraboutic order, which are a kind of eremitical monks, in such high veneration among them, that they bear an extraordinary sway not only in most private families, but even in the government. These three officers have their seats in the great Dowan next under the Dey, and on his right hand. There they are allowed to give their opinion in all difficult and important matters of the state, but without the liberty of voting with the rest of the members. As for those which relate purely to religion, they are usually referred to them; and their decisions, if unanimous, are looked upon as binding, and to admit of no further dispute.

Strange super- A great deal of that superstition, which reigns throughout this kingdom, is, not without dition. great reason, imputed to the pride, avarice, and knavery, of thee Marabouts, whom they imagine to be inspired by some demons, and hold in such esteem, that they think it an honour to their women to be debauched by them. Those that travel are glad to provide themselves with one or more of them, as a sure guard against the most desperate banditti; so that they can cross the most dangerous woods and defiles, without fear of any insult from them. These Marabouts are known by their drefs; they neither shave their heads or beards, and wear a plain long robe, with a short cloak thrown over it. Much the same regard they pay to their madmen, idiots, and lunatics, whom they esteem as inspired saints, and great favourites of God. They place great merit in frequent washings of their whole bodies, in the length of their fasting (their lent stretching between seven and eight months), in the care and feeding of beasts, and other such kind offices to them, as the most effectual means to wash away their sins. On the other hand, they deem it a sin and defilement to carry the Koran below their girdle, to let some of their water drop upon their cloaths, to write with a pen instead of a pencil, to have any printed books by them, or any pictures and statues either of men or beasts, to use bells, to let Christians, especially women, set foot in their mosques, to exchange a Turk for a Christian; to touch any money, or enter into any common busses, or even to fluch blood, or dres a wound, before the morning prayers are ended; to strike the ground with their foot when they play at foot-ball, to eat fish, which they esteem sacred (C), to sprinkle their children in any other part than the soles of their feet, to sleep with their chamber door shut, and many more of the like ridiculous fort, not worth any farther notice. Some of a groffer kind they are charged with; as of ranking nodomy, and other unnatural vices, among their virtues; which, whether strictly true or not, their practive is a plain proof that they do not look upon it as a breach of their law, seeing it is a reigning vice among them, from which neither priests nor laymen of any rank are exempt.

The dres of Their dres is very plain and light, especially among those of the common sort. But the women turkish of distinction affect a more sumptuous apparel, not unlike that which is worn in Turkey, being mostly of fine cloth or silk; their veils richly flowered, their turbants rich, and curiously done up, their legs are covered with boots of fine shining leather. The women's garments differ only from those of the men in their lightness and length, their shifts and gowns reaching quite down to their feet; their hair is commonly tied behind, and adorned either with jewels, or common tinkers, according to their rank or circumstances, over which they wear a cap of silk or linen, more or less rich, as they can afford. They are likewise fond of adorn-

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9 See Antient Hist. vol. vii. p. 150, & seq.  
Shaw, ubi sup. p. 305, & seq.

(C) Or rather, perhaps, as mischievous creatures, or malicious devils; for such, we are told, they are looked upon in the province of Constantinople, by the superstitious vulgar, especially the women, who imagine that they create violent fevers, hemorrhages, and other bodily disorders, in which notion they are encouraged by their knavish Marabouts, who undertake to cure them by counter charms, and make a gain of their superstitious fowlers.
The history of Algiers.

Chap. 3.

ing their necks, arms, and wrists, with collars and jewels, and their ears with large pendants. The Christsians that are free, are allowed here to wear their own country dreys; but the slaves, who are in much greater number, have nothing but a coarse grey turban, and a seaman's cap.

The Sharifs, who are defended from Mohammeded, have the privilege of distinguishing themselves by their turban, which are of green silk; and the pilgrims, who have performed their voyage to Mecca, and are esteemed As, or saints, among them, do likewise wear some mark of distinction in their dreys. As for that of the common people, it consists of a linen pair of drawers over their shirts, and an open white woollen jacket, with a kind of cape or hood behind, like that of our women's capuchins. Some wrap themselves up in a black mantle, especially when they go abroad, which reaches down to their knees.

None but the viceroy, and some of his head officers, (and we may probably enough add, War of the chief members of the Dowan,) are allowed to ride on horseback, at least in the metropolis, and other places of concourse. The rest must either ride on asses, or trudge on foot. As for the women, when they go abroad, they usually throw a thin linen veil over their faces, which they fall to their girdle, and wrap an upper garment over their usual dreys; so that they are only known by the faces that attend them. Thoes that are of a higher rank are conveyed about in litter made of other twigs, and covered with painted cloth; but low, that they must sit cross-legged in them, yet wide enough to contain two persons in that posture. This way of travelling is much used in longer voyages, especially in their pilgrimage to Mecca; so that they can see without being seen, and travel free from wind, dust, and rain, as well as from the too great heat of the sun's beams.

The Dey of Algiers pays no other revenue to the Porte, than that of a certain number of fine boys, or youths, and some other prates, which are sent thither yearly. His own income is variously computed; and, in all likelihood, riles and falls according to the opportunities he hath of fleecing and oppressing both natives and strangers; and this may be the reason why some made it heretofore amount to no more than 40,000 ducats, whilst others raise it to 400,000, and others to 600,000. Dr. Shaw hath once computed the taxes of the whole kingdom to bring no more into the treasury than 300,000 dollars; but suppose, that the eighth part of the prizes, the effects of those persons who die without children, joined to the yearly contributions raised by the government, profits from foreigners, fines and oppressions, may bring about as much more.

Taffy hath endeavoured to give us a more express estimate of it, from its several branches, exclusive of casual profits, and a few other duties; the whole amount of which, according to him, arises to little more than 650,000 current piastres, which he attributes to the avarice of the provincial governors, who remit to the public treasury but a very small part of what they raise on the subjests, and sink the rest into their own pockets. Thus both the Dey, and the officers who act under him, enrich themselves by the same laudable methods of rapine and fraud; so that it is no wonder if the rest of the people are so shamefully impoverished by heavy taxes, and the injustice and bribery which reign among those in authority, much less to find the same infection spread itself down to those of the very lowest rank, under such excessive indigence and oppression.

Justice is no less venally administered here, with respect to the punishment of offenders, than it is with regard to property; and is more partially in favours towards the Mohammedan soldiery. These are seldom put to death for any crimes, except those of rebellion and revolt; in which cases they are either strangled with the bow-string, or hanged on an iron hook. In lesser offences they either fine them, or flay their pay; and, if officers, reduce them to the rank of common soldiery, whence they may gradually raise themselves again to their former situations. Women guilty of adultery have a halter tied about their necks, with the other end fastened to a pole, by which they are held under the water till they are suffocated. The bartenado is likewise used upon small offenders; and is given either upon the belly, back, or toles of the feet, according to the nature of their crime, or oftener to the pleasure of the Cadi or judge, who likewise appoints the number of strokes to be given, which amounts sometimes to two or three hundred, according to the indulgence to be obtained from him, either by bribery or friends.

And though, in many cases, the offender dies under them, for want of one of those powerful advocates, yet this punishment is neither reckoned capital, nor the judge called to an account for inflicting it in that inhuman degree. But the most dreadful of all punishments are those which they inflict on the Christians and Jews for certain offences; such as speaking against Mohammeded, and his religion; for which they must either turn Mohammedans, or be impaled alive. Those who afterwards apostatize are still more severely tortured, being either burned or roasted alive, or thrown down from the top of the city walls, where they are caught hold of by iron hooks, some by the ears, others by the ribs, arms, or other parts of the body, and hang several days.

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\(^a\) Idem ibid. vid. TASSY, p. 101.
\(^b\) Vid. Grammary, l. vii. c. 10. Daviily, p. 194.
\(^c\) Dapper, p. 178. TASSY, p. 298.
\(^d\) Shaw's Travels, p. 311.
\(^e\) TASSY, p. 258, & seq.
\(^f\) Idem ibid. vid. & SHAW, ubi supra, p. 515, & seq.
in the most exquisite torture; but this last, we are told, hath been set aside some considerable time. Killing a Turk in a fight, fomenting a rebellion against the state, and such like, are likewise punished with impaling or burning; and those slaves who attempt to make their escape, are tortured to death in the most cruel manner, at the discretion of their masters (D). Moors found guilty of robbery, or burglary, have their right hand cut off, and hung about their necks, and are made to ride through the city on an ass, with their faces towards the tail. These retain among them the inhuman punishment of sawing in funder, which is done by tying the condemned person between two broad boards of the same length and breadth, and beginning at the head. A person of distinction, who had been ambassador at our British court, and well known to the officers of the navy, and garrison of Gibraltar, was, it seems, put to that cruel death not many years ago 2. Besides the Dey and great Dowwan, in whom the supreme power was lodged, every province had a Bafla or Bey who acted under the former; and a Dowwan, with an Aga at the head of it, who acted under the latter; and by these matters concerning their respective districts were regulated and decreed; but from them an appeal might be made to the viceroy Bafla, and his council; and from these to the chief Aga, and the great Dowwan. But since the Dey is become so despotic of late, we cannot be sure whether these inferior Dowwans fulfill all; we only learn, that he keeps three Baflas, or lieutenants, under him; one in the east, the second in the south, and the third in the west; who take a circuit every year through their respective governments, about the latter end of the summer, at the head of a small army, to gather in such taxes as the Dey thinks fit to impose upon them; and to punish them with military execution, if they refuse to pay; and this commonly takes up about four months time. All the formality that is used in the Dowwan, and other courts, is hearing the complaint and witnesses; immediately after which they proceed to give sentence, there being neither lawyers nor attorneys to retard the administration of justice. When the women have any suit to them, they come veiled, and stand before the gates of the Dowwan, crying aloud, and often, Char Alla, that is, justice in God's name; and these complaints are generally accompanied with a crowd of their own sex, sometimes to the number of one hundred, or more, to back their petition with their joint outcry. As for strangers, they have their own laws and judges among themselves; the Christians have their consuls, the Jews their presidents, and the Arabs, Moors, and others, their own chiefs; but the Dowwan is still supreme judge, to which they appeal in all disputes that arise amongst them. As for those that arise between them and the government, they must apply to the proper officers of it for justice, or in dernier resort. There is a considerable number of merchants, of various nations, in the maritime towns; that of Algier is computed to have above three thousand families of them 3, who keep about two thousand open shops in the two chief markets; and the Jews quarter, which consists of about two hundred and fifty houses, contains at least eight thousand persons. Christian slaves are very numerous, not only in the metropolis, but in most parts of the kingdom, the corsairs continually bringing fresh supplies of them; infomuch that, in the year 1659, that city having equipped twenty-two or twenty-three vessels, they put between three and four hundred of those poor wretches in each of them, and yet had a sufficient number of them left to perform all their servile drudgery. The method the corsairs take with them as soon as they are made prisoners, is to make a strict inquiry into their country, condition, and quality, which is often done by batinadoing them, and their fellow prisoners, to extort a true confession; after which, having flayed them almost naked, he orders them to be brought to the Dey's house, whither the European consuls repair, to examine whether any of them belong to their respective nations; and, if they were only passengers to reclaim them. But, if they prove to have served for pay to any nation at war with that republic, they cannot be released without paying their full ransom. Of these the Dey hath the choice of every eighth man, and chuses those who have some useful trades, as surgeons, masons, carpenters, &c.; because these fell for a greater price; and if of quality for a still greater. The rest, who are left to the owners and captors, are carried to the Beftan, or slave market, where a price is set upon them according to their profession, age, strength, and ability. From

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(D) Thes, and other like punishments, being inflicted according to the arbitrary will of the Dey, for offences against the state; by the Moors and his two colleagues, for those against religion; and by the Mailers on their run-away slaves; and not by virtue of any settled law, is, in all probability, the true cause of their having filled a barbarous variety of them: For, besides that, already mentioned, we read of their hanging those kind of offenders naked to a high gallows by two hooks, the one fastened quite through the palm of one hand, and the other through the sole of the opposite foot, in which miserable position they live in the utmost torture for three or four days, and sometimes longer. They have likewise condemn ed some to be nailed hands and feet to a cross, a tree, or a wall, probably out of hatred to Christianity, though the pretence has been, that some Christians, in their neighbourhood, had inflicted that punishment on some Mohammedans whom they had taken prisoners. From thence
thence they are led to the court before the Dey's palace, and there sold by auction; and whatever is bid above the price set upon them belongs to the government. They have then an iron ring, put round one of their ankles, and a short or long chain fastened to it, according as they are more or less likely to attempt their escape. Among these, if any of them can procure a little money from their friends, or by way of charity, they are allowed to keep taverns, or rather wine cellars, paying a certain tribute to the Dey, according to the quantity they vend; for the Algerines allow themselves the use of wine; and these, and Turks, Moors, and Christians, will repair to, and dandle with the meanest of the place, and its accommodations, for the sake of the liquor; so that many of these slaves become rich enough in time to purchase their liberty, tho' they are obliged, besides their tribute to the Dey, to contribute towards the maintenance of their poor disaffected brethren, and of the Christian chapels that are allowed for their use. As for the rest, who have neither trades, nor can put themselves in some way of living, they are used with great severity, fare and work very hard all day, and at night are shut up in their baths, and other public prisons, where they lie on the bare ground, without any other covering than the sky; so that they are sometimes almost stifled in water and mud. In the cities and towns they are put to the hardest and lowest kinds of labour; and in the country are made to draw the plough, instead of oxen or horses, and put to other such hard branches of agriculture; and are in this, and all other respects, treated with such uncommon inhumanity, as would be severely punished even among them, if exercised on the lowest rank of brutes. The women slaves are treated with less severity; and, if handsome and witty, are commonly made concubines, and sometimes gain a perfect ascendancy over their masters. But if any of them refuse to comply with their brutish lusts, they spare no threats or cruelties to force them to it. And if application be made to the government in their behalf, as there have been signal instances of it, the common answer is, that they are their master's property; and that he is at liberty to put them to what use he thinks fit. Those that have neither youth, shape, or beauty, are usually consigned to some of the lower offices of the kitchen or family, according to their capacity; and are liable to be fiercely chastised for every slight miscarriage, especially in point of cleanliness, which they affect, in common with the Turks, to a very high degree, both with regard to their clothes, table, furniture, utensils, &c. Popish priests and monks, that are slaves, are commonly used with more gentleness, because better supplied with money, by which they are exempted from labour and other hardships. But whenever any Christian prince declares war against that government, they are the first who fall the unhappy victims of their resentment and cruelty.

The Algerines women, especially those of the richer sort, lead an idle and easy indolent kind of life. They having little else to employ their time in than in dressing, setting and chatting upon their sofas, or going to the baths, and visiting the tombs of their near relations, or those of their famed saints; or, lastly, to take pleasure in their gardens and summer-houses, which, though not elegant, yet are adorned with variety of verdure, flowers, fruits, shady walks, and other delightful accommodations. And here their husbands spend most of their spare time with them in smoking, drinking of coffee, and other recreations. Although the Koran permits the men to have as many wives as they can maintain, yet the Algerines are contented with two, or at most three. They are seldom allowed to see them before marriage, but have them deferred to them by some female relation, or go-between, who are instructed to transact the conjugal bargain; which, when concluded on both sides, the bridegroom sends some presents of fruits, and other refreshments, to his future bride, invites and feasts her relations in the best manner, according to his rank; and with dancing and music after the Moorish taste. On the nuptial day the appears in all her richest ornaments; her hands, arms, and face, deeply laid on with red and white, seated on a sofa, surrounded by a number of other women, all likewise richly dressed. At night she is conveyed under a veil, canopy, or sedan, according to her rank, and attended with the same female retinue to the bridegroom's house, with drums and pipes, dancing, and other such rejoicings. Here he receives and conducts her to a private apartment, whilst the rest of the company stand without, waiting till the usual tokens of her virginity be brought out to them; which are no sooner received, than the fame company carries them in triumph thro' the whole city or town, attended with the fame music and dances; whilst her parents and relations congratulate themselves upon her being come off her trial with honour. In their sickness, each patient is always attended by persons of his, or her own sex; the physicians are commonly of the Quackish kind, who cure chiefly by simples or charms; most of them are ignorant and indigent. When the sick person draws near to his end, they turn him towards the east, and cease not to pray to Mohammed for him till he expires. Immediately after they wash the dead body with warm water and soap, which done they deck it with a white shirt, a pair of white drawers and focks, and a silken robe and turbant. In that dress,

1 Idem ibid. vid. Gramm. ubi sup. c. 7. 2 Idem, ubi sup. 3 Idem, ubi sup.
The history of Algiers.

Book XXII.

Burials.

Of the richer fort.

Their tombs.

The strength and forces of the government.

The high privileges of the Turkish soldiers.

Their mean extract.

Cologbies inslifted in the service.

it is carried on a bier to the burying place, attended by the relations and friends, but without any particular mourning dreys, except that the women cover their faces with a veil some few days, and the men wear their beards a whole month. They are three days in their houses without lighting any fire, during which time the near relations of the deceased make frequent visits to his tomb, and distribute bread and other alms to the poor. They likewise carry thither a kind of flint stones, commonly found along the sea shore, and throw them upon the grave, crying out "Celam Allab," that is, light of God; which they accompany with loud outcries, and other tokens of grief; and if the deceased be of the richer fort, or a perfon of distinction, they commonly cause some encomiums to be engraved on his tomb-stone, intermixed with some apposite texts of the Koran; otherwise the ceremony is much the same with that of the middle rank, excepting only that the bier is followed with a greater retinue of his domesticks; b one of whom carries his sword, another his lance; the bearers are richly drest: the procession, which is commonly preceded by one or more marabouts, or monks, is closed by a great number of horses and camels, and his tomb more sumptuously decorated 1 (C).

The strength of this kingdom chiefly consists in their land and sea forces; but especially in the latter. They have but few cities of either note or strength, except the metropolis, (of which more in the sequel) and still fewer garrisons, if any deferv that name; these being mostly some inconsiderable forts either on their coasts, or some old castles in the inland parts, poorly fortified, and worse guarded, to keep the Moors and other nations in awe. We have already spoken of the Janisaries, or militia, who have engrossed all the power into their own hands, as being the only perrons who have the privilege of chusing the Dey's, and they must, therefore, c be very cautious of disobliging to powerful and munificent a body of troops. Befides these, the government entains a number of others, mostly Moors, who attend the three grand Bajhas, or lieutenants, under the Dey in their respective provinces, and affix them in gathering the taxes from the people, by which all the foordiers and officers, civil and military, are chiefly maintained. These taxes are, on account of the scarcity of coin, mostly received in kind, as grain, cattle, fruits, &c. But these troops, which some have computed to amount to 12,000, but, according to the latest and most accurate writers, not 2000, m are neither allowed to vote in the Dey's election, nor of any of those other privileges belonging to the Janisaries, who have engrossed to themselves the whole power and management of the kingdom; and, on that account, style themselves Efsendi, or lords or nobles, and must be addressed by the title of Efsendi, or all their inferiors, tho' most of them are originally men of the lowest and ignoblest rank and character: for as their deficiency is supplied by new recruits, which the Dey lends for every five or fix years from the Levant by his corsairs, the greatest part of them are either men of broken fortunes, poor shepherds, or even outlaws. These have sooner got caps on their heads, and shoes on their feet, and a pair of knives to their girdle (D), and been instructed by their fellow soldiers, than they begin to assume an air of grandeur, expect to be saluted by the title of Efsendi, or your grace, and look upon the most considerable citizens as their slaves, and the consuls of other nations as their footmen*. The Dey hath, indeed, power, on any emergency, instead of these Levant Turks, to inroll the Cologbies, or Cowlites, who are the sons of such soldiers as have been permitted to marry at Algiers; but since these made once an unsuccessful attempt in the government, they have not been so much encouraged; and when they are, the state excludes them from the honour of being chosen Dey, Aga of the Janisaries, or in any other considerable post ♦.

Besides the privileges already mentioned peculiar to the Janisaries, they are allowed to have their quarters in some of the finest squares of their capital, and are maintained and served by


(C) These tombs, which are most commonly out of the cities or towns, are very neat and decent; and some of them are adorned with rich carvings, statues, and other ornament: most of them have chapels, or oratories, to which both men and women repair, especially on Fridays, which is their sabbath. Near them are the cells of the marabouts, or monks, who are always there ready to affix their devotions, and receive their charitable alms for the dead.

Among those numerous monuments that are to be seen without the walls of the city of Algiers, is that of the famed lady Cenva, daughter of count Julian, of Brevic, a woman of singular beauty, who being raved by Rodrigo, the last king of the Visigoths in Spain, in revenge of which injury the invited the Sa-

races thither who, with an army of 600,000 men, soon subdued the whole country, and held it in subjection during several centuries (J).

(D) This is the original of a great part of those Turkish troops; from which, nevertheless, many of them have, by their courage and conduct, raised themselves to the highest polls in the government, and some of them even to the Deyship. Neither are they at all ashamed of their mean extract when raised ever so much above it, as we may conclude from the noble reply which Mohamed, Dey, gave to the deputy consuls of a neighbouring nation. "My mother," said he, "fuld sheeps' feet, and my father never clogues; but would much have been ashamed of being exposed to face so worthy a tongue as yours." (4).

(3) Vid. Carunilla, fdd Algiers.

(4) Shaw's Travels, p. 315.
The history of Algiers.

a. Slaves at the government's expense. Their tribunals are duly paid every two moons; and they are allowed to buy their provisions one third cheaper than any other inhabitants. They not only treat the Jews and Christians with haughtiness and insolence, but the Moors also, though of the same religion with them; so that the wealthiness of these is forced to give way to the meanest Turkish soldier (E). However, it is plain that they have not yet been able with all their forces to subdue them all, there being a much greater number of them, as well as of the Arabs (F), and other nations, who, either by reason of their advantageous situation among inaccessible mountains and defiles, or their vicinity to other kingdoms, have not only bid a contemptuous defiance to the Turk's yoke, but dare even venture to make frequent incursions into several territories that are wholly subject to it: and it is to suppress these, as well as to extort the taxes from the rest, that they keep such a number of second-hand forces in the three districts above-named; which, however, mostly under the command of Turkish officers.

(E) It is not a little surprising that these brave descendants of the ancient Mauritians, who had so long signified their bravery, by their own country and out of it, should be so far degenerate as to suffer themselves to be tyrannized over by these Turks, considering that their numbers must exceed one to one more numerous than they. But it must be remembered, that they are mostly the off-spring of those who had been driven out of Spain (5), Italy, France, &c. and had by that time exchanged their martial genius for the mercantile one, which they brought with them, and exercised in most maritime towns of the kingdom, where they chiefly reside; and provided they may become rich by traffic, can easily comply with the haughty humors of the Turks. And it is not unlikely that the hardships and cruelties they endured under their first tyrant Barbary, and some of his successors, (of which we shall speak more fully in the sequel) helped to complete their degeneracy; so that from that time they have lived in the greatest awe and dread of these lordly tyrants, who, looking upon all the rest of mankind as their slaves, are every way qualified to the most hazardous and desperate exploits, both by sea and land, and have made themselves formidable by them to all the countries round about them. But we must observe here, that these Moors are afraid, and defiled by it by those who live in the country villages, and retain their old martial spirit, as being the more genuine offspring of the ancient Mauritians. For these, preferring a poor life, with some sort of freedom in their homely huts, to any advantages they might enjoy under a Turkish yoke, have ever been ready to embrace every opportunity that offered to shake it off; and though hitherto without our aid, yet not without good proofs, that it was more for want of means than bravery, that they suffered them to reign in their ancient patriotism (6).

(F) These free Arabs, being frequently confounded by the Moors before mentioned, and no wonder, seeing the Turks call them both by the same name, it will not be amiss to give a short account of them here. We have already observed, that some of them are of the wandering kind, live in tents, and often for want of their habitation for the convenience of their numerous flocks. Others follow their pasture along the rivers and low grounds, and live in villages, build very neat houses, and carry on a gainful commerce. Both have their Cheks, or chiefs, over them, by whom every adowar, or community, is distinguished. When the Turks made themselves masters of this kingdom, they reduced some of them under tribute, and others they obliged to live peaceably with them. But the former found means, whenever the Algerine armies came to levy their taxes, to bury their grain, and such other effects as were not portable, in caves, and other safe places, whilst themselves wandered about with their flocks till their departure; which obliges the troops to carry their own provisions with them, instead of those having them sent them from their valets; but if they have the good fortune to surprise them, they make them pay their tribute double.

Those that live in villages are mostly settled about Mount Atlas, and the wandering ones in the defiles, near the kingdoms of Tansis and Fes, with which they carry on likewise a large and gainful commerce, particularly in their fine horses, which they tame, breed, and manage with exquisite dexterity (7): these likewise live in handsome tents, go finely clad, especially their women, who, besides their other finery of collars, bracelets, &c. paint their faces, necks, arms, and legs, and their fingers ends.

All of them boil themselves to be the untainted offspring of the ancient Arabs, and to have preferred their mother tongue in the greatest purity. They generally are great astronomers, poets, songsters, and pastoral writers: their Cheks themselves encouraging honors and rewards those that excel in any of those arts, and many of them value themselves in being great prophets in them, and in their own writings, in praise of agriculture and the pastoral life, as well as of their victories, amours, and other like favorites, all which they cause to be collected into volumes, and taught in their schools.

They profess the Mahomedan religion, but with a strange mixture of superstition introduced into it by the marabouts. They take much delight in hunting of all sorts, their country abounding with lions, leopards, bears, tigers, porcupines, otters, foxes, flags, wild asses, and cows, of a different kind from the common tame ones. These two last they esteem a delicious food: but their most usual diet is the milk of their flocks, honey, fruits, pulse, and now and then a lamb, or kid (8). They are warlike, but have no arms, like the Algerine Turks; their most common ones are the bow, short lance, and cutlas. Whenever they go to engage an enemy they commonly carry with them their wives, children, and family, that the fear of their being made slaves may make them fight more courageously. Most of these tribes, or adowars, live independant from any but their own chief; and are full a standing proof of that predilection made to Ishmael, the son of Abraham (9), both with regard to his numerous posterity, and to their continuing free from any foreign yoke to the end of the world.


Of the Alge- 
the military officers, as well as the civil ones, from the Dey him- 

©  of the lowest rank, have no other settled salary than the soldiers clozed pay, so called, because it 

admits of no further augmentation, and amounts to eighty fains for every two moons: they 

come and receive it duly at the hall of the Douwan: but every office hath some perquisites 

annexed to it besides, which rise and fall, such as arise from imports, exports, anchorage, 

the files and ranfoms of slaves, and other commercial duties. To these we may add certain 

donations, begun at first to gain some private ends, but since become into a settled custom; 

presents made to the Dey, or the Douwan, by foreign courts, or private persons, to obtain a 
poft, or favour, or mitigate a punishment. The peril who pay the former salary is the only 

perfon that is excepted; his pay amounting to 2000 patacas for officiating in that post, which 

lasts but two months; after which he returns to his clozed pay. Those Turks that have been 

b 

raised to the rank of Mazoul Aga, or to such employments as exempt them from farther 

services, as well as those who have been wounded or mained in the service, have their full 

pay continued as long as they live, and may fettle in what part of the kingdom they please; 

but if they quit the service without any real cause, before they have attained to that rank, they 

forfeit half of theirs without recovery, which seldom happens, it being reckoned dishonourable 

to do so, as well as for a soldier to have his pay lefthen for a midlemanor. Every soldier, 

besides his pay (which is at first but eight fains every two moons, but augments regularly 

every year by one fain, or more, according to his merit or services, and must be paid in 

good current coin) is allowed to follow some handicraft, merchandize, or other calling he likes, 
or to live quietly at his own home; but must be ever in readiness to attend the service of 

the flate when called to it. The discipline of the Turfizh foldery in time of war is 
genellarily ftrict and severe; and there is one thing in it that is highly commendable, that 

exprvely forbids all kind of plundering during the whole time of engagement; which 
law is so strictly observed, that they leave that advantage to the Moors and slaves, as 

being not only below the dignity of a Turfizh foldery, but as an action that brands them with 

the utmost infamy. They have their cavalry, infantry, and artillery, as we have in Europe. 

The army is commanded by an Aga, who hath a Chaya and two Chious under him; all 
of them appointed by the Dey. The infantry all march on foot, officers and soldiers, except 

the Bey, Aga, and Chaya, each folder carrying only his fable and muskets, without any other 

incumbrance; the flate furnishing horses to every tent, which holds twenty fighting men, to 
carry their provisions and other conveniences. The cavalry is also distributed into tents of 

twenty men each, but is provided with a greater number of horses and Moors, for foraging 

and other services. The rout, or order of marching, is regulated by the commanding officers, 
till they come into an enemy's country; when the Bey, having ordered the horse and foot to 
unite, forms them into squadrons and battalions, each under their proper officers and standards. 
The van is composed of a body of infantry; the wings of two squadrons a little towards 
the rear; the rest of the infantry in two files, with the baggage in the middle; and two 

squadrons, forming two wings behind, together with a small battalion of foot behind them, 

make up the rear. When they engage, the baggage being left under a strong guard, a large body of 

infantry leads the van, with two wings of cavalry, supported by others at some distance. The 
main body makes the center, behind which both horse and foot retreat to rally; and out of 

which fresh men are draughted to reinforce the van. The post of the auxiliary Moors is near 

the wings, to attack as opportunity offers, or the Bey commands. One thing that makes 

them fight more desperately against the Christians than any other enemy is, that those that are 
taken by them are never exchanged, or redeemed, but are looked upon as dead to the state; 
and their effects accordingly feized by it, if they have neither children nor brother to claim 
them. The Algerines are still more formidable at sea; and are, indeed, more so than any 
other power along the coasts of Barbary; and, though they are not allowed any concern in 
the affairs of state, nor in the election of the Dey, yet they are held in great esteem, on 
account of the cruifes they continually bring, which are one main source of the public revenue, 
and a means of procuring them respect from the Christian powers for the security of their trade. 
Their navy consists commonly of at least twenty ships (G); one only of which belongs to 

(G) The fathers of the trinity, who go thither to redeem Christian captives, make them amount to twenty-five, from eighteen to fifty guns, besides a great number of smaller vessels, or row galleys, which they equip for cruising in the summer. But these being commonly manned with Moors, made desperate by their misery, and quite unskilled in the working of them, either 

founder, or are stranded, if they escape being taken; so that scarcely one half have the good luck to come back (11). 

As for the twenty large ones, though their number may be increased as occasion serveth, it is not suffereth to 
be lefthened; but as soon as any one is taken, or sunk, the owners are indispensibly obliged to fit out another 
with all convenient speed, of equal bulk and strength, that their navy may suffer no diminution (12).

(11) Taffy, Hist. of Algiers, ch. 14. (12) Ibid. ibid. & c. ult. the
a the government, and is assigned to the admiral. She is filled the Doylek royal ship, hath her particular floré-houses, and is fitted out in the same manner as other ships. All the rest belong to private persons, and have likewise their floré-houses well provided, the captains never failing of stripping their prizes of all the conveniences they find in them. And it is no wonder that a people, who look upon all the rest of the world as their tributaries or slaves, should be so addicted to the piratical trade, and treat their captives with such arrogancy and inhumanity as they do. It must, however, be considered, that, as their country affords them but little wood, they built quite, except what is fetched as far as from the wilds of Bilebudgerid, or the province of Bæ, and left's joyals, they content themselves with making their keels and bottoms with it, and supply the masts and upper works with the fragments of the prizes they make, which they carefully break up to save both timber, nails, and every thing that is of use; by which means they build a very strong vessel at a small charge.

It may, indeed, appear surprizing, that in a country where there is so little timber, no no how supplied masts, falls, cordage, anchors, pitch, and other necessaries, so great a number of ships can be maintained at so little trouble, or cost; but besides these supplies from their captures, our Engliff confut, who is, it seems, the only merchant of our nation here, and carries on a more considerable trade than any other person, furnishes them with powder, balls, bombs, fire-arms, anchors, cordage, and all other naval stores; and takes in return corn and oil for the service of the garrisons of Gibraltar, as it did of that of Port Mahon, when in our possession: c a nation being allowed to carry corn out of Algiers but our own; neither need one wonder they should pay so singular a regards to us, considering the constant supply we send among them of what most wanted (1); and which is still a more cogent motive, thinking, that if they should give cause for a rupture with us, our cruisers would easily stop all their piratical tribe from stirring out. So that we need not fear their paying us a superior regard, as long as we are in possession of either of those important places. However, as it often happens, that reason and argument fail in this politic and tumultuous court, the only remedy is, at such junctures, to ply it well with money, caftans, gold watches, and such like presents: for it is an old tried observation, that give a Turk money with one hand, and you may pluck out his eyes with the other *. d

The captains of those cruisers, who are generally settled officers, though excluded, as we have observed, from matters of state, have commonly a share in their ships, if they be not the sole owners of them, and are accordingly allowed to fit out when they please, and cruise where they will; but with this restriction, that they shall attend the service of the state when called to it, either to transport men or provisions, follow the Dey's orders, when commanded to any particular cruise, or even to serve the Grand Signor; and all this at the owner's charges. Another restraint they are under is, that they have an Aga Batchi, or some old experienced officer appointed by the Dey to act as Aga, without whose consent they can neither give chase, nor return, nor even punish sailors. At their arrival home, this Aga makes his report how the captain hath behaved; who, if found guilty of any misdemeanor is sure to be punished for it; witnesses Mefonarts, who, though afterwards Dey, received 500 batlades and was immediately dispatched upon a new cruise to retrieve his character. In other respects they are allowed to fall whither they will, far and near; and we are told that some have gone as far as Newfoundland, and that others have ventured to take prizes in the Texel (1).

When these cruisers are returned, they must give an account of their success to the government, which claims all eight parts of the prizes, between, cargo, and vessel; the rest being disposed of.

* Tenzy's History of Algiers, ch. 14, &c.

(1) The goods imported into Algiers by us, and other Europeans, are wrought silks, gold and silver stuffs, damaskts, linen and woollen cloths, spiccs, brafs, copper, and tin-wares, quick-silver, ammunition, and sea-flores of all sorts; cochineal, copperas, sugar, brandy and red-wool, alum, galls, vermilion, brandy, and other spiccs, opium, gunshot, dield fruits, paper, and other like commodious articles.

In return for which we receive fine wool, oilrich fonthers, fairs of wild and other beasts, dates, and chaffinches.

The duties paid for goods imported by Turks, Moors, Jezzos, &c. are 12 ½ half per cent, and those for exportation 2 ½ half. But our nation, according to the treaty concluded with them, Oct. 1705, pay but 5 per cent, on goods imported, and 2 per cent. on those exported; which favour is likewise extended, we are told, to the French nation. Even money imported pays 5 per cent.

(13) Hist. of Algiers, ch. 18.

(14) Idem ibid.


In the reigns of Gibraltar, the capes of Melos, Gut País, Coifs and Caffa, St. Martin, and St. Schabions; the island of Majoria, Minoria, Italy, and St. Peter; Givon river, the coasts of Neapel, Ecclesiastical State, Italy, Troyon, and the Adriatic Gulf.

On the ocean to Cadiz, Logos, Gozsp St. Vincent, la Rocha, and Finjerrê; the Canaries, Madeiros, and other Azores. But when any of the enemies ships are cruising in the Mediterranean, they commonly confine themselves to the coasts of Portugal and the Canaries (14).

(15) Hist. of Algiers, ch. 18. (14) Idem ibid.

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divided amongst the proprietors and ship's company, in such proportions as are agreed between them: whatever is found on board these prizes that can fit their purpose they make use of, without troubling themselves whether it be proportionable or no. They do the fame by the artillery they take, and range their guns without regard to their bigness or strength of their veffel. They are no less careless about the proportion of their yards, anchors, cables, and other rigging, &c. still more so in their other accomodations and provisions, having neither hammocks or chefts on board, nor any other food but biscuit, water, a little rice, and such like hard fare; all which is flavenly dressed and eaten. They even value themselves upon defpacing the nicety of the Christians, and on their being able to carry on their piratical trade without those conveniencies. If a captain is renowned for bravery, or, which is the fame with them, for being fortunate, his ship is so crowded with sailors, that he is obliged sometimes to turn a good number of them on shore: but if he bears a different character, either for courage or fortune, he labours under a scarcity of hands, and is frequently forced to resign. One thing is remarkably singular in these Algerine cruisers; viz. that whatever passengers are in the ship at the taking of a prize, they are entitled to a share, let them be of what country or religion they will, upon a notion, that probably, by some secret direction of Providence, their success might be owing to some of them. We shall close this article of their sea forces with an account of their navy, as it was taken by the author above quoted, A. D. 1724 (K). The reader will find it in the margin; only it will be proper to apprise him, that though several of those ships ordinance are paid to carry twelve, eight, and six pounders, it doth not mean that all their main battery are twelve pounders. The largest ship only having her lower tier of twelve pounders, the second of eight, and six pounders on her

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Ships Names</th>
<th>Captains</th>
<th>Guns</th>
<th>Weight of Metal</th>
<th>Where built</th>
<th>When built</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 The Fountain, or Deeilik Ship</td>
<td>Rekir Rais, Admiral</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>12 8 6</td>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>1722</td>
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<td>2 The Orange Tree</td>
<td>Mehemed Rais</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12 8 6</td>
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<td>Haga Hali Rais Ben</td>
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<td>Mult Cheya</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12 8 6</td>
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<td>5 The Sun Flower</td>
<td>Mehemed Rais, called</td>
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<td>6 The White Horie</td>
<td>Black Beard</td>
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<td>12 8 6</td>
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<td>7 The Red Rose</td>
<td>Solim Rais</td>
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<td>8 The White Lion</td>
<td>Multapha Rais Maegi</td>
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<td>9 The Pearl</td>
<td>Affan Rais</td>
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<td>10 The Fortune</td>
<td>Hamet Rais</td>
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<td>8 6 4</td>
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<td>Solim Rais de la Panteleira</td>
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<td>Mahemet Rais, called Caazas</td>
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<td>13 The Flare</td>
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<td>14 The Geneofe Caravella</td>
<td>Halii Rais, called Sevillela</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0 6 4</td>
<td>Italy</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 The Galley</td>
<td>Mahmot Rais</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0 6 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 The Oporto Galley, or Deeilik Pink</td>
<td>Mahmet Gayatou</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>17 The Neptune</td>
<td>Multapha Rais Cherif</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0 6 4</td>
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<td>18 The English Caravella</td>
<td>Seraf Rais, called Caad</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0 6 4</td>
<td>England</td>
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<td>19 The Mary</td>
<td>Abdal Kader Rais</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0 6 4</td>
<td>Holland</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 The Golden Rofe</td>
<td>Multapha Rais, called Caraterno</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0 6 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 The Town of Mazaron</td>
<td>Nooreala Rais</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Catalonia</td>
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<tr>
<td>22 The Little English Caravella</td>
<td>Nems Rais</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 The Polacree</td>
<td>Hogi Mooffs Rais</td>
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<td>24 The Gabara</td>
<td>Ofman Rais</td>
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<td>0 6 4</td>
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This account, however, if right, greatly exceeds that which another author gives of the state of it but eight years after, that is, in 1732, which is a plain proof of its vast decay since 1724. We shall give it in his own words.

The naval force of Algiers hath been for some years in a declining condition. If we except their row-boats and brigantines, they had, as 1732, only six capital ships of the line, from 56 to 50 guns; and at the same time had not half that number of brave and experienced captains. A general peace with the three trading nations, and the impossibility of keeping up a suitable discipline, where every private soldier disposes authority with his officer, are some of the principal reasons why so small a number of vessels are fitted out, and why so few persons of merit are afterwards willing to command them. Their want, likewise, of experience, with the few engagements they have lately been concerned in at sea, have equally contributed to this diminution of their naval character. However, if by proper discipline and encouragement, they should once more asume their wonted courage and bravery, they have always in readiness such a quantity of naval stores, as will put them in a capacity of making considerable augmentations to their fleet; though at present we find them troublesome enough to the trade of Europe (10).

(15) L. Toffy, ubi sap. p. 264, & seq.
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a quarter deck and fore-castle: whilft the lower tier of most of the others hath only twelve pounders, and some more or less under that size, because they take the greater part of them from their prizes, and commonly range them without regard to their proportion. All the Officers must either Turks, or at least Coubulis; the Moors not being admitted to come upon the quarter deck, or into the gun-room, unless sent for by the Raïs, or some inferior officer. But the Christian slaves are allowed to act as seamen, or under officers, and to have a share or more according to their behaviour and abilities b.

b Iidem ibid.

S E C T. II.

The division of the kingdom of Algiers.

b We have already taken notice that this country hath undergone a great variety of divisions, the division of the Romans, Christians, the Algerine, Arians, Saracens, and Turks, which hath occasioned that great difference we meet with in the different authors that have written at different times upon that subject. The largest of which was into the eighteen provinces we have lately given the names of, and which was made soon after that Algiers Proper became the chief province of that kingdom; or, perhaps, rather after its putting itself under the protection of the Turks. But after the Deys of it became powerful enough to be in some measure independent from them, they contracted it into three districts, or divisions, or governments, formerly mentioned; viz. eastern, western, and southern. As, therefore, those eighteen provinces have very few towns, except their capitals, and most of these very inconvenient, we shall content ourselves with giving our readers what is most remarkable in each of them, as we proceed with our description of those three governments; and of the province of Algiers Proper, as being in all respects the most considerable now of the whole kingdom, referring them to the map of the kingdom for their respective boundaries and situation with respect to each other.

The eastern, called also the Levantine government, or Beylic, contains the towns of 1. Bona; 2. Constanțina; 3. Gigeri; 4. Buṣir; 5. Staşa; 6. Tebėf; 7. Zamora; 8. Bifizh; and 9. Necanz, in which the Turks have their garrisons: besides, it includes the two ancient kingdoms of Cusco and Labesr, though independent from the Algerine government, to whose forces their country is inaccessible, and living under that of their own Cheyks, or chiefs, chosen by each of their adowars, or hords. To these we may add a French factory at Calle, under the direction of the company of the French nation.

The western government hath the towns of 1. Oran, now the residence of the Bey; 2. Trommen, which enjoyed the advantage whilft Oran was held by the Spaniards; 3. Maftagan; 4. Tenes; and 5. Serelley, with its castle and garrison.

As for the southern, or third government, it hath not so much as a town, village, or even house; all the inhabitants living in tents, which obliges the Bey and his forces to be always encamped. Besides the towns mentioned under the two former articles, there are some others we omit, as poor and inconvenient, without any fort or garrison, and a great number of others that now lie in ruins.

c The eastern, or Levantine government is by far the most considerable of the three, not only in wealth, strength, and extent, but in the number and goodliness of its cities; of which we shall now give some account, referring the description of the metropolis for another section.

The first is that of Bona, once the capital of the province under the kingdom of Constantine, and supposing to be the ancient Hippo, once the seat of the great St. Augustine, and a sea port, built by the Romans (A). It was formerly rich and populous, but is now poorly scribed:

* See p. 20. & al. p. 128. See also Morgan, Tassy, & al. sup. citat.

(A) The inhabitants, however, deny it to be the ancient Hippo, which had been so often taken, retaken, and destroyed by the wars; and pretend it to have been formerly built at the distance of two or three miles from it with the old ruins, and called Bocchel-Unego, from a fort of trees of that name, that grow in great numbers in its neighbourhood; which is, indeed, the most probable of the two (1).

The remains of the ancient Hippo, we are told, by an accurate examiner of them (2), spread themselves over a neck of land between the rivers Bocchel, over which is a bridge of Roman workmanship, and the Sei-bouf on a flat land, often overflowed, but gradually raised itself to a considerable elevation. The ruins are about half a league in circuit, and consist only of broken walls, cisterns, and the fragments of the convent above-mentioned.

1 Marmol Afric. lib. vi. c. 6. & al. ib. & al. sup. citat.

2 Dr. Shaw's Travels, c. vii. p. 96, & seq.
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buil, and thinly inhabited, and hath scarcely any traces of its former grandeur, except the ruins of a cathedral, or, as others guess, of a monastery, built by that prelate, about three miles distance from it; among which is a marble statue, laid to be his; but so mutilated and defaced, that not traces of either features or drapery are remaining. Near these ruins is a famed spring, called by his name, much referred to by French and Italian sailors, who come to drink of its water, and pay their devotion to the mainefed statue, which becomes daily more so by their offering to break off some splinter, or scrape some part of it by way of relic. 

Bona was taken by the pirate Barbaresco, and joined to his new kingdom of Algiers, but was soon after recovered by its former owners the Tensift, and as soon lost again by them. It is commanded by a little fort, in which is a garrison of about 300 Turks, under the command of an Aga, who is also governor of the town. The road for the ships is good for nothing before the town (B), but a little farther west, towards the Genoese fort, it is very deep and fat. The country about it, and in great part of the province, abounds in corn, fruit, and bread, and great quantities of small and large cattle; but they are much exposed to the incursions of the plundering Arabs.

Constantina described.

Situation.

Antiquities.

Subterranean channels.

Large cisterns.

A hot spring. 

Big's residence and governor's house.

Inhabitants on the mountains and in the town.

French factory.

Ruins of Stora.

2. Constantina, the Cirta Julia, and Cirta Numidiae of the Romans, and since called Constantina, in honour of a daughter of Constantine the great, who rebuilt it with great magnificence, and now by the Moors Cufutin, or Cactus, is the capital of the province of its name, and the only one remaining of it. It is commodiously situated, about forty-eight miles from the sea, upon a kind of peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides, except on the south west. It is computed about a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the southward, but ending to the northward, in a precipice of at least 100 fathoms perpendicular, but yielding a most beautiful prospect from a great variety of mountains, vales, and rivers, which lie before, and at some distance from it. The town is well fortified, and abounds with noble relics of antiquity, which give one an idea of its prundiage, when it was the capital of Mauritania Cœfarenis, such as a great variety of cisterns, aqueducts, ports, gates, triumphal arches, &c. of curious stone and workmanship, we have no room to dwell upon. The bridge over the river Rummel is likewise a noble piece of art; a little below which is a natural curiosity no less worth admiring; viz. that river running through a subterraneous passage made in the solid rock, deftly laid open in several places for the convenience of drawing water, and cleaning the channel; and, after running about a quarter of a mile in a northern direction, falls from its subterraneous course down into a large cascade. The highest part of the city being just over that place, they continue still to throw their great criminals thence into it. Near this cascade is likewise a fine transparent spring of hot waters, which swarms with tortoises, which the ignorant women fancy to be devils, and to be the authors of all their diseases. In this city the Bey of the eastern government hath his residence, and maintains a guard of 300 Shabzis, or Turkish horse, and 1500 Moors, at his own charge; these troops not being on the Algerian establishment. The inhabitants are wealthy and proud, yet brave. The adjacent mountains, which traverse this district, are inhabited by a warlike, yet civilized people, who follow several sorts of trades, besides furnishing this and other towns with variety of fruits and provisions. They are so numerous as to be able to raise a body of 30 or 40,000 men upon any dislike taken at the Bey of Constantina, or any other occasion. One misfortune is, that they have no fire arms, but only lances and arrows; and another, that they are often at war with each other, and chiefly on account of their wives; who, when they are weary of their husbands, or ill used by them, commonly flee from one ridge to another in quest of a new one, and carry off with them what jewels, coin, and other valuable effects they can lay their hands on.

Near the city, towards the sea coast, are the ruins of Cola, a Roman colony, with a castle on a very high rock, and a garrison under an Aga's command; adjacent to which is a small French factory, protected by the Bey; the factor of which deals with the Moors for hides, wax, and wool. The mountains of Cola abound with a large and fierce kind of monkies, which the Moors have the art to catch at any time, but never do it, unless they are sure of getting a good price for them. On the same coast are seen the ruins of the ancient city of Sera, which

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*(3) Shaw, ubi sup.*
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a hath a convenient bay, where the Genoese, and after them the French, began their African trade, which hath been since improved by the company of the French balfon.

Constantina continued the residence of kings ever since the Arabian conquest of Africa, till a. 1520, when Barbarossa, being become master of Algiers and Cato, the inhabitants, in order to recover their commerce, which had been ruined by it, submitted to him, and have continued to be an Algerine province ever since b.

3. Gigeri, or Jigal, the Igiiili of the antients *, but now only a poor village, consisting of about 1,500 mean houfes, and commanded by an old finall fort, with a garrison, which lies defiled on the sea coast between Bona and Bizydel, about fifteen miles from each, and a little beyond the capes that formeth the eastern boundary of the gulph of Bizydel, or Bizyab, to whose kingdom it formerly belonged. The fort is situate on a high steep rock, projecting into the sea, and, by its position, forming a two-fold harbour, one on the caif, and the other on the west. The inhabitants being mostly of the wandering kind, this territory hath neither town Territory. nor any other village.

Within this precinct, which borders on the Numidian deserts, stands the famed Mount Arax, stretching itself between twenty and thirty leagues in length from north to south, and every where very difficult of access. The inhabitants of it are a race of Arabs, called Arabs who Cabeylenes, a warlike people, who made this ridge the last refuge of their liberty, and have preferred it ever since by the natural strength of their precipices. Before the year 1664 they used to traffic with the French factory at Gigeri, and brought thither hides, corn, and wax. But a war breaking out at that time between France and Algiers, the duke of Bedford being admiral, he was ordered to build a fort on the sea coasts, to be a check upon those Arabs. The work was no sooner begun, than they came down with a design to attack him, and obliged him to put to sea; which he had no sooner done, than they beat the French out of Gigeri, demolished their fort, and made 400 of them prisoners, besides those that were slain in the fight; since which time they have plundered all strangers that are wrecked upon those coasts, and made slaves of them without distinction, even though they belong to nations in friendship with Algiers and the Porte. The Mohamedans are the only ones that are discharged, and sent home with a small viaticum: neither can the Dey save any of the wreck to the owners by his authority, or by any other way than a friendly composition. We may have occasion to give some instances of these depredations when we come to the historical part. But this coast is almost the only one in the kingdom where they cannot be suppressed, by reason of the inaccessible situation of the inhabitants; in other parts the government takes particular care of those nations that are in friendship with it; and, if any of their ships chance to be treated in the same hostile way, a complaint of it is no sooner brought before the Dey, but the strictest enquiry is made after the offenders; who, if caught, are not only made to refund the ill-gotten plunder, but severely punished according to the nature of the crime.

4. Bugia, or, as the Africans write it, Bog Неseb, the supposed Salde of Strabo (C), built 4. Bugia; by the Romans *b, and once the capital of a kingdom of its name, hath a handfome sea port, in part, formed by a narrow neck of land running into the sea: a great part of whose promontory was formerly faced with a wall of hewn stone: where was likewise an aqueduct, which supplied the port with water, by discharging it into a capacious basin; all which lies now in ruins; and the tomb of Seedy Bugfes, one of the tutelar saints of the place, is the only thing remaining that is remarkable in it.

As to the city itself, it is built upon the ruins of a large one, at the foot of a high mountain, that looks towards the north-east; a great part of which stands run quite to the top of it; where there is also a castle that commands the whole town, besides two others at the bottom, called, built for a security to the part. The inhabitants drive a considerable trade in plough-shares, trade, mattocks, and other such iron tools, which they manufacture from the adjacent mines. The town is watered by a large river, which Marmol and Dapper call Huet el Qabrir, or the great river; and which is supposed to be the Nafora of Ptolemy⁴, as it empties itself into the sea a little to the eastward, after it had received a great number of rivulets into its stream (D). The place

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*(C) This supposition we have formerly ventured to differ from (4), on account of the distance which the Interventio computes to be between Salde and Igiili; we, 93 miles; whereas Bog Неseb is but thirteen leagues from Jigal, the supposed Igiili of the Romans. Nothing is more uncertain than these kinds of conjectures at the best; yet, as so many authors seem to concur in them, it cannot be taken amiss of us, if we acquaint our readers with them, as well as with the difficulties that may be raised against them, and leave it to every one's judgment to determine on either side.

(1) Marmol, who likewise calls it Zingezar (5), adds, that whilst it belonged to the Christians, the mouth of it was to choked up with mud and sand, that no vessel could
place is populous, and hath a considerable market for iron, work, oil, and wax, which is carried on with great tranquillity; but is no sooner over than the whole place is in an uproar; so that the day seldom concludes without some flagrant instance of rape and barbarity.

5. **Steffa**, called by Marmol *Tefelza*, and by Gramm. *Difessa*, is situated on the south of *Bujisay*, about twenty leagues from it, and fifteen from the sea, on the road from *Fez* to *Tunis*, in a fruitful valley, which extends itself as far as the mountain of *Labez*. It was destroyed by the *Arabs*; so that it retains nothing now of its former grandeur, but the sad remains of its once spacious and stately walls of square stone of a prodigious size; and the inhabitants, amounting to about 300 families, are as miserable and poor as any under the *Turkisb* dominions.

6. **Tebef** hath been likewise a large and flourishing city under the *Romans*, but lies now in a poor condition as *Steffa*.

7. **Zamora**, the supposed *Azama* of *Ptolemies*, is sunk as low as any of the two former, through the *Turkisb* tyranny, and commanded by a fort built by the *Algeryne* government: it is, nevertheless, reckoned one of the most fertile places in all *Barbary* for corn and pasturage. It hath a market every Monday, to which the *Arabs*, &c., resort in great numbers to sell their commodities.

8. **Bersara** belonged to the province of *Zeb* in *Numidia*, which lies south of the kingdom of *Labez*; but the *Algerynes*, in their annual inroads to carry off slaves, made themselves masters of it, to open a more easy passage into the southern provinces. It retains still some remains of the ancient city that gave name to this territory, and hath a garrison to keep the inhabitants in awe, who lead a wandering life in their tents, and are they who usually bring lions, tigers, and other wild beasts, which they have the art of taming, for sale to strangers. The city of *Algiers* is never without a great number of *Bersaras*, who are employed in the hardest and lowest offices, as cleaning of streets, emptying of vaults, sweeping of chimneys, and carrying of burdens; and when they have got about ten or twelve crowns by this drudgery, they return to their country, where they are respected as worthy men, on account of the scarcity of coin among them, they being reckoned the most miserable of all the *Arabian* tribes in this kingdom.

9. **Nacaz**, a delightful town, but running into decay. The last place in this eastern government worth notice is *Nacaz*, reckoned one of the pleasantest towns in *Barbary*, situate about twenty leagues south of *Steffa*, near a pleasant river, where the banks are adorned with a great variety of trees and other delightful verdure. The figs here are esteemed the finest in all *Africa*; and when dried are bought up far and near at a good price. The territory on each side is fertile in corn, and other conveniences of life. In the town stands a most stately mosque; and not far from it a large college, well endowed, for the instruction of the *Turkisb* youth. The inhabitants are civil and sociable; and the women very beautiful: the houses neat, though but one story high; and the gardens adorned with all sorts of fruits and odoriferous verdure. It had hospitals, and a variety of baths, and other conveniences; all which dwindles gradually through the tyranny of the *Turkisb* government.

The territory of *Bujisay*, like that of *Cigier*, is encompassed with high mountains, whose cantons are distinguished by the names of *Beni-Jubur*, *Auraz*, and *Labez*, and are inhabited by some of the most ancient tribes of *Arabians*, *Moors*, and *Saracens*. The greatest part of them have been used, from time immemorial, to distinguish themselves by a cross marked on one of their hands; and some, out of a greater regard to that custom, will have one fixed on each cheek; but can give no other reason for it than a constant tradition from their ancestors (E). The mountains of *Beni-Jubur* lie about twenty miles south of *Bujisay*, and extend themselves along the coast in a considerable way, both in length and breadth, and are part of the little *Atlas*. They are very steep and rugged, and from them flow a great number of springs. They abound with
duc came into it. But that after *Salaharay* had made himself master of it, the rains that fell in great abundance in that year did so thoroughly clear it up, that some of their largest vessels have been able to enter it ever since, and ride safe in it from storms, and from every wind but the north.

(E) It is probable, however, that this custom began when the *Fendal* became masters of this country who treating the Christians everywhere with particular lenity, induced them either to become Christians, or at least to endeavour to pass for such, by assuming that symbol of their religion, showing which might be a kind of safe-guard against the inquisitors of the ravaging soldiers; so that the signature is still preferred among them, though the occasion of it is quite forgot (6); unless we will suppose, that they really became Christians under the *Fendal* government, and retained the cross as a kind of superstitious relic or charm, after they turned *Mohammedans*.

(6) *Dapper's Algiers*, Tassy, lib. i. c. 9.

with
a with fruit trees, especially walnuts and figs; produce plenty of barley, with which the inhabitants feed their numerous herds. The people are warlike, and live under a chief of their own: some of them are excellent archers: and the whole ridge hath here and there villages, inhabited by the tribe or people whole name it bears.

Labez is another ridge belonging to the little Atlas, and extends itself from that of Benjubar to the eastern kingdom of Conco, and is inhabited by a stout fort of people, who much resemble them in their manners and way of life; but are however, subject to a tribute to the Dey of Algiers, consisting chiefly in horses, which the people of Conco are not. Labez is neither fertile in corn nor fruits; its chief produce is a sort of reed or rush, of which they manufacture the beautiful Arabian mats, called in the language Labez, from which this kingdom or canton hath its name.

The ridge or canton of Auraz, or Ewes, as the Turks pronounce it, is another part of the Atlas, extending itself southward of Confraguita, quite to Biledugerid, and consists of a large group or knot of hills, running into one another, and intersected by small plains and valleys; the length about 30 leagues, or, as a modern traveller computes it, about 120 miles in circuit. Both tops and bottoms are very fertile, and itself continue to be the garden of the kingdom. Some springs there are, which, coming down from the hills, form a kind of salt marshes, which the fun dries up in summer, and converts into salt. The inhabitants are fierce and warlike, and live chiefly by robbing and murdering of travellers; and so fond were they once of their liberty, that they would suffer no stranger to be among them, left they should learn the paifes and avengers leading to their abodes; and so impatient are they now, since the Algerines have Impatient deprived them of so much of it as to bring them under tribute, that it requires no less than forty of their military flotations to oblige them to pay it; every year the Bey comes at the head of his flying camp to extort it from them.

The last canton worth notice under this eastern government is called Conco, or Conco, and Conco king, by the Marseillians Conque; and hath its name from the mountain at the foot of which the metropolis flood, or perhaps from the city itself (F), once the seat of a kingdom, adorned with noble buildings, particularly with the palace of its princes, who had greatly signalized themselves by their exploits in Spain. It was situated in a triangular position, southward of Algiers and Bugyab, about 36 miles from the former, and 20 from the latter, at the foot of the mountain, surrounded at the bottom with steep rocks, which served it as a strong defence, and on the top with a great number of farms and villages, very populous and rich; one of which, called Gomhabaharist, at the foot of the same mountain, contained five hundred vessels, and had a large market every Friday, referred to by a vast concourse of the neighbouring house. The princes held likewise a port on the sea called Tamagus, between Bugyab and Algiers, from which the city, consisting of above fifteen hundred houses, drove a considerable commerce of hides, wax, and honey, with that of Marseilles. The access to it was very difficult and dangerous, there being but one way to come at it, through such narrow and rugged defiles, that a handful of men could have overwhelmed an enemy's army with stones; besides which the city was fortified with strong high walls, on that side where it is least guarded by the rocks. In this flourishing condition it continued under its princes, since ruined till the beginning of the 18th century, when the king of Conco, then in alliance with that of Algiers and Spain, ceded the port of Tamagus to him, which the Algerines, however, made themselves masters of not long after; and, in order to put an effectual end to the clandestine intrigues between that prince and Spain, destroyed his metropolis, ravaged the plains about it, and obliged him and his subjects to flee to the mountains. However, both the city and kingdom of Conco, a rehad, by reason of its vicinity to Algiers, and the inaccessibleness of its mountains, been looked upon to the upon by the Turks as a horn in their sides, because it was a kind of fire refuge to their enemies, enemies of Algiers, criminals of state; and even some of their Dey's, when they apprehend any danger either.

* MARMOL, ibid. cap. 5. TASSE, lib. i. c. 9. 1 Nash's Travels, ch. vii. p. 117. 2 Idem ibid. DAVITY, p. 167. TASSE, ubi sup. p. 126.

(1) MARMOL tells us accordingly, that the true name of this mountain, or knot of mountains, was Eguil-Azuldu, and Dapper Eguil-Azuldu; and both of them describe it as very steep and craggy. The lower parts of it are fertile in wheat, and the upper in barley; both abound with good pasturage, and breed vast quantities of cattle and bees, of which they drive a great commerce with Marseilles. Their mountains have some iron mines, which they manufacture into swords, daggers, lances, &c. and have an excellent way of hardening it, so as to be but little inferior to steel (2). They have also, in some parts, mines of salt-pepper, of which they make gunpowder, being supplied with brimstone by the French merchants. Their country abounds likewise with olives, raisins, and figs, in the latter of which their king's revenue chiefly consists; and was performed by the Marseillians, who traded thither, to have amounted to 700,000 crowns (3).


(3) Idem ibid. wid. from...
from the **Porte** or other quarter, or when wearied with the load of government, do usually **a** flee thither; and, if any of them can be so fortunate as to reach those, cotes, they are sure to live in safety and ease, or may wait for an opportunity to remove to some other asylum. Hence it is, that the **Algerin** government made so many vain attempts against the kingdom; and even after they had destroyed its capital, and driven its prince farther among the mountains, yet they never could bring the brave inhabitants under any tribute, tho' the Deys have left no means or stratagem untried to do it (**G**). The inhabitants are distinguished by the names of **Arabians**, **Bereberes**, and **Asgues**, and value themselves chiefly on preserving themselves from the Turkish yoke, tho' they are obliged to buy their independency with the loss of their wealth; so that from being once of the richest people of all the inland countries, in horseth, cattle, grain, and fruits, to say nothing of their iron manufacture, mentioned in the last note, nor of that of their linen and cotton stuffs, &c. they are sunk into the extreme indigence and poverty, avoiding all commerce with their neighbours, lest that should give a handle to the **Algerins** to bring them into the same servile state to which they have reduced the rest of the **Arabs** and **Moors of Barbary**. And thus much may suffice for their eastern government.

The second **Algerin** government is filled with the western, and hath now the city of **Oran** (**H**) for its capital, and of **Oran** (**H**), the city of **Oran** (**H**), the place formerly of great repute, containing 6000 houses, mostly inhabited by weavers and clothiers, and much referred to by **Catalan**, **Genoese**, and **Venetian** merchants. It had several small masts, besides hospitals, baths, caravanseras, and other public buildings; but is now much reduced from its grandeur and extent, and about a mile in circuit, but is the best fortified on all sides in the kingdom, **Algerins** excepted. It is situate on the sea coast, upon the declivity and pretty near the foot of a high mountain, which overlooks it, upon the ridge of which are built two forts that command the town. About a furlong west of the mountain stands a third castle, on a higher situation than the two former, with a large valley between them; so that their respective ridges are so remarkably disunited, that they not only form a most convenient landmark, but render all the approaches from the latter to the former impracticable. To the south and south-east of the town are two other castles erected on the level with the lower part of it, but severed from it by a deep winding valley, which serves as a natural trench to the south side of the place. A little rivulet, formed by a small spring of excellent water, at about three furlongs distance from the town, and conforming its course to the windings of the valley, furnishes the city with plenty of that element; near the spring stands another castle, which forbids all approaches of an enemy; and, at the same time that it guards the **matamors** or subterranean depositories of corn, digged under it, is an important defence to the city (**I**).

It is most likely, however, that most of these fortifications were built since the **Algerines** took this important place from the **Spaniards**, *an. 1708*, after it had continued in their hands above 200 years (**I**); during which time the residence of the Bey was at **Tlemcen**. For they no

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**Footnotes:**

2. Ibid. Shaw's Travels, c. iii. p. 24, & seq.
3. Shaw, ibid.
4. Taken by, and re-taken from the Spaniards.
5. In this important place, as it was then the staple of communications for flax, corn, oil, wax, honey, hides, and other African commodities; and as it had likewise the village and road to *Morjalquid,* or great harbour, the *Portus Magnus* of the ancients, at a small league distance west from it, under its jurisdiction, which is reckoned one of the most capacious havens in the world.
6. The reason or pretence for the *Spaniards* feigning on *Oran,* was, that they were become enfranchised and powerful enough to venture to cruise upon their coasts. They had long before that time invaded themselves to the pirate trade, by the constant wars they sustained against the kings of *Tlemcen,* or *Tifern,* who wanted to set a governor of their own over them; whereas they pleased their ancient privilege against it, and the right of chusing their annual judges and magistrates, both civil and criminal, from among themselves, and to admit only of a receiver of the customs from the *Tlemcen* court. This was the rate of the *Owarens,* when the *Spaniards* came and made themselves masters of the port of *Morjalquid,* and after that of their capital.
a no sooner made themselves masters of it, than they applied their utmost care to secure it from future attacks, and ordered the Bey to come and reside in it; where, besides a strong garrison, he is obliged to maintain in pay 2000 Casselites, and 1500 Moors, at his own charge, and to have them always in his retinue. About two leagues south of Oran are the ruins of an ancient city called The ruins of Baisa, which was destroyed by the wars that raged between the African powers about the ancient Baisa. beginning of the seventh century, and is now remarkable only for a little chapel, built in memory of a Marabout, who lived among these ruins, and by his singular beneficence and hospitality to poor travellers of all forts, got at length rich enough, by the presents sent him by the wealthy, to maintain 500 disciples, whose employment was to go through a long litany of all the divine attributes by the help of their beads, at certain hours of the day alternately; but his whole body is now upon the decline, as many others are, since their commerce with Europe hath brought all such superfluous fooleries into contempt among them. But the Arabs still call the place by his name, Cen’s Plain.

Tremsacen, formerly Telensia, Telencen, and by the Arabs Tlem-Sen, once the metropolis of one of the greatest kingdoms in Mauritania Cafaritis, is situated about 10 leagues from the sea, and about a half of a mile of the sea of Oran, and is the southernmost part of the mouth of the Tafna, upon a rising ground, below a range of rocky precipices, upon which runs a slip of level ground, that bursts out with a great number of springs, which, uniting into one small stream, form a variety of cascades in its descent towards the sea. The town is surrounded by a strong wall, forty cubits high, flanked with towers, and made of mortar composed of sand, lime, cinders, and small pebbles, which being cast in a frame, and afterwards well tempered and dried, have acquired a solidity and strength equal to that of stone. The several gates and towers of the town are all surrounded by fortifications, to defend the city. It hath besides a strong Castile, and air barrackds, for the public building.

Whilst it was the capital of the kingdom, it was divided into several wards, two of which were still dilapidated in Edris’s time, and might be considered as two cities, of an oblong square figure, inclosed each within its own wall, the two containing, in the year 1562, no less than 25,000 houses well built, with large streets, and a vast number of public buildings of noble structure, particularly five large square colleges, built after the Italian manner, besides baths, hospitals, &c. in great numbers, of which little is now left but its fortifications, and some noble ruins (1), the place having been almost destroyed by Hafsan, Bey of Algiers, destroyed by an. 1670, as a punishment for the disaffection of its then inhabitants; so that there is now scarcely a sixth part remaining of this famous metropolis, and nursery of arts and sciences, which is computed to have been about four miles in circuit. It hath suffered no less in the destruction of its public structures; insomuch, that out of 150 molems there remain no more than eight, each with a tower of the cotic order adorned with marble columns; of 160 public baths there are but four now left. The Jews had there ten synagogues, and those hardly sufficient for them, all which are gone to decay; the city being now inhabited by none but Arabs, Moors, and Jews, most of them very poor, except the garrison of Turks; and running still into greater decay ever since the removal of the Bey and his court to Oran, where we gave an account of the last article.

4 Tassy, ubi sup. p. 150, & seq. 5 Shaw, ubi sup. ch. iv. p. 46, & seq. 6 Idem ibid. p. 49. 7 Idem ibid. p. 49. 8 Shaw, ubi sup. p. 49. 9 Dapper, Tremsacen, Tassy, & al. sup. citat.

In which expedition they brought away, among other booty, about 20,000 Christian captives. However, from that time, Oran decayed sensibly every way, and hath done so much more, since it fell under the tyranny of the Algerines (6); so that the only improvement it hath received from these is its fortifications; for though some of them appear still to be of the old fashion, especially the castle that stands on the uppermost ridge, and the easternmost of those that lie before the town, yet the other three are regular polygons of the modern kind (9), and so are some other fortifications added on the sea side; which shews of what importance they esteem this place to be to them, and what a loss the Spaniards had in its being taken from them (8).

(1) Among those curiosities that are still to be seen here, one of the most remarkable is a large bason, of Moorish workmanship, two hundred yards long, and about fifty in breadth. The inhabitants have a tradition, that the kings of Tremsacen were used to take the diversion of the water, and the subjects taught the art of navigation upon it. But our curious traveller thinks it rather to have been designed for a large reservoir, either in case of a siege, or at all other times very useful to refresh the great number of gardens and fine plantations below it, which is no improbable conjecture, considering that the course of the water of the river, which supplies the city from the adjacent mountains, might be easily cut off, or turned, by a besieging enemy, as had been observed long before by another judicious author (9).


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Mollagan. About 20 leagues east of Oran is the town of Mollagan, al. Moğasênin, Mûshy Gannim, the a

Its situation and strength. Cartenna of Pliny and Ptolœmy (K). It is built in the form of a theatre, with a full prospect of the sea; and, in every other direction, surrounded with hills which hang over it. In one of the vacant spaces, about the middle of it, are the remains of an old Maorîs castle, which, by its fashion, appears to have been built before the invention of fire arms. The north-west corner of the city, which overlooks the port, is surrounded with a wall of hewn stone, and hath another castle built in a more regular manner, and defended by a Turkish garrison. But all these being overlooked by the adjacent hills above-mentioned, the chief security of the place lies in the citadel, which is built upon one of those eminences, and commands both the city and country k. The town is well supplied with water, and its haven is commodious and safe.

Citadel. Behind it runs mount Magaraba, so called from the Magarabas who inhabit it, and are defended from the Bereberis. This mount extends about ten leagues from east to west along the Mediterranean coast. These Magarabas live in tents, feed a great quantity of flocks, and pay 12,000 crows yearly to the Ley of Algiers l.

Mount Magaraba. Tenez. Seven leagues east of Mollagan, and about the mid-way between Oran and Algiers, stands the city of Tenez, upon the foot of a hill, and about a league from the sea, where it hath a convenient port. Tenez and its territory were once subject to the kings of Tremecen; but, taking advantage of its intelline broils, set up a kingdom of their own, independent of that which proved only a short-lived one, and became soon after a prey to the Algerines, who have kept a strong garrison in it ever since; the governor of it resides in the castle, which was once the royal palace. The territory about it is very fertile in corn, fruits, and pasturage, and produces honey, wax, &c. Marmol supposes this place to be the Laguntum, and Sanuti the Tipasa, of Ptolœmy; but we have already shewn in the ancient history, that the obscure village of Steffjad is the ancient Tipasa m.

Seized on by the Algerines. Sargel or Sarcelly. The last Algerine garrison in this western government is Sherfiel, al. Sargel, or, as Tassy calls it, Sercelle, a poor ruined town, on the sea coast, about eight leagues west of Algiers, remarkable only for its harbour for small vessels n, and its Turkish garrison (L). The southern district, or third government of the Algerine kingdom, is altogether without any walled cities, though there are to be seen here and there the ruins of some noble ones; among which some few troops take their quarters, and form a small kind of garrison to keep the inhabitants of these wild tracts in awe. These live altogether in tents, and are divided into Hords, or Aduuars, each of which forms a kind of itinerant village under their respective chiefs, chosen from among themselves, and change their inhabitants according to the feason, or as the convenience of pasturage and agriculture requires. They commonly feed great numbers of cattle small and great, besides their horses, and other

(k) Or rather Carthagine in the plural, for so Ptolœmy writes it, though Pliny gives it in the singular; and it is not unlike that this, and Mollagan, which lies a small league from it, and in the same direction with the ancient Cartenna and Asfanoria, now Asféne, and the same distance which the Itinerarium gives them, may have been formerly but one colony or community; and hence the birth of these authors might give it a singular, and the other a plural name (10). Marmol, indeed, takes Mollagan to be the Portus Deurnum of the latter, but brings no proof for it (11); and the former opinion seems to us the best founded of the two.

(L) We cannot omit the ancient and famed city of Justine, or, as it was called by the Romans, Caunora, which, though at present reduced to a heap of ruins, and consequently no Turkish garrison, yet, being situated within this western government, well deserves our notice, as well on account of its having given birth to several eminent philosophers and poets, and of its having been formerly one of the most populous and opulent cities of Africa, as for some curious relics of its former greatness. The Africans call it Tiganita, or Dagdair; that is, the ancient city. It was situated on a bay, a mile eastward of Sargel, between it and Algiers, and appears from its ruins to have been three leagues in circuit.

It was built by the ancient Africans, and embellished by the Romans, and afterwards by the princes of the Merian line. It was at length totally destroyed by Abduila the son of Nobadain, and its inhabitants most inhumanly butchered, an. 954 (12). We are told, that a famed Marabout rebuilt it afterwards, so as to contain 13,000 houses (13); but at present nothing is left of it, but the ruins of its walls, and two ancient heathen temples, the dome of one of which is of such a height, that a ship may be seen from it twenty leagues off, and on the land side, over the plains of Mesche, above sixteen leagues.


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The forces of Moors. With the Bey and his court are always incamped in some canton of the mountains. The manner of the inhabitants. But, when the return of the year comes for them to go and levy the usual tribute, he generally receives a considerable reinforcement from the Bey, and may raise contributions in Biledulgerid, whenever he can, either by force or stratagem, open himself to way thro’ the narrow passes that lead into that country.

HAVING gone thro’ the description of the three provinces or governments, into which the kingdom of Algiers is divided, we come now to give an account of its famed metropolis Algiers, or rather (as it should be pronounced) Al Jezair, or Al Jezzerab; that is, as the Arabic word imports, the island, because there was an island before the city, to which it hath been since joined by a mole. In their public letters and records they style it Al Jezaire Mogeria, or the western Al Jezair, to distinguish it from another of the same name near the Dardanelles. And the Arabians call it to this day Gazaira Al-Bene-Mogiana, from an Arabian prince called Mogiana who had formerly subdued it, or, as Marmol will have it, was the founder of it. But we may safely affirm it to be of much antienter date; and those authors differ much about its origin, some supposing it the antient Rufusurum, or Rufuserrum, others the Solda, others the Taram. Jol, or Julia Cesarisensis; built in honour of Augustus, we hope, we have sufficiently proved it in our antient history to have been no other than the antient Ictiaum, placed in the itinerary at 47 miles from Tirofa, which is farther confirmed by the reverend traveller often quoted in this chapter.

Algiers is situate between Butiyab on the east, and Teniz on the west, in 36° 30′ north latitude, and 34° 15′ east longitude; and is washed on the north and north-east side by the fine

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Mediterranean, over which it hath a full prospect, being built on the declivity of a hill, upon which the houses rise so gradually above one another, that there is hardly one in the whole city but enjoys a full view of it in one or other of those directions; whilst, by the advantage of that declivity, and the whiteness of the terraces, the city yields a beautiful prospect towards the sea, and at a distance appears like a wheather's ground covered over with linen, in the form of an amphitheatre. Its bigness is variously computed, even by the two most recent authors who have been there, the one gives it a league, and the other but half of that circumference. Others give its walls a full larger circuit; their height thirty feet on the upper, and forty at the lower end towards the sea; that it may the better resist the violence of its waves, they are twelve feet thick, and flanked with square towers, but all so decayed as to be of small defence, unless where they are secured by some additional outward work. They are surrounded with a ditch twenty feet wide, and seven deep, but now almost filled up with mud, except in some parts where they are of little consequence. The walls have some jettings out, with port holes, but few or no cannon belonging to them; so that its strength chiefly depends on its outward fortifications.

The city hath five gates open, each of them guarded by some outwork, and some others are now walled up. The open ones are, 1. Medjez, or rather Bab Caffaubab, built upon the highest part of the city, and forming the western angle of it. It is of an octagonal figure, and hath proper embrasures on every side. 2. The Babjided, or new gate, fronting the south. 3. Bab Assone in the same direction (A). 4. The fitter's gate, vulgarly called Babessa and Pifadeeria, or flibery gate, which forms the opposite or eastern angle of the city, by which the water side on the east; as 5. the mole, or Douwan gate, doth towards the north. 6. The Bab-el-wed, or river's gate, facing the Elved river towards the north. The whole city is overlooked by a ridge of hills on the western side, which run almost on a level with the Bab-Caffaubab, or uppermost gate; and upon it are built two strong forts, one of which, from its five acute angles, is called the Star Cable, and stands about a small furlong from the gate above mentioned, and commands the sandy bay, and mouth of the river Elved; the other, called the emperor's castle, stands at half a mile distance south from the Caffaubab gate, hath the command both of the Star Fort, and of the whole ridge, as well as of the sandy bay, and mouth of the river Rebat, on the south side of the city (B). Thus much for the situation and strength of Algiers to the landward. But it is much better fortified, and capable of making a much better defence towards the sea side, where in describing its various fortifications, we shall begin with an account of its mole.

This mole was the work of the famed Chedrin the son of Barbarossa. Until his time the port of Algier lay quite open, and looked more like a road than a harbour; but as soon as he was become master of the place, he set himself a building and fortifying it in that strong and commodious form we behold it in; in doing which he employed all the Christian masons with such strictness, that he saw it completed in three years time, without any expense to him. It is built on the small island that faces the town, in form of a large semicircle, extending itself from the Douwan, or mole gate, to one of the extremities of the island, and from the other extremity of it towards the walls of the town, leaving an haunt some opening into the haven, where the largest vessels may ride in safety from the violence of the waves. The mole is about 100 paces in length from the land, which on the castle it defends to the mole gate above-mentioned, and about six or seven wide, having on one side a stone key, and on the other a sandy rocky bank from end to end. The whole is defended at one angle by an old round castle, formerly built by the Spaniards, when they were masters of the place. It is called the final castle, or light house fort. It stands upon the solid rock, and a fire is carefully maintained in it for the security of ships. It hath three batteries of fine cannon. At the south end of the island is another fort, consisting of three batteries, to defend the entrance of the harbour, which is capacious enough for

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**Notes:**

1. See before, p. 204.


3. Davyty, & Dapper.


5. Idem ibid.

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(A) So called from Assone a Mauritanian prince, who besieged the city at that gate, which name it hath retained ever since (1).

On the walls of this gate are the hatches fixed, which catch those criminals that are thrown down from the battlements (2).

(B) It was at this last place, that the emperor Charles V. landed his army in that unfortunate expedition, which he made against Algiers, an. 1541; and there is still a fragment of the pier, which he is supposed to have erected for that purpose. The same monarch, the better to secure a communication between his army and fleet, and to succour his troops in their intended approach to the town, poissed himself of the ridge above mentioned, where he laid the foundation, and built the round or inner part of the castle, that hath continued to be called after his name ever since (3).

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2. Dapper, Davyty, & al.

Chap. 3.

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a to contain a good number of large ships (C.), and is seldom or never without merchantmen, corfairs, and other vessels, riding in it. The misfortune is, that when the wind sets in from the northward, which is quite across the road, it causes such a swell in the harbour, that they commonly fall foul one of another, which obliges them to lay the ships close to each other. Besides which, the masts of the Dey's flotilla are employed the whole year in bringing large blocks of stone from a neighbouring quarry, and laying them on the sands, to secure the mole from the impetuosity of the waves, which labour must be continually repeated, because the sea gradually washes those stones away, and makes such a constant supply necessary.

The embasures of the castle and batteries here are all employed; the cannon is of brass, and their carriages, and other utensils, kept in good order. The battery of the mole gate, upon the east angle of the city, is mounted with several long pieces of ordnance; one of which, our author thinks, hath seven cylinders, each of them three inches in diameter: it half a furlong from the S. W. stands the battery of the father's gate, called also the sea gate, which consists of a double row of cannon, and commands both the entrance into the road and the port. There stands besides two or three forts more along the sea coast; the one on the south side of the city, called the castle of the renegadoes; the other two on the north side, viz. Setteci Ako-let, a regular pentagon, and able to annoy an enemy either in their landing, or lodging themselves on the Bakhirs, or adjacent plains; the other, called the English castle, inferior in extent and strength, which commands the high road to rivers gate, on the same direction. Thus much may serve for the fortifications of Algiers.

The town is computed to contain 100,000 Mohammedans, among which are some few renegades, not above 30 in Dr. Shaw's time, 15,000 jews, and 2,000 Christian slaves, besides Europeans and other strangers. There is but one handsome street in it, which reaches from the east to the west end, and is wider in some parts than in others, but in all much broader than any of the rest. It hath on the widest part handsome shops, and the chief merchants houses, and the market for corn and all provisions is kept in it. All the other streets are so narrow, that two persons can hardly walk abreast; and the middle being so much lower than the fidos, which form a kind of parapet, or podium for the water that runs through it, added to their usual adainets, makes it very disagreeable to walk through it; especially as camels, horses, mules, and asses are continually padding and repalling, to which one must give way at the first warning, by squeezing one's self against the houses. It is still more dangerous to meet with a Turkish soldier in the streets; for the wealthiest Christian must take care to give him the way, and stand close till he is passed, or be in danger of receiving some shocking effect of his brutal resentment. The narrowness of these streets is commonly thought to be designed as a shelter from the heat. But there may be another reason given for it; viz. the frequent earthquakes it is subject to, seeing the fronts of almost all the houses are propped up by pieces of timber from one to the other across the streets (D).

The houses, which are computed to amount to about 15,000, are built of brick or stone, and mostly square, with a large paved court in the middle, not unlike our common inns. The galleries round the court are supported by columns, and over them runs a second supported in the same manner. The folding doors to the apartments are commonly of the height of the ceilings; and over the uppermost gallery are the terraces, which serve them both for walking or drying of linen. Some will have pleasant gardens in them, and generally a neat summer-house on a corner of it, to shelter them from the weather whilst at their work, or gazing towards the sea, whether their corfairs bring them any prizes. Their very chimneys contribute to adorn the houses, being always kept clean and white-washed, and rising by a small squadron of ships, would find no great difficulty to make themselves masters of the stronghold of them (4).

(b) Langer de Troy mentions a remarkable one, which happened there in 1717, when the town felt several violent shocks for nine months successively; in which all the inhabitants, except the London and native officers, who kept within the Dey's palace, left the city, and incamped in tents in the country about it, many of whom perished through mere want. In some places whole villages were overturned, and the ground was rent and torn up (5).

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in form of a cupola on the four corners of the terraces. The apartments have no windows to wards the streets, except some small grated ones, to admit a little light and air into their pantries, and the servants chambers, which are built along the great stair-case, but do not open to it; so that all the light the rest of the rooms have is only from the folding doors, and small windows that open to the inner court. They are obliged to white-wash their houses inside and outside at least once a year, but commonly do it against the approach of their grand festivities; and this is all the elegance you find in them; for as to their furniture it is plain and mean, consisting only of a few utensils, mostly of earth or wood, and a mat and two quilts, laid over two or three sticks, to serve them for a bed. As there are no fountains or gardens in the town, but the houses are contiguous together, one may walk from one end of it to the other over those terraces, there being ladders raised on purpose, where the houses are of an unequal height; and it is common for them to visit their neighbours, and spend their evenings in fresco with each other upon them; notwithstanding the thieves are never heard of, because any stranger that is caught in any house, without having first sent in his name, is sure to be severely punished. But tho' the houses of private people are so mean within, there are many belonging to persons in high and public situations, which are quite elegant, and paved all over with marble, the pillars of the fane, and the ceilings finely carved, painted, and gilt.

The most magnificent of all is the Dey's palace, which stands in the heart of the city. It is a spacious flatly edifice, surrounded with two noble galleries, one over the other, supported with marble pillars, and hath two spacious halls, in one of which the Deyou men every Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. The barracks for the Turkishe soldiery, five new and spacious, of which were added to the old ones, an. 1650, are likewise very grand structures, and kept very clean by the slaves that attend them, at the charge of the government. Every barrack contains six hundred Turkishe soldiers (E), each of which hath a fine spacious apartment allotted to him; and all the courts of these barracks have fountains to wash in before they go to their prayers.

Their mosks are very numerous, about 107 in all, and some of them very grand; and, as these are mostly situate along the sea side, they make a very fine heap, and add much to the beautiful prospect of the city. The baths are also in great number, it being customary for the Turks to resort to them, not only before the time of their five daily prayers, which their religion obliges them to, but at all other times of the day, when their affairs will permit it. Some of them are very large and sumptuous, finely paved with marble, and elegantly furnished with all other conveniencies; others are small and mean, suited to the lower rank; but all of them are built much after the same manner. The women have likewise their particular baths, attended by persons of their own sex, into which no men are allowed to set foot upon any pretence whatever. And yet it often happens, that these pretended inviolable sanctuaries of female chastity are turned into nurseries of intrigue and lewdness, notwithstanding the dreadful fate that infallibly attends the offenders, if discovered, and the frequent instances of such discoveries (F); the women being permitted to be attended only by female slaves.

(E) It is to be observed, that married men, who are mostly renegades, are excluded the benefit of these barracks, and obliged to provide themselves lodgings at their own expense in some other parts of the town; and so are likewise the single men that will not conform to the regulations of these public buildings. In either case they may hire private houses, or, which is more usual, take up their quarters in one of the four fondacas or albergas of the town.

These are large commodious edifices belonging to private persons, consisting of several spacious courts, in which are large warehouses, and a variety of apartments to let; and, on account of their conveniencies for men and goods, are also much frequented by the Levantine merchants; for neither Algeris, nor any other town in the kingdom, hath other inns, taverns, or other public places like the caravanseras in Turkey, for the entertainment of strangers. Thoso few Christians, who reror thither upon any buffets or accidents, either take up with some persons to whom they are recommended, or with the confid of their nation, who is always ready to accommodate them with an apartment in his house, or his table, if they are persons of distinction.

As to the Greeks, and other mean travellers, there are plenty of cookshops, and public wine-houses, kept by the flaves of the Deyouk, for their accommodation (7). The Jews likewise keep such houses and apartments to let, for the use of those of their own nation (8).

(F) Our author closes his account of these female baths with a dreadful instance of Turkish revenge upon an intrigue of this kind, which happened an. 1650; of which we shall give our reader a short abstract. Sermeb Legnati, an old wealthy Turk, settled in Algeris, after having married four wives, one fell in love with and married a fifth, just turned of twelve years of age, but so beautiful and witty as to ingross his whole affections, though her tender age, and his extraordinary corpulence, had rendered it impossible to consummate his marriage; as it could not be done without imminent danger of her life. His singular affection for her did however raise the jealousy of the other four to such a height, that they resolved at any rate to ruin this new favourite; which they essayed to accomplish during his attendance on the Dey at some neighbouring war. The first step they took, after having gained her confidence,

(7) See before, p. 217. (8) Tassy, ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 2. ad fin.
a slaves, young men are frequently introduced in their habits, than which nothing is easier; the very drels of the women already described contributing to conceal the cheat. As for those that belong to the men, they are commonly attended with such robust waiter, and the ceremony of sweating and rubbing is performed by them with such exquisite roughness, that unless a stranger takes care to have an interpreter with him to bestake a more gentle usage, they are sure to undergo a very fatiguing and irksome, instead of a delightful and wholesome exercitiae.

Besides those public baths, of which there are about sixty, they have six others, which they likewise call Bafos; but there are no better than large flinking prisons, in which they lock up their slaves at night; in each of these they have a chapel for the free exercitie of their religion; and every slave is allowed three small loaves, and a little mattrafis and rug for their bed; to these bagnios they must all repair at some flated hour in the evening; and, on the next mornings, they are again let out to go to their respective labours. There are likewise some handsome edifices without the walls of the town, which are no small addition to the town's prospect; such as the hall where the officers of the marine hold their assemblies, at the foot of the mole; the habitation of a marabout is in high veneration among them, and situate on the declivity of the hill; a handfome square building, with a cupola, after the Turkish manner; and above all, a great number and variety of tombs belonging to their great men; some of which are very fine (G), and most of them adorned with chapels and oratories, which

was to inspire the young damsel with a violent passion for a handsome young slave, a Spaniard by nation, and a concealed Jew; but a great favourite of Seremeth. After which they afforded her in introducing him in a female dres, among her other attendants, into one of those baths, where they had all the opportunity they could wish to indulge their mutual affectation; but, upon their lord's return from the war, betrayed the whole intrigue to him. Seremeth, upon the first hearing of this fatal secret, fell into the most violent transports of fury and resentment; but, upon further caution, quickly discovered that the accusers had been no less faulty than the accused; so that his resentment against his new bride gradually cooled into pity, whilst it failed more furiously against his other faithless wives, whom he resolved to wreak his whole revenge. He looked upon himself the less injured by the former, as he had not yet consummated his marriage with her; and therefore thought, that divorcing her, and marrying her to his Spaniard slave, would in a great measure save his honour. The misfortune was, that the Douwan, by some means or other, became acquainted with the whole affair; and what was still a greater aggravation, that the Spaniard was a Jew: For they thought it equally execrable that a Turkish slave should dare to mix his blood with that of a Musulman woman, or that she should content to it. Upon which they condemned him to be burned alive in the Turkish burying ground, and her to be drowned as usual (p), which was accordingly done, in spite of all the intercessions of Seremeth, and the efforts of the Dey himelf to prevent it, who had now conceived a great passion for her.

Seremeth, now more exasperated than ever, by this fatal catastrophe, against his four wives, resolved to glut his revenge by inflicting a much more inhuman one upon them; but, affuming a milder aspect, first decoyed them to his country fest, and having secured his most valuable and portable effects, in order to go and end his days in the defeats of Corsica; he acquainted some deputies from that kingdom, then at Algiers, with his design, who gladly engaged to carry it into effect. Accordingly, on the day before their departure, he takes them with him to his country seat, where he caused his four wives to be stripped of all their ornaments, which he distributed among those frighters. He next caused them to be led into a dungeon, where he had the night before confined a negro slave, who had been privy to their intrigues, and there ordered them all to be impaled alive upon four stakes prepared for that purpose, after having first feared the offending part with a hot iron. The negro slave was next quartered alive, and one of his quarters hung about the neck of each of them, which done he locked up the dungeon, and left them to expire in the most dreadful torments, whilst he and his new associates took horse, and by a speedy march, quickly reached the mountains of Gouvi, where he was out of all danger from the Algerine government, who did not receive the news of this dreadful tragedy till he was got far enough out of their reach.

Seremeth had taken care that a young female slave should be a witness of the whole scene, that she might inform them of it, but left her locked up in a chamber of his villa, whence she could not be released till next morning. As soon as the Dey was apprised of it by a messenger sent on purpose, he dispatched a Chaque thither, who, breaking into the dungeon, found two of the wives already dead, and the other two just expiring, whose agonies he put an end to with his sword. They were afterwards buried in a manner suitable to their rank; and his estate, which he had not time to fell, was, by the order of the Douwan, equitably divided among the children of those unfortunate mothers (10).

(G) Among these are six flatly ones of a round figure, contiguous to each of her, which are easily distinguished from all the rest. These belong to six Dey's, who were elected to that dignity, and immediaterly after strangled in the Douwan, within a few days of each other, by the fury of their cabals; the severest that was chofen maintained his post; of whom we shall give a farther account in the course of this history.

The tombs of the Dey's and Bafhas are distinguished by a flame, on which a turban is carved in relief: those of the Agas and military officers by a pike fixed in the ground close to the coffin; those of the Rais or sea captains by a flag, with a gilded truck or ball. Those of the common people are only distinguished by flat boxes, laid in the earth in the form of a coffin, of which those at the head and feet are highest. All these tombs are without the walls, at a small distance from the town; the only one to be seen within the city is that of Hali, Dey, who was looked upon as a saint, and a great favourite of heaven, because he died a natural death; a happy circumstance, which raised to that dignity, have enjoyed since its first establishment; insomuch, that his tomb was for forty days successively adorned with flowers, and surrounded with crowds of people offering up prayers for his soul (11).

(9) See before, p. 215, & seq. (10) Tassi, ubi sup. p. 171, & 199. (11) Tassi, ubi sup.,
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The city of Algiers had formerly neither wells nor fountains to supply it with water, but were forced to fave that which fell from the sky in heavy rains, till the last century, when a Moor, driven thither from Spain, found out a way of conveying as much of it, by the help of two aqueducts, as supplied a hundred fountains with it, at proper distances from each other. This water, which is universally allowed to be excellent, is brought thither by a long course of pipes and conduits from a great variety of rivulets, which have their source on the adjacent mountains; and do likewise supply their country seats, and adjoining gardens and orchards with it.

The territory about Algiers is very fertile; and the hills and valleys about are everywhere beautiful with gardens, groves, and country seats, whither the richer portion of people retire during the summer season. These villas are little white housetus, finely shaded with variety of fruit trees, and other verdure, which yield a beautiful prospect towards the sea. The gardens are stocked with plenty of fruit trees, melons, and pot-herbs, and watered by a multitude of fountains and rivulets; a thing of singular pleasure and benefit in these hot climes, as it keeps everything in a constant verdure; and where the people are so negligent of these advantages, that they do not so much as prune their trees, but let nature take its own course in almost every thing; and suffer their vines, which are here of exquisite beauty and fruitfulness (H), to run up to the very top of their lofty trees, where they extend themselves from one to another, and form indeed natural and delightful shady bowers; but would yield much better fruit, if they were better cultivated. The fame may be said of their orange, citron, and other fruit trees; which, though in great number, yet, for want of care, never come to that perfection, as those which are cultivated by strangers, particularly by the European consuls; the trees of whose villas produce much more excellent fruits than those that belong to the Turks and other natives. And it is not a little surprising, that this should not excite their flagellants to strive, at least, to that fame industry in a thing, in which, in all other respects, they appear to take an equal, if not a greater delight.*

It will not be expected, that, in a work of this extensive nature, we should take notice of every fertile spot belonging to this province of Algiers Proper; of which the reader will find a more ample account in the authors often quoted thro' this chapter. One of them, however, we cannot well omit on several accounts; and, particularly, because it will give him an idea of the fecundity of the rest. We mean the rich and delightful plains of Melijah, or, as it is corruptly spoken, Mustijar and Mottigia, out of whole territory a great part of the Algerine plantations above mentioned are taken. This plain, which extends itself above ten leagues in length, and four in breadth; or, according to a later and more accurate observer, near fifty miles in length, and twenty in breadth, is every where watered by a great number of springs and rivulets, and produces abundance of rice, fruit, roots, and grain of all kinds in great perfection; insomuch that the inhabitants enjoy two, and sometimes three crops yearly of wheat, barley, oats, and various kinds of pulse, except in some few barren spots near the sea and woods, which swarm with venomous reptiles. This fertile spot is inhabited by Arabian tribes, and was the native dominion of prince Selim Eutemis, who was dethroned, and murdered by Arauc Barbarossa, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

Natural curiosities here are scarce worth notice, if we except the Hammam, or hot baths of Monerega, the ancient Aque Calida Colonia, situated between the river Shellif and the sea; the largest and most frequented of which is a bason of twelve feet square, and four deep; and the water of which bubbles up in a degree of heat just sufficient: after it hath filled the bason,

(H) Thefe, however, are not the natural produce of the country, but were formerly brought hither by the Moors from Granada after their expulsion from it; for, before that time, the Algerines, instead of cultivating it, did take singular pleasure in rooting up those which the Christians had planted there, and in turning the ground to other uses (12).

It is surprising to see what a vast number of gardens and plantations there are in the neighbourhood of this capital, though the reader may judge of it by those which cover a great part of an adjacent plain, about fifteen miles in compass, which are computed to 20,000; these have, indeed, no houses belonging to them, but only luts built of boughs; and those which are nearer the town have their villas, neatly kept by the slaves belonging to each of their owners.

None of these gardens or plantations are walled, but only fenced with what we call Barbary fig-trees, whose leaves being once fall in the ground, take such deep root, and grow so quickly up, that in a few years they form an impenetrable hedge by their clofness and the prickles that grow upon the leaves, and are as a safter, as well as more delightful inclosure than any wall (13).

(12) Munro, Dapper, Tass, Shaw, &c. ubi sup. (13) Tass, ubi sup. ch. iv. p. 211, & seq.
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It discharges itself into a smaller one, made use of by the Jews, who are not permitted to bathe in company with the Moabites. These two baths were formerly covered with a handsome building, and stone corridors around the basin, but at present lie exposed to the weather, and nearly half filled with stones and rubbish, though still much frequented in the spring. Being supposed to remove all rheumatic pains, to cure the jaundice, and to alleviate most other invertebrate diseases and distempers: higher up the hill there is another spring, but much too hot to bathe in: which is, therefore, conveyed through a long pipe into another room, and used in the same manner and effect as our pumping. There are several other such hot springs in this province, whose waters are also medicinal, and very little heavier than rain water; these which our author weighed were in proportion to it, as 836 or 837 to 830; and that of Matuwal as 910 to 830.

These Thermae are a sign, that the ground underneath abounds with sulphur, nitre, and other inflammable bodies, which is farther confirmed by the frequency and violence of the earthquakes, to which this country is subject at sea as well as land: three of the former our author felt, au. 1724, in a cruizer of 50 guns, at some distance from the coast, and in such a depth of water, that a line of 200 fathom could not reach the bottom; each of which gave as great a shock to the vessel, as if a large weight of twenty or thirty tons had fallen from a prodigious height upon the ballast: these at land are no less violent, and commonly fall out after some great rains at the close of the summer, and in autumn; the occasion of which is supposed to be the conflagration, or effusion of the surface at such times, which confines or keeps back the subterraneous flames, which in the summer find a freer passage through the chimneys or chinks of it.

The people in this neighbourhood talk much of large gigantic bones being dug up, particularly a thigh bone thirty-six inches long; but our author could meet with nothing like it at his coming to the place, and observed the coffins and graves to be of the usual dimensions; and much questions, whether those large ones so much talked of were not those of camels or horses buried along with their riders, together with their armour, &c., after the manner of the Goths and Vandals, who passed over from Spain into Africa; and being the descendants of the ancient Scythians, might, in all probability, use their old way of interring their great men. This appears indeed so much the more probable, from some of those swords which have been found among the bones; one of which, our author tells us, is kept in the Deys palace at Algiers, dug not many years ago out of Temendsenfe: they are of an uncommon length, bigness, and weight, and have large handles in the shape of a crof: so one would imagine them to be too unwieldy to be used by men of common size and strength, and, consequently, that the bones and the weapons must have borne a nearer proportion than our author seems willing to allow.


See Ancient Hist. vol. ii. p. 271.  6 Shaw, p. 65.
Sect. IV.

The interest of Algiers with Christian and African princes, and their respective consul residing there.

As this is a matter that more immediately concerns us to know, as a trading nation, and as being in alliance with the Algerine state, than any other we have treated of in this chapter, it would doubly be looked upon as an unpardonable omission, if we should neglect to give our readers at least as particular an account of it as we have done of all the rest. We have already taken notice that ours and the French nation are at peace with them. This privilege we have not only enjoyed ever since the year 1682, but have likewise, by our good offices, obtained it for our neighbours the Dutch; who, if we had not used our interest in their behalf, might have continued to this day at war with them; and now they are obliged to buy the continuation of their friendship by very considerable annual presents. The Swedes, about the same time, thought fit to purchase a peace from them at the expense of 700,000 dollars; which, considering the small number of Swedish vessels which their cruisers meet with, hath hitherto been looked upon as no small mystery. And it is well if the Dey is not, e're long, obliged to lessen the number of those alliances, from the same motives which obliged his predecessors to enlarge them: in which case it is easy to guess which of the four allies will be most in danger of a rupture, as long as the French can annoy them with their ships from Marsilles and Toulon, and we much more so with ours from Gibraltar. Were it not for this, it is plain their intercourse would rather induce them to be at war than peace with us, or any other trading nation, because they have always found that the balance of the captures made by, and upon them, was greatly on their side, both with regard to number and value; and without such a constant supply of them, their state, such is the constitution of it, cannot possibly support itself, but must either break the most solemn treaties with some of their allies, or suffer their sea forces to act in open violation of them, to prevent an insurrection (A).

We need not wonder, therefore, at the Dowaun and militia being so greedy of war, that they even refused to enter into an alliance with the emperor, though the Sultan, to whom they still own a kind of subjection, did earnestly request it of them; nor at the Dey himself appearing outwardly the most forward and eager for it, though his own interest ought rather to incline him to be at peace with Christian princes, since every unsuccessful enterprise against them, or even miscarriage in his officers, doth as often occasion the loss of his head, as his stiff refusal to declare war against any nation they have pitched upon for a prey: but it is far otherwise with the officers and soldiery, who, whatever small losses they may suffer by it, are sure in the whole to be considerable gainers, as in the case of the late war with England, wherein their loss of about twenty-fix of their beggarly corfours was so amply compensated by the taking of no less than 350 of our rich merchant ships, that they would never have consented to a peace with us, had we not purchased it by dint of money, and a supply of naval stores b; both which their government stood in great want of at that juncture (B).

(A) It was a true, as well as serious answer which the late Dey, Ali, is reported to have given to Mr. Cole, our Englise consul, on his complaining of the injuries which our vessels met with from his cruisers; The Algerines are a company of rogues, and I am their captain (1). And it is plain, that if they have not so many allies, their younger soldiery, who cannot well subsist without the money that arises to their share from prizes, will raise such clamours against him, as will oblige him either to break off with some of them, or to wink at such unjust depredations. This was the case, anno 1716, when these prizes became so fruitful, that the officers were forced to lay the matter before the Dowaun; where, after strong debates, it was carried by a majorit, that since they met with few ships at sea, but what were either French, English, or Dutch, and prizes were the chief support of the state and navy, war should be immediately declared against the last, which was accordingly done; and one of their ships then in the harbour was seized, and an order issued to all the Algerine ports to do the like: and all that their confid could obtain from the Dey, who had a value for him, was, that he should be allowed his own time to settle his affairs, and be protected from insults (2). They had, indeed, made a very strenuous opposition before against making any peace with them upon terms, alleging, the little encouragement there would be to fit out any ships, whilst they continued in friendship with those three trading nations, and how incomconsiderable the loss of a few corfours would be to the state, when balanced with the usual riches obtained by the war; concluding with a pathetic Arabick proverb, that These men ought rather to join, who were afraid of the sword (3): so that if the rich presents of the Dutch, and their further promises of a greater supply of naval stores, prevailed upon the Dowaun to grant them a peace against the remonstrances of the sea officers and soldiery, these found means soon after to oblige them to break it.

(B) Besides the great advantage which the Algerine state hath, with respect to the number and value of those

(2) Tassy's Algiers. l. ii. c. 17. p. 288.
(3) Shaw, ubi sup. p. 318, & sqq.
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a It was by the fame policy that we have kept them in some tolerable friendship with us, and inspired them with a particular esteem for our nation, till our becoming masters of Gibraltar and Port Mabon fixed them more effectually to our interest. It is much by the fame motive of fear that the French oblige them to keep up their alliance with us; and that they obtained the fame privilege with us by the treaty concluded an. 1718; at which time they had a fìour squadron lying off in the road to give weight to their consul's remonstrances. But as to the rest of the Chriffian princes and states, it plainly appears, from what hath been said, that it is utterly against the Algerine government to be at peace with them long; and with some of them, especially the Spaniards, ever to be fo, unless driven to it by superior force, which hath hitherto been tried in vain; and whenever that happens to be the cafe, it must be expected to be of

b no longer duration than till they grow strong enough again to break it off.

It is quite otherwife with respect to the African powers, with whom they must, upon several accounts, keep a good harmony; and more particularly with the king of Morocco, and the Bey of Tunis, who, being contiguous to that of Algiers, might otherwise prove very trouble, some neighbours to it: for this last being chiefly peopled by the Arabians and Moors, who not only deftell the Turkish government, but are naturally friends of the two former, on account of their being Moors, would run a very great hazard upon any rupture with either of them; and it might perhaps be the most effectual way for any European princes to suppreff the Algerine power, to engage either or both of them in a war with it, and support them well. The misfortune is, that the Turkish tyranny hath long since sunk the whole Moorish race into such

c flaviòb abjection, that they imbibe from their very infancy an unconquerable dread of the Turkish name; and are, as it were, naturally inured to be treated with the greatest contempt and inflence: neither is this flaviòb spirit confined to those that groan under their yoke, but hath spread itself among all the rest, and much more since the clofe of the last century; when Chaban, Bey of Tunis, with only 6000 Turks and 6000 Moors, attacked, and totally defeated the king of Morocco, Muley Ismael, at the head of 60,000 men, and obliged him to buy a peace from him on his own terms. His success was no less surprizing soon after against Mahamed, Bey of Tunis, whom, with only 3000 militia, he defeated, at the head of 20,000 men, with a great slaughter, and took all his cannon and baggage; after which he entered his capital in triumph; and having fet his Ben Chouke on the throne, returned to his own dominions, d laden with an immense booty, as we shall relate more at length in the sequel. These two instances may suffice to fhew how formidable the Turkish powers must have been by that time, and much more so since, both to the Moors and to the neighbouring Moorish kingdoms; who, on that account, are made to think it a fingular favour and obligation, that they forbear extending their conquests into their dominions*.

It is, indeed, otherwise with respect to the tributary Arabians, who still retain their ancient d valour and love of liberty to such a degree, as to be still watching every opportunity of ridding themselves both of their yoke and tribute, and are numerous and strong enough to prove an overmatch for the Algerine troops, were their tribes but rightly united with each other, and their neighbours sure to observe a neutrality. But besides that, the government takes care to keep e them in extreme poverty, by loading them with taxes, and oppressing them with military excrevements in cafes of non-payment; they have still a more effectual way to prevent any attempt from that quarter, by fomenting divisions between tribe and tribe, and playing one against another; by which means a small number of Turkish forces, feazonably thrown in on any one side, will

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prizes, they have several other ways of indemnifying it for thofe of the lofles they suffer at fce. If a cofain is left at fea, or taken by the enemy, the owner is obliged to buy or build another of equal force within the time limited by the Bey, who is, however, to have some regard to his circumstances and abilities.

If a Turk or Moor be taken prisoner, though in fighting with an enemy, or by any other accident, whether laudable or otherwife, he is never redeemed or exchanged by the government, but is looked upon as dead; and if he hath neither child nor brothers, all his effects, real and personal, are feized on by the Bey for the service of the fiate; and if he returns from his captivity, all that he can obtain from him is a year's pay, fuch as he had before, to enable him to provide himself with a fresh fet of arms, in ord. to enter again into the service.

Thofe that are either taken or killed in thefe excursions, or die in the service, have their vacancies supplied by new recruits from the Levant, who are at firft admitted only to the loweft rank and pay, which being but small, is an inducement to them to mend their condition, either by plunder in the army, or prizes at fea; by which means also they have an opportunity to raise themselves either by fregianing, or by their valour and good behaviour, from one degree to another, till they arrive at the chief or highest pay. Even the demolition of houses by bombardment brings fome emoluments to the flate; if they belong either to Moors or Catholics, who are obliged by the law to rebuild them within a year; and if they are not able to do it, every thing belonging to them is seized on, and fold for the fervice of the flate. So that in all respects war must be the most preferable to fuch a government, which can carry it on at fo small an expence, and turn its very lofles into gain.

* See before, p. 218, & seq. (4) See before, p. 218, & seq. (5) Dapper, Tassy, Shaw, & al. sup. citat. 9
be more than a sufficient balance against the other: and thus, by the old experienced general a maxim of, Divide et impera, on the one hand, and by another more peculiar to the Turks, that severity on one side begets fear on the other, the Algerine state hath been able to keep that large and populous kingdom in obedience, or rather in a most cruel slavery, with a force scarcely amounting to 7000 Turks, including the Couloglites; of which near 2000 of the former are supposed to be veterans, excused from duty, and of the remaining 5000, 1000 are constantly employed in annually relieving their garrisons, whilst the rest are either to arm out their cruisers, or to form the three flying camps belonging to the three provincial viceroys, or rather annual tax gatherers, mentioned in a former section 3, afflicted only by about 2000 Zuowabaks, corruptly called by Leo Africanus, Dapper, and other modern writers, Azagues, who are Moorish horse and foot, kept in pay for that purpose, who being all native enemies to the government, are only made use of to augment the bulk of its forces; but are never considered as any real guard to it 4. With so small a number of Turkish forces hath such a kingdom as this (so dangerous to the head, so subject to convulsions among the soldiery, so onerous and oppressive to the subjects, and the not only born and bred enemies to the Turkish yoke, but almost 200 to one more numerous than their tyrannic lords), been able to subvert and support itself so long, maintain such constant wars against so many Christian states, and for the most part with surprising success, when each of them timely could equip a naval force so vastly superior to theirs. Lastly, how they have been able, by the help of so small a number of corsairs, to cau se themselves to be respected at sea, and to so many nations court and buy their friendship and alliance at a high rate; and how, with such handfuls of Turkish troops, they have been able to keep so many large provinces and variety of nations in subjection to them, might well be looked upon only as an inexplicable, but an incredible, question, had not our vicinity to, and commerce with them, given us all the assurance of it that can be desired. But it is not improbable, that the most incredulous of our readers will find, in the sequel of their history, to which we are now hastening, matter enough, both to convince them of the truth of it, and to unravel a great part, if not the whole of that strange paradox.

* See before, p. 223, & seq.  
† TASSY, ubi sup. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 312.

S E C T. V.

The history of Algiers from the foundation of that monarchy by Barbarossa, to the end of the 16th century.

It will not be improper, in order to connect the Antient and Modern History of this kingdom, to recapitulate, in few words, the several vicissitudes and revolutions it hath gone thro', from the time it was, with the rest of the African provinces, abandoned by the Romans, to the fatal period in which it became subject to the famed tyrant Barbarossa; who, being invited hither to deliver the Algerines from the Spanio yoke, did, by the base treachery and cruelty, subdue it to himself, and became the first Turkish tyrant of it: ever since which time that brave nation hath continued under the galling yoke of a Turkish government. And this we think the more necessary to do here, as all those various revolutions lie more or less scattered in the several histories of the Vandals, Greeks, Saracens, Arabs, and other nations, that have successively held it under their respective dominions, and cannot be so easily collected by the reader, without some such short recapitulation, as shall bring them as it were under one view, especially as this kingdom hath been blended at several times with those of Tunis, Tripoli, Morrocco, &c. and with them made but a part of a much larger and more powerful kingdom.

We have seen in some former chapters the Romans expelled out of this, and the rest of Africa, by the Vandals, and other northern Barbarians; who, after having destroyed the best part of their opulent cities and most sumptuous works, and domineered over these parts from the year 427 to 558, were forced to yield in their turn to the conquering arms of the renowned Belisarius, Justinian's successful general; from which time they continued in subjection to the Greek emperors, till about an 663, when the Mohammedan Arabs over-ran all this part of Africa, and tyrannized over it till the natives found means to shake off the yoke, and to make themselves masters of a great part of Barbary, where they divided themselves into a great number of petty kingdoms or states, under chiefs of their own nation and shuffling, in whose government they continued several centuries, that is, till an. 1051, when Abul Teslim of the Zinghabian tribe, drove them out, by the assistance of some powerful marabouts, and took upon him the title of Amir al Mumenin, or chief of the faithful, whilst his subjects were distinguished by that of Morabites, and corruptly Almoracides.

* See before, p. 130, & seq.

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This race was again driven out in the 15th century by Muhafedim, a marabout, who, with the assistance of the Mazawedim, destroyed Braban Halli, the last emperor of the Zinzibian dynasty, and forced him to flee to some rocky precipices, where he miserably ended his life, with the unfortunate remains of his family, whilst the usurper and his successors feigned on his dominions; and these affected to call themselves from him Muhafedim, and afterwards Mubadeed and Mobades b.

This briefly race was again expelled by Abdalac, governor of Fez, at the head of his Benimerini; and he, soon after, stripped of his new conquests in the 15th century by the Sharifs of Hafcen, descended from the Arabian princes, who had flourished here in the 10th century; and these, the better to secure their new dominions, divided Berber into several little kingdoms or provinces, each of them under their respective chiefs, to prevent their being looted a second time. Amongst the rest, this of Algiers was divided between four of their own native princes; the chief of whom, named Rabir Ma' in, made choice of that of Tremezen; and the other three had those of Tenez, Algiers Proper, and Baguya, or rather Bugayab; by which partition those four cities became the seats and capitals of the four kingdoms, and the princes soon after took the title of kings upon themselves, and each of them had a number of Arabian tribes, or small republics, under them, whose chiefs were obliged to pay a certain tribute to them. These four monarchs laid a good foundation for a lasting balance between them, that they continued some centuries in mutual peace and amity; till at length, that of Tremezen having ventured to violate some of their articles, that of Tenez, named Abul' Fariz, who was by this time become very powerful, and was no less ambitious than he, took occasion, from his infringement, to declare war against him. It was not long before he made himself master of Bugayab and Tlem San, or Tremezen; and had such successes against his antagonist, that he obliged him to submit to a very disadvantageous peace, and to become tributary to him. He did not, however, continue long so; for Abul' Fariz dying a few years after, and having divided his kingdom between his three sons, the eldest of whom had Tenez, the second Jigeri, vulgarly called Gigeri, and the third, named Abdalaciz, that of Bugayab; this last immediately entered into a vigorous and successful war against the king of Tremezen; in which the Algerines, who had forces and provision against the king of Tremezen, were defeated, and the king now became too weak either to protect or oppress them, thought it more safe to transfer their tribute to his antagonist; by which means Abdalaciz became so powerful, that he might, in all likelihood, have made himself master of all Berber with a great deal of ease, had not Spain taken advantage of these indefinite disquiets, and sent a powerful army thither, which soon put a stop to all his successes, and quite changed the face of affairs there c.

This remarkable revolution happened an 1505, when Ferdinand V. king of Aragon, by the advice of his prime minister, cardinal Ximenus, sent thither the count of Navarre with a powerful army and fleet, who soon made himself master of the important city and harbour of Oran, or Auran, then chiefly inhabited by Moors, who had been banished out of the maritime provinces of Spain about twelve years before; and who, being thoroughly acquainted with the Spaniard language, and the course of those maritime coasts, did greatly inflame them by their frequent descents, and pillaging inroads; to suppress which this powerful force was chiefly sent. The Spaniards pursued his successes with such valour and speed, that the city of Bugayab, and other considerable places, soon followed the fate of Oran, which so alarmed the Algerines, who had no small reason to fear that his next attempt would be on their capital, which was at that time in too weak a condition to make head against such a force. In this dilemma they found no better expedient than to apply to Selim Eutemi, or as Marmet calls him c, Celm-Beni-Tuni, a noble and warlike Arabian prince, whose territory was the fertile plain of Mattijab, vulgarly Mofijiga, and to put themselves wholly under his protection and government; who came accordingly at the head of a good number of his bravest subjects, together with his wife Zapira, a lady justly celebrated for the beauties of her body and mind, and a son, then about twelve years old. All this, however, could not hinder the Spaniards landing a sufficient number of forces near Algiers on that same year, which soon obliged that metropolis to pay homage to Spain, and to become tributary to it: neither could prince Selim prevent their building a strong fort on the small illand opposite to the city 1, and putting a strong garrison, together with a sufficient quantity of artillery, into it, which proved a powerful curb on the Algerines, at the same time that it terrified their corsairs from sailing either in or out of that harbour: this galling yoke they were obliged to submit to till the year 1516, on which king Ferdinand died; but no sooner were they apprised of his death than they resolved, if possible, to shake it off, and make a fresh push for their liberty. Aruth Barbarossa, the famous, or rather infamous, pirate, a Turk, and native of the island of Lefhos, in

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b See before, p. 128, & seq.

b See before, p. 128, & seq.

d See before, p. 143, 203.  

Afric. l. v. c. 41.  

d See before, p. 203, & seq.

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Barbarossa

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ploits at sea.

The Archipelage, or, as Marmol and others will rather have him, a Sicilian renegade (C), was by this time become no less dreaded for his valour than for his surprizing successes, and was then on a cruise with a squadron of gallies and barks. To him the Algerines, with the content and permission of prince Elteni, sent a deputation, requesting him to come and free them from the Spanish yoke, and promising him a gratuity answerable to so great a service, both which he readily accepted, and immediately dispatched a squadron of eighteen galleys and thirty barks to their assistance, whilst he hastened to them by long marches by land, accompanied by as many Turks and Moors as he could possibly engage in that expedition: the news of this filled the city of Algiers with inexpressible joy. But as we are now entering into a strange series of the most uncommon villains, murders, and surprizing successes of this infamous pirate, who is particularly noted by all historians of this time, though with some disagreement, as being the first who brought the Turks into Barbary, it will not be improper to give our readers a short account of him before we proceed farther.

We have already observed in a late note, that his father was a renegade, whether of Sicily or Lebros, who followed the same piratical trade: his mother is said to have been a Spaniard of Andalusia, who had been taken prisoner by, and was brought up under him; others will have him to have followed the trade of a potter. However that be, his son, whom we are speaking of, began that of corsair very young, and had the command of a vessel, fitted out by some Constantinopolitan merchant, to cruise upon such as were not in alliance with the Peris, and steered directly with it towards the coasts of Barbary, where a Turkish vessel had hardly ever been seen. He was kindly received by the king of Tunis, and permitted to put into any of his ports, upon paying him a tenth for every prize, and was here joined by another galley. We are told he was but then thirteen years of age, and had with him two brothers, Hayradin, vulgarly Aradin, and Iskak; the former of whom made afterwards a greater figure than Barbarossa himself, and succeeded him in the kingdom of Algiers.

These three soon after took such a number of prizes, particularly two of the pope’s galleys of war, as filled both Moors and Christians with astonishment (the Moors of Barbary having till then annoyed those coasts only in tow-boats and brigantines), insomuch that in about eight years time he saw himself at the head of twelve large galleys; eight of which were his own, and the rest belonged to his chief officers: some authors make them amount to twenty-fix, all manned with Turks and Moors. With these he was, not long after, invited to the assistance of the king of Bugyeb, who had been dispossessed of his dominions, with promises of ample rewards; and having landed his forces, consisting of 1,000 Turks and Moors, made a fruitless attempt to recover his capital, in conjunction with that prince, the Spaniard garrison making a continual fire upon them, in which his left arm was shot off by a cannon ball. He renewed it the year following, with no better success; upon which he wholly gave it up, and sailed directly for Jigel, distant about twenty leagues from Bugyeb, where he continued the whole autumn and enlivening winter: by this time, the inhabitants being almost reduced to a famine through the badness of the harvest, he fell sick, and soon after returned with three ships laden with corn, which he distributed among the townspeople, and the Arabians of the adjacent mountains; by which he so far gained the affections of the latter, that they immediately honoured him with the title of their Sultan; tho’ they had, till then, refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the greatest monarchs. Under this new title he began to make war against some of the neighbouring mountaineers, and had gained several considerable victories over them, when he received the ambassady from prince Selim Elteni, or, as he is called by others, Selim Amen Toumi above-mentioned, which gave him the promising prospect of making himself master of a more convenient and important place on the Barbary coast than either that of Jigel or Bugyeb. With this view he began his march by land, as was hinted above, at the head of 800 Turks, 3,000 Jigelitees, and 1,000 Moorish volunteers; but instead of taking the direct road to Algiers, bent his way towards Sharbel, where Hafsan, another famed corsair, had settled himself, and whom he there surprized, and obliged to surrender, not without a previous promise of friendship; but no sooner got him in his power than he cauased his head to be cut off, feigned on all his ships, and obliged the Turks, who had asilfled in his service, to follow him in his new expedition. Upon their arrival near Algiers, all the people of that metropolis, great and small, with prince Selim Elteni at their head, went out to meet this great warrior and deliverer, whom they looked upon as invincible, and conducted him into that metropolis with the utmost splendor and triumph amidst the greatest acclamations of the people, and lodged him in one of the noblest apartments on account of his red beard) was only a renegade’s son at most; for his father must be supposed to have brought him up in the religion he had affixed, and so could be no apostate from Christianity (1).

(C) Marmol, and others after him, positively affirm his father to have been a native of Sicily, and originally a Christian, who turned Muhammadan for the better carrying on the piratical trade. If so, indeed, or, as he calls him, Hox (for the surname of Barbarossa was given him (1) See Marmol, Afric. Bk. v. ch. 11.

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of that prince's palace, where he was again received with the greatest marks of distinction, and returned their compliments on his happy arrival with great condescension, and repeated assurances of his sincere friendship and affection: whilst his troops were likewise treated with such uncommon generosity, that our pirate, elevated beyond measure at their strange and unexpected submission, and his own reception, began to form the treacherous design of enslaving them, and making himself king of Algiers, and the provinces belonging to it. His only fear was, lest his Turks and Moors should recoil at so great a bauble, and others refuse to join in it, or, perhaps, betray his design to prince Selim, and abandon him to his just repentance. He, therefore, resolved to communicate it first to the chief officers of his council, and after having first exacted a solemn oath of secrecy from them, who made no scruple to applaud his resolution, and

b to promise to assist him in it with all their might.

All this while his troops revelled in the city and country with all the licentiousness and insolence imaginable, and committed the most shocking disorders with surprising impunity, the Algerines neither daring, nor being in a condition, to suppress them; and Barbarossa not only conniving at it, but privately encouraging them, with a view of bringing things to such a crisis as would facilitate the execution of his treacherous scheme. In the mean time, the better to delude the Algerines, he cauffed a battery to be erected at the marine gate, opposite to the Spanish fort, and at the distance of about 200, or, according to another author, 300 paces, and thence continued battering it for the space of a whole month, without any effect, his cannon being much too small: upon which he thought proper to put off his expedition to some other time.

In all this he acted in so arbitrary a manner, without consulting the prince, or shewing the least regard to his being pleased or displeased with what he did, whilst his soldiers behaved with the same brutish insolence to the Algerines, that they could no longer doubt of his perfidious design, and began to complain of his perfidy in so loud and public a manner, as gave the pirate reason to think that their next step would be to oppose him with all their might; to prevent which, he resolved to be before-hand with them, and at once to rid himself of prince Eumem, get himself proclaimed by his troops king of Algiers, and oblige the Algerines to acknowledge him as such (D): all which he but too easily accomplished, with little or no danger or difficulty. With relation to the first, his being lodged in the prince's palace gave him an opportunity of converting his measures both for the time and means of privately dispatching him; for having observed that he usually slaid a while alone in the bath every day before the time of prayer at noon, he took that opportunity of surprising him there, unperceived, with naked and defenceless condition; and having strangled him with a napkin, immediately withdrew, without being observed by any one; presently after this he returns thither, attended with a considerable retinue, under pretence of bathing, as usual, and put on the most lively tokens of surprize and grief at the sight of the murdered prince; but to avoid suspicion, gave it out that he was fallen into a fit, and had been suffocated in the bath: and though the inhabitants of Algiers did but too justly suspicions the perfidious and inhuman pirate to have been the author of that tragic scene, they had been already so cruelly treated by his soldiers, that they dared neither complain, nor oppose anything he did. On the contrary, they began to fear that the

D We are told by a late writer, that there was still another motive which hastened the execution of this perfidious design: viz., Barbarossa's secret affection for the excellent and beautiful Zapheira, prince Eumem's wife. This secret piece of history, he tells us, he met with in a yellow manuscript, in the hands of a famous marabout, of the family of that unfortunate prince. The substance of which is, that the pirate's address to that virtuous princess being rejected, with that renunciation which the murder of her husband, and the enslave of the Algerine kingdom, justly deferred, his passion grew the more furious, and made him resolve to use force towards her. He made no scruple to threaten her with revenge; to prevent which, she took care to arm herself with a dagger and a dose of poison against his next visit, defying with the one to stab the tyrant, and to dispatch him on the other, if she misled her blow. He came accordingly on the next day, and on some pretence, got all her women into one room, and having locked them up in it, entered into that of the princess, whom he found fitting on her sofa, and all bathed in tears, and overwhelmed with the deepest grief. He

endeavoured at first to soothe her by the gentlest carriage, but grew the more furious upon her next repulse, and had no sooner laid his hands on her, than she drew out the dagger, and tried to plunge it into his heart. He did, however, so far ward off the blow, that it only wounded him in the arm; but that proved sufficient to oblige him to leave her for a while, till he had bound up his wound, and called in one of his guards to disarm her, resolved now more than ever to force her at any rate: but whilst that was doing, she had swallowed the poison, which operated with such quickness, that the expired soon after at his feet, whereupon the brutal tyrant wreaked his revenge on her women whom he had locked up, cau ed them to be all strangled, and privately buried with their mistress, and a report to be given out that they had made their escape (2). But whether this story might not be contrived by some of prince Eumem's descendants to blacken the name of Barbarossa the more, we leave to our readers to decide, especially as our author does not pretend to answer for the authenticity of the manuscript out of which he took it. The reader may see it at full length in his history of Algiers (3).

(1) Preface to the Hist. of Algiers. Morgan's Reflections on this romantic Story, p. 239.

(2) Lib. 1. chap. 1.

(3) Lib. p. 11, 28. See also

slaughter

Compare Tassy, p. 11, & Morgan, p. 236.
flaughter would be universal; upon which many of them abandoned the city and country; and, with what little they could take with them, fled into some of the neighbouring states, whilst others barricaded themselves in their houses, and left the Turks masters of every thing, which paved the way to the execution of the other two parts of his treacherous plot, getting himself proclaimed king by his troops, and acknowledged by the Algerines; the form of which was but too readily complied with by his forces, and without the least opposition from the latter. Barbarossa was accordingly proclaimed through the city with great pomp; he rode through the streets on horseback, attended by his Turks and Moors, who cried, “Long live Aruch Barbarossa, the invincible king of Algiers, the chosen of God to deliver the people from the oppression of the Christians, and destruction to all that shall oppose, or refuse to obey him as their lawful sovereign,” which last threatening words so confirmed the inhabitants in their fears of a general massacre, that those few that were left in the city began to think of preventing it by a timely submission.

The cavalcade ended, the tyrant was accompanied to prince Eutemi’s palace, where, being seated on the throne under a flattering canopy, he received the congratulations of his Turks; immediately after which his troops dispersed themselves, as was agreed, through all parts of the city, to acquaint the Algerines with what had been transacted, and to invite them, in the new king’s name, to come and swear allegiance to him, with assurances, that as many as should comply, would be treated with particular regard by him, and entitled to his special favours. Accordingly many of them came and complied with his invitations, paid homage to him, signed the instrument of his coronation, and were distempered with tokens of his esteem and very large promises. The rest were brought in by degrees soon after, more through fear than love or hope, though he had taken care to allure them to it by a proclamation; in which he gave them the greatest assurances that he would govern them with the equity of a good prince, and the indulgence of a tender father. He had also issued out another edict for the establishing a better discipline and regularity amongst his soldiers, forbidding them, under severe penalties, to molest the inhabitants in their going in and out in pursuit of their respective callings: but all this proved mere grist, and but little observed or minded by him or his Turks, that strangling, confiscation, imprisonment, fines, and banishment, were some of the first tokens he gave them of his pretended equity and fatherly tenderness; insomuch, that both he and his Turks became so dreadful and detestable to their oppressed subjects, that they used to shut up their houses and hide themselves, whenever he appeared in public. Whilst he was thus exercising his tyranny over all whom he suspected of disaffection, he did not forget to strengthen himself by every means that could terrify them from attempting the recovery of their liberty. He began with regulating and augmenting his forces, fortifying the citadel of his capital, supplying it with sufficient artillery, and other warlike stores, and placing a strong Turkish garrison in it. He next coined new money, with his name and stamp upon it (E); and sent ambassadors to all the neighbouring princes, in order to get himself acknowledged by them. In a word, he so confirmed himself on his new throne, allowed his Turkish soldiers so much liberty, and they grew so insolent and brutal with it, that neither the Algerines, nor even their children of either sex, dared to appear in the streets, for fear of exposing themselves to some fatal attempts: whilst the men were quite drained and impoverished with heavy taxes by their pretended protector, nor dared so much as complain of their unhappy slavery, without danger of a still worse treatment.

Barbarossa, in spite of all his craftiness, suffered his brutishness and ambition to hurry him into three overights, which were like to have proved fatal to him; for his treacherous and inhuman way of treating them could hardly fail, he must needs think, of driving them upon some desperate way of recovering their liberty; and he knew well enough how ready the Spaniards, under whom, tyrannic as they were, they could hardly face worse, would be ready to assist them with all their might, to crush at once both him and his Turkish blood-hounds. The next false step he took was the disobliging the warlike Arabs within his dominions, already but too justly provoked at his perfidy and murder of the brave prince Eutemi; for though he had made use of all the artifices he could think of to wipe off the imputation of it, he was still firmly believed to be the author of it; and though he had, by fair promises and carelesness, so far gained upon them, that they had agreed to pay him a small tribute, yet he had suffered his harpies to invade them, and violently to drive away their flocks, seize on

(E) This coin was of gold and silver; and though some pretend that it had the Sultan’s name on it, and that Barbarossa acknowledged himself under his protection, yet neither of them are true; for his coin, as we are told, was inscribed Sultan Arujia, in Turkish characters; and he always acted independent either on the Porte or any other power (4).

(4) See Mason’s Hist. of Algiers, p. 240. their
a their granaries, &c. under pretence that they refused to pay it; by which means they became no less inveterate against him than the Algerines. The third oversight he committed was the disbanding the greatest part of his Moorish troops, who were mostly of the province of Jigiel, vulgarly Gigel, whom poverty, and the sweets of sharing with the Turks in plunder and oppression, had wholly attached to his service, but were now returned home with no small grudging and discontent.

The Algerine chiefs were apprized of all this, and began to think it a favourable crisis to make a bold push for liberty. They found means to send privately some deputies to the Arabians of the Metjijean plains, the country and dominions of their late noble Cheykh, prince Selim Eutemi, whose son had happily escaped to Oran, and put himself under the protection of the Marques de Gomez, governor of it, and was treated by him with all the tenderness and respect due to his birth, youth, and unhappy circumstances. The design of this ambaify was no other than to stir up those brave Arabs to join with them in revenging the murder of their prince, to put an effectual stop to the Turkiyf tyranny, and to restore his son to his father’s throne and dominions: they likewise found means to carry on a secret correspondence with the governor of the Spanifh fort opposite to Algiers. The result of the whole was, that Barbarossa and his Turks should be all allaffinated at once, and that the Algerines should again become tributary to Spain. The day being agreed on for the execution of this important attempt, it was resolved, that a considerable number of Moors should bring their fruits and herbs, as usual, to the market, with arms concealed under their gowns; and that another set of them should privately glide themselves to the galleys which were drawn up upon the shore on each side of the city, and let them on fire: so that whilst the Turks were employed in extinguishing the flames, the citizens should shut the gates upon them, and the garri fon of the fort attack them in their armed boats on all sides, whilst the cannon of the ramparts kept firing upon them. The misfortune was, that the perfons engaged in this design were too numerous; and Barbarossa had so vigilant and jealous an eye over the Algerines, that he discovered the whole design time enough to prevent its taking effect. So that, without betraying the least suspicion or uneafiness from them, he caused a strong guard to be placed both at the city gates and about the galleys, under pretence of securing them from the Spaniards, and by that means prevented the farther execution of that plot, without giving them the least suspicion of his being apprized of it: and whilst they were patiently waiting for a more favourable opportunity for revenging it, he was meditating on the most effectual means of wreaking his vengeance on the contrivers of it. Accordingly, as he was soon after going with his usual retinue to the mofk, at the hour of prayer, he was followed thither by a number of the Algerine chiefs, who were no sooner entered than the gates were ordered to be shut, and the place to be surrounded by the Turfiyf soldiery, to prevent the citizens approaching it. Immediately after which Barbarossa began with upbraiding them in the strongest terms for their intended treachery, as he filled it, against him; and then caused the heads of twenty of the principals of them to be cut off at the mofk’s door, and, with their bodies, to be flung into the streets, and thence buried in some great dunghills, which were then in the heart of the city. He likewise confiscated most of their estates, and laid a heavy fine on the rest. Which dreadful execution so terrified them, that they never dared since to attempt any thing against him or his succifors, but have patiently submitted their necks to the galling yoke with the most surprifing patience, in spite of all the infolence and oppression they have groaned under ever since.

In the mean time the young Arabian prince, the son of Eutemi, whom we left at Oran, thinking himself no less able than he was eager to revenge the wrongs done to his family, laid before the marques of Gomez a very practicable plan for putting the city of Algiers into the king of Spain’s hands, in which he proposed to become the principal actor; and it was thereupon sent to lay it before cardinal Ximenes; who approving of it, sent a fleet with 10,000 land forces, under the command of Don Francisco, or, as others call him, Don Diego de Vera, to drive Barbarossa and his Turks out of Algiers, and to restore young Selim Eutemi. But the fleet was no sooner come in sight of the place, than it was dispersed by a storm, and the greatest part of it dashed against the rocks: most of the Spaniards were drowned; and the few that had escaped to shore, either killed by the Turks or made slaves (E). So that instead of driving the tyrant out of Algiers, this sad dissatisfier not only confirmed him the more in it, but contributed to it.

b Idem ibid. vid. & Morgan, Algiers, part i. c. 3. Tassy, c. i. p. 29, & seq. Marmol, Grammar, Leo Afric. Dapper, Tassy, Morgan, &c.

(E) Marmol says, they landed 7000 troops, whom Barbarossa, who was apprized of their coming, so fiercely engaged, that a great part of them were killed on the spot, or made prisoners, while the rest, endeavouring to recover their ships, perished with the rest of the fleet by the storm that arose immediately after (1).
The history of Algiers.

Book XXII.

to swell his pride and insolence to such a degree, that he began to imagine himself invincible, and that the very elements conspired to make him so, and to grow more cruel and oppressive than ever towards the inhabitants both of the city and country; and indeed, not only the Algerins, but the Arabians and Moors, began to look upon him as a prodigy of good fortune, as well as of insolence and tyranny: and well they might, considering to what pitch of power and grandeur he had raised himself with so small a handful of Turks despotades. The Arabians of several tribes in particular were so alarmed at it, that they held several conferences; in which they at length resolved to fend on an ambash four of their most distinguished chiefs for wolden, to implore the affittance of Hamida Al Aabid, vulgarly Hamidul Alids, king of Tenez, a prince no less uneasy than they at Barbarossa’s exorbitant power; and who readily promised to do his utmost to drive him and his Turks out of Algiers, provided they engaged to bettle that kingdom upon him and his descendants. Their present fears made them readily agree to his conditions, so that he immediately set out, at the head of 10,000 Moors; and, upon his entering into the Algerine dominions, was joined by the Arabians of the whole country. Barbarossa had timely notice of his approach, and, trusting to his good fortune, engaged him at the head of only 1000 Turkish musqueteers, and 500 Granada Moors, and totally defeated his numerous army (F), and pursued him to the very gates of his capital, which obliged him to remove farther towards Mount Atlas; upon which he laid siege to, and easily carried it; and after having given it to be plundered by his Turks, obliged the inhabitants to acknowledge him their sovereign (G).

One would have imagined that such an unequal victory and rapid success, when weighed with the tyrannic use he made of them, would have inspired all the neighbouring states with a suitable dread of his government. Nevertheless, he had no sooner made himself master of the kingdom of Tenez, than the inhabitants of that of Tremecen, which borders upon it, upon some dissatisfaction against their then reigning prince Abuzyam, vulgarly Aouzjian, who had, it seems, dethroned his nephew, and forced him to flee to Oran for refuge, sent some of their principal citizens on an ambash to him, with very advantageous offers, and even of the sovereignty of their noble city and fertile territory, if he would come to their assistance; which he readily accepted. His brother Hairodin, al. Ceredin, was immediately ordered to fend him the artillery and other warlike implements, necessary for that enterprise, from Algiers. His other brother, Imae Zemm, was left governor of Tenez with only 200 Turks and a few Moors, whilst himself d hastened long marches towards Tremecen, with the rest of his forces, attended with a great number of camels and horses laden with provision; his army still increasing as he went, by the addition of several Moor’s tribes, which joined him with no other view than that of plundering. Abuzjian, who suspected nothing of his subjects treachery, being informed that Barbarossa was marching with full speed towards his dominions, went to meet him with an army of 6000 horses and 3000 foot. The battle was fought on the plain of Agbad, al. Agebel, near Auran, with great bravery for some time; but the invader’s artillery gave him such an advantage at length, that he forced him to retire to his capital, where he no sooner arrived, than the Tremecenians struck off his head, and sent it on the point of a spear to the victorious Barbarossa, with a fresh invitation to him to come and take possession of the kingdom. Upon his approach, they all went out to meet and welcome him, whom he received with his usual complaisance, and many fair promises; but was no sooner entered that city with his Turks, than he began to give them some marks of his tyrannic temper; and either by foul or fair means compelled those, who had ridel the palace of their late king, to refund every particular to him; by which means he raised an immense sum upon his new subjects, some part of which he employed in repairing the fortifications of the city and citadel, called Al-Mofinor, and the rest in rewarding his Turks and Moors. The Tremecenians were highly exasperated at this extreme severity, as they deemed it, and were not long before they gave him cause to fear that his reign over them would prove but uneasy and precarious; and as, on the other hand, he rightly judged his neighbourhood, with the Spaniards of Auran, would prove troublesome and dangerous, he thought proper to enter into an alliance with Muysy Hammed, king of Fez, who was then at war with that of Morocco. After which he took care to feize on and secure the remaining cities of that kingdom to his obedience, by garrisoning them with his own troops: and as

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1 Marmol, ubi sup. Gramm. lib. vii. c. 27. Tassy, & al. sup. citat.

(F) This victory was, however, chiefly owing to the advantage which his troops had from their fire-arms, the enemy having no other weapons than arrows and javelins (G).

(G) The city of Tenez, or Tenez, the capital of the kingdom of that name, is situate near the sea, about forty leagues west of Algiers, and near as many east of Orun, and had at this time a considerable territory, both under the possession of prince Hamidul Aabid, famenised Al Aabid, from his swarthy skin, his mother being a black, whence he is vulgarly called Hamidul Aids (J).
The history of Algiers.

Chap. 3.

a some of them ventured to revolt soon after, at the report of the tyrannies which he every
where exercised over those that fell under his power, he was again obliged to send one of his
conturers, named Esander, a man no less cruel than he to reduce them; so that the
Tremecenians began now to repent in good earnest of their having invited such a tyrant to
their affluence, and to consult on the means of driving him away, and bringing back their
lawful prince Babama, or, as others call him, Abuken Men, or Abu Hammen; but, un-
fortunately for them, their cabals were discovered soon after, and a great number of the
conspirators were massacred in the most cruel manner, Abuken Men had the good luck to
escape to Auran, and to be received under the protection of the marquis of Gomares, governor
of it, who sent immediate advice of it to Charles V. then lately arrived in Spain, with a pow-
erful fleet and army. Some say, that that governor took the young prince with him to Spain,
whither he repaired to lay before the emperor a plain state of the affairs and transactions in
Africa, and to advise with him about the means of supressing the power and success of the now
dreaded Barbarossa. However that be, no doubt can be made about the readiness with which
that politic monarch undertook to reinthrone an unfortunate prince, who would thereby be-
come not only tributary to him, but might be made very instrumental in driving the ultering
tyrant out of his other conquests. He immediately ordered him a succours of 10,000 men,
under the command of the governor of Auran, who, under the guidance of Abuken Men, began
his march towards Tremecen, and in their way were joined by prince Selim, and a great number
of Arabs and Moors from the adjacent countries. The first thing they resoloved upon was to
c attack the important fortres of Galau, situate between Tremecen and Algiers, and commanded
by the corsair Esander, at the head of about 300 Turks. They invested it closely on all sides,
in hope that Barbarossa would thereby be induced to come out of Tremecen to its affluence,
which would give the citizens an opportunity to rise up in arms during his absence, and to keep
him out. The Turks, however, made a brave defence, and, in a fally they made at night,
surprised and cut off near 300 Spaniards. This encouraged them to venture a second time,
in which they passed the besiegers so well upon their guard, that they were repulsed with great
lofs, and Esander himself was wounded in the thigh by a musket ball; soon after which they
surrendered upon honourable terms (H); and the place, after a severe plunder, was put into
the hands of the king of Tremecen.

c All this while Barbarossa kept himself close in his capital, not daring to stir out for fear of
a revolt, and no less embarrassed on account of the politic delays which the king of Pes made,
to fend him the quota of auxiliaries stipulated by the late treaty of alliance between them, norwith-
standing all his preffing infancies to him.

At length being informed, that Abu Hammen and his Arabs, accompanied by Martin Argot,
the Spanish commander, were in full march to lay close siege to Tremecen, he judged it more
safety to come out of it, at the head of 1500 of his Turks and 5000 Moors horse, and to break
his way through the enemy in the open field. He was not gone far from the city, before his
council advised him to return and fortify himself in it; but it was now too late, the inhabitants
being resoloved to keep him out by main force, and to open their gates to their own lawful prince
as soon as he appeared. In this distrieff he saw no way left but to retire to the citadel, and there
defend himself till he could find an opportunity of stealing out with his men and all his treasure.
Here he defended himself vigorously, and made several successful fallies against the enemy,
as if he designed to hold out a long siege; but his provissions failing him, he took the advantage
of a subteranean back way, which he had caufed to be digged up for that purpofe, and taking his
immense treafure with him, ftole away as privately as he could. His flight was, however,
foon discovered, and he flc close pursu'd, that to amufe, as he hoped, the enemy, he caufed a
great deal of his money, jewels, plate, &c. to be scattered all the way, thinking they would
not fail to froll their pursu'd to gather it up. This stratagem failed him, through the vigilance of
the Spanifh general, who was himself at the head of the pursuers, and obliged them to march
on, till he was come up close to him, on the banks of the Huefd, about eight leagues from
Tremecen. Barbarossa had just croffed the river with his vanguard, when Argot fell upon his
rear on the other fide, and cut them all off; then croffing the water, overtook him, at a small
distance from it. Here a fresh and bloody engagement ensued, in which the Turks fought

m Iadem ibid.

(H) This capitulation was, however, broken by the
beleivers, and the Turks all massacred except sixteen,
who went and clung close to the flries of the king,
and of the Spanifh general. The occasion of which was
owing to a young Arabian officer, who, having disco-
vered his father's shield upon Esander, who had for-
merly taken it from him, and had greatly abused his
wife, fell upon him in a violent fury, affifted by thirty
young warriors of his own tribe, and a good number
of others who followed after them and cut them all
in pieces, notwithstanding all the king's and general's
endeavours to prevent it (4).
like to many lions, till being over-powered by numbers, they were all mafacered by the Spaniards, and Barbarossa among the rest, in the 44th year of his age. Thus fell that famed corsair, four years after he had raised himself to the royal title over the city of Jigel and adjacent countries, two years after his making himself to be acknowledged king of Algiers, and scarcely a twelve-month after his treacherous Reduction of that of Tripolin. His head, set upon a lance, was carried in triumph to that capital, where the marquis of Guzmans settled the king again upon his throne, not only without opposition, but with the joyful acclamations of all the inhabitants. Some few days after the flight, the king of Fezz, who had, till then, artfully delayed sending his ally any succours, made his appearance at the head of 20,000 horse near the field of battle, as if he came to his assistance; when, upon hearing the news of his defeat and death, he marched off with all possible speed, to avoid being attacked by the enemy. The confutation was still greater at Algiers, when this news reached the Turks that were left there in garrison; and not without great cause, considering that they were not only surrounded with enemies on all sides, but that they were left to defend a city, to whose inhabitants they were become so justly, and on so many accounts, odious, ever since their arrival thither.

However, they soon agreed, as the most effectual way to prevent a revolt from that side, to cause Aradin, or Hayradin, the late Barbarossa’s brother, to be proclaimed king of Algiers, and high admiral of the sea; which was done without any great opposition, though the generality of the captains, and some say Hayradin himself, were at first more inclined to embark their forces and riches upon twenty-two galleys, which was all their naval strength at that time, and to abandon Algiers, than to trust to the inactivity of the inhabitants: and this must, in all probability, have proved their safest way, had not the marquis Guzmans been guilty of too much precipitation in sending the emperor’s forces back into Spain, so soon after his re-inthroneing the Tripolin king, instead of keeping them still in Africa; by which means he lost, for ought that appears to the contrary, the fairest opportunity of driving those Turks quite out of Barbary. Hayradin was too quick-sighted not to perceive the advantage which the removal of those forces was to him, in ridding his friends from all farther dread, and disheartening the malecontents from all farther hopes from that quarter: of all which he so well convinced his officers and militia, that they all resolved to stand by him to the last.

He was, not, however, without some just fears, that the Algerines, to whom his government became daily more inoplicable, on account of the cruel tyrannies and oppressions which his officers exercised over them, would, upon the first opportunity, join themselves with the Arabians and Moors, and break out into some open revolt. He had scarcely held the reins two years, before he had such pregnant proofs of an universal ferment throughout the kingdom, as made him apprehend some speedy insurrection, unless he found some more effectual means to over-awe them than his few inoffolent Turkib forces, which were now defeated by all his subjects. The more effectually, therefore, to secure himself against all events, he had recourse to Selim I., then emperor of Constantinople, to whom he dispatched an ambassadof, with magnificent presents, to notify to him the death of his brother Ayuc, and his own election to the Algerine crown, and to make him at the same time an offer of submitting the kingdom to his protection, and to pay him an annual tribute, provided the emperor would assist him with forces sufficient to maintain himself in his station and his new conquests. He was moreover to inform the Porte with the situation of the affairs in Barbary, and to represent to him how easy it would be to reduce that whole country under its protection and government; and last of all, if the Grand Signor refused those offers, they were then empowered to offer to him an entire cession of the Algerine kingdom, on condition that Hayradin should have the dignity and title of vicerey under him.

Selim, who had but a little before, by the conquest of Egypt, put a final end to the long usurpation of the Mamalukes’, was highly pleased with this proposal, as it was to considerable an addition to his dominions, or, at least, to his glory; and sent Hayradin word, that he readily received him under his protection, appointed him his Bashfe or vicerey over the kingdom of Algiers, and that he would speedily dispatch to him a reinforcement of 2000 Janissaries, completely armed, which he accordingly did, by which means Hayradin became so absolute a master, both of the Arabians and Moors, that they were forced to become his submissive slaves, without daring to utter the least complaint against his government. After this he continued in Algiers without the least fear or danger, well guarded by his bold and resolute Turks, increasing daily in power and wealth by the number of his corsairs, and their successful depredations at sea: whilst the Porte kept sending him a confiant supply of recruits every year, with money for the payment of his troops; infomuch, that vast numbers of Turks, who were either malefactors, or perfons in debt, or desperate circumstances, broken fortunes, or on any other...
account uneasy at home, reforted thither from the Levant, and gladly lifted in his service either for the land or sea; so that in a little time the Turks under him became capable of suppresting both Moors and Arabs at home, and of opposing and annoying the Christians at sea.

He was now at leisure to put two grand projects in execution, which he had been meditating for some time. The first was to destroy the Pegnon or Spanish fort, which was a great nuisance to his metropolis, or at least to force the garrison out of it: the other was to make that city a commodious harbour for his ships, by building a mole from thence to the island, in order to shelter them from the weather and the north sea, as well as from being within the reach of the fort guns; to avoid which, they were obliged to lie about a mile west of the towns, and without any good anchorage. As to the first, after having made several fruitless attempts to compels it by force, he at length bethought himself to do it by stratagem; to which end he directed two handsome young Moors to convey themselves privately into the fort, and to get admittance to the governor, under pretence of being defrocs of becoming Christians; and these acted their part so well, that they were kept in the house, in order to be instructed before they were admitted to baptism. They had continued there some time without the least mistrust, when, on Easter day, whilst all the garrison were at church, one of the governor’s domesticks observed them both very busy at the top of a watch tower in making signals by the city by the motion of the mullin of their turbans; upon which he alarmed the garrison, which immediately put itself in arms to prevent a surprize. The two young Moors being seized and brought to the governor, were soon forced to discover the whole secret, and that they were sent thither by Hayradin to watch a proper opportunity for surprizing the fort, and to give notice of it to the town by a signal. Upon which the governor ordered them to be hanged upon a very high gallows, as a signal to the town that their plot was discovered; which so exasperated Hayradin, that he resolved to leave no experiment untir'd till the fort was either taken or destroyed. He sent accordingly a herald, on the next day, to summon the governor, Martin de Vargas, either to surrender the place upon the honourable terms he offered him, or expect the utmost severity of military law, in case he refused. To this the brave governor sent an answer, that he was a Spaniard, and equally despaired his offers, and his menaces; which so exasperated him, that he swore upon the Koran, before a full council, to begin the siege immediately, and not to quit it till he had mastered the fort, or perished in the attempt. News being brought to him on the same day, that a French vessel was stranded upon his coast, and implored his protection and assistance, he readily granted it; but cau’d the cannon to be taken out, in order to be employed in battering the fort, along with the few field pieces which he had by him; and he continued firing at it with such vehemence, during a whole fortnight, that the walls and fortifications were almost quite demolished, and the garrison made so weak a defence, that he rightly judged it to be reduced to the last extremity. Upon which, the Spanish getting about 2000 musqueteers on board his galliots, he reached the fort of the place, and mounted the breach without any opposition. Here he found the governor dangerously wounded, and the rest of the garrison either slain or wounded. He cau’d them to be removed to Algiers, and healed of their wounds; but some months after, either upon some slight or suspicion, cau’d the brave governor to be battinadoed to death, and the rest to be made slaves 1. Being now become master of that important fort, he delayed not to put his next project in Hayradin’s execution; which was to build a strong mole for the safety and convenience of his ships; in which he employed no less than 30,000 Christian slaves, whom he obliged to work without interruption; so that he had quite completed the whole within less than three years, without any expence to him. His next care was to cause the fort to be repaired, and a good garrison to be sent in to prevent any foreign vessels coming into the harbour, without previously giving a good account of themselves. These two important works added so much strength and wealth, not only to the city, but to the kingdom, that Hayradin soon became dreaded, not only by the Moors and Arabsians, but by the maritime Christian powers, and more particularly the Spaniards, from whom they had been in constant apprehension of some powerful defect; whereas they were now in a condition not only to annoy all their trading vessels along the Barbary coasts, but likewise to make frequent and successful incursions upon their own, and bring from thence great numbers of prisoners, and other valuable plunder. Hayradin failed not to acquaint the Porte with an account of all these transactions, and to represent them to the best advantage, in order to obtain a fresh supply of money from thence, to enable him to build a stronger fort, and to erect new batteries in all the places which seemed most exposed to favour an enemy’s landing. He made no request but what was readily granted by the Grand Signor; neither loth he any time to make

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1 Item ibid.

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Book XXII.

Succeeded in Algiers by Hassan Agha.

The Pope engages Charles V. against him.

tho' additional fortifications, both to the fort and the mole; all which have still received a greater improvements from time to time, as often as there was occasion for them. 

In the mean time the Soltan, whether out of a fene of the great services Hayradin had done him, or perhaps, out of some jealousy, left, after having raised him himself to such a height of power and wealth, he should attempt to make himself independent, raised him to the dignity of Captain Bahia of the empire; and appointed Hassan Agha, a Sardinian renegade, an intrepid warrior, and an old experienced officer, to succed him as Bahia of Algiers; who had no sooner taken possession of his new government, than he began to pursue his cruises and ravages on the Spanish coasts, with greater fury and success than ever, and extended them to those of the ecclesiastical state, and other parts of Italy. This soon alarmed Pope Paul III. and obliged him to apply to the emperor Charles V. and to exhort him to send a powerful fleet to suppress those frequent and cruel piracies. The emperor, on his part, wanted not to be spurred up to it. His resentment for the loss of the Spanish territories, the indignities which had been offered to his governor there, and the hostilities they continued full committing on the Mediterranean, to which we may add, the invitations he received from several Arabian chiefs, who promised to assist him in restoring the prince Selim to his throne, easily determined him to equip a powerful fleet, and to command it in person; in which he flattered himself with an easy conquest, not only of Algiers, but of the greatest part of Barbary. The account he had received of the situation, strength, and valour of those people, all contributed to confirm him in his noble views, as nothing, indeed, could immortalize his name so much as the suppression of such a vast number of sworn enemies to Christendom, and the reducing of those vast countries under the standard of Christ. That nothing might be wanting to render it glorious a design successful, by engaging all Christian powers to join in it, Pope Paul published a bull, with a plenary abolition of all fins, and the promise of the crown of martyrdom to all those who should fall in battle against those infidels, or be taken slaves by them, and a variety of other indulgences and blessings, suitable to the services which every one should do to so glorious a cause.

The emperor accordingly set sail towards the end of the summer, at the head of a powerful fleet; consisting of 120 ships and 20 galleys, and having on board 30,000 chosen troops, and an immense quantity of money, arms, ammunition, &c. besides great numbers of young nobility and gentle, who came in as volunteers, and attended him at their own expense, upon the only motives of religion and glory. Among these were many brave knights of Malta, of whom we shall speak more largely in a subsequent chapter; an order of noblemen of all the nations of Europe, whose greatest ambition it always was to signalize themselves against all the enemies of Christendom; and who were ever ready to join in any expedition against them, and always behaved themselves with uncommon valour and intrepidity. Besides these, many ladies of birth and character likewise helped to increase the splendor and greatness of his court; and the wives and daughters of the officers and soldiers, who followed them with a view of settling in Barbary, when he had finished the conquest of it. All these meeting with a favourable wind, soon appeared before the coast of Algiers, every ship displaying the Spanish colours on the stern, and another at the head, which had a crucifix to serve her for a pilot.

It is hardly possible to express the general conformation which the appearance of this powerful fleet threw the city of Algiers into. It was at this time surrounded only with a wall, without hardly any out-works. The whole garrison amounted only to about 800 armed Turkish soldiers and 6000 Moors, without fire-arms, and poorly disciplined and accounted; the rest of their forces being then dispersed in the other provinces of the kingdom, to raise the usual tribute on the Arabs and Moors. In this diffire the Douwan immediately assembled, to deliberate on the most effectual measures for defending the place. One of their first resolutions was, not to hazard their forces in a fruitless opposition to the enemies landing, but to reserve them within the walls, in order to make the first defence they could against their attacks, till the return of those detachments which were then scattered through the kingdom; to harass which they dispatched express every where, acquainting them with their danger, and to define them to make what additions they could to their number, in order at least to obtain a more favourable capitulation from the enemy. The place where the fleet came to anchor was near cape Matari, about two small leagues to the eastward of Algiers, where the army being landed without opposition, the emperor took his post on an eminence, and caufed his standard of the cross to be set up at the sound of trumpets, kettle-drums, &c. whilst the rest of the army worked night and day with indefatigable alacrity in erecting a fort, which had retained ever since the name of the emperor's fort. The army was encamped under the cover of the artillery of the fort, and near a spring which supplied the whole city with fresh water; whose course being turned by the Spaniards, soon reduced the inhabitants to so great a want of it, that

\[1\] Relation addressed to Pope Paul, Vertot, Hist. Marse, lib. x. p. 128, & seq. Tassin, Morgan, & al. sup. citat.

\[2\] Idem ibid.
they were forced to make use of such a flinching sort as their cisterns and reservoirs furnished them with, and which would, ere long, occasion some dreadful disease among them. In this complicated diftreps the Bafha Haffan received a summons from the emperor to surrender the place at discretion, on pain of being put to the sword with his whole garrison. The herald was moreover ordered to extort to him the valiant strength of the emperor both by sea and land, and to make him very considerate promises, both of money and great preferments; and at length to strive to prevail upon him to take hold of that favourable opportunity to return to his native country, and be reconciled to God and his church, both which he had so greatly offended by his apostacy. To all which the fury Haffan returned this answer: That none but a madman would pretend to adjudge an enemy; but that the advised must still act more madly, if he should take the counsel of such an adviser; and with it dismissed him. Others however tell us, that he freely owned himself to be, at that juncture, wholly out of a condition to resist so formidable a power; but, as the proposall was no less hard on his side, he hoped his majesty would grant a few days indulgence to deliberate with his council. His only view in this was to gain time, in hopes that some of his expresss would reach those flying camps, that were then scouring the provinces. As he had heard no news from those quarters, he was just upon the point of surrendering, when advice was brought, that the forces belonging to the western government were in full march towards the place; upon which the Douwan unanimously resolved to defend it to the utmost. On the other hand, Charles receiving no farther answer from the town, and being sensible that the situation of the place would not permit him to block it up by sea and land, which could not be done without dividing his forces, resolved to try a general assault, which he could the more safely hazard, as he had taken care to dispose of his fleet so as to have it ready at hand for a re-imbarcation, in case of necessity. These precautions being taken, he left no time to be beforehand with the troops that were coming to its relief, but kept a constant firing upon the town; which from the weakness of its fortifications, and the faint defence of the besieged, he began to look upon as already in his hands. In the mean time, whilst the Douwan were deliberating on the most effectual means of obtaining an honourable capitulation, a surprizing scene opens itself to them, which makes them at once alter their resolution; and the assurances given them by a poor despised madman of a speedy relief, and of the total destruction of the Christian army and fleet, in some miraculons manner, before the end of the moon, encourages them to hold out till the time prefixed; when the prediction met with an accomplishment, no less surprizing and unexpected, than exact in every particular. The reader may see a more ample detail of this wonderful prophet, and his speech and behaviour before the Douwan in the margin (G); for the truth of which we have

* See before p. 227, & seq.

(G) This surprizing person was an eunuch named Tofagh or Tofagh, much admired by the common people for his prophetic gift, but no less despised and ill-treatet by the great ones on that account, as may be gathered from the speech he made to the Douwan upon this occasion, and wherein, after some polite compliments in praise of God and his prophet, he addressed them in these words to this effect: "My lords, I am the poor Tofagh, the slave of slaves, and most abject of men, perfecuted by the great, represented as a madman by our Marabouts; on which account not only my advices have been rejcted, but myself treated ignominiously. The Cadi, who is the judge of the law, hath often made me undergo so severe and public punishments; and why? Because the Almighty, whole ways are to us unfathomable, hath sometimes given me an insight into futurity; and what I have lutherly foretold hath been thought unworthy of their regard. I have remained silent towards those that despised me, but have informed those poor people, who pitied and relieved me, of things of the greatest moment to them. But at this juncture, you are being rude of our city, the public danger forces me to speak." Here Haffan (whom the present disinterested has a little humanized, as well as the clamours of the people that followed Tofagh, over and above their all expecting some great revelation from their prophet, bid him speak on; upon which he proceeded in these words: "Here is a powerful fleet of infidels, whose vessels are crowdet with armed men, and who have proceeded..."
The besiegers vastly annoyed with rains.

The siege raised. in haste.

have no other evidence, but a received tradition among the Algerines, though the history of a that unfortunate expedition hath left us the most authentic, as well as dreadful proofs of its accomplishment. The besiegers had already suffered greatly by the rains, which had overflowed their camp, damaged their provisions, and wetted their matches, so as to render their fire-arms useless; of all which the governor being fully apprized, had galled them by his frequent fallacies, in which they lost great numbers of their men; the Maltese knights being ever ready at hand to repulse them, even to the very gates of the city. But all these losses were inconsiderable, in comparison of that which the fleet and army sustained on the 22d day of October, on which so dreadful a storm of wind, rain, and hail, arose from the north, accompanied with violent shocks of earthquakes, and a dismal and universal darkness both by sea and land, that the sun, moon, and elements, seemed combined together to destroy them; whilst their ships, forced from their anchors by the violence of the winds and waves, either dashed and split against one another, or against the adjacent rocks and shelves, in spite of all the united endeavours of pilots and sailors to prevent. Inform that in that one night, some fay in less than half an hour; no less than 86 ships, and fifteen galleys were destroyed, with all their crews and military stores; by which the army on shore was deprived of all means of subsisting any longer in those parts. Neither was this the only bad effect they felt from that destructive storm; for their camp, which spread itself along the plain under the fort, was, by the violent rains, laid quite under water, from the torrents that came tumbling down from the adjacent hills. Many of the forces, by trying to remove into some better situation, were barbarously cut in pieces by the c Moors and Arabs; and several galleys, and other vessels, endeavouring to gain some neighbouring creeks along the coasts, were immediately plundered, and their crews massacred, by the inhabitants (H).

But the most dreadful prospect of all was on the next morning, when the storm being quite ceased, and the light returned, the surface of the sea seemed in some measure covered with the fragments of so many ships, and the bodies of men, horses, and other creatures, swimming on the waves. The sight of which appeared so melancholy and dreadful, that Charles immediately resolved to take the advantage of the present calm, to save himself and the sorrowful remains of his fleet and army; and abandoning his tents, artillery, and all the rest of his heavy baggage, to the enemy, marched directly, though in no small disorder, at the head of his army, towards Cape Malabue, in order to re-imbarke in those few vessels which had out-weathered the storm. But this Hafsan did not permit him to do, till he had made him feel some fresh strokes of his fury and revenge. That subtle Balha, who had caused their motions to be carefully watched, allowed them just time enough to reach the shore, when he filled out with his garrison, and fell upon them with such desperate fury, whilst they were in the midst of hurry and confusion to gain their respective ships, that he made a fresh slaughter of them, besides a much greater number which he carried away captives; so that they had seen the backs of their last enemies, and were quite freed from all fear and danger from this powerful crusado, before their troops were arrived at Algeris, which had been sent to levy the tribute; and, upon appearing at the metropolis, had nothing else to do but to join in the thanksgiving


c Idem ibid.

been fulfilled, in the defeat of the Spanish general de Pera, and the shipwreck of admiral Moncada, but the third, and most fatal of all, was this of the destruction of the emperor's fleet and armada (6). But might not this turn be designedly given to, in order to avoid giving offence to those of his church? Sure it is, that some of them have not scrupled to affirm, that this destructive storm was raised by some great magician, as we shall have occasion to shew in a subsequent note.

(6) Among a number of other instances of these inhuman butcheries, we are told of one, which serves as a tale of the barbarity of those coasters. The vessel belonging to Don Antonio de Carrero, one of the commanders of the Spanish squadron, being one of those which were forced on shore by the violence of the storm, and split against a rock, a young beautiful Spaniel damsel, richly clad, and bedecked with a good number of jewels, was cast on the shore, and fell a prey to one of those monsters of cruelty, who immediately ran to her, and having loosed on all her rich ornaments, immediately butchered her; neither her tears, entreaties, nor her extraordinary charms, being sufficient to move his pity to far, as to let her escape with her life (7). A favourite nephew of the famed admiral Don Juan had much like mischance in his own vessel; and was on the point of undergoing the same dreadful fate, when the emperor, who happened to be a forrowful spectator of all these disasters, chanced to be apprized of his danger, and immediately dispatched some Italian companies, under the command of Don Antonio de Aragon, who came just in time to relieve him out of the hands of those murderers.

The land forces were in no less danger in their unhappy situation, having neither tents, ammunition, nor victuals, for one day; nor any proper subsistence for their wounded; inforrn such that the author of the account sent to Pope Paul III. affirms that positif, that he had seen five knights of Malta, and above thirty gentlemen volunteers swallowed in the mine, their wounds still flowing with their last blood, and lying quite destitute of all kind of subsistence (8).


(8) Idem ibid.
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a and rejoicings, which the governor ordered to be made on that occasion. Soon after this the poor Tufaf, was not only declared the deliverer of his country, but had a considerable gratuity decreed to him, with the full liberty of exercising his prophetic function unmolested.

It was not long, however, before the Marabouts, and some of the interpreters of their law, made a strong opposition against him, and remonstrated to the Bafta, how ridiculous and scandalous it was to their nation, to ascribe the deliverance of it to a poor paltry fortune-teller, which had been obtained by the fervent prayers of an eminent saint of their own profession. But though the Bafta and his Dowan, seemed out of policy to give into this laft notion, yet the imprifonment which Tufaf's predicitions, and the late accomplifhment of them, had made among the common people, proved, it seems, too strong to give way to such an artifice.

b And the spirit of divination and conjuring is now got into such credit and vogue amongst them, that not only their great flatefmen, but their priets, Marabouts, and fantaoms, have applied themselves to that fludy, and have dignified it with the title of Moslemmed's revelations.

Whilst the Algerines were making great rejoicings at their unexpected deliverance, the Spanish imperial fleet was forced to weather out a fresh storm, which arose against them soon after they had gained their ships; infomuch that they were all scattered from each other, and several of them perifhed; one of them in particular, which had 700 Spanish soldiers, besides sailors, feck in the emperor's view, and not a foul of them could be saved, the fight of which greatly affected that monarch, as if he now came to fear that the greatest part of the fleet, which were e perifhed, might have undergone the fame fate. At length, with much labour and toil, they happily reached the port of Bujetib, or Bujysa, which then belonged to the Spaniards, but whither Hafan, king of Tunis, repaired soon after, with a fresh supply of provifions and refreshments, and met with a gracious reception from the emperor, accompanied with fresh promises of his friendship and protection. Here he thought fit likewise to dismiss the few remains of the Malef knights and their forces, who imbarke in three fattered gallies, and with great difficulty and danger regained their own ifland. The emperor ftaid no longer there than till the 16th of November; when taking the advantage of a favourable gale, he fet sail for Carthagena, and reached it on the 25th of the fame month. Thus ended this unhappy expedition, in which, besides the los of upwards of 120 ships and gallies already mentioned, above 300 colonels and other land and sea officers, and eight thousand soldiers and mariners, either perifhed by the first tempelt, besides thofe that were destroyed by the enemy on their re-embarkment, or were drowned in the laft storm. As for the number of prisoners it was fo great, that the inftuting Algerines sold some of them, by way of contempt, even for an onion (K) per head.

After this fignal deliverance, the elated Bafna of Algiers undertook an expedition against Hafan's ce. Maley Hammad, king of Tremace, who hadfubmitted himfelf to Charles V., in order to be rel trials befure him to his kingdom. But that prince, beinf now in no condition to make head against him, was forced to procure a peace with him upon his own terms; which confifted in paying him a vast fum of money, and becoming tributary to him; after which he returned to Algiers, laden with innumerable riches, the greatest part of which he funk into his own coffers.

Hafan was not long after feized with a violent fever, which carried him off in the 66th year

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(1) The reputation and vast donations which this poor eunuch had gained upon that occasion, had so far raised the jealousy and envy of the whole Maraboutic tribe, that they resolved, at any rate, to retrieve their lost credit upon the ruin of him. To effect which they tramped up one Chl Utica, or, as our Morgan will have him called, Sidc Outekza, a Marcoub, in high veneration for his frequent fanfions, prayers, and other holy exercises, whom they affirmed to have continued in the most fervent addresses to heaven, from the first arrival of the Spanish armada, to the day on which the storm overtook and destroyed them; but that having on that day received a fresh inspiration, he went and gave the sea a certain number of strokes with a stick, which immediately after occasioned that fortunate tempest, which he had however forbore to divulge out of a downright spirit of humility. The credit which the police Dowan and great lawyers pretended to give to this cunningly devised fable, failed not to raise the veneration of this pretended saint to a high degree; infomuch that after his death a flately maufi was erected over his tomb. Since which time the Marabouts found means to persuade the people, that, in w if the like dangers of an invasion, the beating the sea with a bone of that saint would be immediately attended with the like destructive tempest on their Christian enemies (g). It is not however unlikely, that they have had since many occasions for trying the vanity and inefficacy of it.

(K) This is at least affirmed to this day by the Algerines, who add, that the emperor, vexed at his ill success, threw the diadem he had on his head into the sea, as soon as he was got on board, with these words, Let some more fortunate prince redeem and wear it; and that many of their Spanish slaves and renegades still give out, that the kings of Spain look upon their crown as forfeited, till they can make themselves masters of Algiers (10).

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(9) Ibid ibid.

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of his age. After whose death the Algerine militia, without waiting for any further orders
from the Porte, chose Haji, or Chajji, an old officer from their own body, for his successor.
This new Bafha had not long enjoyed his dignity, before he found himself invaded by a powerful
Arabian Cheykh, named Abu Tertit, at the head of 20,000 men, whom he had however
the good fortune to overcome, and put to a shameful flight. Yet was he soon after obliged
to relinqu his dignity to Haffan, the son of Hayradin, the brother of Barbaouji, whom Soltan
Soleymen had been prevailed on to nominate to it; yet was he still respected by the new one,
and all the Algerines, not only on account of his late defeat of the Arabian Cheykh, but much
more for his gallant behaviour, whilst the emperor's army was besieging Algiers; for which
it chiefly was, that they had raised him to that dignity without the Porte's content: He lived
in this credit four years after his resignation, and died in the 8th year of his age. Haffan, b
his successor, was born at Algiers, and was now about 28 years of age; and his father Hayradin,
a Bafha at the Porte, and great favourite of Soleymen, who had not only procured him this
government, but obtained him a squadron of twelve stout and well equipped galleys, was
welcomed at his arrival at Algiers with great demonstrations of joy. One of the first exploits
after his arrival was, upon certain advantageous conditions, to let Abu Zeyen, the younger
brother of Abdalla, upon the throne of Tremecen, in prejudice of his eldest brother, who had
applied to Charles V, and promised to become tributary to him. To understand the source of
this dispute, we must recollect that that emperor had settled Abu Hamad on the throne upon
the same terms; who accordingly paid a regular tribute while he lived; but, after his death,
his son Abdalla withdrew it from him. After his decease, his two sons became rivals for the
succession. Abdalla, the eldest, applied to the emperor, and Abu Zeyen to Haffan; who marched
accordingly against Abdalla, then upon the throne, at the head of a powerful army, and
some artillery; upon which Abdalla, who was not in a condition to make head against their
united forces, packed up the most valuable effects, and retired to Auran; so that it was with
little or no difficulty, that he placed Abu Zeyen on the throne; who, on the other hand, to
gratify him for this signal service, according to their agreement, was obliged both by fair
and foul means to raise vast sums of money on his new subjects. After which Haffan immediately
returned to Algiers with his forces, after the short absence of a few weeks, laden with a rich
plunder and treasure. The new Tremecenian monarch did not long enjoy the sweets of his ill-
gotten dignity; he having scarcely been seated one year upon the throne, before he was forced
by the Spanish count de Alcedella to relinqu it to his brother, and to retire to Fez, as his brother
had been obliged to do before to Auran. The count, who was then governor of that place,
had procured Abdalla a reinforcement from Don Carlos of 2000 Andalusion; and with these,
and a great number of Moors, who came with their chiefs to offer their services to them, and
some pieces of artillery, he marched towards Tremecen, and in his way was met with the brave
Almanzor, uncle, father-in-law, and prime minister, of Mulay Hammed Abdalla, who was
waiting for him at the head of 5000 horse; and, upon his joining him, entertained him and
his Spaniards with a dramatic entertainment after the Moorish manner. After which both
took their way towards Tremecen with their joint forces. Upon their approach to that capital,
the Tremecenian sent to beg of Almanzor, that he would not bring the count thither, seeing they
were fully resolved to surrender the place to him, and drive the Turks out of it. To that the
general sent answer, that the people, who had been traitors to their prince, deserved to
lose their heads, and added, that he was bringing a lot of Christian executioners to perform
that office. However Haffan, the Bafha of Algiers, found means to compromise matters, by
rendering a venerable fanatic to him, by whose mediation a treaty was agreed on between them,

(L) This was a representation of a very late encounter
between one of the Chelyk and his Arabi, with a
Turkije party of headers going to reinforce Tremecen,
who were defeated by the following stratagem; finding
his Arabi unwilling to attack them, he went about to
all the Adowars with a halter about his neck, and swore
he would never take it off till he had fought with them;
but, finding them unwilling to follow him, he dispatch-
ked six of the handiwork damnels he could get after them,
mounted upon camels, crying out as he rode. Now shall
I give what courage thegallants will shew in refuing
such beauteous virgin out of the hounds of the Turkije
tarpaulins, which set them all on fire for the onfer. Upon
which he caud a great drove of camels, trained up
for such purpofes, to be made march before them;

* Marmol, Morgan, & al sup. citat.

* See before p. 145, & seq.

(11) Ibid. ibid, that
that the Turks should immediately evacuate Tremezen, and have a sufficient guard of horse to conduct them safely to Algiers, which was executed accordingly. After which the count went to lay siege to Moghgan, and Almusazar, who had declined to accompany him thither, marched directly to Tremezen. The Turks, under their safeguard, arrived at Algiers; and Abdalla was restored to his kingdom, though only as a tributary to Charles V.  

HASAN Bahia had not been long at Algiers before he received a fresh invitation from the sultу Tremezenians to return to them, and even to take upon him the reins of their government, or to put them into such hands as he should like best; upon which he immediately took the field, at the head of 3,000 Janissaries, 1,000 Spears, and 2,000 Moorish cavalry, under the Mulatto king of Temez, and some artillery, and took the direct road to Tremezen. Being come to the river Sagro, about four leagues from Auran, he was met by the Spanish count Almendal, at the head of 6,000 Spaniards, and as many African and Arabian horse, commanded by the Tremezian king, which obliged him to halt that night to give his men some repose, intending to attack them the next morning. A bloody engagement would doubtless have ensued, had not a French courier been dispatched to him by two galleys, with a letter from the French king, to condole with him for the death of his father Hayradin Barbarefza, whom a severe fever had carried off in May last at Constantinople (M). The news of which so afflicted him, as well as most of his officers, that on the next morning he entered into a treaty with Don Martin, the Spanish count's son; by which he engaged to leave the king of Tremezen in quite possession of his throne, and continue a vassal to the emperor, without any further molestation from him. The treaty being signed, the Algerines stayed only two days longer in their camp, where they put themselves in deep mourning; after which they returned with their Bahia to Algiers. This is the true account of that transaction; though the Spanish authors, after their usual manner, have turned it into a precipitate flight, as if Hasian had not dared to look the enemy in the face. However, the Tremezenians were not at all pleased with this peace: they hated their king on account of his vainglory to the emperor, and his anity to the Chritians, besides a great deal of mal-administration which they charged him with. This made them at length apply to the Sharif of Fez, and make him the fame offers which they had done before to Hasian, Bahia, who accepted them with so much greater readiness, as he had for some time a longing mind after that kingdom, which we shall see in a subsequent chapter. The preparations which he made for that expedition soon alarmed the Algerines, who faw with no small envy the swift progress which those upstart brothers had already made in those parts. Hafiz, Bahia, accordingly sent an army of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse, with ten field pieces, under the command of a Turkish alcyade, and two renegades, with orders not to engage the Fezzians till they were joined by the Bent Aamar, a warlike Arabian tribe in the neighbourhood of Auran. By this time the Fezzians, who had got within sight of Moghgan, were not a little surprised to see them making to the fame place; so that Abdalla, the Sharif's younger son, who commanded them, seeing himself in no condition to engage, found no other way to avoid it than by turning his horse's head westward, and betaking himself to a speedy flight, leaving his camels and baggage behind him. The Algerines and Arbians, however, soon overtook his rear, which was commanded by his brother; and after a bloody flight on both sides, killed the young prince, defeated his forces, and carried his head in triumph on the point of a lance. The news of this disaster no sooner reached Abdalla's ears, than he pulled away with his enavages and forces to carry the unwelcome news of it to his ambitious father; whilft the victorious Algerines entered and plundered Tremezen, and, in a general council, Tremezen resolved to keep possession of that city in the name of their Bahia; and leaving the alcyade Seber, with 1,500 Turks in it, returned directly to Algiers, laden with rich spoil, where they met with a gracious welcome. Hasian caufed the head of the young Sharif to be put in an iron cage, and placed on the principal gate of the city, called Bab Azoum, where it continued till an 1573.  

* Marm. lib. 15. p. 315; & sq.  
D. Haedo, Morgan, Algiers, vol. ii. c. 7.  
Ibidem ibid.
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In the very same year Haffan caused a tower to be built on that very spot where the emperor had pitched his pavilion, when he made that unfortunate attack on Algiers formerly mentioned. He likewise laid the foundation for an hospital for the wounded janissaries, and finished a magnificent bagnio, in imitation of that which his father had built at Constantinople; but this left occasioned the loss of his Bathahfip for some time; for having refused to part with the former to Haffan, a proud avaricious Basha, in great authority at the Porte, he was given to understand, that his denial would soon be attended with the loss of both, as well as of his government of Algiers. To avoid so terrible a blow, Haffan immediately equipped six galleys, and set sail for Constantinople; but took care to leave his government in the hands of the alcaide Sephor, lately mentioned, a perfon of tried conduct and valour; who, from a mean extract, had raised himself to that height by dint of merit; and who, during the seven months administration, behaved with such prudence and equity, that no one had suffered death, or even corporal punishment during that time: a thing till then scarcely ever known under that arbitrary government. He did moreover begin and complete the great bafion over the mole gate; supply the city with corn and other provisions, which had laboured under a grievous scarcity some time before; and did several other public acts both in Algiers, and in his alcaide-ship of Tence, in which he died about ten years after, greatly esteemed and regretted. He was succeeded in that of Algiers in the month of April by Balha Salba Rais, to whom Haffan procured that dignity, in revenge to Haffan, who had tried all possible means to pacify and reconcile him, but in vain.

Salha Rais, the fifth Basha of Algiers, and the first of Arabian extract that the Algerines, in all probability, ever had, or ever will have, as they are now become independent on the Porte, had, among other exploits, accompanied Hayyadin Barbarojs on several expeditions, and behaved with such valour and conduct, that he was become his particular favourite; so that his merit was very well known among all the Algerines. The first thing he signalled his new government by, was the reduction of the Soldan, or king of Tougo, or Taggers, who had lately revolted (N); against whom he marched through part of the Nuniandie fleet, at the head of 3000 Turkish foot, 1000 Spahis, and 8000 other auxiliaries, all with fire-arms, besides two or three field pieces, and other heavy luggage; with all which he arrived within sight of that prince's capital, before he had the least intimation of his being in march against him. In this surpreme the young king, not above fourteen, was, however, advised by his prime minister, and easily persuaded, to keep the city gates chained up, in hopes of some succour from his valets and the neighbouring Arabs, who are mortal enemies to the Turks; but the Balha batted the walls so successfully, during the first three days, that he made himself master of it by assault on the fourth. A terrible slaughter ensued; and the young prince being brought prisoner, and asked how he dared lift up his arm against the Grand Signor's awful banner, was glad to lay all the blame on his prime minister, who had, indeed, shown an uncommon zeal against the Turks on that occasion; to reward him for which the Balha, upon such conviction, caused him to be fastened to a cannon, and blown up into the air. The surviving inhabitants, to the number of 12,000, were sold for slaves, and the city was plundered and left quite desolate. After which Salba Rais, taking the young king with him, marched directly against Wargala, another Nuniandie principality, which had likewise revolted. Upon his arrival at its capital he found it quite abandoned; the prince having, at his approach, retired with all his subjects and their effects, to some inaccessible defiles; only forty rich negro merchants, whose camels the fugitives had taken from them, were forced to stay behind; who redeemed themselves at the price of 200,000 ducats worth of timber or gold dust. Salba Rais immediately dispatched a courier on a swift dromedary to the fugitives, with solemn promises, that if they would return, and continue faithful tributaries for the future, they should receive no injury for what was done; and, upon their return, kept his promise inviolably with them, not, however, without threatening them with another visit, in case they broke their own engagement; in which case they would find to their cost, that the Turkish Algerines were not to be trifled with 1. On his return, as he passed through Toggaret, he generously feasted the young king of it, with other prisoners, at liberty, on the same conditions and warning; and, if Marsouf be right in his account, brought to Algiers fifteen camel loads of gold dust, besides a great deal of other valuable plunder 2; and, in his way, rebuilt the now neglected castle, of which we may have occasion to speak further in the sequel.

1 Idem ibid. = Lib. v. c. 57. p 427, & seq.

(N) This prince, whose territories, the Spanish writers tell us, consisted of a very considerable city, and about thirty large towns and villages, lying upwards of 150 leagues south of Algiers, and producing the finest dates, was obliged, among other things, to send an annual tribute of fifteen black female slaves to the Algerine Basha, but had now refused to continue it (14).

(14) Marmel, Harco, Morgan, Alg. vol. ii. c. 8.
On the next year he equipped a fleet of forty galleys, brigantines, and other vessels, and made a descent on Majorca, where he met with to warm a reception from the islanders, that he loft, according to the Spanish writers, near 500 of his men, and among them some of his best officers. His next attempt was on the Spanish coasts, where he found every place likewise ready to give him the same welcome: at length, falling towards the Straits mouth, he saw four or five Portuguese frigates of war, newly come from Lisbon, with Muley Abu Hafjan, king of Bedez, vulgarly Velez, a pretender to the crown of Fez; who, after a vigorous defence, was taken prisoner, with about twenty of his Africans, and the greatest part of the Portuguese: with thefe he feered directly towards the Pennon de Velez; where the alcalde Moufia governor

For the king of Fez, thinking that he was come to attempt that strong fortresses in favour of his prisoner, the king of Bedez, sent him offers to surrender it to him; to which the generous Bafla answer'd, that being in alliance with his Pecian majesty, he was so far from a design of violating it, that he came to make a present of those prizes he had taken from his enemies, and that he was carrying his rival, who had been begging the affiance of Christian princes against him, prisoner to Algers, in spite of all the advantages with which he offered to buy his friendship; adding, that all he required of him in return was, that he would not suffer his Pecian subjects to molest him in the quiet possession of the kingdom of Tremecus (O); but that the river Mullogab might continue still the boundary between Fez and Algers, and that no further interference might disturb the other. This message, together with the capitans and cannon, he desired that governor to deliver to his master, and then let fall for Algers.

By this time the two Sharifs had made such progress, and gained such power in those parts of Barbary, as justly raised the jealousy of Saliba Rais; who, under pretence, true or false, that some Tingitanians had, by their order, crossed the Mullogab, and committed some depredations, raised a considerable army of horse and foot, and, with ten or twelve pieces of cannon, marched directly to the city of Telma, or Tedca, about eighty miles short of Fez, where one of them visited his coming, at the head of four thousand horfe, and the same number of foot; an army sufficient to have dismayed a less brave commander than Saliba Rais. But it is more probable that he chiefly depended on some alcazaries in the enemy's camp, whom he had secured in his interest: for the onfeet had no sooner begun than several of them wheeled about to him; upon which the Sharif was put to flight with a considerable loss. The Bafla having left a garrion of 200 Turks in Tedca, led his troops on to Fez, where he attacked the Sharif afresh, who had by that time recruited his army. Here he gave him a second overthrow, and pursued him close into the new city, that he entered it at one gate, at the very time the Sharif was marching out at another, in order to retire to Morocco. The city was pluncred as usual, only the Jews redeemed themselves with the round sum of 300,000 ducats. One royal courtly, to use Haeo's words, fled to the chief wife of the Sharif and her two daughters, who were fallen into his hands, whom he caufed to be used with all possible respect, and to be safely conducted to Morocco.

He flaid in that city near two months, till he had fixed Muley Abu Hafjan, whom he had caufed to be proclaimed king, upon the throne, and reconciled him to the alcazaries, and then returned in triumph to his own capital. Soon after which, the governor of the Pennon Velez, afraid of the Pecian king's refentment, quite abandoned that fortress; of which the Algerine squadron having got notice, feized upon it without opposition, and left a garrion of 200 Turks in it; for which signal service they were amply rewarded by the Bafla.

On the next year Saliba Rais raised a new army, and equipped a large fleet, in order to lay siege to the city of Bujyab (P). About which time Signior Sirozzi, the Maltese admiral, arrived 1555. Saliba Rais besieged Bujyab.

(O) We have seen a little above how the Algerines got possession of that kingdom under the bashliah of Hafjan (13). As for Muley Hammad Abu Zeyan the then king of it, they let him enjoy the title, upon condition that he delivered up all the forriages of it into their hands; to which he was forced to submit; and continued to live in friendship with that Bafla and his successor Rais to his death.

Marmal, however, tells us, that the grievous oppressions and belligerences which they committed every where some years after, made the unfortunate prince so uneasy, that he began to apply again to count Alwadela for fresh assistance; but the Algerines, who got the intelligence of it, raised such a storm against Hafjan, that, as if he contrived at it, that he was forced to put an end to it, and obliged that prince to retire to Auran with his family; where having lived about three years, in expectation of being again return'd to his dominions by that governor, he was carried off by a contagious distemper, leaving only one son, fix years old, on whom Philip II. king of Spain, bequeathed some lands in Capilla for his subsistence: since that time Tremecus hath remained in the hands of the Algerines (16).

(15) Sec Marmal, lib. v. Haedos &c.

arrived with orders from the Porte, that he should affix him with what gallies he could spare, in order to affix the French king, Francis I, against Philip II, king of Spain; to whom the Bafla was forced to lend 2,4 large ones, well provided and manned, which greatly lessened his naval strength. This was in some measure made up by a reinforcement which he received from the king of Cato of 30,000 Arabs and Moors. Upon his arrival before the place, he made no delay of cannonading it from two denominations that commanded it; one of which he directed in person, and the other was committed to a Greek renegade. Whilfe this was doing, a Spanifh galley arrived with a supply of men, money, and provision for the garrison; but, was soon after sunk by the cannon of one of the batteries. By the eighth day of the siege, the fort El Vergelette being become indefensible, and most of its garrison being slain, the rest retired into the town. In fix days more, the other had suffered so much by the besiegers cannon, that it was forced to do the same. Soon after which the governor, Don Alfonso de Peralta, surrendered the town upon honourable terms, though king Philip caused him to be beheaded for it soon after his arrival into Spain. Salba Rais made a great number of slaves and rich plunder, which he sent to Algiers by sea, whilfe he and his land forces returned thither by land, after an abfence only of two months. Thus was this confiderable place regained from the Spaniards, after they had held it 33 years. We have elsewhere taken notice of a change that happened immediately after the surrender of it; viz. that the Weyd-el-quebir, which runs by it, and had its mouth choked up with mud at the time the Christians held it, fo that no vessel could enter; but that it was quite cleared up by the violence of the rains which fell the following winter, and carried all that mud and sand into the sea. Towards the end of the year, the Bafla sent his son Mobammed to the Porte with the news of his success, and some very confiderable presents; all which met with a gracious reception, and obtained in return a reinforcement of 40 gallies and 6,000 Turkish soldiers, which were to be employed on a private expedition the following year.

They fet fail accordingly the next May for Bujejab, whither the Bafla repaired with thirty more gallies of his own, and four thousand men, on this intended expedition; which he, however, kept as private as he could, though it was suficient to be against Auran. The rendezvous was to be at Temendsifu, vulgarly Metofuz, four leagues east of Algiers; where he was scarcely arrived, before the plague, which then raged violently in that metropolis, broke out in his groyin, and, maugre all the remedies that could be used, carried him off in twenty-four hours. It is hardly possible to express the concern and regret which his death spread over the whole fleet: they immediately fet fail for Algiers, where they buried him among the Baflas, his predecessors, in a sepulchre near the sea fide, over which his unfortunate succeflor, Haffan Corfo, his own brave renegade, caused a handfome dome to be erected, which was some years after much embellified by his own fon Mobammed, who also became Bafla of Algiers 1 (Q).

Haffan Corfo, a native of Corfica, in his room, till they received further orders from the Porte. He was no less beloved by the Janifaries than he had been by the late Bafla, under whom he had served as Beyler Bey, or captain general of the land forces, with great reputation; and yet so moderate, that it was with no small struggle that he was prevailed upon to accept of the Baflahip. Soon after which, the fleet fent from the Levant, who were not yet apprized of Salba Rais death, arrived at Algiers; where it was received, in a grand council, that the news of it should be dispatched to the Porte with all speed and secrecy; after which they were immedi-ately to fleer for Auran, without waiting for an anfwer from the court. They failed accordingly, with all necessaries for the fiege, but had fcarce began their hosilities againft the outworks, when orders came from the Porte, expressly forbidding Haffan Corfo to begin the fiege; or, if he had, enjoining him to raife it out of hand: the Grand Signor, it fems, not hoping for the fame success under that new Bafla as he did under the old. These orders, though brought by the famed renegade Ocholi, were received with great heart-burning by the whole fleet and army, who looked upon themfelves as sure of success, the garrison of the place being

9 Marmol, De Torres, Haedo, Morgan.
1 Haedo, Morgan, &c.

which were looked open as thorns in the Algerines fides; Bujejab in particular was defended by two cables, one built on the brow of a hill by Charles V. called since the Emperor's Coftle the other, called El Vergelette, commanded the mouth of the port; but neither of them in a condition to stand it out long.

(Q.) Salba Rais died in the 7th year of his age.

He was of a middle stature, corpulent and warmth.

See before p. 225, note (D).

8 Ibidem ibid.

18 Marmol, Haedo, Morgan, & al. ubi fup.

They were obliged to omit several of his other wars, particularly that against the brave Meri, Ben Alfie; being content, in a work of this extensive nature, to confine ourselves to the most interesting transactions.
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then very weak. Nevertheless, as they dared not disobey them, they immediately broke up, and returned to Algiers by land and sea as they came.

Corso had hardly enjoyed his dignity four months, before news came that eight galleys Tekelli set were bringing a new Bajtha to succed him: viz., the famed Tekelli, a principal Turk of the Grand Signior's court: upon which the Algerines came to an unanimous resolution not to admit him into their territories, but to continue Haffan Corso in his government, and to send notice of their resolutions to the Porte. Accordingly orders were forthwith sent to the alcazaries of Bajyeb and Bona, on no account to let him land; and, in case he attempted it by force, to fire upon him; and let him know, that they were fully determined not to receive him as their vicerey. Those two governors punctually obeyed those orders; and Tekelli was repulsed from Bona and Bajyeb, and lost of all at Algiers; which drove him into such confusion and discontent, such complaints and menaces, that the Levantine fleet, which was still at anchor there, began to fear the consequences of such an obstinate refusal. And as there never was a good understanding between them and the Algerine Janissaries, whose singular privileges they envied, but could not enjoy, they agreed at length, unknown to them, to introduce Tekelli by stratagem.

They began with expressing some fears, left the new vicerey, provoked at their opposition, should come and set their galleys on fire in the night, as they lay unguarded and disarmed in the port, which would infallibly ruin them: but, said they, if you Janissaries will take care of the town, we will undertake that of the fleet, and keep a strict and armed watch on board our vessels and to be safe on all hands. This being readily agreed on by both sides, their next advice was to send Tekelli notice of his resolution to oppose him one and all, and to insist upon his immediate leaving of their coasts: to this they also readily agreed; and Chaile, called by the Spaniards Xalouque, their admiral, was appointed to carry the message to him.

He went accordingly; but, instead of the message, gave him a long detail of the arrogance, cruelty, and tyranny of the Janissaries, and of the necessity there was of suppressing their power, in order to prevent their shakling off their dependance on the Porte. Tekelli greedily listened to him, and gladly approved of the method he proposed to introduce him into the mole gate, where they found the Levantines in swarms upon the marine, armed and ready to affright him. All this time the Algerine Turks kept safely, as they thought, in their beds, little supposing what was doing on the sea-side; when Chaile, entering the town at the head of 300 men, introduced Tekelli into the old palace, till the new one could be evacuated; immediately after which the whole city was alarmed with the shouts of the Levantines, Long live Sultan Ottoman, Tekelli, Tekelli. This soon routed up the Janissaries, who came armed out of all their quarters; but finding themselves overmatched, were glad to make as speedy a retreat. Tekelli seeing everything to succeed to his wish, marched directly to the new palace, attended by about 2000 musqueteres, and was met at the porch with great submission by Haffan Corso, who came to welcome him, and to assure him, that the part he had had in that transaction was wholly through compulsion, and against his will. To which excuses he vouchsafed no other answer than an angry disdainful look, and ordered him forthwith to be secured.

Morning no sooner appeared than he dispatched two galleys, one to Bajyeb, and the other to Bona, to bring the two alcazaries prisoner; after which he entered into a strict enquiry about the ringleaders of the revolt; but his predominant passion, aversion, seemingly getting the better of his resentment, he readily accepted of all the bribes that were offered on all sides, and promised that he would put none to death, but the renegade Corso and the two alcazaries.

Accordingly, a few days after, the unfortunate Corso was condemned to the Chinhus, or hook, a dreadful punishment, formerly described, on which he hung by the right ribs three whole days, and expired in the most exquisite torture (R).

* See before, p. 218, & alib. pass.

(R) It being then the month of October, and the season exceptionally cold, we are told (19), he continued begging of the Christian ladies that paitied by, for God's sake, that they would throw something to cover him; but, as there were guards all about, none dared venture to approach him. Thus died that brave renegade, if any of that class deserve that title, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and in the fifth month of his Bahship; a dreadful instance of fortune's inconstancy. He was interred near his old master and predecessor, Salim Rais: where his own renegade and generous avenger, Todi, erected handsone cupela to his memory (20).

(19) Hutch., ubi jux. (20) B.i.m. ibid. Marmol, Morgan, &c. al.

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The next that fell a sacrifice to the inexorable Tekeli was Disardo, a Sardinian renegade, and governor of Bujaub; who, being reckoned immensely rich, underwent the most cruel tortures of bastinadoing, burning, scarifying, etc., in order to make him discover his wealth, and was at last impaled alive: the governor of Bona was likewise condemned to be impaled; but by the intercessions of some of the Algerine grandees, and a good round sum, had the good fortune to obtain his pardon, notwithstanding which, the cruelty of the new Basha to Disardo, and the ignominious punishment of the brave Corfo, their favourite Basha, raised a general remonstrance among the Janissaries.

But none took it more at heart than his own renegade Yusuf Calabres, mentioned in the last note, who was then governor of Tremecen; who, no sooner heard the news of it, than he resolved at any rate to revenge his death, or perish in the attempt. The Turks which he had under him, and who were no less exasperated at Tekeli’s cruelty, were easily persuaded to join with him in it; upon which he sent word to some of the principal officers of Algiers, that if they would assist them, or only promise to stand neutrals, he would engage to free them from that tyrant. The plague then raged furiously at Algiers, which obliged him to remove to an old demolished town near the sea, about five miles westward, and this appeared very favourable to their design. Upon which Yusuf, with 300 Turks and renegades, some fifty 600, marched with such speed and licence, that he appeared before Tekeli’s pavilion before he had the least notice or apprehension of it (S). The fright which it threw him in would not permit him to confute his folly by any other means than a hasty flight, to which he betook himself, accompanied only by a few servants: but upon his appearing before the town of Bebasuz, he was still more surprised to find the gates shut against him by the Janissaries, which threw him into such a despair, that he betook himself with all possible speed to an eminence near the sea, about a mile and a half west of Algiers, where he took sanctuary under the dome of a famed saint that lies buried in it. Yusuf, who had followed him closely all the way, was got there by that time he was dismounted from his horse; and, without any regard to the place, pierced him several times with his javelin, and left him writhing in his own blood. This action was highly applauded by his and all the Janissaries; and, upon his entering into Algiers, he was received with universal acclamations, as their deliverer from the tyranny of Tekeli, who fell a just sacrifice to his avarice and cruelty, in the fiftieth year of his age, and third month of his vicereyship.

Yusuf, al. Jonah Calabres, a Calabrian renegade, was, for this signal service, unanimously chosen Basha of Algiers, without the consent or knowledge of the Porte, towards the latter end of December; but had hardly reigned six days, before he was struck with a pestilential carbuncle in his groin, which carried him off in less than twenty-four hours, in the 26th year of his age, to the great grief of the Algerines, especially of the Janissaries, who caused him to be buried in the same grave with his late patron, the unfortunate Hassaen Corfo. After his death they contented themselves with chusing a deputy only to succed him, till the Porte’s pleasure was known; and the person pitched upon was a considerable Turk, named Chouab, al. Tajab, who entered on his government with the new year, and behaved with singular prudence during the first months it lasted; and, upon the arrival of the new Basha from the Ottoman court, quietly returned to his former condition of a private man, till he was some time afterwards raised to the regency.

This new vicerey was the son of Hayreddin, who had been forced to go to Conстантинопль, to justify himself against his inveterate enemy Rüfahan, Basha, and had the address to get himself replaced in his Algerine government. He arrived accordingly about the end of June, and received some days after the news that the Sharif had lately defeated and killed Mules Abu Hafs, whom Saliba Rais had setted on the Fezian throne, and was got to Tremecen at the head of a powerful army: upon which he marched out of Algiers, at the head of 6000 Turks and renegades, besides 16 Arabs and Moors; and, being got within four days march from Tremecen, had the news sent to him, that the Sharif had fled towards Fez, as soon as he heard of his approach, upon which he turned out of the road to Tremecen, resolved to pursue him to the gates of his capital. There he found him waiting for him, at the head of a powerful army, in battle array. A bloody fight ensued the next day, in which the Algerines, who were vastly inferior in number and strength, were so severely beaten, that the Basha thought fit to retire on that very night, leaving a considerable number of fires to conceal his flight. He took his way northwards with such silence and privacy, that the enemy had no notice of it till late

x Haedo, & al. sup. citat.

(S) This quick march is so much the more surprising, as it was then about Christmas, the roads very bad, and Tremecen is about 100 miles west of Algiers: but, it is said, that he disputed his design, under pretence of raising the usual tribute in the provinces of that kingdom nearest to Algiers, by which he might advance still nearer to the capital without giving any suspicion. However, one method he took to prevent a discovery, which was, to order all the Moors he either met with or overtook to be fastened to trees. the
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a the next morning; and the Sharif let him go unmolested till he had recovered his shipping, in which he sailed back to Algiers, much displeased with his ill success.

The next year proved more glorious to the Algerines, though fatal to the Spaniards, by the death of the brave count d’Acaudela, and his son Don Martin de Cordona, in their unfortunate expedition against Moghagan, or Moghagane. Befides the loss of those two brave warriors, and a great number of other noble Spaniards, a great many thousand more were made prisoners, and doomed to a most dreadful captivity. This sad disaster was chiefly owing to the count’s redundant bravery. He had obtained a fresh supply of 12,000 men from the king his master; one half of which could only be transported at one time into Barbary, and arrived about the middle of June; the rest, commanded by his son, were to follow after, on the return of the transports, and did not arrive till the Auguts following. Had he immediately marched with the first troops from Auran to Moghagan, which are but twelve or fourteen leagues afother, as he was advised to do by several of his best officers, he would have found the place fo weakly guarded, that he might, in all probability, have made himself master of it with little expence, or difficulty; whereas his flaying for the rest of his troops, and moving by slow marches, gave the neighbouring Moors time to form a camp of 6000 horse, and 10,000 foot, and to join the Algerine Batha, who, at the head of 5000 Janissaries and 1000 Spahis, with twelve field pieces, had come within sight of the place before the Spaniards army had drawn down before it. So that now he was obliged to engage the Turks at a very disadvantage; whereas, had he gained the town before their approach, he might have expected them either within or without it, as he saw occasion: but his excess of courage made him overlook that good council, as it would leffen his glory in proportion as it leffened his danger. The consequence of which was, that he lost the battle with the life, his army being totally routed, and more than 10,000 Spaniards made captives: among whom was his son, the brave Don Martin, marquis de Cortes, and a great number of noblemen and gentlemen. This fatal battle was fought on the 26th of Auguts; immediately after which Haafan, Batha, returned to Algiers, laden with laurels and spoils *(T).*

b On the next year he was obliged to march against Abdalazis, prince of the Beni Abbas, Haafan, who inhabite the mountains, and had discontinued to pay the usual tribute to the Algerine monarchy.*

*On this occasion:* but before he proceeded on this expedition, observing that Algiers now swarmed with the Beni Abbas; d Christian slaves, especially since the battle of Moghagan, he caused a standard to be set up in the baghao, in which his own, who were no less numerous, were lodged, with a proclamation, that if any of them would turn Mohammedans, they should have their liberty, and enter into present pay, and be sent to fight against the king of the Beni-Abbas: upon which, great numbers of them, Spaniards especially, gladly embraced his proposals; by which means he soon got an army of 6000 Turkish foot, 1000 Spahis, besides 9000 Arabian and Moorish cavalry. Abdalazis forces were in no respect inferior to his, either for valour, discipline, or arms; nevertheless the war was soon at an end, by an unfortunate musket-ball which went through his breast, notwithstanding his being always armed with a double coat of mail: his fall having so disheartened his troops, that his brother, who succeeded him, was glad to clap up a peace with the Batha; which, we are told, he obtained, without engaging himself to pay the arrears,*

c \[21\] Marmel, who has given us a longer detail of this unfortunate action than our limits will suffer, and hath endeavoured to represent almost every circumstance of it more in favour of the Spanish count than our Spanish author, tells us, among other things, that he had no more than 6500 men to oppose the Turkish army: next that the want of provisions, and especially water, occasioned a great faintness, murrain, and disorderly movements amongst them; and, lastly, that as he was attacking the enemy with his usual bravery, at the head of a small party of his men, his frightened horse running himself up, threw him flat on his back on the ground, where he was trampled to death by the enemy; whilst his cowardly troops, instead of affisting him, only confounded his safety by flight.

Yet may some able palitivates, he has been obliged to give us some particulars, which do but too plainly prove Haedo’s reflection, that his excessive courage occasioned his overthrow: for, when informed by the son of the arrival of the Algerine Batha and his Turis, and advised by his council to fall upon them that very night, as they could not but be very much fatigued by their long marches, by which means he might easily rout them, and seize on their provisions, to enable his dismembered troops to go on with the siege, he only answered, that it was not at all convenient; and when they represented to him, that if he did not, they would certainly attack him the next morning, he readily answered, that they dare not; if they attempt it, they are all lost: and, without acquainting them with his design, ordered his troops to be furnished with match and powder, and, after midnight, to decamp, and march to Moghagen with all possible silence; which was executed with such precipitation, that a great number of their sick and wounded were left behind, and their doleful outcry was distinctly heard, while the garrison from the town were cutting them in pieces. He adds another instance of his martial rashness: viz. that when he found it impossible to rally his scattered troops, he rushed, fond in hand, into the thick of the enemy’s ranks, at the head of a small number of them, and crying out St. Iago, St. Iago, the victors is ours, the enemy is defeated; soon after which he was thrown by his horse and trampled to death (21).
or even to continue paying the usual tribute to the Algerine republic. The most probable motive of which singular condescension in the Baitha, we shall offer to our readers in the margin (U).

As for Abdalaziz, or, as others call him, Abbafi, he is celebrated by most historians of his time for his signal valour and conduct, and was for this in high esteem and friendship with Hafsan, Baitha. One remarkable instance of his bravery, which we cannot pass over in silence, is that which he shewed in that famed battle, wherein the Sharif's eldest son, Muley Cadder, who had made himself master of Tremezen, was slain. Hafsan Corso commanded at that time the Algerine army; but finding his men averse to an engagement, and he declining to give the enemy battle, after a severe, but ineffectual repriamand, repaired to his own troops, relied boldly on the Sharif's army, and, with his own hand, struck off the head of his son Muley Cadder abovementioned, who commanded in chief, and carried it in triumph to Algiers; by which the Turks became masters of Tremezen. In this last action of his life, he is reported to have saved the fire of the whole line of the Turkish foot before he fell; and in all others he always behaved with a surprising conduc and intrepidity. The only thing in which his character is justly blamed, is his revolting against the Algerines at this time, when he had received the greatest marks of friendship from Hafsan, Baitha, from the time of his return to his vice Royalty; some of which were reckoned, indeed, very impolitic: for he had not only bestowed upon him the town of Meftia, bordering on the Numidian desert, with all its revenue, and presented him with pieces of cannon, which Salba Reis had left there on his return from Tagart, but had furnished him with engineers to convey them to Alcalá, his capital town on the mountains. His revolt and ingratitude could not, therefore, but highly exasperate him; and though he made peace upon so easy terms, he forgot not to build more fortresses in such parts as would most effectually curb and keep him under, and, in due time, bring those mountaineers under their former vassallage. About this time the company of Barbary merchants began, probably with his permission, to build a fort on these coasts, at some small distance from Calle (where the French have since settled themselves) that it might serve them both for a magazine for the corn they purchased in those parts, and for a refuge for their pearl fishery men. But it was some years after demolished by the Algerine forces, by order of some of his successors, under pretence that the French there had bought all the corn, which had caused a famine in their kingdom.

Another impolitic piece of complaisance Hafsan was guilty of, which proved of worse consequence to him. He had married the king of Cuce's daughter, and Alcaid, his favourite renegado, his niece; in consequence of which affinity, he permitted his subjects to come in droves, and buy ammunition at Algiers; a privilege that had never been granted to them, and of which they were so excessively glad, that the streets of that metropolis swarmed with those mountaineers, informing that above 6000 on a day have been observed to have gone out of it laden with those warlike commodities, which created such a jealousy in the government, that the Janifaries raised an insurrection, seized on the Baitha, his renegado, and another of his chief officers, and sent them in irons to Constantine, and accused him to the Porte of having a design to make himself king of Algiers (W); which was the more likely to be true, as they had tried all other means in vain to oblige him to recall his permission. In the mean time Bofnoe Hafsan, Aga of the Janifaries, and Cauza Mahomed, the Beyler-Bey, or general of the land forces, took the joint administration of the state.

Hassan being arrived at the Porte, easily found means to clear himself and his two companions, and was accordingly set at liberty with them. But a new viceroy being sent to Algiers,

(U) The Beni-Akbar have in their mountains many narrow passes, through which the Algerine troops must pass, whenever they go their eastern circuit (zv); so that whenever any quarrel or dispute happened between them, they immediately flapped their palfreys, which obliged them to take a walk, long, tedious, and difficult, through the fireights of the Numidian deserters, which were inhabited by a brave martial tribe of Arabs, called Mauzitis, which made it more dangerous, as these last were seldom or never at peace with Algiers, and often terribly annoyed them in those narrow deiles: for which reason it was often of the greatest importance, and is so to this day, for the Algerines to secure the former of these fireights, either by keeping the Beni-Akbar under tribute, or, if that could not be done, by being at peace and in friendship with them, as it is likely to have been the case at this critical juncture (zv).

(W) This jealousy and resentment was far from being ill-grounded, fearing those Highlanders are reckoned the most expert markmen in all Africa; and among whom it would be a difficult matter for a young fellow to get a wife, till he was expert enough to shoot at a mark with a single bolt with great dexterity and exactness; and are so extremely curious, that they will hardly touch the barrel or lock with their naked hand for fear of soiling them. It was, therefore, very impolitic and dangerous in him to suffer them to provide themselves with such quantities of fire-arms, which they might in time turn against him or his successors, unless he had formed some private design like that they accused him of (zv).
a was no sooner arrived than he caufed the two officious deputies to be feized and fent to Constan-
tinople, where they quickly after loft their heads.

This new Bahfa was named Abamed, vulgarly Acbmet. He was a great favourite of the
Soltan, and a man of fuch knowledged affairc, that, upon his arrival at Algiers, all rings
of people came in fhoals to make him prefsents; all which he the more greedily accepted, as he
had bought his dignity by dint of the money which he had heaped together during the feveral
years he had been Soltan Bahfes, or head gardener to Soltan Solyman II. He enjoyed it,
however, no longer than four months; and, after his death, his lieutenant Tajar took care of
theflate another four months, when Haffas was fent a third time viceroy of Algiers: fuch
was his merit, and the eftem Solyman still fure to the memory of the two famed Barbaroffas,
b his father and uncle. He came accordingly about the beginning of December, attended with
ten royal galleys, which that monarch had ordered his high admiral Phiali, Bahfa, to furnish
him with; and fuch was the joy of the Algerines at his arrival, that the very women appeared
on the terraces and balconies to welcome him.

He spent the reft of the year in raising fuch an army as no Bahfa before him ever had: it
conflifted of 15,000 Turks, renegades, Morefcof, &c. all mufqueteers, 1000 Spabfs, befides
10,000 horfe, which the king of Cenoe, and other Cheyks, had furnifhed him with. His
fleet was not inferior to his army, consisting of thirty-two galleys and galleions, all well manned
and equipped, besides three French vesfels laden with bifcuit, oil, and other provifions.
With this great armament he fett out on the February following, with a defign to make himfelf matter
c of Marfa-al-quibbir, and its fparious port; and, on the 3d of April, began the siege of it in
form, immediaty after the taking of it, to attempt that of Auran, which is but
about a league from it. This laft was commanded by the count de Alcantaha, who had fuc-
ceeded his father; and the former by his brother Don Martin de Cordova, who had obtained
his liberty at the price of an immense fun from the Algerines, and made now a moft gallant
defence againft the Turks. The Algerine fleet arrived soon after that brave governor had thrown
himfelf into the town: fo that it was attacked both by fea and land with fuch defperate bravery,
that they had made feveral confiderable breaches both in the farts and town, fome of them
wide enough to have been entered on horfeback. The Turkish flanclands had been feveral times
planted on the ramparts, and as often dilodgeid. The attacks were daily renewed, and con-
dined for anceral hours, fresh men being fill fent to supply the place of thofe who were either wounded or over-tired, without diminishing the ardor and courage of the fefegiers. Notwith-
standing all which unfparing bravery, the town, now in some meafure reduced to ruins, mud
have fallen shortiy into the fefegiers hands, had not the Bahfa been forced to break up with
the utmost precipitation, on the news that the famed Genoae admiral Doria was approaching,
with a powerful fuckour from Genoa, Naples, and Sicily. He arrived at Algiers on July next,
and found the whole city in tears and lamentations for the losfs of their relations and friends,
who had perifhed at the inappofitive fief; whiff he, who, doubtlefs, naturally partook of the
ferocity of the Barbaroffas, fliently rejoiced that it had rid him of fo many inveterate ene-
emies, efpecially among the turbulent Faniffaries; and it is plain by the fequle that he was
actually premeditating fuch another expeditfon, as would quickly rid him of all the ref-

In the mean time the Christian armada having miffed its aim of intercepting the Algerine
galleys, bore away for Penon de Vehez, their common lurking place, in hopes to ferret them
out of it; but in their attempt received fuch an unexpected repulf from the handulf of Turks
that were there in garrifon, that they were glad to fay away re infetta, and with no small losf
and disgrace. On the next year the Algerines received a confiderable damage and morfification
by the losf of the Penon de Vehez: a place, till then, juftly looked upon as impregnable; and
which, in all probability, would have continued fo, had it not been fafely abandoned by
their governor: but of this we have already given a full account, to which the reader may
refer.

This losf was greatly regretted by the Algerines and their Bahfa, as well as by Soltan Soly-
man, efpecially againft the brave knights of Malbe, who had had the greatest hand in the reduct-
ion of it. So that he was at length perfuaded by his vicery, as well as by the famous core-
fair Dragut, to undertake the conquest of that ifland (X). But of the ill succes of this expe-

a Marmol, Haedo, Taify, & al fup. citat.  
Marmol, Haedo, Taify, Verrot, & al.  
See before, p. 182.

(X) What chiefly determined that wavering monarch to it, was the losf of a Turkish Moao, of a monteufos
fize and strength, and laden with an immense treasure
from the eaf; and which the Malbeif galley made a

prize of, after a desperate fight on both fides, on their
return from the taking of Penon de Vehez, between the
iflands of Saut and Cephalonia (23).

See Marmol, Morgan, Tafty, & al. fup. citat.
dition we shall speak more fully in the subsequent history of that island and order. All that a need be said of it here is, that the Turks being forced to abandon the siege at the approach of the Christian armada, Haffan, Bafha, returned with his twenty-eight galleys to Algiers, where he arrived about the beginning of October. From that time, till about a year and a half after, nothing of consequence occurred; but then, about the middle of February, eight galleys arriving at Metaurus from the Porte, he was soon after given to understand, that they were conveying Mahamed, Bafha, the son of Saliba Rais, to Algiers; by which he rightly concluded, that he must now take a final leave of that government; and, though contrary to custom, immediately evacuated his palace for his successor, whom he likewise presented with the noble baggage he had built in that metropolis, besides a great number of Christian slaves; most of them noted artists in several faculties. He arrived soon after, with all his wealth, at Constaninople, b where he lived only three years longer. He died in the 50th year of his age, and 9th of his last Bahalhip, and was buried under the same cupola with his father, leaving two sons behind him; the eldest of whom, named Mahamed, Bey, married the following year the daughter and heire of the famed corsair Dragut, who had been killed before Malta (Y); and the youngest, whom he had by the king of Cerco's daughter, and whom he left with his mother at Algiers at his departure thence for Constaninople.

His successor, Mahomed, upon his arrival, performed several public-spirited deeds, which gained him the love of all the Algerines. He not only supplied that country with provisions, under the scarcity of which it had laboured for some time, but freed the roads from the swarm of robbers, which, in a great measure, occasioned it, insomuch that scarce a day passed without some public execution. And so little occasion was there for his martial genius, that he employed great part of his time in hunting and hawkimg. The only expedition which called him abroad was to quell an insurrection at Constaninople, the capital of the eastern province, where the governor, having attempted to force a young damsel from her parents, the citizens had driven out the whole Turkish garrison, except some few Turks which had been flain in the tumult. His presence soon reduced the mutinners; but his utmost severity, in selling all the inhabitants for slaves that fell into his hands to the highest bidder, was highly reprobated; and, in less than a year, copt him the loss of his government, notwithstanding the signal services he had done to that republic, besides those already mentioned. For it was, by his prudence and address, that the Janisaries and Levantines, two distinct bodies, till then eternally d jarring, to the no small disturbance and detriment of the state, were at length reconciled by being incorporated together. A bold stroke of politics this was, which paved the way to that independency and power which the republic hath since gained over the Porte, and the rest of the states of Barbary. He likewise added some considerable fortifications both to the city and walls; and seemed to have nothing so much at heart as to render that place impregnable; which may, in all probability, be the cause why the Porte, ever jealous of its dependants, did deprive him so soon of his government. However, whilst he was thus consulting how to advance the Algerine power and wealth, a bold Spanish adventurer, named John Cajton, a native of Valenza, was hatching a design against him, which, if it had taken effect, would have occasioned the destruction of all his corsairs, and an infinite deal of mischief. It was no less than to surprize the whole piratical navy in the bay, and set them all on fire in the dead of night, when they lay defenced and in their first leap; and for this he had obtained not only king Philip II's permission, but proper vessels, mariners, fire-works, and all other materials necessary for the execution of his plot. With these he felt safe for Algeris, at the most proper season; viz. in the beginning of October, when most, if not all the slips, lay at anchor in the harbour, and easily sailed near enough, unsuspected, to convince himself of it with his own eyes, and to view the port and their manner of riding, in order to catch them napping, at a time when the greater part of their crew were dispersed here and there in their quarters along the marine. He came accordingly, unperceived by any, to the very mole gate, and dispersed his men with their fire-works; but, to their great surprize, found that they were so ill-mixed, f

f Haedo, Morgan, & al. ubi feg.

(Y) This young gentleman, whom Haffan had by a beautiful Corsican tender, commanded a large gally of his own, being closely pursued by the marquis of Santa Cruz, general of the Neapolitan galleys, at the siege of Navarino in Morea, was so mortally detected by his flanes on account of his inhuman disposition, that, as soon as they perceived the Neapolitans ready to board him, they immediately fell upon him, and tore him all to pieces before the marquis could come near enough to prevent it; and with him, in all likelihood, the family of the Barbarossa became extinct, since we do not hear of any issue either he or his brother left behind.

As to his marriage with Dragut's daughter, we take it from Haedo. Verteo not only takes no notice of it, but affirms, Haffan, his father, to have married her; but this must be a mistake of that other wise exact author since he calls him there a young hot-headed Turk; whereas Haffan was twenty eight years old when he was made Bey in Algiers the first time, which was above twenty years before the death of Dragut (26).

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that they could not, with all their art, make them take fire (Z). In the mean time, Gafcon, Gafor's, fire-took it into his head, by way of bravado, to go to the mole gate, and to give three loud knocks at it with the pommel of his dagger, and to leave it fixed by the point into it, that the Algerines might have cause to remember him, which he had the good fortune to do without meeting with any opposition or disturbance: but it was not so with his men, who, finding their endeavours unsuccessful, began to make such a buffle as quickly alarmed the guard posted on the adjacent bastion, from which the uproar spread itself through every part of the garrison. Gafcon finding himself thus frustrated, and in the utmost danger, had no other way left but to ply his oars and sails, and speed away with all possible haste. By this time the Bafha, being forced to fail apprised of the design, ordered four of his best galleys to go in pursuit of our Spaniards, with the express order not to return without bringing him some satisfactory account of at least one of their vessels. Whilist this was doing at Algiers, the Spanish brigantines had made such speed in their retreat, that they found themselves twenty leagues off; and thinking themselves now past all danger, being quite tired and fatigued, began to slacken their oars and take some rest. They had not long enjoyed this respite, before that in which Gafcon was, perceived one of the four galliots above-mentioned, making all the fall they could after them, and gaining ground every minute; so that they were again forced to ply their oars with the utmost fury and dread. These they had continued near eight miles, when, finding themselves overtaken, they were forced to surrender. The captain, who commanded the galiot, was a Greek renegade, named Delli Rais; who was no sooner apprised that Gafcon, the captain and contriver of that design, was in his possession, than he immediately tackled about for Algiers, without troubling himself farther about the rest, rightly judging that he was bringing the most welcome prisoner to Mahamed, Bafha.

Accordingly as soon as he was delivered up into his hands, Mahamed ordered a gibbet of considerable height to be erected on the spot where he landed, and ordered him to be hoisted up, and hung by the feet to a hook, that he might die in the most exquisite torture; and to show his resentment and contempt of the king his master, ordered his commission to be fastened to his toes. The sentence was punctually executed, and the Bafha's severity highly applauded by the exasperated Turks; whilist the prisoner, our author says, bore this dreadful punishment with the patience and constancy of a martyr; for such he really reckoned him.

He had not, however, hung long in that excruciating misery, before Delli Rais, the renegade captain, who had taken him, came at the head of a number of other corsair captains to presntation in his Mahamed, Bafha; and, in the strongest terms, represented to him the injustice and cruelty of their way to condemn prisoners of war to such dreadful punishments, alleging, that it was the ready way to provoke the Spaniards, and other enemies they fought against, to make the same reprisals; so that it might one day be their fate to be treated in the same inhuman manner, unless he immediately ordered his prisoner to be taken down, and proper care taken of him. They added, that as to the trystagem which he had contrived against them, it was no more than what one nation practised against another, and what they themselves would gladly try against any enemy, were it in their power.

By these and such like arguments, they at length prevailed on the Bafha to comply with their request; and Gafcon was not only taken down, but conveyed into the royal bagnio, where he was carefully attended by some Christian surgeons, and violeted, out of curiosity, by people of all sorts and persuasions: but it was not, it seems, his fate to escape so well; great murmurs arose soon after among the people, which made the Bafha repent of his lenity; and two days were past since his release, before some Moors came, who pretended to be just arrived from Spain; and, whether true or false, affirmed, that it was the common talk and belief there, that the Algerines dared not hurt a hair of Gafcon's head, lest their armada should come and blow their town into the bottom of the sea. At which the too credulous minister was so exasperated, that he ordered the unhappy Valentin to be brought forth, and hoisted up by a pulley to the top of the execution wall, and let down again upon the Chinghun or hook; which, in his fall, luckily took hold of him by the belly, and gave him such a mortal wound, that he expired without the least groan: nor did the Bafha's resentment stop there; for he ordered the body to hang there in terror, as it actually did, till, being partly wafted, some flames ventured to take it down in the night, and buried it privately in the Christian cemetery without the western gate. Thus ended the ill-timed project of the unfortunate John Gafcon,

which

(27) See before, p. 553. Hade, Morgan, &c. see sop.

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which yet hath procured him a place among the Spanish martyrs. Our author mentions many instances of such kind of martyrdoms, which only serve to display the cruel and irascible hatred which reigned at that time between the Moros and the Spaniards; but which by no means fulfilled the latter from the inhuman reprisals which they made on the former, if they were not the first aggressors: for if the evil grows still more desperate and incurable, unless one side think fit to put a stop to it, of whom may it be more reasonably expected, the Christians or Moammedans? Nevertheless, if we look so far back as the time in which those mutual barbarities begun to be suppressed, we shall find that the Turks bid fair for having shown the first example of lenity and humanity towards their captives and slaves.

But to return: whilst Mahomed was exercising a quite opposite behaviour at Algiers, as he had lately done at Constanitia, some of the inhabitants of the latter found means to lay their complaints before the Ottoman court; which, either misliking such arbitrary tyranny in a substitute, or, perhaps, liking still worse the public spirit which he had shown towards the Algerines, immediately sent thither the famed corsair Hali Fartaz, commonly known by the name of Ocball, in his room 1, before he had governed that slate full fourteen months (A).

Ochali, commonly called in contempt Hali Fartaz, or the scald head, an obscure native of a poor village in Calabria, who from a slave and renegade (B), raised himself to the dignity of Bafha by his valour and merit, if this laft can be properly ascribed to an apostate, arrived at Algiers about the beginning of March, 1586, the following year; about which time the war against the revolted Moros in Granada was at the hottest. So that, upon his arrival, he was strongly solicited by them for assistance against the Spaniards, and freely gave leave to all that would go adventurers at their own expense; but refused to send them any himself, alleging, that it more concerned him to defend well his own state, than to interfere with the affairs of others. And when great numbers of Algerines, who had engaged in that quarrel, had embarked a vast quantity of arms for that purpose, he would not suffer them to go; but, with much intreaty, contented, that those, who had two of a fort, should send one of them, provided it were done gratis, and not for lucre; and ordered they should all be carried to a certain dock, that he might be a witness of their zeal for the cause. But here again, finding the quantity too great, he caused part of them to be conveyed to the city arsenal, and permitted the rest to be shipped away. In this first year he likewise laid the foundation of the fortresses, called Babl-wyeu castle; of which we have spoke in the beginning of this chapter.

In the next year he signalized himself by the total reduction of the kingdom of Tunis, then under the protection of Spain, to the obedience of the Ottoman empire; of which translation a full account will be given in the next chapter. Towards the close of the year, as he was

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(A) Mahomed, Bafha, was about fifty years of age when he was forced to quit his government, but served and respected the Grand Signor against Don John of Au-

(1) See before, p. 732.

(28) Haedo, Morgen, &c.

(29) Ibid. ibid.
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a entering in triumph into that metropolis, he was met by many of the Arabian Cheylks, who came to congratulate him on that occasion, to whom he at first gave a very kind reception; but to their great surprize, acquainted them, a day or two after, that he expected they should pay tribute to him, and help to bear the charges of the government’s defence against all enemies, foreign and domestic. At which they were so shocked, being always used, till then, to be courted for their friendship and service, that they frankly told him, he must never expect any tribute from them, but what he should extort from them in the field, and lance in hand; for no where else would they part with one single aper to him. This answer did no less surprize our proud Bahsa; but, as the case then stood, he thought it the wisest way to disguise his resentment.

b He continued the whole year at Tunis to settle the affairs of that kingdom; and, in February next returned to his own government, after having left there, as his viceroy, a Sardinian renegade, named Ramadan Sardo, who became afterwards Bahsa of Algiers. He likewise appointed another renegade, named Mabamed Népolitano, to act as field general, and garrisoned the city with 3000 Turks; after which, taking his journey by land, he arrived at Algiers about the middle of February. His design was not to stay longer there than till he got all his captains and galleys ready for an expedition, which was quickly done, as he had lent them orders beforehand; and with these he sailed directly for Constantinople, to solicit the Sultan for a fleet, in order to retake Goletta from the Spaniards; without which he could not keep long in the possession of Tunis, being the cattle and main strength of that capital. This at last was the pretended design of this excursion; but on a sudden he altered his course, to intercept four Maltese galleys, which were then sailing in the channel between Malta and Sicily. The Maltese finding themselves surprized, agreed that it was the best way to try to escape; upon which three of them fled with all their fail and oars; and that, called the St. Ann, was the only one that engaged, and maintained a most desperate fight against eight of the Algerines during the space of two hours and more, and did not surrender till every one of the knights, and the greatest part of the equipages were either slain or disabled. From thence the Bahsa failed in pursuit of the other three, two of which they overtook, and fought with the fame success, and found them laden with abundance of rich merchandizes, besides some hundreds of fettered rowers, most of them Moors; and with those rich prizes failed back directly for Algiers, where
c he caufed to be hung under the arch of the marine gate most of the Maltese shields and bucklers, together with the image of St. John, taken from the poop of their admiral’s galley, as trophies of his victory. This did not hinder his being greatly embroiled with his soldiery, and being several times in danger of his life, on account of their not being duly paid according to their establishment; an omission which a viceroy of Algiers ought carefully to avoid by all means; instead of which, he suffered their resentment to rife to such a height, that he would, in all likelihood, have been assassinated, had he not kept himself closely shut up in his own palace, till he could get another fleet equipped, and made the best of his way after a new cruise. It was the month of April, the weather very boisterous; so that having the wind full in his teeth, and the incensed Janissaries at his heels, he was forced to pull his rowers to such a degree, that some of them expired at the oar of his own galley before he could get out of their reach. As he was sailing towards the Levant, he received orders from the Porte to come and join the Turkíb armada with his galleys at Corom in Morea, which was designed against the island of Cyprus, which he did with all possible speed, having twenty trout vessels, well manned and equipped, and where he was received with the rest with great joy, they being exceedingly glad to have such an expert sea commander to accompany them. It was in this expedition that the famed battle of Lepanto was fought, which proved so glorious to the Christians and so fatal to the Turks; and in which Hali, Bahsa, who commanded the left wing, came off alone with honour. Among other of his exploits, he engaged the Maltese Sołtana with such fire and fury, that most of her knights being either slain or disabled, he boarded and carried her off; and though he was afterwards forced to abandon her upon the total defeat of the Turks, yet he took care to secure the great standard of the order, which not only gained him great honour, but likewise served him in great need: for, before he could reach Constantinople, to which he repaired after the fight, the Janissaries had preferred such grievous complaints against him as might have proved fatal to him. But when, upon his appearing before the grand Signor, he laid that standard at his feet, instead of a reprimand he was loaded with carefles and applause, and confirmed in his viceroyship of Algiers, with permission to govern that state by his favourite Memmi Corfo, whom he had left there as his deputy, when he fled from the fury of the Janissaries, and had behaved himself with such prudence and moderation, that he had kept every thing in quiet during his absence, and gained the love of the militia.

d Hali, Bahsa; obtained soon after, by the intereft of his patron, Phiali, a fleet of 230 royal galleys, with the title of Captain Bahsa; with which he failed from Constantinople the following

1 Haedo Morgan, &c.

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June. He soon overtook the Christian armada, and boldly challenged them to a second engagement; but thefe, for what motives is not easy to guess, unanimously declined it; by which, says our author, the Bahia acquired near as much honour as if he had gained the victory over them; and, at his return, became a greater favourite to the Porte than ever. But whilst he was on this expedition, the Solun, who, it seems, had given him leave to retain the title of Bahia of Algiers, was soon after prevailed upon to bestow that government on Arab Achmed, a native of Alexandria, but of Arabian parents; who failed accordingly to Algiers in the month of March, attended by six Ottoman galleys.

At his arrival he found the people under dreadful apprehensions of a visit from the victorious Christian armada; and immediately applied himself to repair the oads, and to add some new fortifications to this place; levellng to the ground a large and beautiful luburb without Bab-azon gate, pulling down the gate, with part of the city wall, and rebuilding it with great improvements. In these, and other embellishments and fortifications (C), he employed the two years and two months of his government; which is the more remarkable, because the city laboured all that time under a grievous penality, which carried off near one third of its inhabitants. He took care, however, to secure the love of the militia, by paying them duly, and by other acts of complaisance, left their prejudice against him, as an Arabian, should bring any insult or murmuring against him; but he was no less severe, even sometimes to a degree of barbarity, towards the Moors, poor patient slaves, who dared not complain. Towards the end of May he set out of Algiers with three of his own, and some of his friends galleys, being ordered to go and affist his predecessor, Halil, Bahia, at the siege of Geletta; and, at the close of the same month, arrived his successor, Ramadan Sardo, a renegade of Sardinia, whom, as hath been already hinted, Halil, Bahia, had left his deputy-governor in the city of Fez, as the properer person to keep that new conquered city in due subjection (D). This man, it seems, was so well beloved by the Algerines, that they had sent a deputation to the Porte, to intreat the Solun, that if he recalled Arab, Bahia, he would find no other governor than Ramadan Sardo. At the head of those deputes, was Memmi, Rais, late admiral of Algiers, and a great favourite at the court; who, without any difficulty, obtained his request: and Arab, Bahia, was ordered to the siege of Geletta, to make room for Sardo at Algiers. All this was done without his knowledge, inomuch, that the news of his advance- ment came to him at Kaysroun, where he still reided, by a courier sent to him by his friend Memmi from Fuza, where he had just then cast anchor.

Ramadan received them with no less surprife than joy; and having left a renegade of his now to supply his abience, till the arrival of the Captain Bahia with the Ottoman fleet, set sail directly for Algiers, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. His first care was to make the best preparations he could to affist his predecessor both at Geletta and Tunis, and Muley Molub, in an expedition into Tingitonia, according to the instructions he had received from the Porte. And, upon hearing of the arrival of the Captain Bahia with the Turkish fleet at the bay of Tunis, about the end of July, he immediately dispatched thither his admiral, Memmi, with nine large galleys and gales, well manned and provided; his predecessor being already departed with another squadron for the same service. The succés of which was, that the Spaniards were expelled that whole realm with considerable loss, as will be seen in the next chapter.

A little before the beginning of the next year he set out, at the head of 6,000 janissaries, 1,000 Zezouwos, or mountainiers, 800 Speakis, and twelve field pieces, for the kingdom of Fez, where he was to affist Muley Molub against Muley Mahomed, king of Fez, who waited

(C) Among the former we may reckon the Fanar, or Jannob, upon the island before the city, and standing on the cable, built formerly by Barbarissa, and which is still there to be seen; and the two noble fountains which run with a confluent stream, the one without the gate Bab-azon, and the other without that called Babel-neded, which receive their clear water from a multitude of fine springs, which run down from the adjacent hills. Among the latter we shall only mention the fount or fountain near the Bab-azon, where the town is most liable to be attacked by land, which fountain is at that point of the city wall which runs out into the sea (30). He was seldom seen abroad without either a half pike or a cudge in his hand; which was very prone to make use of upon all occasions, agreeable to his original occupation of a driver. He was very cruel, not only to the Moors, but much more so to the Christian captives; of which our authors give us some shocking instances, which we shall spare ourselves the trouble to translate (31).

(D) This person had raised himself from a slave to that dignity, by his sence and good conduct. His patron, finding him a very ingenious boy, sent him to the renegade school, where he soon became master of the Arabic and Turkish tongues, read and wrote to admiration; and, after having followed traffick for some time, his good qualities gained him the affection of Halil, Bahia, who adopted him, and left him Kiasyah, or lieutenant of his new conquest, where he behaved with great prudence and conduct till an. 1572, when Don John of Ara-beria retook the city, and forced him and his Turks to retire to Kaysroun, as we shall see in the next chapter (32).
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a for him, at the head of 30,000 renegades, and a considerable number of Moors; all furnished with fire-arms, besides about 30,000 horse, well mounted and equipped; whilst Ramadan, at the head of his own forces, was met in his way to him by a reinforcement of 6000 Arabians and Moorish horse. We have seen in some former chapters a full account of the state and strength of this opulent city, as well as of its several reductions under different powers; and shall only observe here, that it proved so much to their advantage and satisfaction (the young Shirat being abandoned by most of his forces, and forced to betake himself to flight) that, though he was at no farther expence or trouble than shewing himself at the head of his army, yet the grateful, and now overjoyed Muley Moluch, failed not to reward the Algerines and Arabi in a most generous manner; in such manner that the lowest grooms among them did not go ungratified. Among the presents which he also made to Ramadan, or, as it is commonly filed, to the Grand Signor’s standard, was a purse of 300,000 ducats, with a considerable quantity of valuable rarities, and ten Christian slaves, which had belonged to this now vanquished Muley M Columbia.

Ramadan returned to Algiers in March, and was received with so great applause by his people as if he had gained a complete victory; but continued no longer in his vicerey than till the 29th of June of the following year; when, to their inexpressible sorrow, and general murmuring and discontent, he was forced to resign it to Hassan Venedici, Balha, a Venetian renegade, a man of the most opposite character, after he had governed Algiers three years and one month, with so much justice and equity, that not one single complaint had Tunis; been heard against his administration: and the Porte was so sensible of his merit, that he met with a most gracious reception; and was quickly after promoted to the Bathasph of Tunis, where we shall hear more of him in the next chapter.

Hassan Venedici had been taken a slave, when a boy, by the famed Dragut; and from fancied by him palled to his heir Hali Dartaz; and had imbibed so much of their haughtiness, avarice, and cruelty, that when he came to his government of Algiers, he met but with a cold reception there. He began his administration by some very tyrannical acts, the first of which was to compel all that had any slaves, from whom a good ransom might be expected, to sell them to him at a little more than prime cost. He next exacted a fifth, instead of the usual seventh part of all prizes taken by the corsairs. His next step was to monopolize all the corn, of which there was then a great scarcity, oil, butter, honey, fruit, &c.; insomuch that the Janjarites were not afraid to tell him to his face, that there was nothing to be bought in the markets but what was his, except onions and cabbages. He exercised the same tyranny on the Arabs, and African subjects abroad, on whom he levied a much heavier tribute; and what made it still more impolitic, obliged them to pay it in wheat and barley, of which there was a great scarcity, and retailed it at an exorbitant price. With the same avaricious view he turned butcher, money-changer, broker, &c. in all which he added cheating to extortion, not only towards the Algerines, but to all the foreign merchants; and had reduced the Algerine state to the most contemptible and miserable condition that it ever had been in. All these, and a great variety of other tyrannies and oppressions, the Turks bore with forbearing patience, till he took it at length into his head to curtail their stipends; upon which they preferred such grievous complaints against him to the Porte, and exposed all his cruelties, injustice, and extortion, in such lively colours, that he was soon recalled, and a new one sent thither in his stead, after he had been suffered to reign three whole years and a quarter *.

This new Balha was called Jaffer, Aga, an Hungarian renegade (E), who arrived at Al- and to by giers about the end of August, at a time when that metropolis, as well as the whole country, was 1580.

* See before, p. 154, & seq. Vid. & p. 128, & seq. 4 Haedo, & al. 5 Hiden ibid.

(E) He had been taken prisoner by a body of Turks, with his mother, and two other children; and brought from Hungary to the Ports, and presented to the Soltin, who could him to be made at once an esuch and a Maguluma, and committed the care of the infant prince to his son to him. In which, as well as in all other parts he was advanced to, he gave the most shining proofs of his singular prudence and justice, and of his generous disposition to all mankind, except criminals. In consequence of which he had often expressed his utmost dislike and abhorrence against the rapacious behaviour of his predecessor; who, notwithstanding the many crimes laid to his charge, had the good fortune to come off free. On his return to the Porte (though not without being forced to refund some of his ill-gotten wealth amongst the courtiers), and to be, not many years after, nominated to the same government, where we shall find him again acting the same part.

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During his first his vicereyship, there flourished at sea a famed corsair, named Mural Ratu, and famanded the grand. He was a native of Malaun, and born of Christian parents; but fell into the hands of the Algerine corsair Kara Hali, who made him turn Turk, and brought him up in the piratical trade under him; in which he became so famous, that we cannot avoid giving a short account of some of his most considerable exploits against the Christians. One of the first was in a small brigantine, with which he rowed to the Spanish coast, and got back to Algiers in seven days with 146 Chilian captives; which gained him a great reputation with the Algerines, and his own patron. His next was with Hali Balha against the Maltese; in which he had the courage to engage the Soltan, and was like to have been killed by him, for robbing him of that glory. So successful was he in all his exploits against Christians, that he became formidable on those seas. Insomuch that, in
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was reduced to the greatest misery by a raging famine; infor much, that 8,000 Arabsians and a
Moors are said to have died in the streets for want, within the space of six weeks, chiefly thro' the
avarice of his predecessor. Notwithstanding which he let him depart quietly, on the September
following, with all his immense wealth, amidst the loudest curfews and executions of the people;
though he did not delay applying himself to the most expeditious means of relieving their pre-
rent distress. The first step he took was to proclaim a free access to that port for all Christian
merchants, both to carry on the usual commerce, which had been greatly obstructed by his pre-
decessor, and likewise to treat about the redemption of captives, which proved an effectual spur
to promote the other, and to bring in a speedy supply of corn, and other provisions; for hav-
ing upon his arrival, sent for the fathers of the redemption, and all the Christian merchants that
were there, he desired them to write to all their Christian correspondents about it, affording them,
that they had not now so a rapacious Hassan to treat with, but one that would deal with them with
all possible justice and equity; for that, being incapable of having any children, he had not the
least desire to accumulate riches, but rather to gain the love and good will of all under him,
by his moderation and benevolence.

He proved as good as his word; neither did this his generous disposition make him in the
least remiss against those who deferred a contrary treatment; so that, from the very first year
of his government, he began to give some instances of his severity against them; and dis-
placed his own Kayia, or lieutenant, on account of some just complaints preferred against him.

In the year following, the Aga of the Janissaries, who was likewise come with him from the
Levant, being accused of bribery and extortion, he caulked a Douwan to be convened, and got
him condemned and defrocked by a great majority. Notwithstanding which prudent caution,
both Aga and Kayia, provoked at their own disgrace and his severity, soon after formed such a
conspiracy against him, as was like to have proved fatal to him. It was no less than getting him
affiliated. After which the former was to leap into his government, and the latter was to
succeed him as Aga. A wealthy Moroccan merchant was to have supplied them with money
to bribe the affiaits; for which, besides extravagant interest for it, he was to be put into some
considerable post. Ben Delli, the treacherous Aga, had already gained so many Janissaries,
that he thought he might venture to propose the matter to a meeting of their officers; but, to
his great surprize, four of the principal of them cried out, that they would rather be cut in pieces,
than prove traitors to the Sultan, and his worthy Jaffer Aga. The consequence of which was, that
those who had engaged already in the plot began to relent, and the Aga was immediately
cramped in iron, and the news of it sent to the Batha, who caulked the Kayia likewise to be
feitze. A grand Douwan was convened, in which, though the two grand traitors had many
friends, yet none dared to speak a word in their behalf; upon which they were both condemned
and privately strangled in a vault on the night following, which was the first of May. The
officious Moroccan merchant fled at the news of it, but purchased his safety soon after at all the
expense of 20,000 ducats, the sum he had offered to advance to the traitors' b

Before the end of this month arrived at Algiers the Captain Batha Holli, at the head of six
royal galleys, from the Porto, on an expedition against the Sharif of Morocco, who was sus-
p ected of being treating of an alliance with the king of Spain against the Ottoman interest. This
Captain Batha, who had been the greatest friend and supporter of his favourite Hassan, the late
vicerey of Algiers, had suffered himself to be so incensed, by the vile imputations of that reneg-
gado, against his succethor the noble Jaffer, that he did him all the ill offices he could, by vir-
tue of his present commission, taking from him a great number of slaves, vast sums of money,
and other precious necessaries for his present expedition; all which Jaffer was forced to sub-
mit to. But, when he came to order the Janissaries to march westward to his assistance, which

a Idem ibid.

b Haedo, Morgan, &c.

c

d

e

The year 1578, he could equip eight galliots of his own, with which he set out; and, in a little time, brought back with him the St. Angelo, and the Capitanas of Sicily; which were conveying the duke of Terra Nova, late viceroy of that island, into Spain, with all his family and equipage. In the same year he made a descent into those of Majorca and Minorca, where, though floutly repelled, he brought away a good number of slaves; then attacked a rich Genoese ship near Alicante, with 90 Christians on board, all of which he brought to Algiers, twelve days after his departure. In the year 1580, a few months before the arrival of Jaffer Aga, he surprised two galliots belonging to Pope Gregory XIII. on the coast of Traforg. One of them, which was the Capitanas, was the pontiff's newly created admiral, who was then taking his pleasure in St. Stephens, and both of them had a great number of monks, priests, and other considerables persons, as well as Turkish and Morocoh captives; all of which he brought safe to Algiers.

In the year 1581, he attacked two rich Portuguese ships; one of which he sunk, and took the other, after a desperate engagement on both sides; in this last, besides a great number of captives, he found a million of ducats in specie, all which he brought to Algiers; where we shall find him soon after stripped of a good part of his prize by the Captain Batha, and slaves, under pretence of forwarding his expedition against the Sharif (34).
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a he did chiefly in revenge to the complaints they had preferred against his favourite Hassan, they all unanimously refused to stir a foot, unless he produced the emperor's express orders for it. And when he told them, that they were only verbal, but that he could soon procure a written one, they bad him do so, and then they would obey, and not till then. This obliged him to send another renegade to the Porte; but they would not suffer him to stir out of Algiers, without a deputation from their own body, which he dared not refuse. So they deputed the chief Marabout, a person in high veneration, with letters to the Porte, representing the danger of sending Half_Bafha against the Sharif, from whom they had as yet received no injury or insult; seeing, if he should so far succeed as to expel that prince out of his kingdom, it would be no difficult matter for a renegade of his aspiring and ambitious temper to make himself master of all Barbary; especially as another renegade of his own was then Bafha of Tripoli. Whilist these dispatches were sending to the Porte, arrived the fortunate Morat Rais, mentioned in the last note, with his rich capture, of which the Captain Bafha feigned on a considerable share, in order, as he pretended, to help the carrying on of the Tunisian war. But, towards the end of July, he had the mortification to receive an express order from the Porte, on pain of losing his head, to desist from his expedition; so well had the Algerine deputation succeeded there: so that he was immediately obliged to depart with his fleet, and arrived at Constan ti napole towards the close of October. Yet such was the inefficiency of that court, that, in spite of all the representations that had been made against him, and of all the crimes that had been laid to the charge of his favourite Hassan, he found means to get him nominated a second time Viceroy of Algiers, as the only means he had to mortify and revenge himself against the Algerine connivance with the Sufis; and that vile and rapacious renegade was once more promoted to that dignity, to the great regret of all the militia, and of the rest of the people; who had conceived a noble and just esteem for their worthy Jeffer, though he had not been above two months with them, than abundance absence against his successor, under whose former administration they had suffered too long an oppression and tyranny.

It will not be thought foreign to our Algerine history to take notice, that it was about the beginning of September, of this very year, that queen Elizabeth granted her patent to our first Turkey company, which then consisted only of four eminent merchants of London; viz. Sir Edward Osburn, Mr. Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret; which patent was signed on the 11th day of that month at Weintimiller. And, on the following year Mr. Hard bane, or, (as others write his name, Hardriven, or Hardbourne), was sent first ambaassador from her majesty to the Ottoman Porte, where he met with a splendid reception from Sultan Morat III. who likewise granted to our nation fundy considerable privileges, which the reader may see in the authors quoted in the margin. At which time his excellency Mr. Hardbane appointed Mr. John Tinton consul at Algiers, who was the first that ever bore that character.

But to return to our new Bafha; he arrived at Algiers towards the end of May of the same year, attended by eleven gally, seven of which were his own, and the rest the Captain Bafha's. Not long after came in Morat Rais with upwards of 500 Spanish captives of both sexes, which he brought from the coasts of Spain. Upon which the new Bafha took occasion to call together all the other Algerine Rais or captains, and told them, that they were all, except this Morat, a pack of idle cowardly drones; that he himself would show them how to go a cruizing, and ordered them to get all their vessels ready, which was quickly done; so that 22 gallys and galliots were equipped, to which he joined his own eleven. These all set sail together towards the coasts of Sardinia; where they made descents in several towns, as they were directed by their Sardinian guides, who were, for the most part, ready to sacrifice their country for the sake of regaining their liberty (F); and from which they brought away above 1,500 captives. Thence they failed towards Genoa; where they broke into a town called Sori, whence they brought away about 150 more, of which prince Andrea Doria, who arrived at Genoa the night before, getting intelligence, he failed in pursuit of him with his seventeen gallys; but Hassan, getting the wind of him, struck away for the coasts of Provence. We need not tell our readers, that in all these expeditions, how cautiously, ever carried on, they frequently meet with a stout repulse, and lose many of their men, which are either killed or taken. Those maritime towns

(F) It is we find a common, though melancholy, practice among those flashes, of all countries, to betray their own native place, and occasion the captivity of perhaps one hundred of their own countrymen, or even townmates, for the sake of obtaining their own freedom; so that these wretches will offer themselves of their own accord, to direct them the way to it. But as some of them, out of remorse, have tried to make their escape before the ship could reach the place, it is now a common rule amongst those corsairs, to pinion those volunteers very closely, and to give the end of the rope that ties them in charge to three or four Turks, from whom they are not to be released, till they have performed their engagement (36).

(36) Harvis, Morgan, &c. being
being accustomed to such visits, easily taking the alarm, and raising a numerous posse of horse and foot to oppose or pursue them; the very women, on such occasions, pelting them with large stones from the tops of the houses, and killing them in the streets, as was the case in this expedition we are speaking of. But his most profitable excursion was on the Spanish coasts, to which he had been invited by the Morefoes, from whence he transported no less than 2,000 men, women, and children, with an immense wealth, into Barbary; and was liberally paid for his trouble. In his return he met with a Ragusan trader, laden with corn, whom he obliged to redeem himself, and cargo, at the price of 9,000 ducats; and being all now well satisfied with their good fortune, he led them triumphantly into Algiers, after having been near three months out; and then asked his captains, Who was the better corsair, he or they? After this we hear nothing of any extortions or cruelties at home; perhaps he was afraid of fresh complaints being sent to the Porte. But what wealth he could not amass by that, he did in the trading way, being represented as a very notable merchant, tho' far from a fair dealer. This did not, however, hinder his being recalled, sooner than he could have wished; at the news of which he could not refrain from tears. However, before he went away, he granted a paix to one Singleton, an English merchant, which hath been preferred to us by the authors lately quoted; and which, giving us some insight into our affairs in those parts at that time, and being written in a style agreeable to his haughty disposition, our readers will not be displeased to see at full length in the margin (G). He departed in the month of May with his own galleys, which he had augmented by that time to twelve, together with the four which had brought the new Bahia to his new government of Tripoli, to which he was commissioned by the Porte, after a short administration of less than one year at Algiers. We find little more of him, except that he spent two whole years at Tripoli in great credit; after which his patron, who was now grown aged, and willing to retreat, obtained for him the commissariat of Captain Bahia, in which post he did great damage to the Christian merchants, and was at length poisoned at Confiantimole by the famous renegade Cigala, who succeeded him in that post.

The new Bahia was called Memmi Arnaud, that is, the Albanian; but not the same whom we have had occasion to mention a little higher, as admirals of Algiers, but another of the same name and country, as we shall see in the sequel. He formerly belonged to Kara Halil, Morat Rais's patron, and was become a famous corsair, and had behaved with so much prudence and conduct, that, upon the Sultan's removing Hassen from Algiers to Tripoli, the Captain Bahia recommended him as a proper perfon to succeed him in that government. He was accordingly sent thither, as hath been already hinted; and, after his arrival, gave signal proofs both of his great capacity and strict justice; so that he failed not giving great satisfaction, not only to the Algerines, but to those Christian merchants who traded with them. On the second year of his government, Sir Edward Ogborn, then lord mayor of London, having been informed, that some of the Algerine corsairs had engaged and sunk one of the ships belonging to the Turkey company, contrary to the treaty of commerce concluded at the Porte, sent him a letter of complaint, the substance of which he might see in the margin (H), by which he may judge what

(G) Noi. Aftre Bahia, vist et, et lago tenente, &c. We Hasson Bahia, viceroy, lieutenant, and captain-general, of the dominions and jurisdiction of Algiers, give and grant free and safe conduct to Thomas Singleton, merchant; that with his ship and mariners, of what nation ever so they be, and with his merchandises, of what country ever so they be, he may go and come, trade and traffick freely in the city of Algiers, and other places in our jurisdiction, as well the east, as of the west. And in like sort, we farther command the admiral of Algiers, and other places of our jurisdiction, and all captains of vessels, as well of ours as of the Levants, both great and small, whatsoever they be, we do command them, that on finding the said Thomas Singleton, of the English nation, in the seas of Genoa, east France, Naples, Calabria, Sardinia, &c. with his ship, merchandize, and men, of what nation ever so they be, they molest them not; neither take nor touch any thing of theirs, whether money, or goods, under penalty of losing their lives and effects. And, as you make account of the favour of his Ottoman Vassals our sovereign Sultan Morat, you are to suffer him to pass on his way without the least impediment.

(Dated at Algiers in our regal palace, confirmed by our royal signature, and written by our prime secretary, January 25, 1593.)

(H) Most high and mighty king, may it please your highness to understand, that the most high and mighty Sultan hath confirmed certain articles and privileges, with her most excellent majesty the queen of England, that her subjects may freely go and come, and traffick by sea and land, in the dominions of his Sultanate, as appears more at large by the said articles; whereof we have sent a copy to Mr. John Vipan, our commissary, to shew the same to your highness. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships, which came from Patras in Morva, laden with currants, &c. bought in those parts, was sunk by two galleys, belonging to your city of Algiers, and most of the ship's equipment either slain or drowned, and the rest remaining taken captive; and all this done contrary to the articles and privileges aforesaid; wherefore we humbly beseech your highness, that since it hath pleased the Grand Signor's majesty to grant us the said privileges, you will please to ault us in the same, granting us, by your authority, aid, and fa...
what regard that piratical crew paid to the orders of the Sultan. On September following, the Queen Elizabeth sends another letter to the Grand Signor on the same subject; in which, besides the complaint above-mentioned against the Algerine corsairs, another was subjoined against the Bafha of Tripoli, who had seizing an English ship called the Juta, which came thither to buy oils, which produced another order from the Sultan to that Bafha, for the restitution of the said ship and effects, in that same year; and a fresh one from the English ambassador to him, dated January of the following year, to the same purport. But whether these orders were complied with or not, we are told. But we meet with, in the same author, another express order from the same Sultan, directed to the viceroys of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, dated June 1, 1584, for the quiet passing and repassing, &c. of her majesty's subjects through all his dominions; for the further particulars of which we shall refer our reader to the authors above quoted, where he will find several other valuable pieces relating to the same subject, which we cannot allow room for in this extensive work. On the year following Morat Morat Rais was deposed,as is most probably conjectured, spurred on and directed by some Christian flave or renegade, ventured, the first of all the Algerine and other Barbary corsairs, to sail through the Straits of Gibraltar, and out of the Mediterranean into the Atlantic ocean, and thence to the Canaries. His squadron had just reached the height of those islands, when his pilot told him he was afraid they had overshoot the mark; upon which Morat told him, that, though he had never been there, he was sure that they were in the right road, and bid him steer on; soon after which they got fight of Lancelot. They sailed at some distance, till night prevented their being perceived; and then made a descent into the island with 1,500 fuzakers, where they ravaged without opposition; and carried off, besides a considerable plunder, about 400 captives, among whom were the mother, wife, and daughter, of the governor, the count himself narrowly escaping being one of the number. This done, Morat, as usual in such cases, found aloof, and hung out the flag of truce, for the islanders to come and redeem what they pleased, or could, of his captives; so that none}{f} found, but those who were either friends or penitents. How many and how much he got by those that were redeemed, we are not told: but, in his return, he was informed, that the admiral of the Spaniards, Don Martin Padilla, was waiting for him at the Straits mouth, at the head of 18 sail, to punish him for his insolent attempting to sail where no Barbary corsair had before ventured. Morat, though naturally rash, yet thought it more advisable, at this juncture, to retire to Larouche, a Moroccon sea-port, where he continued near a month. At length, taking the advantage of a stormy night, when he rightly supposed the Spaniards would take shelter in some port, he ventured to sail through the Straits; and, being got over them, fired a gun, to give him notice that he need wait no longer for him. In his return he met with Memnun Bafha, who acquainted him with the news of his son's death, which so affected him, that he failed directly for Algiers, after an absence of four months. But neither the loud welcomes he received there, nor the congratulations he met with on account of his being the first conductor into the Atlantic, could console him for the loss of his daring son. We find nothing else worth mentioning concerning him, during the two years of Memnun's government, except that his rapacious succedee; and, succeeded by his son Achehad, upon his arrival, exacted a fine of him of 30,000 ducats; which not being able to pay, he was forced to get away privately to Temendeuf, in one of his galleys, leaving his wife and children behind; whom that gripping Bafha, however, suffered to follow him in another galley. This unexpected favour so highly obliged Memnun, that he generously sent him 25,000 ducats by the same galley, with a note for the rest, for which his nameake and countryman Memnun Arnaud, the admiral formerly mentioned, and the brave Morat Rais, became furious. After this he fell from Temendeuf to Tunis, the new government to which he had before been commissioned by the Porte; where, having governed three years, he was removed to Tunis, &c. Tri tele, of which he was twice viceroy; and in both governments gained the love and applause both of the soldiery and people, by his justice, courtesies, and affability, which he extended even to Christians, contrary to the practice of most renegades.

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**Notes**

- Hakluyt, Morgan.
- Hdeo, Morgan, &c.
- Iudem ibid.
- Your, that those poor men, thus detained in captivity, may be at liberty, to return to their respective a boders. And likewise, that your highness would give orders to the captains, and people of your galley, that they henceforth suffer us to pursue our commerce with six ships yearly, into Turky, and all other the Sultan's dominions, freely and peaceably, with our interruption of those privileges; since each of these ships carries his Ottoman highness's pass, whereby they may be distinguished. And, for this your singular courtesy, we shall remain your most obliged debtors, and be ready to return to your highness all the service in our power, as you will be further informed by the said John Tipton, and shall ever pray for, &c.
- For, and in the name of, the whole company trading to Turkey, your very humble servant.
- Edward Oforne, Lord Mayor of London (3nd).

*London, July 20, 1584.*

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**Mod. Hist. Vol. VII. (36) Hakluyt, Morgan, ibid.**
Achmed, a native Turk of noble descent, but extremely haughty and avaricious, purchased the viceregalship of Algiers with a large sum; no wonder therefore he began his government by such a violent extortion on his predecessors. The next thing he did was to forbid his cruising captains to fire out, till he himself was ready to fall at their head, and make such another expedition against the Christians, as Haffen Bahia had done; adding, in a haughty tone, that if that renege had been so successful in his, surely they might expect something better under him, who was far superior to that Scythian. He let fall accordingly, in June 1537, with 11 galleys and galliots, and made directly to the small island of Galîta, thence to Bifera, and to Martina, near Trapani, in Sicily. His next course was, through the gulf of Naples, to the Roman territory; where himself leaped on shore at the head of his men in hopes of some great booty; but was soon glad to retire, and flee for his life; the prince Andrea Doria, being then failing for Naples, with all his family on board seven royal galleys, giving him a furious chase, till night put an end to it.

Achmed, having thus happily flit away from him, failed to the gulf of St. Florentine, plundered Paringola, and brought away 240 captives; thence he ranged along the coasts of Tuscany, Genoa, Provence, and Spain; but without any great success, the people everywhere taking the alarm; so that, being weary of his cruising, he returned to Algiers towards the end of August, after ten weeks absence. This was the only excursion he made in person during his three years government, though he still continued sending out his captains at all proper feasons, who seldom failed of success. The share he had in those prizes prevented, perhaps, his oppressing the people, as several of his predecessors had done; so that, upon his leaving that government for that of Tripoli, where he was to succeed the brave Memmi, he went off with a good character; neither doth it appear, that the Algerines were much dissatisfied with his administration.

His successor, Hidir Bahia, a native Turk, who had also purchased that government by dint of money, arrived at Algiers in August, the fame month in which Achmed had left it. About a week after arrived the famed Morat Rais, bringing in a noble Malese galley, which he had taken after a bloody engagement on both sides, together with some smaller prizes which he had made, after his parting in great anger with his friend Memmi the Algerine general (1). His Malese prize was so considerable an exploit, that he was received with joyful acclamations; and the Bahia himself, who was no stranger to his character, sent a guard of janissaries, and his own horse, to conduct him to the palace, where he was received with great pomp and triumph; whilst the news of so bold an action, considering the superiority and bravery of the enemy he had engaged with, made no less a noise all over Christendom. The reputation which he gained on this occasion not a little mortified admiral Memmi, who, arriving a little time after from his cruise, in which he had but a slender success, was every where upbraided with the loss he had sustained, by not following Morat's advice.

In the mean time a great fanton, named Sidi Chayab, encouraged by the king of Spain, and the grand master of Malta, had raised a terrible revolt in Tripoli. He had already raised a considerable number of forces, which were to be augmented by large reinforcements from Spain and Sicily, together with a supply of warlike ammunition. The city of Tripoli was in a manner invested, and kept in continual alarms, besides being almost reduced to a famine for want of provisions; whilst the promised supplies, which were to set up our fanton lord paramount of that kingdom, or, in truer English, a tributary viceroy to the Spanish king, were daily ex-

(1) These two, having joined their forces together, which confounded four galleys, were on a cruise round the coasts of Sandouil, where they perceived, near Monte Chirifo, four galleys belonging to Pope Sixtus V, which were falling at some small distance from them. Upon which Morat, always bold, cried out to his company, come every man to his bird. But Memmi, more cautious, did not think it advisable with their four galliots to engage an equal number of such stout galleys. The other two were of his mind; and, in spite of all he could say to encourage them, one and all declined the engagement. And no wonder they should, seeing Memmi, who commanded in the admiral, which was the best of all the three, was the first that refused to fight.

However, Morat could not forbear expressing his resentment in warm terms; after which, in company with them, he seized his course towards the coasts of Paglio, where he furiously engaged and took a large trader of thirty guns; but finding the cargo to be chiefly ballast, he only took the guns, men, and ammunition; and by that means was the better enabled to overtake and engage the Malese galley, which made all the fall it could to escape him; for the captain under the notion, or perhaps pretence, that Morat had more ships following him, could not be prevailed upon to slacken his flight, notwithstanding his watch still afured him that there were no more than one after him. At length, his being nearly overtaken by him, and no other ship appearing, he thought fit to face about in his own defence. He made, however, a gallant and obstinate one; nor did he yield, till all his guns, and other serviceable men, were either disabled or killed, and the few survivors obliged to surrender themselves to that dog Morat (as our author illes him) and to exchange chats with the Turks and Moors, there chained to the masts.

(36) Haedo, Morgan, ubi sub. pested.
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Aid. But all that he could obtain from his catholic allies, to support him in his rebellion, was a Maltise brigantine, laden with powder, ball, and other such provisions. In the mean time the Porte, being informed of what passed there, had ordered the admiral, Hafzon Bafia, to repair thither with 60 galleys; who accordingly set out of Constantinople in the month of June, and had sent orders to all the corsair captains of Tunis and Algiers, to join him with their vessels. His letters to those of Algiers were directed to Morat Rais, without taking notice of the rest; however, both they and those of Tunis joined him with their squadrons. He landed his army, which consisted of 12,000 Turks, besides those of his two auxiliaries, and of Abyes, Bafia of Tripoli; but, finding the feation too advanced to lie much longer on those seas with the Sultan’s galleys, he contented himself with leaving there a considerable band of Jaffettes, with the Algerines and Tunisian forces, and set out for Constantinople in the month of October. He had not been long gone, before they came to a general engagement with the revolted, in which they gave them a total overthrow. Sidi Cheyab was not only abandoned by his partizans, but had his head treacherously taken off by some of them, and brought to the Turks, which soon put an end to that revolt. Since which time they have continued to this day under the dominion of the Grand Signor, as will be further thrown when we come to the history of Tripoli. But to return to Algiers, from whence we were forced to digress, so far as the history of those kingdoms, as well as the Bafhas that commanded in them, was so interwoven. The succour which the Bafia Hidir had been obliged to send to Tripoli, had so far exhausted him of men, that, for want of fodder, he could not send abroad above four corsairs that year, to the great mortification of the rest.

Nor was this all, for he had been obliged to take the field against the Sultan, or tributary prince of the Beni Abbas, a brave Arabic tribe, inhabiting the mountainous parts of Algiers; a warlike Arabic chief.

Some of which are almost inaccessible. As he therefore knew how difficult it would be to reduce him by main force, he thought fit to try what might be done by stratagem; to which end he raised a high kind of fortresses, of earth, flances, and trees, to defend his camp from surprizes, and, at the same time, prevent the enemy’s being supplied with provisions from other parts, whilst he strove to destroy all their olive, date, and other fruit trees. Whilof things were in this position, and nothing else considerable acted between them, except their frequent skirmishes, a Marinob, in high veneration, found means to pacify both sides, by shewing them the absurdity of people of the same religion taking up arms against each other, which might be more properly employed against their common enemies the Christians. Which arguments, joined to a sum of 30,000 ducats, which the Arabic prince obliged himself to pay to the Bafia, soon brought them to a pacific treaty, and put an end to all farther hostilities. Hidir returned to Algiers after two months absence, as highly pleased as if he had gained a victory; a war being seldom known to be so easily terminated with that martial nation, on whole friendship the tranquillity of all the eastern provinces so much depends. But whilst he had such good successes at land, his small and meanly equipped squadron met with a quite different fate at sea: they being chiefly manned by Moorish swabbers, and other such inexperienced sailors, instead of such brave veterans and expert renegades, met with such a violent storm near the coasts of Sicily, that two out of the four were driven on shore and lost; one near the city of Augusta, and the other against the rocks of the island of Goafa: the other two, indeed, by gaining the Cape of Paffaro, had the good fortune to outweather the storm, and to bring away from the coasts of Puglia and Calabria a considerable number of slaves, and what other plunder they could bring with them into Algiers.

In the following year Morat Rais and admiral Memmi had much fuch another squashable in their joint cruise: the former, ever venturous and bold, was for engaging eight Sicilian galleys, near the island of Lbrfrica, about twenty leagues from Sicily: the other, ever cautious and fearful of buying a victory too dearly, as warmly opposing it; so that they parted without a blow; whilst the Sicilians, though superior in number and strength, were glad to let them go off scot-free, when they might easily have taken them, as our authors think, had they had the courage to engage them. So that they had the good luck to get safely to Algiers in Auguf following, tho’ without any other successes than that of a narrow escape.

In October following happened that notable escape of fourteen corsair captains out of the castle of Naples; one of whom, called Mafragba Aaraua, was a very considerable Algerine Rais, nearly related by marriage to admiral Memmi, who had been there confined twenty-six years before, and never could obtain his liberty, either by exchange or the largelf fums; another was the famed Jaffar Rais, a French renegade, taken near the island of Tricca, an. 1580; the third was Humza Rais, a native Turk, in high esteem at Bijerta and Tunis, where he was admiral of all the corsairs, and was taken in his own galley in April, 1590, by the prince Daria’s son,

* Haido, & al. ibid. * Idem ibid. * Haido, Mormand then
then coming from *Naples* with eleven galleys, on the Roman coasts. These three being the most
considerable of all the fourteen, had been guarded with great strictness; whilst the other eleven
had the liberty to walk about within the walls. All these having obtained leave to
sail together, it being the feast of *Biriam*, or passover, faved their fetters, got over one of the
walls with cords, broke through another with crowes and leavers, and seiz'd a pleasure boat of sixteen
oars belonging to the governor, and rowed away for the island of *Lybrica*; where they were
taken up by an *Algerine* cruiser that casually came that way, and arrived safe at *Biserta*, the
residence of *Hamza Rais*. Great rejoicings were made both there and at *Algeria*, and other
places, for the happy escape of so many of their brave captains; whilst it alarmed not only all
the city of *Naples*, but all Italy and adjacent kingdoms, who were apprehensive that something
more than the strength and inutility of those captives had been the means of their release.

Nothing happened remarkable during the remainder of *Hidir's* government, excepting that he
was recalled on the year following, to the great joy of all the *Algerines*, by whom he was hated,
on account of his haughtiness and tyranny, he being an old, gouty, petulant, and grasping officer,
and infest tyrant; who, nevertheless, found means, after his return to the *Porte*, to be kept
thither once more in the same capacity.

He was succeeded by *Shaaban*, who arrived at *Algiers* in the month of *August*, and fell immedi-
ately upon a strict scrutiny into his predecessor's conduct, against whom great complaints were
made, both by the fowldie and people. A grand *Dowran* was forthwith convened, wherein it was
proposed to send a deputation to the *Porte*, accompanied with proper presents, in order to ob-
tain some severer punishment against him. All this clamour was soon overruled by the address
of the new *Basha*, who contented himself with laying a considerable fine upon him, and giving
him a severe reprimand; but the fowldie would not suffer him to come off upon so early terms,
and agreed to depute admiral *Meommi Arnaud* to carry their complaints to the *Porte*, which he
readily undertook, being now grown weary of the piratical trade, wherein he had lately engaged
being either drunk or taken, and had had a favourite nephew killed. He, therefore, took his
leave of *Algiers*, and embarked for *Conspautapole* towards the latter end of *August* in his own
four galleys, two of which carried the family and equipage of *Hidir*, and the third the rest of the
depoties; but, to their great surprise, when they came to the *Porte*, tho' their presents were
accepted, yet they could obtain no audience against him, and were forced to return *res infantis*
to the great mortification of the mutinous fowldie.

Nothing material happened during the two first years of *Shaaban's* government, except some
captures, as usual, and some ships lost and sunk at the mouth of the harbour, he behaving
all the time with great moderation and prudence. Among other prizes was that of Don
*Pietro de Licea*, general of the *Sicilian* galleys, whom that *Basha'*s galiote surprised, and
brought away from the island of *Lybrica*. On the next year *Morat* *Rais*, who, by this time,
had succeeded *Meommi Arnaud* as admiral of *Algiers*, fell out with his four galleys as usual; and,
meeting with two *Tuftan* galleys near the coast of *Barbary* (one of which was the *Captanna*,
and the other called the *St. John*), he made use of this stratagem, of causing two of his own
vefels to take in their sails and let down their masts, and to be towed as prizes by the other two,
till he was got near enough to his prey; which he easily did, they making all the fail they could
towards him, as to a prize they were sure of; when, on a sudden, he ordered his other two
galleys to equip with all speed, and set on them with such fury as threw them into the utmost
confusion; and, after an obstinate engagement, carried them both off, and brought them into
*Algiers* about the middle of *July*.

Flushed with such constant successes, he set out the following year on the same errand, and had
the confidence to lay in wait for five *Maleje* cruisers, lying in the port of *Syraucia*, and whom
he knew to be not only most inveterate enemies, but so much superior to him. Whilst he lay
at *Paffaro*, the *Maleje* admiral, having had intelligence of him, and the position he was in, immediately flipped his cables; and, with the other, made all the fail towards him,
and surprised him as he was in pursuit of one of their own brigantines. They quickly knew
each other, notwithstanding the darkness of the night. *Morat* betook himself to flight; but the
*Maleje* so closely chased him, that the *Captanna* soon overtook and engaged him. The fight
was furious while it lasted; but the *Turks* played their fire so hotly upon it, that most of her
gunners and fowldie were either slain or disabled, which gave him a fair opportunity to di-
engage himself from her, not without great los, as well as imminent danger from the other four,
which were crouching likewise all their fails after him; so that all his speed could not save him
from the *Patrona*, which was next, peppering him in the rear; for they all levelled their aim
chiefly at him. "But here," says our author, "he and his *Turks* were no less successful again,
and made such effectual discharges against her, that they forced her to retire, as they did
afterwards all the others, after they had, one after another, tried their chance against *Morat's* E

* *Hædo, & al ibid.                                                         * *Hædo, Morgan, ubi. sup.
* 2                                                                                   * 2
galiot.
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"galliot. So that, after having received five, not dangerous, wounds, and a considerable damage, he escaped from the paws of those lions of St. John's order." They did not, however, return to Algiers, till they had made a considerable number of prizes, and were enabled to enter that city laden with riches and captives, which they did in September next. This is the last tidings we meet with concerning that bold and fortunate corsair; who, at his arrival, found Shaaban Baxfa departed for Constantinople about two months before, after having governed that state somewhat less than three years with credit, and a general contentment of the people.

His successor, Mustapha, was a near relation of his, and no less courteous and upright; but had not continued four months in his government, before he found himself supplanted by the late Hidir Baxfa, whose interest with the Porte had prevailed upon the Sultan to nominate him a second time to that advantageous post, to the great grief and mortification of all the Algerines, who, as they had conceived great hopes from the generous Mustapha, so had they much to fear from the resentment of his furtile and vindictive successor.

And, indeed, it was no less with a view of being revenged on them for their late clamours against him, than his avidity for that gainful government, that he had set all his engines at work to obtain it. And this was no more than what he had threatened their deputies to the Porte, bidding them to affure the people of Algiers, that they might depend upon his quitting scores with them, whenever occasion should offer. Accordingly, upon his arrival in October following, his first step was to extort a fine of 15,000 ducats from their favourite, Mustapha, under pretence that he had neglected to keep the mole in repair; which, he said, he would immediately do with that very money; though the fequel plainly shewed, that he had no other view in extorting it than to sink it into his own pockets, and to mortify him and the Algerines. Mustapha having, with no small chagrin, satisfied his extortionate demand, set sail forthwith for Constantinople; but with a full resolution, at all hazards, to regain that government, and deliver Algiers from a petulant tyrant, whom they had so much caule to detest. Nothing material happened during his short reign, except the frequent instances he gave, both to the militia and people, of his resentment and rapacious disposition; till, to his great mortification, and their excessive joy, news was brought to him, that his much abused predecessor was recommended for that vice-royalty, and on the point of entering that port. Mustapha had, indeed, made such successful use of his interest at the Porte, and had displayed Hidir's character in such true colours, that his new patent ran in a manner absolute. Nevertheless, the only revenge he took of him, was to eafe him of a good part of his ready coin, the only profitable credit, he well knew, such a miser could carry into the Levant, as well as the most effectual engine he could play at the Porte against him; and this he did, first, by condemning him to pay 30,000 ducats, instead of the 15,000 he had extorted from him; saying, he knew no reason why he, who had neglected a whole twelve-month to repair the mole, should not pay as much towards it as he had forced him to do only for a four months neglect. The next was, by forbidding all persons, of whatever rank, under the severest penalties, to purchase any slaves or moveables from him; by which he prevented his recruiting his pockets with a fresh supply of caff; and for that reason we need not fear that any Algerine would transgress such an order. On the contrary, they all cried out, that he was too mildly treated, who had set such an example of extortion and revenge.

Hidir departed soon after, full of envy and resentment; and from that time we hear no more of him. As for his successor, he became, by the contrast, more and more the darling of Algiers, by his courteousness and generosity, though nothing remarkable happened during his government, excepting his setting himself immediately about repairing the mole, fortifications, and other public buildings; and, with his easy and amiable government, we shall, with our two authors, bring this 16th century to a period.

d Idem ibid.
S E C T. VI.

The history of Algiers, from the beginning of the 17th century to the conclusion of their last treaty with, and death of, Haly Dey, An. 1718.

Being now deprived of our excellent, exact, and curious guide, whose long abode and acquaintance with this state had enabled him to furnish us with such a regular lift of its Bathas, and most material particulars of them, we shall be now forced to shorten our method, and confine ourselves chiefly to their transactions abroad, which are the only ones that have been transmitted to us with any certainty; those that have been acted since, are, for the most part, unknown to us, for want of such another faithful compiler of them; but here, perhaps, the loss is not so much to be regretted, upon just recollection, as might appear at the first sight. If we consider all the domestic affairs that have been transmitted to us, from the foundation of it by the two Barbarofars, to the close of this century, we shall find them (except the reigns and surprising conquests and tyrannies of these two famed corsairs) to be made up chiefly of jealousies, supplantments, cruelty, revenge, murmuring, revolts, oppressions, and bribery, both at home and at the Porte, and such like disasters, which afford but small improvement, or even amusement, if not rather diffigt and wearines, to the reader: for which reason we endeavoured to relate them in the most concise manner we could.

Neither can we reasonably suppose, that matters are mended much since that time, especially since that state hath been governed by Dey's, or kings of their own chusing, and hath shook off its dependancy on the Ottoman Porte, as we have elsewhere seen. On the contrary, we must expect to find little else but a continued series of the most horrid and cruel tyrannies, afflications, revolts, detronishments, fightings, contentions, briberies, jealousies, and tumults, among the greatest; and misery, oppression, and slavery, among the lowest, intermixed with instances of the most inhuman retentment on all or most of the unhappy relations and partizans of a butchered monarch: confiscations, imprisonments, fines, and other perjuries, on those who are suspected to be in a different interest from the reigning tyrant; till at length, perhaps, in less than a year, a month, and sometimes a week, some dreadful fate justly falls on him, and is attended with all the same scenes of rage and fury, tyranny and bloodshed. These, we say, joined to their usual piratical excursions and depredations at sea, would make up the most considerable transactions of every reign; and a regular and continued history would be no better, bating some difference, perhaps, in the various ways and stratagems by which the actors have fuplanted and maffacred one another, than a continued repetition of the same scenes of treason and bloody revolutions.

We have already taken notice, in a former section *, of a deposition which their militia sent to the Porte, about the beginning of this 17th century, to complain of the misconduct and horrid oppressions of the Turkish viceroys, who funk all the publick revenue into their own coffers; and to whose avarice it was owing, that the state forces were so miserably paid, accounted, and kept, that they were in continual danger of being overpowered by the Arabians and Moors, who, by the affluence of some Christian powers, would quickly be in a condition to shake off the Ottoman yoke, and against whose united force, the now extinguished and discontented folliers would be able to make but a poor defence. By which means they instead of requiring new supplies from thence, as had been lately the practice of those rapacious viceroys. These deputies did moreover engage themselves still to acknowledge the Grand Signor for their Sovereign, and to be ready on all occasions to affit him with their forces and shipping, to pay a due respect to his Bathas, to lodge and maintain them and their retinue, in a manner suitable to their dignity, at their own charge, provided they were for the future excluded from affiting at any but their general Douwans, unless invited to it; and from having the liberty of voting in them, unless when their advice was asked, or the interest of the Porte was likely to suffer by their silence; but that all other concerns, which related to the government of Algiers, should be wholly committed to the direction of the Dey and his Douwan.

The deputies, having thus far succeeded, returned highly satisfied to Algiers, where they failed not to notify to the then Turkish Batha the privileges granted to them by his court; to which he had nothing to do but to submit. The great Douwan immediately proceeded to the election of a Dey from among their body. They compiled a new set of laws, and made

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* See before, p. 239. * See before, ibid. + Martin, Tissey, Morgan, &c. sup. int. several
a several regulations for the better maintenance and support of this new form of government; to the observation of which they obliged all their subjects to swear; and the militia, navy, commerce, &c. were fettle pretty near on the same footing which we have described in a former section; though the subsequent alterations, which happened since between the Bafhas and Deys, the first to recover their former authority and influence, and the latter to curtail it, still caused such frequent complaints and discontent among the Ottoman court, as made them repent of their untimely compliance to that proud and untractable body, which the lequel will quickly shew.

This new century did likewise begin with a freth attempt of the Spaniards on the capital of this kingdom, under the conduct of the famed John Andr. Doria; but which proved no less unsuccessful than the two former we have elsewhere spoken of, excepting only, that it did not make such dreadful havock among their armada as the former had done. This fleet, which had luckily entered the bay on the 5th of August unperceived, being only forced, by contrary winds, to leave it quickly after; though, had it been otherwise, the place was then provided to give them such a warm reception, that this attempt, abortive as it was, may be justly looked upon as the most fortunate they ever made against that place, as that in which they got off with the least damage. We need not repeat here how much worse that fleet fared, which they ventured to fend two years after on the same errand, and in which the elements seem to have been in league with them common disturbers of public commerce.

Neither need we observe here how much the joy, which the Morefos in Spain expressed at these frequent disappointments, may have contributed to hasten their expulsion out of that country, an. 1609, & seq. But one thing seems very evident, that these frequent attempts against the Algerines were the chief motive that put them upon providing themselves with so strong a fleet of sailing ships, instead of placing their main strength upon their galiots, and lesser vessels, altogether unfit for winter expeditions, or for any long ones at any season, especially as they are then at war with all the European powers, except their old friends the French, and of late years the English; though they have been since hold enough to bid even the newish defiance, notwithstanding their being in alliance with the Ottoman Porte; and which is still worse, confounding their openly acknowledging them both, and us in particular, as their chief benefactors and instructors, both in the conduction of those large square-rigged ships, and in the art of rigging and flattering them: in all which they not only became very expert in a little time, but were followed by their friends and neighbours of Tunis and Tripoli, even from the earliest part of this 17th century, that the expulsion of the Morefos abovementioned, many of whom were, doubtless, very great sailors, and flocked in to those to the Algerines, joined to the help of many of their Christian renegades, must have greatly contributed both to this quick increase of power at sea, as well as to that skill in navigation, which they had learned from the English and French, cannot be denied, since we find their navy, as early as an. 1616, to consist of forty sail of tall ships, between 200 and 400 tons, their admirals 500 tons, and divided into two squadrons, one of eighteen sail before the port of Malaga, and the other without the Strait, at the Cape of Santa Maria, between Lisbon and Seville, and both falling foul on all Christian ships indiscriminately that came in their way, English and French, as well as Spanish, Portuguese, &c. by which means they were now become formidable, not to the Spaniards only, their most inveterate enemies, but to most other Christian states (A).

\(^{\dagger}\) See before, p. 205, & seq. \(^{b}\) See before, p. 252, & seq. \(^{c}\) Ibid. p. 247, & seq. \(^{d}\) See Morgan's Algiers, vol. ii. c. 14.

(A) This plainly appears by a letter sent by Sir Francis Cассington, king James I.'s ambassador at the court of Madrid, to the Duke of Buckingham, then secretary of state, dated thence October 4, 1616; wherein, among other things, he acquaints them with the height of power and insolence they are grown up to, and what prizes they had made in both stations, as well on the English as other Europeans. To which he adds, that they had few or no Christians on board them, but all either Turks or Moris; (he should have added renegades) and that the most part of the latter confided of those that were lately expelled out of Spain. They moreover gave out, that they lay in wait for the West India fleet, which was expected to arrive in a short time.

His excellency expresses his fears, that Don Francisco Fauardo, who was sent to convoy them, and fight those pirates at all adventures, would be able to do them little hurt, as his ships were of so heavy a burden, and so easily cut out by the enemy, especially as their other squadron within the Strait, could so easily secure their retreat; and on the other hand, says he, if they return safe this year to Algiers, especially if they should take any of the fleet, it is much to be feared, that the Spanish forces by sea will not refrain them hereafter; so much sweetness do they find by making prizes of all Christians whatsoever.

In consequence of which, the Spanish council of war was very pressing with him, to use his utmost to obtain from that king, his master, a reinforcement of some of his British men of war, to affix his catholic majesty in supposing the power and insolence of that piratical tribe.

The last particular of consequence in that letter we shall give in the writer's own words: "I may not forbear to add to your honour of what the secretary told me, which, that the fleet's design is to leave his Catholic majesty last year for certain ships of war, which they had armed to sea against pirates, might have been recourse to such parts, which was accordingly granted."
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The French, however, were the first who dared to shew their resentment for their breach of friendship, and contempt to their alliance with the Porte, whilst the Spaniards, more infatuated by, and in greater danger from them, were seeking for help from England, the pope, and other states, without success. We are not told what gave occasion to this rupture between France and Algiers, which is the very first we meet with between them, except that the coats of Provence were grievously infested by the Barbary pirates; some of whom, in their cruizings, might, perhaps, have seized indiscriminately upon some French vessel. However that be, on the very next year, Mr. Beaulieu was sent against the Algerines with a fleet of no less than fifteen sail of men of war and galleys; who, having taken one of their corsairs in his way, failed forthwith in search of the main squadron, which had done incredible damage on the Spanish and Catalanian coats. He attacked one of them in person, which was commanded by a renegade of Rochelle; who, after a stout and desperate resistance, sunk his own ship and crew, rather than fall into the enemy's hands; another renegade left his to his mercy, and got away in his boat; and a third was sunk; but the rest had the good fortune to get clear off, and the admiral returned to Marselles with those two prizes. He was no sooner gone, but the Algerines returned to their old depredations on the Spanish coats: which, being best known by the expelled Moriscos, were exposed to all the barbarity and refrentment of those exasperated infidels, who burnt, plundered, ravaged, and carried off all they could come at.

King James was strongly solicited by the Spanish court to contribute his affiance towards their suppression and abolition; but, though Gondamar had so great an influence over him, and most of his ministers, and made use of every argument he could think of to prevail upon him, and represented it to him in the strongest terms how much his own trading subjects suffered by those corsairs, yet all he could obtain from him was, to have the matter debated before the council; in which Sir William Monson's opinion being asked, that commissary sea officer's answer was to this effect.

That such an expedition, being not only of a general concern to all trading Christians, but likewise of a difficult, long, and expensive nature, ought to be carried on at the general charge of all parties concerned, in proportion to their respective share in the Mediterranean trade; for the letting and carrying on of which, he gives a good number of directions and cautions, equally judicious and worthy of so old and experienced an officer and statesman. He goes on with his reasons against attempting the taking of the city of Algiers; shews the expense and difficulty of keeping it, and the small advantage accruing from it; and concludes with the proper means for suppressing its pirates, by the joint forces and expence of each trading nation: and his memorial had such an effect on the council, that it cooled his majesty of his extraordinary warmth of obliging his great friend the king of Spain; whilst many of that honourable board looked upon the whole design as no other than a Spanish quarrel. However, Gondamar found means to carry his point so far, that a fleet was ordered to be equip't with all expedition, which was sent accordingly into the Mediterranean, about three years after, consisting of six ships, and two pinnaces of the royal navy, and twelve other stout vessels, hired and fitted out by the king, which set sail for the Straights on the 12th of October of the same year, and arrived safely at the bay of Gibraltar the 3rd of the same month, under the conduct of Sir Robert Mansel, admiral. We shall not trouble our reader with an account of this ill-concerted expedition, as it proved at the end, only than by telling him, that, if the admiral and other officers concerned it were really in earnest to put it in execution, their design was to have sent some fire-ships, and other proper boats into the harbour of Algiers, and to have set all their ships on fire. This is what Sir Robert Mansel affirms in his letter to the duke of Buckingham, 'It was with some difficulty performed, after the four vessels which carried the combustibles had been delayed several days, either by calms or contrary winds; the men failing boldly on, with houts of God be's king James, &c. even at the mouth of the cannon and small shot, which showered upon them like hail, maintaining their ground to his great content, and that of all the spectators, till they had fired their ships in many places, and spent all they had in their banderolies, dragging all the while who should have the honour of coming off last: the which, at length, they resigned to their brave commander,' captain Hughes, as a reward for his intrepidity in leading them on. They retired at last in due order, with the fame cheerful repetition of, Long live king James, and the lobs of twenty men, either slain or wounded, and leaving the fire flaming up in several places,
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a "which continued in some of them long after their retreat, and being got on board his "majesty's ships."

He goes on with acquainting his grace, "That the cowardly Turks, who, before, dared "not Ihevthemselves to fi small a body, from their walls and tops of their houses, no "soonere perceived all their boats, than they opened their ports, and fallied out in thousands; "and, by the help of such great multitudes, and a sudden shower of rain, seckoned with a "calm, which then happened, the fire was afterwards extinguished, without doing any "move hurt than making two of their ships unmoveable."

Some other service, as he tilles it, the fleet did; such as finking or taking three or four ships, which we shall not mention at length, but go on with the sequel of their first design;

b which, to give nearly in his own words, is to this effect: "I attended, ten days after our "first attempt, for an opportunity to spend in the ships with the fire-works, to fitnish the ser- "vice begun with the boats, but not a breath of wind favoured us all that time; notwithstanding "the ships were always ready to advance as soon as they received any directions.

At length, understanding by some escaped Christians how the pirates had boomed up the "mole with masts and rafts, doubled the guards of their ships, planted ordnance upon their "mole and walls, and fent out their gallies and boats, eastward and westward, to forewarn all "ships upon the coast from coming during my abode there; and so losing all hopes of doing "any farther service, in regard of the daily complaints of the king's ships, as well as the "merchantmen, who complained of their want of victuals, I resolved, by the advice of a "council of war, to fall away for this place, Leon, where my brother brought me your grace's "letter, with his majesty's pleasure, in regard to his recalling four of the ships under my "command."

He concludes his long letter, with telling the duke, "how dangerous it may prove, after "so bold and open an attempt upon the pirates, to recall those four ships, before the arrival "of others in their stead, and what encouragement the bereaving the fleet of so considerable "a force might give to the pirates, to let some equally pernicious stratagem upon foot against "them. Such as, he is well apprized of, they have already taken into confederation, and which "he will fix his grace an account of by the first opportunity."

This long detail, artfully palliated as it is, being the only one we have of the particulars "of that expedition, except the journal of it, we thought proper to extract the substance of, "out of the letter above-mentioned, and, as nearly as could be, in his own terms; by which the "reader may infer how formidable the Algerines were become by that time. But, as he hath "Algerines grown fore- "mible to Europe.

d This fleet, by contract, was to receive some assistance from the king of Spain, at its "first appearance on the coast: but such was the misgovernment of those ships, and the "negligence and vanity of some persons to feast and banquet in harbour, when their duty "was to clear and foun the seas, that they lost the opportunity of destroying the pirates, as "appears by a pamphlet printed at their return; except their bare passage, they spent not "twenty days at sea during their stay in the Streights, but retired into the harbours, where "the pirates might find them, but not they the pirates e." Thus far Sir William f to which we "may add, what another, no less exact, says further of this expedition. "The commander, "Sir Robert Manfela, appeared before Algiers; but he had not much reason to be satisfied "with the success he there met with: and, in return for the civility of his visit, his back was "scarce turned, but those corsairs picked up near forty good ships belonging to the subjacts "of his master, and infested the Spanish coasts with greater fury than ever g.

This author is not the only one that hath given us this dismal account of the Algerines high "complaints against their open and their navy. We could produce several others "of equal credit, who have given us various melancholy instances of it, were there a necessity "for it, in a cafe wherein our merchants were such great and constant sufferers, that there was "nothing to be heard for a considerable time but complaints and outrages; the one against the "continual prizes made upon us by those corsairs, and the other against our open breach of "friendship, both with Algiers and the Porte. According to the


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The Couthies conpired again/ the Algerine
flote.

Upon us as Spaniʃh allies; so that it was not without good reason, that our ambassador at the Hague (Sir Dudley Carlton) sent immediate advice of it to the king, and advised him, by any means, to procure a truce with the Algerine flate.¹

In this next year, under the government of Mabordan, Bafha, happened a most dreadful conspiracy, which was railed by the Coloflies, vulgarly called Couthies;² who, having feigned on the citadel of Algiers, wherein were reposited all the public treasury and warlike ammunition, had well nigh made themselves sole masters of that flate. In which, it is thought, the Moors and Arabis, tired with the tyranny of the Turkis government, would not have failed to afford them. This plot, however, was timely discovered, and suppreſsed by the Turks and their faft friends the renegadoes, who defeated them with a terrible slaughter. Several scores of them were executed; and their heads are still to be seen in heaps upon the city walls without the eastern gate. Part of the citadel was blown up; but the treasury escaped. From that time the Couthies were discarded from the militia, and none admitted to the pay of it during a great number of years; though they were again readmitted into it, with some reſtriction, as we shall fee in the sequel.

About two years after this conspiracy happened that memorable change in the Algerine flate, formerly hinted;³ by which they became soon after able to shake off the Ottoman yoke, and to become an independent flate under their own Deyes. What gave the first occasion, or handle for it, was the peace, or rather twenty five years truce, which the Soltan Morat, or Amurath IV. (then engaged in a hot, though unsuccessful, war against Perſia, and much embarrassed by other commotions in Afia); was, in some measure, obliged to clap up with the emperor, Fernando II. to prevent his being over-matched by two such potent enemies. This truce, which did not a little affect the piratical trade, was universally disliked by all the Barbyry corsairs, who were all equally under the Soltan’s protection; but by none more than the Algerines, who were, by this time, become too haughty and opulent, by the continual depredations they had made on the Christians during the last three years, to bear with any temper so considerable an obstacle put to them. Upon which they soon came to a unanimous resolution, whilst the Porte was entangled with so many difficulties, to set up for three independent states, and to look upon themselves from thenceforth as wholly unconnected with any treaties made by that court with any Christian power. So that whatever thenefcorward defired to be at peace with them, should be obliged, distingiihly and separately, to apply to their respective governments.⁴ This resolution was no sooner taken, than the Algerines began to make prizes of several merchant ships, belonging to powers at peace with the Ottoman Porte; they even pursed some to the very port of Rhodos; and, in spite of the fire which the cattle made against them, boarded and carried them off. They did much the same at the port of Salamis, in the ille of Cyprus, where they attacked two large Venetian ships, which were both confumed by fire; one by the enemy, and the other by themselves. They carried their infolence still farther at Scanderbon, or Alexandria, where, after having feigned on a Dutch ship, and a polacre, they ventured on shore; and, finding the town abandoned by the Turkis Aga and the inhabitants, they plundered all the magazines and warehouses, and then set them on fire. Much about the same time the French king, Lewis XIII. depending on his league with the Turks, undertook to build a new fort on their coasts, instead of that which the Marſhalls had formerly erected, but had been demolished by the Algerine forces, as hath been formerly related.⁵ This new one was to be called the Bajfon of France; and an expert engineer was sent therewith for that purpose. But the foundations were scarcely finished before the Moors and Arabians came and demolished them, and drove the French away. The king, unwilling to abandon a defign that would prove so advantageous to commerce, attempted a second time some few years after, and succeeded in it; and a new French colony was settled there. But the situation being found inconvenient, on account of its harbour, the company of the Bajfon of France did afterwards agree with the Algerines for the port called La Caille, formerly described,⁶ and have obtained leave of the Dey for a trade with the Moors and Arabians.⁷ But to return to the Algerine depredations; the great number and variety of prizes they continued making on all nations indifferently that came in their way (the Dutch not excepted, from whom they took a ship, richly laden, from Alexandria), could hardly be looked upon at the Porte, but as so many open inſiances of defiance to its authority. On the other hand, the daily complaints and representations made to that court, by foreign ministers at peace with it, against those daring pirates, might, one would think, have prevailed, thought upon that court to have found some means of suppressing and punishing so flagrant an infolence. And would doubtles have had that effect, had not the Grand Signor at that time been so greatly embarrassed with the Perſian war, and other eastern disturbances, which would not permit him to look so curiously after so low a branch of his honour and interest, which gave an g

¹ Morgan, ubi sup. c. xx. ² See before, p. 218. ³ See before, p. 209 & seq. ⁴ Continuation of Marian Hist. Morgan, ubi sup. ⁵ See before, p. 212. ⁶ Testy’s Hist. of Algiers, lib. i. c. 9. Duto Egeiffi, 1750, p. 103.
opportunity to his Grand Vazier and courtiers to compound the injury with those pirates, by sharing with them the war-spoils they had made; those of the English alone being computed to amount to 42,000 dollars. However, for form's sake, the Porte sent them a severe reprimand, accompanied with threats, to which they were bold enough to answer, that these depredations deferred to be indulged to them, seeing they were the only bulwark against the Christian powers, especially against the Spaniards, the sworn enemies of the Moslem name. Adding, that if they should pay a punitive regard to all that could purchase peace, or liberty to trade with the Ottoman empire, they would have nothing left to do but to set fire to all their shipping, and turn camel-drivers for a livelihood. With much the same, if not greater insolence, they treated their Bakhsha, who were, by this time, become so weak and insignificant, that they dared not offer to oppose them; and, if any had the courage to do so, he was sure to come off still worse with them.

It was much about the same time that four young brothers, of good family, ventured to try their fortune against those corsairs in a small frigate of ten guns, which they had equipped at Rochelle; they had obtained a Maltese commission, and bore the colours of that order, which had engaged near a thousand volunteers to accompany them in that expedition, besides an able master, and other officers, and thirty-five mariners. They had the good fortune, on the very first engagement, to take a ship laden with wine on the Spanish coast, which they looked upon as such a good omen, that they ventured three days after to engage two large Algerine corsairs; one of twenty-four, the other of twenty guns, both well manned, and commanded by such expert officers, as would lose no advantage they had over them, and seeing them make all the fall they could after them, thickened their own to wait for them. The French gave them the first salute with a broadside from their ten guns, and received the like from the two corsairs; who, taking her in the middle between them, piled her so furiously with their great shot, that one of them took off her mainmast. Notwithstanding which accident, as well as the disparity between ten and forty-four guns, our young Frenchmen made still a gallant defence, till the noise of their fire brought in five more Algerines; by which means she was so peppered and shattered, that the water gushing in on all sides, and having disabled her from swimming, she was easily boarded, carried off, and condemned: for, though France was at that time at peace with Algiers, yet she was allowed a lawful prize, both on account of her being the first aggressor, and of her carrying Maltese colours. The result of which was, that our young adventurers, after a dreadful seven years captivity, did at length redeem themselves, at the price of 6000 dollars, in the year 1643.

From this time we find nothing material in their history, saving their impiously carrying on their piratical excursions at sea, and depredations on the Spanish coast, till about ten years after; at which time the French, then at war with Spain, receiving intelligence, that the Conde de Monterre was embarking, with all his effects, at Naples, in some Neapolitan vessels, lay waiting for those transports in fourteen large galleons, which they had dispatched for that purpose from their fleet on the coast of Monaco; when, at the end of seven days, they were dispersed by a strong calmer wind, which drove the greatest part of them to Algiers. Here the impatient French admiral sent immediately to demand a纳西 suburban French admiral's release of all the captives of his nation; which, being as sternly refused by the regency, he, in revenge, feizd on the Turkishe viceroy and his Cadi, or judge, just arrived from the Porte, with all their equipage and retinue, and forthwith put to sea, and carried them all away. The Algerines were not perhaps, so provoked at the capture of those two minillers of the Porte, as on the insolence of the French admiral; and, therefore, instead of complying with his demands, in order to obtain their releas of the Cadi, furred him to fail with them: but resolved soon after to shew their resentment against him and his nation; and having equipped eight of their best galleys, went, by way of retaliation, and surprized the Bafion of France, a fortres upon the Algerine coast, which they had held for some time on account of trade, and contained about 600 inhabitants; all whom, with their whole effects and ships, they carried off to Algiers. An odd way of carrying on their friendly correspondence, as our author observes; for which the admiral was so provoked, that he lent them word, he would pay them another vift by the next year with his whole fleet.

His threats did not, however, deter them, but that they made a more considerable excursion the very next year, with a fleet of sixteen galleys and galliots, excellently well manned and equipped, under the command of Hali Pochin, their admiral. The juncture was altogether favourable, because Sultan Morat was at that time closely engaged at his reduction of Bagdad: so that they had all the scope they could with for to range the seas, and feizd all the Christian shipping they could come at. But their chief design was upon the treasure of Loreto, which would have proved a vast prize indeed; but unluckily for them, the wind being contrary, would not permit them to fail to hight into that gulph; upon which

* See the Continuator of Mariana's History of Spain.

Ibidem ibid.
they agreed on a descent in 
Puglia, in the kingdom of 
Naples, where they ravaged the whole 
territory of 
Nexora, carried off a vast number of captives of both sexes; and amongst them, 
some nuns, whom they failed not to prostitute to their own lust. From thence, steering 
towards 
Dalmatia, scoured the Adriatic; and, after having loaded themselves with immense 
plunder, left those coasts in the utmost conflagration and resentment; whilst all this time the 
Maltese and Spaniards, who should have protected them, were employed; the former in 
getting of prizes in the Archipelago, and the latter were loitering away the summer in making 
preparations, after their usual way, for their defence.
All which gave a fair opportunity to our corsairs to bring their immense plunder home, without any opposition, had they been 
contented with what they had got: whereas their greediness after more occasioned the loses of 
a considerable part of their booty.

For, by this time, the Venetians being alarmed at their wide depredations, had equipped 
a powerful fleet of twenty-eight sail, under the command of admiral Capello, with express 
orders to him to burn, sink, and take all the Barbary corsairs he met with, whether on the 
open seas, or even in the Grand Signor’s harbours, pursuant to a late treaty made between that 
republic and the 
Porte. On the other hand, the Captain Bahia, who had been sent out with the 
Turkish fleet to chase the Florentine and Maltese cruisers, who, as we hinted a little above, 
were purifying the same piratical trade in the Archipelago, understanding that the Algerine 
squadron was so near, sent express orders to the admiral, to come and assist him in chasing 
those Christian robbers, as he filled them, out of those seas. 
Hali Pechinin readily obeyed; but, before he took leave of the 
Adriatic coasts, resolved to make a descent upon the isles of 
Lissa, or 
Lipina, belonging to the Venetians. He was, however, overtaken by Capello’s fleet before he could reach it, which obliged him to retire, and shelter his squadron under the 
castle of 
Valona, a sea port belonging to the Grand Signor. Capello followed him thither, and 
first saluted the castle with a gun, and sent an officer with the white flag, to demand of the 
Grand Signor, whether those corsairs might, according the articles of the late truce, be 
ejected out of their shelter. His salute and demand were forthwith answered with a real 
cannon shot, which gave him to understand, that he designed to protect, instead of rejecting 
them; upon which he withdrew at some distance, and call anchor, with a view of blocking 
them up. At length, after a mutual watching upon each other some days, 
Pechinin, weary of his restraint, ventured one morning to give the enemy the slip; but, being perceived by 
the vigilance of the Venetians, just as they got out of the harbour, Capello divided his fleet into 
two squadrons, and gave them a full broadside, which was as briskly answered by the Algerines. 
An obdurate and fierce conflict ensued, which lasted two hours, notwithstanding the continual fire 
which the Turks made from the castle upon the Venetians; a shot of which took off the 
man of one of their galleasses; the commander of which was wounded by a splinter. At 
length, the Algerine squadron was so shattered by their continual shot, that five of it were 
done disabled; the rest were glad to betake themselves to th’ old shelter, after having lost 
1500 men, Turks and Christian slaves, who were either wounded or slain, besides 1600 gally 
slaves, who regained their liberty by this encounter. Capello had not long lain at his old anchorage, before he received an order from the senate not to make any further attempt on 
those milicantes, for fear of causing a fresh rupture with the 
Porte; which was followed by a letter from the governor of the town, much to the same purport, advisinghim to beware, that he did not incur the Sultan’s resentment by such inuils. However, before h obeyed 
the senate’s order, he resolved to take such leave of them as he thought they deserved; and 
observing how they had reared their tents, and drawn their bootey and equipage along the 
shore, he made towards them with his whole force; and, whilst he kept firing against 
his tents, ordered some well manned galliots and brigantines among their shipping, who attacked 
them with such bravery, that, without any great loss, they towed out their fourteen galliass, 
with all their cannon, stoves, arms, &c.

During this encounter, a shot from one of the Venetian galleyfies chanced to strike at a Turkish 
whale, which still more aggravated the action; insomuch, that though some warm spirits commended it as a brave exploit, yet the more grave part of the senate condemned it, both as 
an insult on the Sultan, and as a breach of their command; to palliate which, as well as they 
could, they lent him orders to sink all the Algerine ships, except the admiral, which was to be 
concluded to Venice, and laid up as a trophy. Capello came off with a severe reprimand; but the republic was glad to buy their peace with the 
Porte, at the expense of 300,000 ducats. This was the end of that expedition, the fruits of which were lost by the too greedy avarice of the admiral. To compensate which the Grand Signor offered to fit out ten gallies for them at 
his own charge, upon condition they should continue in his service till the end of the ensuing 
summer. But Pechinin, who well knew how little the Algerine flate cared to have any such

Continuation of Mariam. 
Morgan’s Algiers, ubi sup. 
Morgan’s, Tassy, &c. ubi sup. 
obli-
The history of Algiers.

a obligations to him, civilly declined the offer, and set two galleys on the flocks upon his own account *. In the interim, the news of this defeat and loss filled Algiers with inexplicable grief and confusion; there being fearfully a subject that did not, in some measure, feel the loss Algiers was of to many ships, men, and plunder. The whole city was put upon the point of a general insurrection, but when the Bafra and Douwan, foreseeing the danger, issued out a proclamation, expressly forbidding, not only complaints and outrages, under the severest penalties, without exception, but likewise all persons whatsoever to take their thumbs from within their girdles, whilst they were deliberating on that important point. This precaution had so far the desired effect, that it prevented the general discontent from breaking out into an open revolt; but, as it was no less proper to affaffage their grief, or make amends for their losses, both the Bafra and Douwan were moved to apply to the Porte for an order, that the Venetians settled in the Levant, should make up that great loss to them. But the Grand Signor, who had already received 500,000 ducats from them upon that score, and was, perhaps, not a little affronted at the rebuff which the Algerine admiral had made to his late offer, refused to comply; and left them to repair their losses, and build themselves new ships, as well as they could. However, it was not long before they had the comfort to see one of their corsairs land, with a fresh supply of 5000 stores of both sexes, which he had brought quite from the coasts of I the Algerines did not continue long in that low and defenceless state; neither would the united preparations of the Christian states against them, permit them to do so; and we find them, accordingly, fo unanimously bent upon the repairing their navy, during the two following years, that they were able, at the end of them, to appear at sea with a stronger and more numerous fleet than ever they had done; and which, according to a Spanish author, then a slave at Algiers *, was added to no less than sixty-five or fifty, besides other galleys and inferior vessels, which they probably had in port; so that it is rightly supposed to have been a very fine in which they arrived to the zenith of their glory. Among other exploits this huge fleet performed, on several parts of the Mediterranean, which it would be tedious to enter into a detail of, seeing it was their custom to divide themselves into squadrons, greater or smaller, according to the nature of their respective courses, one rencontre we read of, which befell Haji Pichinian, that we think well worth relating.

We took notice that that admiral, after his sad disaster at Valona, had caused four galleys * to be built at his own charge; and these he had brought to Algiers, together with such galleys, of later invention, mariners, and other equipage, as had been saved from the fierce and fiery of the Venetian admiral. Some time after his arrival at that metropolis, came likewise the Chiahah of the Bafra of Tripoli, to treat about the buying of 250 Spanish and Italian slaves, for the use, and by the express order of the Grand Signor. This officer, who was come in an elegant galley, finely fet out with streamers, standards, and other ornaments, and extremely well manned with Turks and renegades, finding that his negotiation was like to detain him longer than he expected; and being unwilling to be so long idle, proposed to Pichinian the going out with him on some cruise; to which he readily agreed. They had been scarcely four days out at sea, before they met with a stout English merchantman of 40 guns, whom Pichinian was eager to have engaged, but was hindered by his captains; who, it seems, by no means liked the Englishman's aspect. They afterwards ranged several days, without meeting with anything considerable; at which they began to be very uneasy, and out of humours; upon which Pichinian sharply told them, that had they wanted a rich prize, they would not have let the Englishman go; which flaming rebuke nettled them to such a degree, that they all swore they would set upon the first Christian ship that came in their way, at which the admiral was not a little pleased.

* Iadem ibid. ☞ Vid. D'Arandu. sp. Morgan, ubi sup?
Accordingly, two days after they had come to that resolution, they met with a Dutch merchantman of 28 guns, and 40 men; which, by reason of the calm, could make no resistance with her fires. Being got within gun-shot of him, Picbinin dispatched a brigantine to acquaint the master, that he was the commander of that squadron, and that he would engage to let him and his crew on Christian land, if he quietly delivered up his ship and cargo; but that, if he refused, he must take what followed. To this message the Dutch master sent him word, that he had known him formerly at Algiers; but had now a cargo under his care, which belonged to other owners; but, added he, if he had such a mind to it, let him come on board, and I will try what can be done to satisfy him. This answer failed not to exasperate the admiral; who thereupon drew up his five gallies and two brigantines in form of an half-moon, in order to discharge his whole artillery at once against his poop. But, before he could well do it, the Dutchman, by the help of a lucky breeze, turning his ship the quite contrary way, put his gallies into such a confusion, that, instead of keeping in their due order, they ran foul of each other. Upon which Picbinin, fleeting his galley close by the Dutchman’s sides, threw about 70 of his soldiers into it; who, with their drawn swords, took possession of the upper deck, where some of them began to flash the rigging, whilst others pried the hatches with hand-granadoes, but were quickly diverted from it by the Dutchmen, who, having secured themselves within their close quarters, began to pepper them with small shot from two cannon, which they had planted against them. The admiral made several efforts to rescue his men, whilst the other gallies stood to surround the ship; but they all found their flotations too hot for them, by reason that the ship, being heavy laden, lay too deep in water, that every shot made terrible execution amongst them, and obliged them to remove farther from him. At length the Dutchman, being ready to take his leave of them, caulked his guns to be loaded with cartouches, and gave them such a volley at parting, as killed 200 of their men, besides the wounded, and sent them back to Algiers in a most dismal plight; to the no small grief and mortification of the proud Algerines, as well as of the four corsairs. The Tripolitan Chiyyah died soon after of his wounds, and the renowned Picbinin was forced to own, that he had met with a tarab in that brave and experienced Dutch captain.

But whilst this small squadron had the mortification to return to Algiers thus shattered and foiled, the town had quickly after the pleasure to see others come in, fraught with rich spoils of the Christians, and with great numbers of slaves; inomuch, that they quickly became more powerful and formidable than ever to the European powers, and made England, France, and Holland, buckle to them. As for Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. they absolutely determined never to make any peace or alliance with them, as being sworn enemies to the Mohammedan religion, and consequently the properest to carry on a perpetual war against; seeing that was the chief support and strength of the Algerine state, as hath been elsewhere observed. When they were once got to this height of power and grandeur, that they could make English, French, and Dutch, glad to purchase their friendship at any rate, and the rest of Europe (and in dread of them, it was natural for that proud and turbulent nation to make one bold push more, to rid themselves of the only check they had left to their aspiring views, their dependence upon the Porte. We lately took notice of some bold steps they had already made towards it, and what disreputable they had shewed, not only to its alliances with some Christian princes, but likewise to the authority of its viceroyos, which was now dwindled into a mere compliance with whatever the Deys, and their Douwan, were pleased to ordain, without which they must have been exposed to continual mortifications and insults from that quarter. On the other hand, the Porte, ever watchful and jealous of its own power and interest, could hardly brook so servile a diminution of them, which still decreased in proportion to their success, and increases in wealth and strength; which obliged it frequently to exchange those mercenary and inactive Balhas, for others more strenuous, active, and intrepid, who might watch all opportunities of recovering their prideful authority. Their commotions were not only made more extensive, but some of them even impoverished to dethrone and put to death any of those Deys that opposed the Sultan’s will, and to nominate others to that dignity. Such violent proceedings, we may easily imagine, could hardly be carried on, without throwing the whole realm into the most desperate convulsions, that were seldom, if ever appeased, but by the expulsion or massacre of those bloody minions, and all their adherents. This mutual content between the Turkish viceroyos, and the Algerine Deys, makes the most considerable part of their domestic history, till the beginning of the following century, when the latter found means to perfide the Porte to unite those two dignities into one; and to content, that who ever was chosen Dey by the Algerine Douwan, should be likewise invested with the title and dignity of viceroy, or Balha; as we shall see in its proper place. But, not to dwell any longer on those intricate and less interesting broils, let us now proceed to that part of their history which most concerns us.
Chap. 3.

The history of Algiers.

We may remember how much the Algerine state resented the ill advised, as well as unsuccessful attempt, which our admiral Mansel had made on their capital and navy; from which time they hardly ever ceased annoying us at sea, and wreaking their revenge on as many of our vessels as fell into their hands, in spite of all the friendly and generous means our nation had taken to regain their friendship. It was not till towards the latter end of the reign of King Charles II. that we obtained from them that laffing alliance, which, with some renewals, additions, and alterations, hath subsisted between us ever since; and for the further particulars of which, we shall refer our readers to what shall be said of it in our English history. What is worth our notice here is, that the readiness they shewed on this occasion to come into such friendly terms with us, was principally owing to the difficulties they were then in, and the great need they found in our assistance and friendship; when we might, perhaps, at any other juncture, have prayed to and bribed them in vain. The occasion of this was as follows:

They had, for some time, committed such grievous outrages on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc, that Lewis XIV. had ordered a considerable fleet to be fitted out, on the year before this treaty was concluded, in order to suppress and crush them, and revive the commerce, which their depredations at sea, in conjunction with the corsairs of Tripoli, had in a great measure destroyed. The marquis Du Quefne, vice-admiral of France, whose name was already become formidable to all the pirate crew, was at the head of this expedition, and began it with the chase of several Tripolian galleys, who had the good fortune to out row him, and shelter themselves in the island of Scio, which belonged to the Turks; yet this did not prevent him pursuing them thither, and making such terrible fire upon them, as quickly shattered and sunk fourteen of their vessels, besides battering the walls, and other works of the castle.

It seems, by his falling thus furiously on the town, he was not able to deter, and not fall out with the Algerines; but when he found that they still continued their outrages on the French coasts, he failed to their capital in the month of August of the following year, and fell immediately cannonading and bombarding it with such fury, that the whole town was in flames in a very little time. The great molk was battered down, and the greatest part of the houses reduced into a heap of ruins; insomuch, that the affrighted inhabitants were upon the point of abandoning the place; when on a sudden the wind chopp’d about, and obliged him to return to Toulon. As soon as the storm was over, the Douwan assembled themselves in a tumultuous manner, and forthwith ordered as many of their gallies and galiots as could be got at first, in spite of the roughness of the sea, to sail forthwith for the coasts of Provence; where they committed the most dreadful ravages, killing, burning, and destroying all that came in their way, and brought off a vast number of captives. As soon as the news of this fresh insult arrived at the French court, a new armament was ordered to be got ready with all expedition, at Toulon and Marselles, against the next year; of which the Algerines having got timely notice, the Douwan immediately ordered the walls of the town, and other fortifications, to be repaired, and the mole and haven to be put into the best state of defence that the shortness of the time would allow.

In May following the French squadron cast anchor before Algiers; where the vice-admiral Du Quefne was joined by the marquis D’Affranville, at the head of five other fleet vessels; upon whose arrival, a council being called, they resolved to bombard the town next morning; which was accordingly done, and a hundred bombs were thrown into it on that day, which made terrible execution, whirl’d the besieged made some hundred discharges of their cannon against them, without doing them any considerable damage. On the following night the bombs were thrown into it again in such number, that the Dey’s palace, and other great edifices, were almost destroyed; some of their batteries were dismounted, and several vessels sunk in the port. This swift and dreadful havoc quickly determined Haffian; the then Dey, and the whole soldiery, as well as the Turkish Balba, to sue for peace; upon which Father Facher, who then acted at Algiers in the quality of French consul, was immediately dispatched to the French admiral, and with him a Turkish delegate, with the latter of whom the admiral readily treated, but refused to admit the former. In this conference the marquis insisted before all things upon an immediate surrender of all Christian captives that had been taken fighting under the French flag; which being readily granted, 142 of them were brought to him on the next day, with a promise of sending him the remainder, as soon as they could be got together from the different parts of the country, whither they were dispersed; which being accordingly done, he contented to treat with them about a peace. Accordingly he sent a few days after the comissary-general of his squadron, and one of his engineers, into the town; but with express orders to insist upon the delivery of all the rest of their French captives, none excepted, and of the effects they had taken from the French, and upon their sending the said Mezouarto, their then admiral, and Halil Rais, one of their captains, as hostages to him.

b Morgan, Algier, Append. p. 1, & seq.
The history of Algiers. Book XXII.

This last demand failed not to embarrass the Dey; who thereupon assembled the Douwan, a and acquainted them with it. Whereupon Mezmornò fell into a violent passion, and told that assembling, that the cowardice of those that sat at the helm had occasioned the ruin of Algiers; but that, for his part, he never would consent to deliver up anything that had been taken from the French. He went immediately from thence to the soldiery, whom he acquainted with what had passed, and so exasperated them against the Dey, that they unanimously resolved to murder him; which they accordingly did that very night, as he was going his round. On the next day Mezmornò caused himself to be elected Dey by the soldiery and people, immediately after which he cancelled all the articles of peace that had been agreed on, and ordered the bloody standard to be displayed on the city walls. The hollistries were thereupon renewed with greater fury than ever on both sides; and the French admiral kept pouring in such volleys of bombs, that in less than three days the greatest part of the city was reduced to ashes, and the fire burnt with such vehemence, that the sea was enlightened with it above the length of two leagues. Mezmornò, unmoveèd at all these disasters, and the vast number of the slain, whose blood ran in rivulets along the streets, or rather grown furious and desperate by them, fought only to wreak his revenge on the enemy; and, not content to have caused all the French that were in the city to be cruelly butchered, ordered their confiul to be tied hand and foot, and fastened alive to the mouth of a mortar, and thence shot away against their navy, instead of a bomb.

It is strange, however, piece of inhumanity so exasperated the French admiral, that the winds proving still favourable to him, he did not leave Algiers, till he had utterly destroyed all their shipping, fortifications, buildings, and in one word, almost all the lower part, and above two thirds of the upper part of the city. He was no sooner failed away, than the Algerines began to think seriously on the most effectual means for procuring a peace with France. This motion was quite disinterested by Mezmornò, who, to avoid his predecessor’s fate, disappeared on a sudden; whilst the rest of the Douwan, unanimously agreed to send an embassy to Paris, to excuse and beg pardon, among other things, for the murder of the confiul, which they all disavowed, and to perfude the French court, that the populace alone were the authors of that atrocious deed, being enraged at the prodigious damage their admiral had done to their city, by the vast number of bombs he had caused to be thrown into it. Of which commission their envoy Haggi Giaffer Age Effendi acquitted himself in the best manner he could, as the reader may see by the speech he made to that monarch on his last audience, and which, being a curious piece in its kind, we have given him a literal version of it in the margin (C). The result of which was, the ratification of the paid peace at Paris on the fol-

(C) “Most high, most excellent, most powerful, majestic, and invincible, Louis XIV. em-
peror of the French, whom God preserve, and make thy reign happy.

I prostrate myself at the foot of thy sublime imper-
ious throne, as the messenger of the joy with which our
people and the Dey my master, have concluded a
peace with his enemies; and of their impatient
perseverance, that thy sublime majesty will be pleased
to put thy ratifying seal to it. The force of thy ever
victorious arms, and the strength of thy sword, have
made them sensible of the fault which Baba Hafon
committed, in declaring war against thy subjects.
I am deputed hither to beg thy pardon for it, and
to assure thee, in the sincerest terms, that henceforth
our conduct shall be such, as may secure the friend-
ship of the greatest emperor of the divines of
Tirah, and the only one we stand in dread of.

The atrocious violence committed against the per-
son of thy consol is such, as, we should judge, would
prove an invincible obstacle to a peace, if thy light,
which, like that of the sun, penetrates all things, did
easily conceive how far an enraged and ungo-
vernable populace can carry their furious resent-
ment, in the midst of multitudes of their fellow citi-
zens crushed in pieces by thy bombs; of which
number they beheld their parents, brethren, and
children, deprived either of life, effects, or liberty,
and the privilege of being exchanged.

But whatever their motives were, the violence of
which we are far from excusing or extenuating, I
came to beg of thee to turn for ever away thy faced
eyes, from beholding a deed detested by all good
men among us, especially those in power; who cannot therefore be justly charged with it.

We hope, mighty emperor, great as Grimaldi,
ouplent as Louis, magnificent as Saloyman, and mag-
nificent as Darius, thy clemency reject not
thine own petitions; and the high opinion we
have of thy unparalleled generosity, gives us a kind
of assurance, that thou wilt order all our brothers,
who have fallen prisoners, to be set at liberty; for we our-

(C) selves have done, not only to thy subjects, but like-
wife to those who were under the shadow of thy august
name; that the joy for this peace may become equal
and universal, and that a much greater number of
mouths may be thereby opened, to celebrate thy
praises. That, when thy subjects return to their coun-
try, they may thankfully come and throw themselves
at thy feet, while our own proclaim thy praise
throughout the vast countries of Africa, and admire
in their children a veneration for thy incomparable
virtues, and a due regard for the French nation.

This will prove the happy foundation of an etern-
al peace; of which we do promise, and solemnly
obligious obviance on our part, in all its articles, not
doubting but thy subjects, from whom thy authority
claims an unlimited obedience, will be equally friendly
and equitable behaviourers of it.

May the almighty and gracious Creator give a
blessing upon this peace, and maintain a perpetual
union, between the most high, most excellent, and
most magnanimous Emperor of the French, and the
most illustrious and magnificent Saida, Dey, Dou-
wan, and the victorious armies of the republic of
Algiers (3).”
The history of Algiers.

A lowing year; after which, the next care of the Dey, and his Douwan, was to repair, as fast which is con-
cluded, as they could, the dreadful dilapidations which the French cannon and bombs had made in
that metropolis.

The joy which reigned through Algiers at the conclusion of this peace with France was so
much the greater, because, till that was obtained, the Grand Signor, who was at peace with
France, was obliged, at least outwardly, to refrain the outrages they had committed upon their
coasts, and could not give them any affiance towards the repairing of their city and navy,
without offending that monarch. But, being now at full liberty to do as he pleased with them,
it was his interest to lend them what succour they needed, not only on account of the service they
could do him against other Christian powers, but likewise, as that gave him a fair opportunity
of binding them more strictly to their obedience to him, than they had been of late, and to The Turkish
raise the authority of his Raisins to its prouder height; which, as we observed a little higher,
was dwindled into a mere servility to their Deys and Douwan. For which reason it is more
than probable, that he was far from being displeased at the severe method which France had taken
to humble them thus far.

However that be, the Porte took care from that time to send them such strenuous viceroy,
and with such extensive powers, as should make them desirous to repair the supplies they received from
them. Whilfe, on their side, the Algerines failed not to express the most submissive regard to
them, till they found themselves well recovered from their late disasters, as to be able to re-
sume their old course. We need not therefore wonder at their unusual readiness to enter into
an alliance with us, at such a crisis as this; nor at our English admirals obtaining such advant-
geous terms from them, at a juncture when our friendship and affiance was become at least
as necessary and beneficial to them, as theirs could be to us. This treaty, which hath been
the ground-work of all those that have been since made with them, was renewed four years
after, mutatis mutandis, in the 2d year of king James the second's reign, by Sir William Scoam,
in his way to Constantinople, whither he was sent ambassador by our court. It bears date April
the 5th, and without any alteration than that of names, and of some literals. The same may
be said of that, which was concluded between Chaaban Chojahb the then Dey of Algiers, and
Sir Thomas Baker, five years after, in the 2d year of king William's reign. But all this while
we must not suppose that the Algerines, especially the Rais, or captains of their corsairs, were
such strict observers of those treaties, as to let any of our ships escape them, whenever they
could conveniently make a prize; for which they never wanted an excuse or pretence, whenever
a complaint was made to the regency. Nor was iteasy to obtain a restitution or redress
from the Deys or Duwan, whose interest it was to encourage those piratical practices, upon so
many accounts; for that the only remedy was making reprisals upon them; and it was upon
some such infringement of it, that captain Beach, about nine years after the last conclusion
of that treaty, fell foul on seven of their frigates, which he drove on shore and burnt. The
result of which was a fresh revival of it with that republic, by captain Mundon, and Robert
Coles, Efq; with the addition of three articles, which will explain the occasion of it. They are
to this import:

1. That the peace concluded in 1682 be confirmed; and more particularly the eighth
article: wherein it is exprest, that no ship belonging to Algiers shall cruize in fight of any
port or place belonging to Great Britain, or in any way disturb the peace or commerce of
the same; nor shall any Algerine vessel enter the English channel.

2. No paftes shall be required from an English ship, till the latd day of September 1701.

But after that time, if any English ship shall be seiz'd, not having a pass, the goods of such
ship shall be prize; but the matter, men, and ship, shall be restored, and the freight imme-
diately paid to the master.

3. Whereas captain Mundon hath complained, that he was affronted some years past by
some rude soldiers at the mole, it is promis'd, that, at all times hereafter, when any British
man of war shall come to Algiers, order shall be given to an officer to attend at the mole,
during their stay, to prevent any such disorder: and if any such shall happen, the offender shall be
punish'd with the utmost severity.

This treaty, which bears date Aug.'20, 1700, is thus prefaced, We the most excellent and
most illustrious lords, Muffapha Dey, Hali Bafha, and Muffapha Aga, governors of the most
famous and most warlike city and kingdom of Algiers, do, by these presents, renew and confirm the
peace we so happily enjoy, with William king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender
of the Christian faith, and his subjects, in the year of Jesus, &c. by which most pompous
titles we may reasonably conclude, that the Algerines had, by this time, that is, in about 17 years
since the dreadful bombardment lately mentioned, regained in a great measure their princile
gstrength and grandeur, as well as their native pride and influence, seeing, they have added the
title of most excellent to that of illustrious, with regard to themselves; and that of most


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warlike to that of most famous, with respect to their city and kingdom, which were not in that of 1682; and which would, at that time, have been very unsuitable to their forlorn and ruined state. We may farther observe, from the Turkish Bafha or viceroy being named in it as the second person in that government, they had regained their privilege of afflicting and opining, if not of voting, in the Douwane, since their late disaster, of which they had been deprived some years before, when the Algerine state was in its most flourishing condition. And what most confirms this observation is, that, in less than ten years from this present date, they were grown up to such an height of insolence and tyranny again, as to obstruct the Dey's election, with such strenuous opposition, as occasioned the total suppression of that dignity, as we shall see in the sequel.

As for Muthapha, the present Dey, he continued still a friend to the English nation; and renewed the old treaty with Sir George Byng, afterwards lord Torrington, being queen Anne's admiral, with the addition of the two following articles; viz.

1. "That whereas by those of the old treaties it was agreed, that subjects of England should pay ten per cent. custom for the goods they should sell at Algiers, or in the dominions thereof, for the better settling and maintaining a good commerce between the subjects of those two nations, the English should from hencforth pay no more than five per cent. custom for such goods; and that such as were found to be contraband, should not pay any custom, as had been before concluded.

2. "That all prizes taken by any of the subjects of the said queen of Great Britain, and all the ships and vessels built or fitted out in any of her majesty's plantations in America, that have not been in England, shall not be molested on account of their not being furnished with priests, but that a certificate in writing, under the hands of the commanding officers, who shall take any prizes, under the hands of the governors or chiefs of such American colonies or places where such ships were built or fitted out, shall be sufficient passes for either of them. And our faith shall be our faith, and our word our word. Signed at Algiers, October 28, in the year of Jesus 1703, &c. which was the second year of queen Anne's reign."

But it was not till after the taking of Gibraltar and Port Mahon by Sir George Rooke, that we could have a sufficient check upon them to oblige them to the observance of those articles; and if we have since had a greater influence and awe upon them, than ever we had before, it is plainly owing, as we have elsewhere observed, to the neighbourhood of those two places that we are beholden for it, else the frequent chicaneries, which we have been obliged to have with them, and the late infringement of some of those articles by their foundrel Rais, who are most of them, as well as great part of their crews, renegades of the viket character, and which our government hath, for wise reasons doubtkefs, thought fit to put up with, sufficiently flew, of what a small advantage the most friendly and solemn treaties would be to us, if we had nothing else but their faith and honestly to depend upon for the observance of them.

Four or five years elapsed since the ratification of the articles above-mentioned, during which nothing material happened, excepting their usual excursions abroad, and hard struggles between the regency and Turkish viceroys at home. But the sixth proved a very remarkable one, for their retaking the famed city of Warren, or Ajaran, from the Spaniards, which proved a considerable loss to them, on account of vast numbers of slaves, and quantities of grain, oil, leather, and other commodities, which they yearly drew from thence, as well as of the singular advantage of its convenient and spacious harbour; the strength and importance of that forres, which not only kept the Algerins in awe, but flood excellently well situated for the execution of any design against them. And of such importance hath it been reckoned by these ever since, that they immediately made it the residence of the western Bey, or governor of the western circuit, which till then used to be at Tremeuce; and who, besides a stout garrison, keeps up a little army of 2,000 Coligeties, or Conolities, at his own charge, and a guard of 1,500 Moors, to accompany him in his circuit. Notwithstanding all which precautions, as well as the several fortifications they added to it, in order to keep it in their hands, the Spaniards retook it from them with great difficulty, in the year 1737. We have elsewhere given a description of that famed forres, its harbour, and various fortifications, the greatest part of which had been added to it by the Spaniards, after their becoming masters of it, an. 1595. Since which time they had kept possession of it, in spite of the several efforts of the Deys to regain it. However, though the reduction of it by the Algerins be ascribed, by most Christian writers, to the treachery and cowardice of the governor, as well as to the grievous war which Philip V. had then upon his hands, which would not permit him to send a sufficient succour to it; rather than to the martial skill and bravery of the enemy's troops, as great rejoicings were made at Algiers, as if it had been won by dint of strength and valour; and the remainder of that year, g
Chapter 3. The history of Algiers.

a and the greater part of the next, were chiefly employed, either in repairing the old, and making new fortifications to it, or in the conveying it into a vast quantity of artillery, and all other war-like stores, in order to secure it, as much as possible, against all future attempts, either from Spain or any other Christian power.

The next year was still more remarkable and prosperous to Algiers, upon several accounts: This year a new Dey Ibraim, surnamed the madman, 2. of the ele-

norable

2. Ibraim was the name of the Dey of Algiers in 1710.

tion of the brave Hali to the throne; and, 3dly, the expulsion of the Turkish Balha, and excision of that dignity, by the courage and address of the new Dey.

As to the first of these transactions, it is of such a nature as to deserve to be related with all its principal circumstances; since it will afford us readers a lively notion of the dangers and dif-

b ficulties to which an uncontrolled authority is apt to bring, both upon the posseffor, and those that are under him. Ibraim had some noble qualities, though not such as were very agreeable to his subjects. He was a severe punisher of all kinds of knavery, theft, fraud, and other such crimes, and pillaging rogueries; which, as hath been elsewhere observed, are so common all over these parts. He had, moreover, a special knack at discovering them, and would spare no pains to find out the authors of them (D), and the truth of a fact: But was given so wholly to women, that he would procure them by the most illegal means, and such as are, even among them, reckoned by his unparagoned. His custom was, as soon as his panderers had informed him of any extraordinary beauty, to take his time, when their husbands were at sea, or absent, to come and visit them at unseasonable hours, and either by threats or bribery to introduce himself to them; and by the same means to work them into a compliance to his wishes. Among the rest, the wife of one Mahmut Rais, having been attempted by him, in one of his nocturnal rambles (her door-keeper, a deformed cunct, having let him in during his master’s absence) instead of giving him the reception he expected, either from his carelessness or harshness, repulsed him with the utmost indignation and flaming reproaches, and obliged him to go off, which he with some reluctance did, though without any apprehensions of her further resentment.

Her husband arriving soon after, the failed not to acquaint him with the intial that had been offered to her; but finding him very fearful to encounter the Dey on so tender an occasion, and rather willing to conceal the attempt than to revenge it, she told him, in a violent passion, that she found she had been married only to some patient Christian, and not, as she thought, to a brave man, and would not be long before she got herself divorced from him. Her next step was to communicate the matter to several Rais, or sea-captains; and by representing to them the danger they were in of being made the flaves of Ibraim’s lust, who had ventured to give such early tokens of disregard to all religion, and to the honour of their sex, easily animated them to engage their husbands in the common quarrel. These soon after prevailed Mahmut to listen to his wife’s counsel, and promised to affix him to the country of that worthless monarch; at which she was exceedingly pleased, and advised her husband to order the de-

D) The reader will not perhaps be displeased, if we give one instance, among many, by way of specimen. A retailer of grocory having been represented to him, as using fundy knavish practices to his customers, Ibraim, resolved to know the truth, disguises himself in the habit of a slave, and, taking another with him, goes one morning to his shop, and tells the man, that he and his companion were sent from their country work, but wanted to buy some rice and raisins of him, to make a dish after their country fashion, before they set out; but defied him not to speak a word of it to their furlough master, lest he should severely punish them for loitering so long in town. The shop-keeper promised freely; but, at the same time, took care to sell them the rice and raisins at a dearer rate than had been settled by authority, not dreaming of any ill consequence from two despicaful slaves. Ibraim, being returned to his palace, and dreading in his usual habit, caused the grocer to be brought before him, and his companion to lay the accusation against him; which the other boldly denied, alleging, that the rogue of a slave only used this stratagem to get his money again, after he had bought his goods. Upon which Ibraim, without taking notice to him of his being a party concerned in the sale, ordered him to remain; and caused a proclamation to be made, that if any Turk, Moor, Jew, or Christian, had any complaint against such a grocer, should immediately repair to the Dey’s palace for redress, provided they came before the hour of prayer. It was not long before several persons appeared, and convicted him of fraud and extortion. The consequence of which was, that he condemned him to receive 300 belainades on the soles of his feet, and to pay 500 ghulsh into the public treasury, as a present punishment, for having dared to affect a falseness in the Dey’s presence, and till a more adequate sentence should be pronounced against him. Which last sentence, when debated by the plurality of votes, was, that he should be forthwith hanged, as being the first pretender that had been detected since Ibraim’s election to the Deyshick (7).

e posted at the water-gate, discharged his piece at him, but in the hurry and fear missed him; at which the Dey turned pale, but kept on his pace, without daring to ask any question about the matter, not knowing who to trust on such an occasion; neither did his attendance offer

offer to fir in his defence, for fear of incurring the same. They had scarce reached the a
Battifian, or slave market, before the Negro, who had newly charged his piece, and taken
a shorter way, fired upon him, and miffed him a second time; which made him hotten to
his palace with all the ficed he could; whilst the conspirators, who had interneous them-
des with his retire, followed him, crying aloud Char all; justice for God's sake. These
were quickly joined by the populace, some of which cried out, that he should be dethroned,
and others, that he might be dispatched.

The affrighted Dey, had, however, the good fortune to reach his apartment, and bar-
ricade himself in his chamber, with two Christian slaves, his pages. The place being adorned
with variety of fire-arms, which had been presented by Christian princes, he ordered
those pages to take them down, and fire among the attainted at every breach they made in
the door, by which several of them were killed and wounded; so that, finding the attack
too hot at the door, they ran up to the terras, over his chamber; and having made a large
aperture in it, kept pouring hand grenades into it, till they had quite dispatched him, after
he had reigned a little above a month. Such was the fatal end of Ibrahim Dey, as we have
it related by Mr. De Terjfi, who was then residing at Algiers; and such is the precarious
and hazardous state of that elective dignity, and arbitrary government. The next reign will
give us another pregnant instance of its malignancy with regard to the subjects.

The Douwan, after the murder of Ibrahim, immediately proceeded to the election of a
successor, and Baba Halil was the person, who, without any great opposition or bloodshed,
was raised to that dignity; yet, though a person of known valour and merits, had not been
long seated on his throne, before he discovered that a most powerful faction, confiding
chiefly of the friends and partizans of the late Dey, was forming against him; so that, to
keep himself steady in it, he was obliged to put to death above 1,700 of them, on the
very first month of his reign. This extreme severity, as it was thought by the rest of his
subjects, rather aggravated, than supprieved, the public murmuring and discontent, and
proved the source of several other conspiracies against him, which yet his good fortune and
vigilance, joined to an intrepid bravery and artful conduct, enabled him to nip in the bud.
Among other popular acts, which he did in order to appease the resentment of Ibrahim's
relations and friends, he cauful the body of that unfortunate prince, dragged and manged as it was
been by the infuriated populace, to be taken up, and honourably buried; and ordered a flatly
mausoleum to be erected over his grave.

But the most politic, as well as popular act of his reign, and which hath most endeared
that era, as well as his memory, was the delivering that state from the tyrannical check
of the Turkoj Bahas, or viceroys. The person, who then reigned in that quality at Algiers,
whole name is not mentioned by our author, had, it feems, been very bufy and inter-
meddling in matters of state, which were to wholly out of his province. He had par-
ticularly had a great influence in the election of the late Dey, as well as ventured to oppose
that of the present. This inolence, which had hitherto been indulged to them by the go-
vernment, could hardly escape the repentment of Halil Dey, who made no scruple to get
him arrested soon after his election, and ordered him to be embarked in a trading vessel,
that was bound to Tunis, with a severe threatening, that he would surely put him to death, if ever
he dared let foot in Algiers, to raise any fresh commotions.

The next step our politic Dey took, was to send an embassy to the Porte, with rich
presents for the Vazier, the Soltanesis, and chief officers of the court, with a detail of com-
plaints against the Bahs, and represented to the Grand Vazier, that, though his turbulent
miscondufts were rifen to such a height that they deserved death, nevertheless, out of his deep
regard to the Grand Signor and him, he had only contended himself with banishing him.
He added, that the Turkoj militia was so exasperated against those Bahs, that, if any for
the future should give them the same caufe of discontent, they would not fail of maffacring
them, which would be a great insult, and an irreparable affront to the sublime Porte. He
rejed his representation with observing, how much more it would be for the honour and
interest of the Sultan, since those Bahs were foes of enemies, obnoxious, and chargeable, not to
send any more of them to Algiers, but to confer that dignity on the Dey for the time being.
This proposal was so well relished at the Constantiopolitian court, that it was immediately
agreed to; and from that time Halil, and his successors, have looked upon themselves as
sovereigns, and acted with a plenary power, and the title of Bahs, or viceroys, of the Ottoman
Porte, excepting only that, upon some particular occasions, this left yields his Capitaj Bahas, or
envoys extraordinary, to Algiers, to transact or little matters with the Dounian; yet do they there
meet with but a cold reception, not only on account of their being maintained at the public
charge, but much more so for their haughty deportment, which is the more odious to the foldiers,
that as it is a kind of reproach on their meannets, and their dependance on the Porte for which

See before, p. 278, & seq. & lib. ii. p. 278.
a reason they make all the dispatch they can to dismiss them, and with as little ceremony as common decency and policy will admit of.

In the 4th year of Hat's reign happened another remarkable occurrence, which well deserves a place here. Mr. Thomas Thomson, our English consul at Algiers, as he was going to the hall, where the captains of ships usually meet, was insulted by a young Moor, supposed to have been in liquor, by jostling him on the mole, which is very narrow, instead of giving him the way; and, upon his being asked, whether he intended to wrong him over it, and whether he was not an odd spark to dispute the way with him, answered him, with great insolence, that no dog of a Christian was above him, and gave him a box on the ear, and throwing him upon his back, clapped his knee furiously on his breast. The captain of the port, happening to be without, called out to him; upon which he left him and fled, whilst he helped the consul up, and led him to the assembly of the sea officers. The admiral being there apprised of what had happened, expressed his utmost concern at the insult, and went forthwith and complained of it to the Dey in the strongest terms; but, having a regard for the young offender, whose father was a noted merchant, endeavoured to extenuate the fault, and begged that he might not be punished with death. The Dey, though he promised to spare him so far, yet inflicted that some punishment should be laid on him, for the satisfaction of the consul and the deterrent of others.

A bastinado being agreed on between them, Mr. Thomson was sent for to see justice done on the offender; and the young Moor was brought in by the Grand Provost, to whom the Dey sternly said, Thou villain, what hath been done? To whom the young fellow, with little or no concern, answered, What have I done! I have only beaten a Christian dog for taking the word of me, and giving me abusive language. The Dey, in a passion, accused him, Whether it was true that he had treated the English consul in the shameful manner complained of? which he as impudently acknowledged, and asked him, Whether that was all he was brought before him for? At which the Dey was so exasperated, that he condemned him to receive two thousand two hundred bastinadoes, which were accordingly given him before the consul.

The first thousand strokes, which were given him on the soles of his feet, brought them his dreadful punishment so far off, that they only hanged by a small ligament: but as a greater number would soon have dispatched him out of his misery, the Dey, to make as severe and deterring an example of him as possible, ordered him back to prison to recover himself; and, on the morrow, by nine of the clock, the remaining twelve hundred strokes were given him on his posterioris; upon which he lost his speech and senses: but, as he was not quite dead, he was remanded back to prison, there to be left, without any relief, to expire in the most dreadful agonies for his drunken folly, as a deterrent against such future intruders.

It was also in this same year that admiral Baker, being sent by his Britannic majesty, king George I. to renew the treaties with Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers; visited the two former kingdoms in person; but deputed captain Comynghy Norbury, commander of the Argyle, and captain Nicolas Eaton, commander of the Chester, in conjunction with Mr. Thomas Thomson, who, in the absence of his brother Samuel, acted as consul, to ratify all the former treaties with the Algerine republic, and to add to them the four following articles, viz.

1. That, if any demand or pretensions shall be now left depending between the subject, or others, of either party, they shall be amicably redressed, and full satisfaction made to each other, according to the truth and justice of their claim; nor shall any of the same be cancelled, or made void by this treaty.

2. That, as the island of Minorca, in the Mediterranean sea, and the city of Gibraltar, in Spain, have been yielded and annexed to the crown of Great Britain, as well by the king of Spain as by the several powers in Europe engaged in the late war, it is now hereby agreed, and fully concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the said island of Minorca and the city of Gibraltar shall be esteemed, in every respect, by the government and people of Algiers, to be part of his Britannic majesty’s dominions, and the inhabitants thereof be looked upon as his majesty’s natural subjects, in the same manner as if they had been born in any part of the British territories. And they, with their ships and vessels, wearing British colours, and being furnished with proper passes, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffic in any part of the dominions of Algiers, without any molestation whatsoever; and shall have the same liberties and privileges that are stipulated in this, and have been made in any other treaties, in behalf of the British nation and subjects; and, therefore, none of the cruisers shall, at any time, cruise within the said island of Minorca and city of Gibraltar.

Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.

3. That
3. That, if an English ship shall receive on board any passengers or goods belonging to Algiers, the English shall defend them both as far as lieth in their power, &c. and to prevent any fraudulent demands being made on the crown of Great Britain, &c. all goods, &c. stipulated by the subjects of Algiers on British vessels, shall be first registered in the office of Cancellaria before the British consul, together with their weight, value, &c. before it depart.

4. That, if any Algerine cruisers shall meet with any British ships provided with scollop pastes, of either ships or galleys, that shall fit with those delivered to them by the British consul, they shall pass free and unmolested. Given at Algiers, October 29, 1716.

Thus far the additional articles, concluded with Baba Hali Dey, who had the good fortune to die quietly in his bed, after a reign of almost eight years. He was raised from the dignity of Betha, or Grand Provost, to that of Dey, in June, 1710; and died April 13, 1718, b highly esteemed and regretted, and was interred with great pomp, as is usually done to those Deys that die a natural death. However, to prevent all tumults and bloodshed about the choice of a successor, the officers of his household, in conjunction with those of the Douwan, took care, as soon as his physicians had given him over, to agree upon one privately amongst themselves, namely, Mebened, who was then Cazenar, or high treasurer. So that as soon as the breath was gone out of Hali’s body, he was immediately invested with the Caftan, or royal robes; and, as soon as day-light appeared, was proclaimed by the firing of the artillery, and other usual ceremonies b; and with this period we shall conclude the Algerine history.

b Tassie, ubi sup. Morecan’s Append. Hist. of Algiers, 1750, page 179, &c. al.
The history of Tunis, or Tunes.

CHAP. IV.

The history of Tunis.

a THIS kingdom hath its name from its famed metropolis, one of the antientest cities in Africa, and once the second in rank next to Carthage, as may be seen by the description of Tunis, which we have given of it, and its various changes, in our Antient history. Both the city and kingdom hath undergone a much greater number since the expulsion of the Romans out of Africa; an account of which will be seen in the sequel: at present we shall content ourselves with observing, that, in its more modern state, that is, before Barbarossa, it was of some of its provinces, it was of a much larger extent than it hath ever been since its being established in its form of government by Sisam Paphia, though still a very powerful and opulent city under its new set of monarchs; and, we may add, more civilized than any on the African coasts; infomuch that, from being once as famed for its corsairs as that of Algiers last spoken of, its inhabitants have, of late years, given themselves wholly to traffic, and cease to be a terror to the fair trader on those seas.


SECT. I.

A geographical description of the kingdom of Tunis.

c THIS kingdom did once comprehend the provinces of Carthamnia, Bujeayab, or Bugis, Tunes, Tripoli, and Zaab, vulgarly Ezzaab. At present the two former belong to Algiers, the third, viz. Tripoli, forms a republic of itself, and Zaab is become dependant on it; so that only Tunis Proper is all that is left of it to its present Bey's. Its boundaries, therefore, are now the Mediterranean on the north and east, the kingdom of Algiers on the west, and Tripoli, with part of Biledulgerid, on the south. The length of it, from north to south, or from Cape Serra, in lat. 37° 12', to the island of Jerba, in lat. 33° 30', is 220 miles, and its breadth, from west to east, or from the city of Sbeika, the most advanced towards the west, and lying in east long. 8° 0', to that of Cybea, the farthest towards the east, under 11° 20' east longitude, about 170° (A).

The kingdom of Tunis hath been variously divided; viz. into seven provinces, four of which, Carthage, Geletta, al. Guilleta, Bizerta, Sufa, and Almedea, or Africa, were sailed maritime; and the other three Kayr waan, Urba, and Beggya, together with a tract of land, one half in Numidia, and the other in Libya, were called inland. Again: into the eight following districts or governments; viz. 1. Tunis Proper; 2. Byraa, or Carthage, and Goletta, which are now joined to the first; 3. El-Medea, or Africa; 4. Soufa, or Soufa; 5. Kayr-awan, or Cairwan; 6. Hamamat, al. Mahomet; 7. Bizerta; 8. Porto Farinio; all which take their names from their respective capitals. At present the whole kingdom is divided into two circuits; viz. the summer and winter, which the Bey takes in person through his dominions at those two feasons, as will be seen in the sequel. We shall, however, for order's sake, follow the second division in our subsequent account of those capitals and their districts; each of which had, moreover, a number of cities and towns; the greatest part of which have been since destroyed by the Arabian, who are here very numerous and powerful, and who will not suffer them to be rebuilt, that they may have the greater freedom to range the country with their vast

S Shaw's Travels, p. 139, & seq.

(A) We have here followed one of the last and most accurate writers (1), whose observations, if right, plainly shew, how greatly some modern geographers have erred, particularly Sancios, who places Cape Bone in lat. 34° 15', and Cape Gabs in 35° north; that is, above three degrees too far southward. Mill likewise brings it a few minutes only too far north, but extends it to the northward beyond the parallel of Tripoli. Du ti spent has done almost the same in his royal map of Africa; whereas, as our author observes, there is a remarkable chain of mountains in the same parallel within the island of Jerba, which forms the boundaries of Tunis and Tripoli. So that, of all the other modern geographers, Luqui seems to have been the best acquainted with the extent of this kingdom in general, who allows it three degrees of longitude, and four of latitude (2).

hers, and enjoy the pleasures and product of that fertile country in greater ease and plenty. a

So that the inland part is now hardly any other than a vast spacious champaign country, most of the cities being frutile along the coast; and these not above fourteen in number, and but few of them either large or populous. Those in the inland parts are full fewer, and in a worse condition, being but eight in all; that is, seven in Tunis, and one in Béjaour. b However, as the division of this kingdom into provinces, hath been set aside long since, and the whole is under the immediate government and inspection of the Bey, who collects the tribute and whole revenue in person, we shall content ourselves with giving their names in the margin (B.), and follow the present established division of the kingdom, which is into the two circuits that the Bey takes through the principal part of it with his flying camps, one in summer through the fertile country in the neighbourhood of Kef and Béjaour; the other in the winter, through the several districts between Kefren and the Jéred, or Elgéréid, that is, the dry country, which part of the Sahara, or desert, we have had occasion to speak already in the history of Algiers*. By this means we shall have an opportunity of describing such of these cities as have any thing worth notice, without troubling our reader with the rest; as likewise the capes, principal islands, rivers, mountains, and other particulars, as they occur in each circuit; and this division of the kingdom into those two circuits will appear the more convenient, as it corresponds as much as possible to that of the antients into Zeugitana and Byzacium, spoken of in the Ancient History 5, according to which, the former or summer circuit will include that part which spreads itself northward of the parallel of Hamamet, or Hamanet-c, and the winter one, answering to the old Byzacium, or Libyeponicae, will contain all that lieth south of that parallel 4.

The summer circuit, or northern district, is by far the most pleasant, fertile, and populous, and hath a much greater number of cities, villages, Dowars, or Adowars, and carries the fairest appearance of plenty, prosperity, and cheerfulness of the two; which is, doubtless, owing to the mildness of its government, and its being free from tyranny and oppression than that of Algiers last spoken of. And, as it is bounded by the river Tusca, now called Zaine, tho' by others Guadil-Babbar, which divides it from the Algerine province of Contantine, may be properly looked upon as the Africa Propria Minor and Carthageninsis, and the Provincia Vetus of the antients, and the Proconaularis of the Notitia.* Its most fertile parts are about the Kef and Baj-jab, and Dackenat, which abound with arable and pasture grounds. The rest are much inferior to them in fertility; and are interposed with plains, hills, and marshes, which scarce admit of any cultivation or improvement 8; altho' the inhabitants here are more industrious, and have better encouragement for it, than they have under the other Turkishe governments.

The principal rivers of this circuit are, 1. The Zaine, which we observed in the last chapter, divides the Tunesian kingdom from that of Algiers 3. 2. The Guadil-Babbar, which several authors make the boundary between those two kingdoms; to which they add, that it hath its spring as far southward as the city of Urba, or Jerba; whence, running in a winding course north-west, it empties itself into the Mediterranean, near the port of Tabarka. This river, we are told, winds itself along so many meanders, that those who go from Tunis to Bonso are obliged to ford it above twenty times, there being neither bridges e nor ferry-boat 5. (C.) 3. The Medjerda; but, as for the one over it, (C.) 3. "The Medjerda, with its early Medjerda and Maggierdeva, the famed Bagrede of the antients, on the banks of which Regencia is said to have killed a monstrous serpent." The description of it is in our Ancient History 4, to which we shall only add, that it hath often changed its chanel, and hath left in many places, where it formerly ran, evident marks of its overflows; and that an open creek, into


b Vol. vi. p. 662, & 668, & seq.

c Shaw, ubi sup.

b Leo Afric. ubi sup. Gramm. Marmol, & al. sup. citat. ubi sup. p. 121, & seq. See before, p. 201, & seq.


1. Yafrarz; 2. Bizarra; 3. Porto Furioso; 4. Gurtta; 5. Tunca, from north to south; 6. Hamamet, 7. Jerba, al. Hergo; 8. Safina; 9. Menafa; 10. Africa, now ruined; 11. Capra; 12. Cenabum, & al. El Hanci, al. Elmatar, 14. Gubbi, al. Gubbi. (C.) D'Abor Shaw, the inquirer on this subject, denies there being any river of the name of Guadil-Babbar, or of its springing so far from the sea; and allows none but the Zaine to divide Tunes from Algiers. This last, he tells us, hath its fountain no farther off than some of the adjacent mountains, and falls into the sea near Tabarka, now Tabarka; the ruins of which are spread over the western banks of it; among which is a fort, and a Tunisian garrison; together with some broken citadels and other antiquities (5).

It is strange to great a number of authors should have given us the name, spring, various meanders, and other particulars, of a river which is not in being; or, if it is, so far inaccurate an observer should not have found it out. We can determine nothing about it, till some new traveller brings us a clearer account of it; but that the Zaine above mentioned is the boundary of the Tunis on late, on the Algerine coast, is hardly to be questioned; and that the description we meet with of this river, both in no ways answer to that which those authors give us of the Guadil-Babbar, any more than it doth in name, is so left apparent (6).
The history of Tunis.

which it discharget itself, little more than a century ago, is now circumscribed by the mud, and become a large pond, or a kind of anti-harbour to Porto Farone. The cause of which is suppos'd to be the height of the shore, from the port last named to Cartaghe, above the level of the sea; which, being exposed to the east and north-east winds, may have choked up the mouth of it, as hath happened to many other rivers: so that there is reason to apprehend, that the channel will, in a few years, return again to the southward; the pond formed by it being every day more and more choked with mud; and the mouth, or bar of the river, which, till lately, admitted vessels of the greatest burden, become now too shallow to receive a currie of thirty guns, unless it be first discharged of its lading.

The Medjedieh suppos'd to be the Calenda of the ancients, and a branch of the Guadil-Barbar; about a mile from which is the noted hot bath, called Hammam Leaf, much resorted to by the citizens of Tunis. It is remarkable only for forming the bay of Tunis, and having that metropolis situat on the mouth of it.

5. The Gabbs, or Cape, or Capo, suppos'd to be the Trion of the ancients, hath its source three or four leagues only to the south-west of the old city, forming the ground, on which it was built, into a kind of peninsula. This last, more properly, belongs to the winter circuit; though the gulph, to which it gives its name, be in the summer one. We have given an account of it, and the lake which is formed by it, in our Ancient History; and shall only add, that the waters of the Gabbs are said to be hot, that they cannot be drunk till an hour after they have been taken out of it; and that those of the lake are likewise affirmed, when drank, to be a remedy against the leprous. Thus much may serve for the Tunisian rivers. To which we shall only add that of Me-jerdah, or Old Begyeda, which is the most considerable of the whole kingdom, and divides itself into two, almost from east to west, and receives the greatest number of rivers into its streams: and that of Zeina hath a small island lying over-against the mouth of it, which is now peopled by the Genoese, who pay a yearly rent for it to the Bey, on account of the pearl fishery; but the little advantage they have made of it, late, will, in all likelihood, oblige them to abandon that settlement in a little time, though they have a pretty good fort in it, capable of defending them either against any surprize from the Zunati, and other Arabs on the continent, or from the insults of any of the Algerine or Tripo-Porto Negro.

6. Others cruizers.

The most considerable islands belonging to this state are, 1. Cape Negro, five miles to the north-east of Tabarka, which hath a settlement of the French African company, who pay a considerable sum of money to Tunis for the liberty they enjoy at La Calle (D), and for keeping up a fort here to protect them from the insults of the neighbouring Mogodri, and other Arabians.

2. Jalta, the Galata, or Calathe, of the ancients, is a high rocky island, six miles north of Cape Negro, and ten to the north-east of Tabarka. There is a very dangerous shoal, unknown to our sea charts, lying about five leagues from it to the west-south-west.

The Cami, which are two little flat contiguous islands, where the Italian row-boats lie frequently in wait for the Tunisians. These islands are about four leagues to the north-west of the Cape Pil-los, and very nearly in the middle way to Cape Blanco. The capes of note are, Cape Sierra, five leagues north-east of Cape Negro, and the most advanced to Africa towards the north; four leagues beyond which, northward, are the Tres Fratres, or three brothers, which are three rocky islands near the continent, about half way to Cape Blanco.

This cape is supposed, from its whiteness, to be the Promontorium Candidum of Pliny, and Promontorium Pulverum of Livy, where Scipio made his first descent into Africa; it being of a chalky substanse, and from thence called by the Moors the White Cape.

Cape Zikeeb, so called from the great quantities of raifins that are made upon it, is likewise remarkable for the whiteness of some of its cliffs on the eastern side, and for having what they call Pil-los, a high pointed rock, in the shape of that favourite cliff of theirs, situate just below it. That Cape Zikeeb is the Promontorium Apollinis we have formerly shewn.

The reader may see some farther proofs of it in Dr. Shaw's Travels.

The last cape of note is that of Ben, called by the Moors Ras Addar; and is the Hersonese Promontory of the ancients. It stands eleven leagues east-south-east of that of Zikeeb; and is of such a height, that one can see the Sicilian mountains from the summit of it.

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The principal gulphs are, 1. That of Bizerta, the Sinus Hipponeus of the ancients; a very large one it is, and hath its name from the town of Bizerta, or as the Africans call it, Ben-berdit (E), situated upon the western banks of it. This gulph, having a communication with the lake of the same name on the south, and with the sea on the north, forms a kind of canal between them; through which a confluent stream is alternately discharging itself from the one to the other, in the same manner as the Atlantic Ocean is observed to do in the Mediterranean, and back again; so that what the lake lothes by exhalations, is again recruited by the sea; which, at such times, runs very briskly into it in hot seasons, to keep up an equilibrium. This gulph is formed by the Capes Bianco and Zibeleb, lately mentioned, and is a beautiful sandy inlet, near four leagues wide, and once admitted the largest vessels into the great pier of Hippo; of which there are still some traces remaining, projecting out into the sea, to break off the north-east wind; so that it appears to have been one of the beautiful and safest havens upon those coasts. The misfortune is, that the Turks, always averse to repairs, have let it go to rot, so that it will receive none now but small vessels, and is in danger to be in a little time totally destroyed.

The other gulph of note is that of Tunis, situate between the Capes Zibeleb and Bon; the former making the western, and the latter, at eleven leagues distance, the eastern point of it. Zouara Moara, the Ligumurus of the ancients, and the Zimbra of our sea charts, lies between these promontories, but nearer that of Bon, in the very mouth of the gulph. The island of Gamilia lies a little way eastward of Cape Zibeleb; and, four miles to the west, within the cape, stands Porto Farina, called from an ancient fall-work hard by it Gar-el-meliah, or the Cave of Salt, by the inhabitants of it. Other particulars, relating to this Tunisian gulph, will be better seen when we come to speak of the metropolis situate upon it.

The chief mountain of this kingdom, worth notice, is the Zouara, al. Zaguan, or Zagoan, a very high and famed one; from whose summit one hath a prospect of the greatest part of the kingdom; and from which Agatbeck is thought to have been entertained with a view both of the country of the Ardumteunis and Cartaginians. It is likewise remarkable for a town of its name, situate at the foot of it, in great repute for dying of scarlet caps, and for bleaching of linen; vast quantities of both being daily brought thither from all parts of the kingdom. The stream, which serves for that purpose, and runs from the top of the mountain, was formerly carried by a noble conduit to Carthage. Over the fountain was built a temple; the ruins of which are still to be seen. It hath likewise, both on the declivity, and about the foot of it, several Roman antiquities; such as towns, castles, forts, &c. with inscriptions cut in marble. It stands about a league and a half south-west of Tunis; and is mostly barren and desert, except a few spots, which bear here and there some barley; but there are, almost all over it, proper places where they shelter vast quantities of bee-hives. The rest of the territory round about it is almost a continued champain country; thro' which mount Atlas opens a spacious way from that of Zoaah into Numidia. Other mountains of this country are, the Gueslet, Beni-syeren, and Noufisa; the former, about three leagues from Koywan, hath likewise several Roman antiquities; the two last, one about seven miles from Zerbi and Ailacrus, have little worth notice, except the poverty of the inhabitants, who yet maintain their liberty, by means of the ruggedness of their abodes. But, as many of them are forced to go to Tunis, and other parts, to get a livelihood, they run great risk of being ill treated by the Tunisi Allaloeus, or doctors; because they alone, of all the people of this kingdom, are of the sect of Ahi, which is here detested; so that they are forced to conceal that part of their religion from them, as well as they can, wherever they go. The lakes of this kingdom, having been described in our Antient Hiffory, we shall refer our readers to it, to avoid needless repetitions. We need only add here, that that of Tunis, which was formerly deep, and capacious enough to contain a large fleet, is, since then, especially as it hath been in the possession of the Turks, become so shallow, particularly in the summer-time, by receiving all the common /minks/ of the city, that the middle of its channel is hardly above six or seven feet deep of water: whilst the rest of it, for the space of a mile or more, within its banks, is become both dry and barren; though, in other respects, its prospect receives no small beauty from the numerous flocks of Flamants that frequent it; and is no less famous for the number and largeness of its

* See Antient Hist. vol. vi. p. 667.
* Philosophical Transactions, vol. xii. p. 142.
* Marsol, Daphfer, Shaw, &c.
* Shaw, p. 184, &c.

(3) Which they derive from their situation, Beni-berda signifying the offspring of the canal, which etymology is not only natural and ingenious, and bids as fair at least for being the true one as that substituited for it by others, who will have Bizerta to be a corruption of the Hanno Dierhoun, or Zayunt, of the ancient Greeks, which Plato translates, Apparnon Irenus (5).


(6) The gulph of the Ilipa Dierhoun, or Zayunt, of the ancient Greeks, which Plato translates, Apparnon Irenus (5). Boscour thinks the Ilipa there to be only a corruption of the Phoenician Illib, which signifies a gulph (9). mullets
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Chapter 4.

We begin with the metropolis, whose origin, antiquity, situation, and former splendor, Tunis the ca-
have been already taken notice of in our "Ancient History"*; but which is now become still more considerable, by being the capital of a powerful kingdom. Diodorus gave it the epithet of "Aegeus, white," probably on account of the white chalky cliffs which seem to surround it, when viewed from the sea; and between which it spreads itself upwards, from the western banks of the channel, lately mentioned, of Goletta (F), in form of an oblong square, about a mile in length. The whole town, suburbs included, extends no farther than three miles; though some authors have given it a much larger circuit, without any foundation; its walls having still the same compacts, though its suburbs are very much thickened. But in the year 1520, when they were computed to contain 16,000 houses, mostly inhabited by trademen of all sorts, besides those within the walls, which, in Grammey's time, amounted to 10,000 more. But at present it is far enough from being so populous as Algiers, though living under a milder government; neither are the buildings so lofty and magnificent. The fine prospect likewise, that it yields towards the sea, comes also far short of what it did, the forts, castles, and other works on the adjacent hills, which added much to it, having been demolished by the Turks almost as soon as they became masters of it.

Tunis labours under three very great inconveniences; viz. 1. It is so much commanded by those hills, that, excepting its walls, which are about forty cubits high, and flanked at proper distances with small towers, the whole strength of it seems chiefly to consist in the number of its inhabitants; the greatest part of whom are trademen. 2. The lakes and marshes around it render its situation much less healthy, notwithstanding the inhabitants endeavour to remedy it, by the great quantity of maitick, myrtle, rotemay, and other aromatic herbs, with which they daily heat their ovens, bagnios, &c. which of course communicate a corrective fragrancy to the air. The third, and worst of all is the scarcity of water, there being no springs or rivers near it; their wells are mostly brickkiln, and their cisterns but few; so that they are forced to fetch the greatest part of what they drink from other places at a mile distance. There is, indeed, one well in the city, whose water is barely drinkable; yet, even this is carefully reserved for the use of the Bey and his household. We are moreover told, that there is another well in the city, whose water is quite salt; and is, nevertheless, so far preferred to that of their cisterns, that they suffer it to be fetched and sold for their common drinking, or, more probably, for their pil-law, and other cookery, unless we suppose the preference to be owing to its saltiness, as being more palatable to them than the infidial rain-water of their cisterns. We might add a fourth inconvenience (still) viz. the dryness of the territory round about, which requires continual watering; so that there is hardly a corn field but what hath a well dug in some corner there for that purpose, which makes it very inconvenient (G), and often raises the price of grain to an excessive height; add to this, their harvest being exposed to the incursions of the Arabians in harvest-time, which obliges the citizens to sow their wheat, barley, and rye, in or near the suburbs, and even to incline those fields with flat walls: but, excepting these inconveniences, no place enjoys a greater plenty of all necessaries of life; for, besides that ships are continually bringing new supplies of provisions, their gardens abound with fruit trees; such as palms, figs, dates, citrons, lemons, olives, &c. and this last grows in such abundance, about a league's distance round the city, that they supply great plenty of the inhabitants, as well as strangers, with oil, and even with charcoal, that being the only wood they have to make it with. This scarcity of grain is one cause why the inhabitants are, for the most part, poor, and are forced to live very meanly. They have, indeed, very good wheat, chiefly from Urbis, Bujesta, and other neighbouring places; and this they grind with a hand-mill, and sift through a fine sieve, and make a kind of fine cakes, and a flat kind of vermicelli: but this is only in use among the wealthy; the poorer folk being forced to take up with barley meal, which they make into a kind of dumplings, and eat,

* Shaw, ubi fop. pag. 154 & seq.  * Vol. vi. p. 665. & seq.  * Shaw, p. 156.  *ibid.  *ibid.  *ibid.  *(F) So called from the Arbica, Bact-ki-nud, or thrush of the river; which name is derived by reason of its being a channel of communication between the lake of Tunis and the sea, as we observed a little above. The Italinos first gave it that name of Goletta; which, in their language, answers to that of the Tunisians, who, on each side of it, tolerated a firm, for the security of that narrow passage, as well as of the road east and south-east (g).

(G) This is done mostly commonly by the help of a crane, turned by two or horses, the water which is drawn by buckets is emptied into a cistern, or small receptacle; from whence it is conveyed, by little rills, through all parts of the field or garden: all which require an almost constant labour and attendance; without it, the excessive heat would parch up every thing that is thrown into the ground (i).


(d) dipped
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Book XXII.

They have a market in this city, where there is nothing sold but barley; of which they make that poor kind of food. However, they have plenty of honey, and fruits of all sorts, and pretty cheap, to mend their other fare; and, on some particular feast days, will afford themselves a little fife, especially lamb. Their main streets are large, and crooked by narrow lanes, at proper distances; and the houses mostly built with stone, but meaner than those of Algiers, and but one story high, and flat at the top. There are very few buildings of any grandeur, except the great mole, the Bay's palace, and some few others belonging to persons of rank; though they had heretofore a number of mosques, and other public edifices; such as colleges, hospitals, baths, prisons for slaves, &c. The gates of the city are five in number; viz. that of Vefera, of Carthage, of El-boar, Affoyr, and Elmamur; none of them very flately: without the walls, round the city, are the Turkish sepulchres, adorned with marble tombs, oratories, flower-plats, and other embellishments.

The Bay's palace is by far the most magnificent edifice in all the town. It hath four flately gates, one at each front, and high turrets at each end. The courts are spacious, the galleries rich and lofty; the gardens large, but not elegant; the halls and apartments are likewise very sumptuous, particularly that called the treasury; in which, among other valuable things, is kept the book of their law, written by the celebrated doctor Ali Medabdin; from whom the Beys boast themselves to be descended; and in virtue of that descent, set up for the sole judges of all controversies about religion. The rest of that sumptuous edifice, being much after the manner of the Algerine Deys, of which we have given a description in the last chapter, we shall refer our reader to it. Next unto it is the chief mole, lately mentioned, and built likewise after the Turkish style; so that it hath nothing remarkable or peculiar, except its bigness and flately tower; which, next to that of Fes, is allowed the highest in all Africa.

Near the heart of the city is a piazza of vast extent, which heretofore contained no less than 3000 woollen and linen drapers' shops; all handomely built, and furnished with great variety of those two commodities besides a great number of others belonging to other trades and manufactures, and to dealers in all sorts of druggist goods. The two chief manufactures of this city are the linen and woollen; both which it hath been ever famous for, above all others in Barbary, on account of the peculiar way their women had of spinning their thread; they letting down their spindles from the top of their houses quite to the ground; the weight of which makes it both finer and smoother. Here are several colleges and schools, and in them a good number of learned men, and doctors of their law; part of whom are maintained at the public charge, and part by the mendicant trade; all of them in high esteem, though not in so high a veneration as their real or counterfeit ideots and madmen, who wander about bare-headed and bare-footed, and are accounted by the people the greatest favourites of heaven, and maintained as such at the public charge. The Sanisters have their barracks very handomely, like those of Algiers; and their Aga, or chief, a great palace or court, whither they repair for orders, and other affairs relating to them. The merchants and trademen have their public exchange; and the custom-house officers a large

* Id. ibid.  
* Vid. Leo, Grammar, Marmol, &c. ub. sup.

This mole, we are told, was founded by Zeharda, king of Tunis, in honour of one of their great saints, named Emehden-aro, in great repute amongst them. It stands on an eminence, at some small distance from the castle, and was formerly a sanctuary for criminals. On the top of its high tower are three halls of gilt copper, like that of the city of Morocco; of which we have given an account in a former chapter. But of this of Tunis, their Alfaks, or doctors, give the following fabulous account; which, nevertheless, paffes for current among all the Tunesians. Tanbok Almanzar, king of Morocco, having taken a resolution to wander about the world incognito, one of his wives, who loved him above all the rest, set out in quest of him, with a female child in her arms; and, having gone through great part of Africa, found him at length at Alexandria, where she lived with him, unknown to any one, till his death; and then set upon her journey back to Morocco. When she came to Tunis, the king's son become enamoured with her daughter, and prevailed her so hard to obtain her, that she was forced to go and complain of it to his father; who, in a fit of rage, asked her, who could show the better disposition of her daughter than to his son? To this she answered, that she was ready to consent to his desire, provided the prince en-

gaged to marry her, and give her the same dower that the heir had received from his late father; to which she added, that she would fain convince him that she was better born than his son. The Moorish king agreed to the conditions; upon which she produced her marriage contract, and told him farther, that all the dower, which Almanzar had bestowed upon her, she laid out in the three golden apples, or balls, which she had cast to be put on the top of the tower of the great mole at Morocco. The king of Tunis, willing to satisfy her, promised to do the same thing; but not having a quantity of gold sufficient for the purpose, contented himself with putting upon them three of copper gild. Thus far the story, which one would rather think had been invented by some Morocco fabulist, in contempt of the Tunesians. Our author adds, that the Alexandrians have still the anniversary of Almanzar's death in great veneration; though he tells us he has seen that prince's tomb in the city of Moscow, in the kingdom of Fes; but is not sure whether this last might not belong to another prince of that name. Of the race of the Benmaris, equally famed for his valour; or, whether the relics of the former might not have been translated from Alexandria thither (11).
custom-house. The last public building we need mention is the arsenal and dock, seated upon the banks of the canal; and in which they have materials enough in store to build several galleys. On the opposite side is the fort of Goletta, lately mentioned; about two leagues from which, and one-half from the city, is another castle, built on a small island in the lake. But, as there is no likelihood of the town being attacked from that side, that fortification hath been long since neglected. The chief fortification belonging to this city is the castle, sited on an eminence, which commands it all over, and makes a very great appearance at a distance, and hath some cannon mounted before the gate. But the jealousy of the government here is such, that it is very dangerous, for a Christian especially, to view it too attentively; and the safest way is to pass by as fast as one can; and it is common for a stranger notice of it at his coming. At some small distance from the castle is the Bazaar for woolen-drappers, which is a long wide street, with shops on both sides, the front supported by four pillars. In other respects the place answers exactly to the condition which it was in in Abulfeda's time, who tells us, that there was an island in the lake, on which the Tunesians used to take their recreations; but that every side of it was no other than the common sink of all the filth of the city.

The Tunesians in general, and more particularly the inhabitants of this metropolis, are like those of Algiers, a mixture of Turks, Moors, Arabsians, Jews, and Christian merchants of the Tune and slaves, only with this singular difference, that they are here more polite and civilized, and wholly free from that haughtiness, insolence, and cruelty, for which the rest of the people in Barbary, and above all others the Algerines, are so justly branded. They are much more kind and humane to their slaves in general; though they treat the knights of Malta, who are reduced to that condition, with greater severity, chiefly to oblige them to buy their freedom at a dearer price: for these, besides the iron shackles which all are obliged to wear about their ankles, have a huge heavy chain fastened to it, which commonly weighs about twenty-five pounds, and which they must either twist about their legs, though it is very troublesome to walk or work with, or hang it to their girdle by a hook, which causes a great pain in the side, or else tots it over their shoulder. They did moreover put them to the hardest labours; such as carrying of sand, stone, and mortar to builders; so that they were obliged to write to Malta for their ransom as soon as they could. The Maltese, on the other hand, were no sooner acquainted with their ill treatment, than they ordered all their Turkish slaves to be cruelly baffinased by way of return. The consequence of which was, that these were obliged to fend to acquaint the Tunesians, that if they continued to make their Maltese slaves work at Tunis, they would be cudgelled to death at Malta; and this at length put an end to the additional hardship.

In other respects, the Tunesians are very courteous to strangers; and all affairs with the regency are transacted in a very friendly manner: the consuls that reside here are treated with greater affability and condescension, justice and dispatch, than in any other court on the African coasts. In a word, this nation hath for many years been more intent upon trade, and the improvement of their manufactures, than upon plundering and cruizing; and upon which account it hath justly obtained the character, not of living like their neighbours in open war, and perpetual enmity with the Christian powers, but of cultivating their friendship, and coming readily into their alliances.

The dress of the Tunesians of both sexes is likewise more polite and fine, though much of the same fashion with that of the Algerines. The women are handkerchief, neat, and more familiar: they go, indeed, veiled out of doors, but are allowed to be seen and converse with strangers, their husbands not being tainted with jealousy to the degree that other Africans are. Those that are wealthy are very fond of rich ornament and perfumes, and are constant in their visits to the public baths belonging to their sex; so that the druggists and apothecaries shops are seldom shut up before midnight, that being their chief time for scarce.

The baths of this city, both those that belong to the men and women, are in great number; and, though inferior in largeness and beauty to those of Fez and Algiers, yet persons are here more handomely treated and better accommodated, notwithstanding the city is destitute of running water. But these are chiefly furnished with that element from the cisterns on the top of their houses, which receive the rain water, and let down a certain quantity from every house by a common pipe into one or two public reeves; from which this, and other how sufficis exigencies of the city, are supplied, though not in such a quantity as to be able to beftow with water any part of it towards the watering or cleansing of their streets, which, on that account, are always either dirty or dusty: so that it is very unpleasant to walk in them, especially as

* Thevenot's Voy. part i. ch. 91. & al. sup. citat. 1 Abul'f. Geogr. ex tradit Gagnier.
Vid. & Shaw, ubi sup. p. 152.
* Thevenot's Voy. part i. Leo, Marmol, & al. sup. citat.
Vid. ibid. Vid. Shaw, ubi sup. p. 156, & seq.
* See before, p. 234, & seq.

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their houses have no windows in the front, which makes it look like walking between two dead walls.

The men, as well as the women, resort much to these baths, their religion obliging them to frequent washings, particularly before the hours of public prayers, after every trifling defilement, and more especially after the matrimonial intercourse. The merchants, officers, doctors, and scholars, affect to appear neatly dressed when they go abroad, but with such fedate gravity and good manners, that, though their streets are much crowded with people, one may go from one end of the city to the other, without fear of being insulted by the Turks, as one is sure to be at Algiers. One thing is, that the Tuniffany do not allow of many such public taverns to be kept by some of their refugees, as is done at Algiers, yet those houses are much better regulated here, inasmuch that those very flaves have power to baffleship or drub even a Turk, if he drinks too much, or behaves insolently, or even to pull off and keep their turbans, till they have paid their reckoning. They fell none but white wine, which is produced in great plenty in the country about, and is very cheap and good; but they most commonly mix quick-lime with it, to make it more intoxicating. It is likewise the custom in these houses, if one calls for a quart of it, to set before him three or four dished of meat or fish, with fallad and other sauces; and when he goes away he pays only for the wine at the common price. In other respects likewise one is sure here to meet with good ufage, and to be free from any such insults from the Turks that one is exposed to at Algiers. However, though many of the Tuniffany allow themselves the use of wine, yet very few drink it to excess; but there are some still so strict as to refrain from it wholly, and, instead of that pernicious liquor, as they style it, make use of a compound drug, which they call Harix, or, according to others, Lajis; an ounce of which will inspire them with a surpising gaiety and intrepidity, that nothing can ruffle their mirth, or create in them either fear or discontent. This composition they pretend to have learned from the Turks; and, from its effects, seems to be much of the nature of their opium, if it is not the same with it.

The Christian merchants, however, to avoid quarrels and contentions with the rest of the inhabitants, have a furburb allotted to them for the convenience of trade. It stands without the gate that leads to the sea side, and about a musket-shot from the city walls; and here they have their magazines, warehoufes, and dwelling-houfes; some of them very large and handsome; the rest of the furburb consists of about two or three hundred small houses, inhabited mostly by persons employed by them in such servile works as packing, fetching, carrying, and some other necessary handicraftsmen.

The religion, customs, manners, language, &c. of the Tuniffany, being in all other respects much the same with those of the Algerines, we shall refer our reader to what hath been said upon those heads in the preceding chapter, and go on now with a short review of the other cities and remarkable places belonging to this summer circuit.

We have already said something of the fortress of Goletta and its two castles; the one of which, since negleeced, was built by the emperor Charles V. and the other, still standing, by Arbonet, Bey of Tunis, to protect his capital from the Maltese vessels, which could ride along the gulf without being annoyed by the cannon of the former. Upon which account this fort is built on a lower ground, and almost level with the sea, and of a round figure on that side, having about eight wide embrasures, two or three feet above water, where the cannon are planted. Some further out-works and improvements have been added to it since by other Beys, together with a good number of handiome houses, which makes the place look more like a little town than a citadel. Tunis stands in lat. 36° 45', east long. 10° 26' ".

Other places of note, in the province of Tunis Proper, according to the old division, are;

1. NABEL, or Nebel Nabis, the Colonies Nefopolis of Ptolomey, and now called by the Italians Nefopolis de Barbaria, stands in a low ground, a mile and a half off the sea shore, and about a furlong westward from the ancient Neapolis, and about three leagues east of Tunis. It is still a thriving town, we are told, and hath been long since famed for its potteries; the rest of its inhabitants are either husbandmen or farmers. As for the ruins of the ancient city, they are either so defaced or covered with mortar and rubbish, that they are not legible; and, on the other bank of the little rivulet that runs through it, is a wolf cut in baffe officer on a marble block, curiously carved. Marfa, or rather El-Marfa, which, in the Arabic, signifies the port, stands where that of ancient Carthage did, and is affirmed to have been built by Nebedi, the Khalif of Kairwan, but was almost destroyed during the civil wars in Barbary, and some time after rebuilt by some husbandmen and fishermen: since which time "


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it is become a populous and handsome city, being computed to have about 800 houses, besides a large college and a flately mosk, built by Muley Mahmed, the father of Muley Hafsan; besides which, it hath some other noble buildings and houses of pleasure, where the Beys and persons of the better sort go to take their diversion, the air here being reckoned very healthy on account of the alternate sea and land breezes. The territory about it is likewise fertile in corn, fruit, and sugar canes. Here once stood the famed city of Carthage, Rome's constant rival; which, after three long and bloody wars, was reduced to ashes, Carthage, the and levelled with the ground, by order of the Roman Senate. The reader will find a description of that once opulent city in our Antient History; of whose antique magnificence there remains little else, except the noble aqueduct which supplied it with water, and a heap of melancholy ruins, to be seen.

Near those ruins, and about three leagues north from Tunis, stands Komnara, a walled and populous town, but inhabited chiefly by husbandmen and gardeners, who send the product of their fertile territory to the capital, particularly their sugar canes, which grow here in great plenty, and are there made into sugar. This place, we are told by an African author, was formerly called Valachia.

Ariana, formerly Abderana, is inhabited likewise by poor gardeners, who supply Tunis with fruit and herbs; it being but three miles distant from it (1).

Arrarz, the left town in this district worth naming, on account of its fine springs and baths, stands on the east side of the Geletan gulph, and on the road between that and Tunis. It was once a Roman colony, which the Turks dismantled great part of upon their abandoning it. The Beys of Tunis afterwards repaired it and the castle; since which it hath gradually recovered itself, though still short of what it formerly was. And thus much may suffice at present for the cities and towns of Tunis Proper. We shall have in the sequel occasion to speak of some other remarkable places in this and the other provinces, under the article of natural and artificial curiosities, and valuable antiquities, that the reader may have them all at one view.

The next capital of the province of its name is El Meda, according to others Medea and Mebedia, called also Africa, and is situated on a small peninsula on the eastern coast of the kingdom. It appears to have been heretofore a place of considerable strength, though not above 230 paces in breadth towards the land side, but widening still more as it comes near the sea. The port, with an area of about one hundred paces square, lieth within the very walls of the city, with the mouth of it opening towards the south; but is now so shallow that it can hardly receive the smallest vessels; and, in Thuanus's time, it was with great difficulty that a common galley could enter it. It was a very strong place, surrounded with stout walls, high towers, arches, and other ancient fortifications; which, together with the town, were all destroyed by the Turks, and continued in ruinous heaps till the reign of Mebedia, the first Khalif of Kayrawan, who caused it to be rebuilt, and its fortifications repaired and much improved, and made it his chief residence; after which it became very populous and considerable. The walls which surrounded the place were strong and lofty, and flanked with fix flately towers, besides others of a smaller size; two of which, that were bathed by the sea, were of a round, and the other four of a square form; all of them very strong and high, and had little gates plated with iron; and so low, that a man could not go in or out of them without hopping; and every one was a kind of separate fortres.

But of all the fix, the second, which faced the caft, and was the only one on the land side, was built with surpising strength, having a vaulted arch seventy feet long under it, guarded by fix strong gates one within another; some covered with plated iron, and others made all of cros iron bars, fastened together by thick nails, and without any wood, with their retreats and portcullises all of the same metal and make; all which, added to the length and darkness of the place, made the passagge through it appear dreadful to a stranger, and may give our readers an idea of those kinds of Arabian fortresses.

That prince took no less pains to beautify the place within with noble buildings, if they were really his; but a late judicious traveller tells us, that there is something too polite and

(1) This place, whose ancient walls are still standing, was built, we are told by a French author, by the Gothis, and had its name of Ariana, from the famed arch heretic Arius, and was a sufficient bishoppick to that of Carthage (12). But Marmol will have it to have been built by the Romans, and to have been surrounded with those very walls which still encompass it (13), and it is not difficult to distinguish whether they are of the Roman or Gothic fabricature. However, the former may still be to be seen in the right, in his own opinion, that it took its name from the heretic, instead of its old one of Abdera.

(12) Baudrate's Dict. lib. v. 3. p. 73. (13) Marmol, ubi sup. i. vi. c. 19.
regular in the several capitals, entablatures, and other pieces of ancient masonry, defaced as they now are, to suspect the founder of them to have been an Arab. However that be, the city, thus rebuilt, adorned, and re-peopled, is thought to have changed its ancient name for that of Mahdia, in honour of that prince, if he did not himself cause it to be called by it. However, it hath since then undergone so many changes and revolutions, that there is little left of its former splendor, except the walls, and some other edifices run to decay. As for its other name of Africa, it was given to it, we are told, by some Sicilian corfairs, who had made themselves masters of it. Doctor Shaw is of opinion, that either this place or Sufèa, or Sufèh, is the ancient Adrumetum, and the Heraclea of the lower empire. We shall refer our reader to this book 7, for what he offers in defence of his opinion.

Sousa, or Sufèa, another provincial capital, is situate on the same coast, about five leagues south of Herkla, and about 30 north-west of El Medîa, and is one of the most considerable cities in this kingdom. It is the chief mart of it for oil, and drives a flourishing trade in linen, of which a great deal is manufactured in it. It trades likewise in wax, honey, fudry forts of pickled fish, especially that called tunny, which is here caught and salted, and in great request. The town stands upon a high rock, or, as an old historian hath described it, on the northern extremity of a long range of eminences, reaching as far as Surfe, the antient Sarfere. Behind the city is the prospect of an extensive plain. The ground about Sufèa is fertile in barley, and hath some good pasturage, olives, figs, and other fruits. It was once a strong, populous, and wealthy city. It is still the residence of the Turkèse Bafhas, whole fated palace, and some fine mosques, and other edifices, were all flanding in Leo's time, who was obliged to keep himself concealed four days in this place; and adds, that it was by that time greatly decayed, and thinly inhabited, and had not above fix or seven floors left. It hath recovered itself, however, since then, in both respects.

The inhabitants, who are mostly lemen and cruizers, are courteous and civil to strangers; but, besides thore, there are a good many merchants, trademen in the woolen way, who trade into Turkey and other parts of the Levant. The lower class are either potters, herdmen, or husbandmen. It is still the residence of the governor of the province, to whom it pays a yearly tax of 12,000 ducats. It stands about 100 leagues distant from Tunis, and is divided into the upper and lower city. The port is commodious and open, and here the Tunfean corfairs come to anchor. This place is likewise remarkable for the defeat of prince Philibert of Savoy, and the loss of a great number of knights of Malta, who attempted to take it from the Turks, an. 1619, as we shall see in the sequel of this chapter. The other two places of note in this province are,

Monasteer, an antient city, of Roman or Carthaginian extraction, but since called by that modern name, from a monastery of Augustine friars in the neighbourhood of it. It is now a neat thriving city, situate on the extremity of a cape, and surrounded with stout walls, according to our latest account of it, by which one may suppose, that it hath menaced itself much since Leo, Marmol, and other travellers, wrote of it, who represent it, excepting its walls and handomfe houses, as a very beggarly place, whose inhabitants are courteously clad, and forced to live upon barley bread, or meal mixed with a little oil, and to wear, instead of shoes, a fort of flipper's made of sea rufhes. And no wonder they should then be in no better condition, considering how often they have been bombarded and plundered by the Turks and Moors, as well as by Christian cruizers. 2. Heraclea, an antient Roman city upon the sea coast, but since destroyed by the Arabians; and erroneously supposed the Aphi of Polyb. as we shall see in the sequel. 1. In this city Codorus, the famous king of Abusus, is said to have died; and that they slew at Azarica, a town not far from it, and near the sea, the sepulchres and epitaphs of that worthy prince, of Ixion, king of Corinth, and of Phidias the philosopher.

About 20 miles south of Monasteer are the cape and vaft ruins of Demas, the Thafpus of the antients; so that these two capes formed the antient and spacious bay of Lemptis, which must then have afforded variety of ports; for an illand runs parallel with the northern shore.

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from Demas almost to Tbelhba, and another reaches from Monofier, almost half way to Lempa; whilst those called Touries and Tarachie lie just over against Lempa and Tbelhba, and were thought considerable enough by Julius Caesar to have stationary vessels appointed to secure them.

The next district hath its name of Kayrwon from its capital, vulgarly called Carawan Kayrwon, by and Carvon, and supposed the Vico Augusti of the itineraries, which was once the famed seat of the Teutonic dynasty, and is still one of the chiefest places in the kingdom, both for trade, and the number of its inhabitants; though situated in a moat barren plain, defitute of rivers or springs, and furnished with proviisons, brought thither in carts, from the neighbourbouring towns, all of which are at least five or six leagues distant from it. It stands about eight leagues west of Soufa, and as many south-west from Herkla, and hath a capacious cillum and pond about half a furlong distance, for the reception of rain-water, the former for the use of the inhabitants, and the latter for their cattle; but this last is frequently dried up about the middle of summer, or is apt to putrify, which occasions agues, and a variety of other distempers. This city was rebuilt, we are told, by Hukba, al. Occiba Ben Nafis, generalissimo of Ottman, or Hatmen's forces, which was also the successor of Mohamed, the third Khalf of Damiafas, an. 632, and had sent him from Arabis into these parts, to make what conquests he could in them. Hukba, having landed his forces in some of the neighbourbouring ports, made choice of this barren and desolate spot for the place of their rendezvous, and of the ruined city for his retreat, which he accordingly caused to be surrounded with lofty and strong brick walls, flanked with flatted towers, and among other noble edifices, built a most magnificent mosque, supported by an incredible number of fluted columns of the finest granite, two of which were of so exquisite and lively a red, bejigged all over with little white spots, like the porphyry, that their price was reckoned inestimable (K), and the whole structure the most magnificent in all Africa. It hath likewise a very considerable revenue and endowments, and the title and privilege of a head metropolis, as being the first Mohammedan mosque built in this part of the world; upon which account likewise it is become the burying place of the Tangian monarchs, and not only they, but all the grandees and wealthy men of the kingdom, are ambitious of having their remains deposited in it, from a superstitious notion, that the prayers of the head pontif, and successor of Mohamed, will procure them a plenary pardon of their sins, and send them by the nearest way into Paradise. The very city itself is held sacred among them, that those great perfumages usually pull off their shoes before they enter it, and cause some stately chapels and oratories to be erected over the graves of their dead relations, and settle a yearly sum upon them, not only to keep them in repair, but to maintain a certain number of idle priests and monks to reform thither at proper times. It is, most probably, upon the account of this superstitious concourse, and vast donatives, that this city is still so thriving, notwithstanding the dearness and scarcity of provisious, which, in a great measure, increased by the Arabi reforting thither in shoals during the summer feaston (L), though they bring abundance of flesh and dates to it. In other respects the inhabitants are here, for the most part, employed in dressing all sorts of leather, which they send into Biledugerd, and other parts of Numidal,

1 Vid. Shaw, p. 191, & seq. 1 Shaw, ibid. p. 200, & al. sup. citat. Leo Afric. l. v. p. 223. 1 Dapper, Davitiy, Marmot, lib. vi. c. 34. 1 Gramm. l. viii. c. 3. 1 Idem ibid.

(K) The number of these marble pillars, if one may credit the inhabitants, amounts to no less than five hundred; for Christians are not permitted to go into their mosques; and what is equally surprising is, that, among all that variety of columns and other ornaments, there is not one single inscription; and, if any are to be found in other parts of the city, they are either filled with cement, or defaced by the chisel; so that one can meet with nothing, among all those antiquities, by which one might guess at its ancient name; and it is merely from its situation and distance from other places, and from the river Meragayet, the Aqube Region of the ancientes, that our author conjectures it to be the Vico Augusti above mentioned (14).

(L) And this may more probably account for its name Kayrwon, which is, in their language, the same as what we pronounce carowan, and signifies a concourse, than the conjecture of those, who derive it from the Leva, or Cabara, or Egypt, which signifies victory, and seems as lame as far fetched (15). As to the motive that induced general that to make choice of so barren and sandy a spot for his residence, some authors have conjectured, that he did it the better to conceal and secure the treasure and plunder which he gained in Africa. But why he chose a sandy barren plain, accountable on all sides, rather than some rocky eminence, well fortified by nature as well as art, and better provided with all necessaries by the happiness of its situation, is not easy to account for; unless it be, perhaps, by way of imitating Mohammedi, their famed lawyer, concerning whom they have a received tradition, that, being in full march to Damiafas, the capital of Syria, and beholding its excellent situation, fine buildings, orchards, and other of its captivating allurements, was so taken with it, that, to the great surprise of his retinue, he immediately turned his horse about, and never could be persuaded to set foot into it, alleging that, as there was but one paradise aligned for every man, he chose to have his in the next world, rather than in that delightful city (16).


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which cannot otherwise come at the European draps; and upon this commerce they might a live tolerably well, if they were not so heavily laden with taxes by the government.

Other places in this district are Tobulba, once a Roman colony, and in latter times, that is, under prince El Agreb, who was then governor of it, it grew to very populous, that the inhabitants built a new city near it, which they called Rebirta: where El Agreb, and others of his court, erected some stately palaces for their residence. It hath been, however, so severely treated since, that it is now no better than a poor village, and hath only a few ruins left, as the sorrowful witnesses of its former grandeur.

The fame may be said of Gabbs, or Capest, supposed to be the Epikus, and Takapse, of the ancients, but now a vast heap of noble ruins, particularly large square pillars of the finest granite, such as are hardly to be met with in any other part of Africa. The territory about it hath several large plantations of palm trees, whose fruit is much inferior to those of Jireed, or Bledugherid, both in bigness and delicacy. But the chief branch of trade for which this emporium, as Strabo states it, was, and is still so famed, is the great number of Abena plants that are here cultivated in their gardens, whole leaves, being dried and powdered, are dispersed through all the markets of the kingdom to a good advantage; and as this tree, as well as the palm, requires a deal of watering, the Titir, which runs at some small distance, is cantonned into a number of artificial channels, as it seems to have been in Pliny's time. Leo mentions likewise a kind of fruit, which the Arabs call Habofo, or Helba baza, and cultivated in great quantities in this territory. It is of the bigness of a beefsteak, and hath the taste of an almond, and is in great request all over Barbary.

About four leagues south of Gabbs, and three from Tobulba, is the small island of Jerba, or Gerba, the Lotobapogis of the ancients, so called from its famed inhabitants, and they from the Lotus on which they chiefly lived, and is now the most southern boundary of this summer circuit. The three remaining provinces of it, which must lie north and west of those we have gone through, are called Hamamel, Bizerta, and Porto Fino, from their respective capitals. Hamamél, corruptly Mahometa, and supposed the Sinaul, and not the Atrimetum, of the ancients, as hath been conjectured by several writers, is a small but wealthy city, compactly built upon a low promontory, close to the sea, and fenced with such rugged hills towards the land, that an army would find it difficult to attack it on that side (M). It is thought to have its name from the Arabic Hamam, which signifies a wild pigeon, of which species there are vast multitudes bred in the cliffs of the adjacent rocks. Leo tells us, that it was in his time reduced to a miserable condition, though surrounded with good walls, and other works, by the Tunesians; the inhabitants, colliers, and fisher- men, are reduced to the lowest degree of poverty, through the cruel exactions of the government; those who have seen it since give us the same account of it, till the late Dr. Shaw, who calls it a small, but opulent city, and adds, that the flourishing state it now enjoys is of no longer date than the latter end of the last century. It stands about 17 leagues distant from Tunis by land, but above 60 by sea, and on a large gulph, to which it gives its name. A few miles westward of Hamamel are the ruins of a port, formerly belonging to Paradisi, an old Roman city, which, from the affinity of its name to Apbrothimum, is probably the same with it. However that be, we are told, that the Paradisiens, about a century ago, were the greatest curriers, and most expert mariners, of this country; but that by the increase of trade, and greater conveniences for navigation, at Hamamél, the greatest part of them were fines drawn thither; and this might be a farther cause of the improvement it hath so happily felt of late years of its wealth and commerce.

Bizerta, by the Africans called Ben Sort, that is, the son of the lake, from the lake which is formed near it by the sea, of which we have given an account formerly. Bizerta stands upon the canal that is between them, about eight miles south and by west from Cape Blanco, and about ten north of Tunis (N). It hath been formerly very considerable; and, though its compass be not above a mile about, is affirmed to have con-


(M) Hence arises the improbability of its being the ancient Adriametum, seeing it would have been of the greatest difficulty and danger to have approached it on that side, and much more to fill to have been carried round about it, as Cofor is said to have been round that. Neither doth that supposition agree with the description of the spot which that yielded, either of the road before it, or of the coasts of Cyrena, nor with the distance which the Jovinarian gives it from Cartagin, viz. 85 Roman miles; and from Neapolis, viz. 440 furlongs. Whereas, if Adriametum be placed at Hamamél, Neapolis will be 50 miles too near it in the one case, and Cartagin will be 50 miles, that is, more than one third of the given distance in the other (17).

(N) Several writers have taken Bizerta to be the ancient Utica, famed for the residence and tragal end of

(17) See Shaw's travels, p. 161. the
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a contained 6,000 houses; whereas both it, and the villages under its district, scarcely contain that number of inhabitants; so much are these once famed places subject to run to decay, both by the exactions of the government, and by the wars which have raged in those parts. It has still, however, some strong castles and batteries to defend it, especially towards the sea, besides two very capacious prisons for their slaves, a large magazine, or warehouse, for their merchandise, and two towers, with some other outworks, to defend the mouth of the haven, which hath been already described. The city, though so near the sea, is well supplied with fresh water from springs that surround it on every side towards the land. It is likewise well furnished with variety of fish from the adjacent lake, most of its inhabitants, and those that live on both sides of the canal, being chiefly employed in the fishing trade, which begins about the latter end of October, and ends about the beginning of May; for the rains then sweetening the waters of the channel, make the fish come into it in vast quantities during that season, after which they either disappear, or grow lean, dry, and unfit to eat. The people here are extremely poor, and yet remarkably proud, ill-natured, and faithless; inomuch that Mutly Hafiz Bey used to say, that none of his subjects deferred their reverence so much as they; because neither fear nor love could keep them faithful; and indeed they were the very first that felt the effect of it, when he had recovered the town and castle from Heyradin, Barbarossa's brother, then king of Algiers, in whose favour they had revolted three times, and had murdered their governor, and received a Turkish garrison.

Bizerta hath no cities under its government, but about eight villages, a large plain called Matter, or Matter, and the territory of Choros, the Clypea, or Corbus, of the antients, which is of a great extent, and very fertile, or at least would be so, were it not so exposed to the incursions of the wild Arabs. The people of this tract are very poor, live very meanly, and go worse clad. Their choicest dainty being their couscouz, that is, a sort of cake, made of flour, eggs, and salt, which they dry and keep the whole year round. Their dresse is nothing else than a coarse sort of cloth wrapped about their bodies, and another about their heads, instead of a turban, and most of them go barefoot and bare legged. The poorer part have nothing but a few skins laid on the floor to sleep upon, but the rest have narrow couches fixed against the wall, about five or six feet high, to which they mount by a ladder. They are very expert horsemen, as most in these countries are, and ride mostly without saddle or bridle, and they never shoe their horses. They are still more miserable from the neighbourhood of those Arabs, who live it seems altogether upon plunder, robbery, and murder, and oppress the poor inhabitants with their frequent inroads, and cruel exactions. The Bifertines, both of the city and country, are the most superstitious people of all Barbary, and neither go to war, nor scarcely any where, without hanging a quantity of amulets about their own, and, if they ride, about their horses necks likewise. These amulets are only scraps of parchment or paper, with some strange characters written upon them, which they lay in a piece of leather, silk, or other stuff, and wear about them, as preservatives against all accidents.

Post remanens is the last district mentioned in the above-given division, and is called so from its capital, whose port we have already described. This city, as well as Bizerta, Porto Farino hath been taken by some authors for the antient Utica, whereas it appears much rather to be the old Carthage, the port to which the Carthaginians retired the night before they engaged Scipio, Utica, but near that of Utica. Livy gives it the African name of Ruficinna, a word of Phoenician origin, extracted, and answered, in all likelihood, the import of it, the former part to its situation, as a cape, and the latter to the great quantities of corn that were shipped off from it; for it was formerly a very considerable city on that and other accounts, though it hath lain since under great discouragements, being but now remarkable for its beautiful cothon, where the Tunisins keep their navy, and where they ride safe in all accidents of weather, and opens into a large navigable pond, formed by the river Mejerdka, which now discharges itself by this way into the sea. The town stands between the two famed capes of Bizerta and Carthage, and at pretty near equal distance from both, and upon that called Raffo Libeck, or promontory of Apollo. The natives call it Gar el Mailah, or cave of falt, from an antient falt-work hard by it; and here it was, that the French king St. Lewis died in the great Cato (18). We have already flown from Dr. Slowe, that it is more likely to be the old Hppa-Zanzabe, and that the curious of the ancients have been misled. In our Antient History (19), for that Utica must be sought for somewhere else, and that some distance from it. But, to avoid repetitions, we shall refer our reader to what hath been said, with relation to the most probable conjecture about its true situation. In our Antient History (20), having nothing more probable to offer upon that head.

* See Ancient Hist. ibid.
* LEO, lib. v. Gramm., lib. vii. c. 3. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 7. DAPPER, DAVITTY, &c.

his expedition to the Holy Land, and the emperor Charls V. landed his forces designed a against Tunis. 4

To these we shall add one or two more, which, though not capitals, are nevertheless worth notice; viz. Bayjeb, vulgarly Baja, and Bogia, supposed the ancient Vescos of Salhiji, and Oppidum Veggenso of Pliny, formerly, as well as at this day, a town of great trade, and the chief mart of the kingdom for corn, of which the adjacent territories, particularly the plain of Belfera, situate along the banks of the Mejerja, produce such an abundance, that they can furnish more than the whole kingdom with it; infomuch that the Tunisians have a saying, that, if there was such another town in it as this for plenty of corn, it would become as plentiful and cheap as sand. 5 They have likewise here a great fair every summer, to which most distant Arabien tribes resort with their families and flocks. Notwithstanding which the inhabitants are very poor, and a great part of the ground about it remains uncultivated, through the cruel exactions of the government, and the frequent incursions of the Arabs, who are very numerous and powerful in those parts. 6

Bayjeb stands on the declivity of a hill in the road to Constantina, about 10 leagues from the northern coast, and 36 west-south-west from Tunis, and hath the convenience of being well watered. 7 On the highest part of it is a citadel that commands the whole place, but is now of no great strength (O). The walls, which are raised out of the materials of the old Roman Vescos, are still entire, and have some ancient inscriptions.

The next place of note is the city of Taburbo, vulgarly Urbis and Tarbus, supposed the Taburbo Minus, or Turridis, of the ancients; it is pleasantly situated, in a healthy and fertile plain, which produces grain, fruit, &c. about 60 leagues south of Tunis, towards Libya and Nionidia. It was formerly destroyed by the African Vandals, but rebuilt since more like a large village than a city. It is at present chiefly inhabited by Andalusian Moors, and still preserves abundance of indices of its former splendor; such as statues, niches, inscriptions, &c. It has likewise a caffle with some cannon, and a garrison, the inhabitants being no less oppressed with taxes, and apt to revolt, than those of Bayjeb. Out of the ruins of a stately Roman amphitheatre, Moham Bay caused a large marble bridge or dam to be made, with proper sluices and flood-gates, to raise the water of the Mejerja to a convenient height, to water a favourite plantation of his own peculiar ordering, consisting of citrons, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, nectarines, peaches, apricots, dates, figs, and a great variety of fruit-trees, in which every kind was set to grow by themselves, and without the least intermixture of any other. 8 There ran also between the caffle, and the two parts of the town which were the helt inhabited, a freeth stream, through an alabaster conduit, whose water turned several mills in its way, and the spring of which was about a stonecove from the town, if it was not part of the same work. 9 But these were of too laudable a nature to subfist long in Barbary, and are now entirely gone to ruin. The inhabitants, both of Bayjeb and Urbis, are, for the most part, husbandmen or weavers, but are so barely oppressed by the government, and hurried by the Arabs, that they are very poor, indolent, and ever uneasy under their yoke.

Each of them hath a town under its jurisdiction; viz. Cafiga and Ain Sammin, al Ain Zanmet. The former was once a Roman colony, built in a large fertile plain, about 25 or 30 miles south of Tunis, and hath its walls still standing, though almost deflustrated of inhabitants, ever since it was destroyed by the Turks. Ain Zanmet is a new town, lately built by the Tunisian Beys, about 12 leagues south of Tunis, and 20 from Bayjeb. It stands on a fertile ground, pitched upon in order to be better cultivated, but the Arabs would not suffer it to continue, and Mulay Mohammed was obliged to abandon it to their mercy, to prevent an insurrection. The walls are still standing, and the houses want nothing but the covering, which is gone to decay. But the Arabs, who are numerous and powerful in this canton, will not suffer it to be inhabited.

We have, by this time, gone through the principal places of the two circuits; and might have added a number of others, which, by the ruins they lie in, appear to have been very considerable; but, as these would be foreign to our modern plan, we shall refer our curious readers to what has been said of the most considerable of them in our ancient history, and for the remained to the learned traveller so often quoted in this chapter, and take notice now of their natural and artificial curiosities, among the latter of which we shall include such remnants of antiquity as are still extant, and worthy our notice.

dition, with a governor over it, to keep the inhabitants in awe, who, the poor, are proud, and fond of change of

(21) Conf. Marmol, lib. ii. ch. 31. & Shaw's travels, p. 165. The
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Among the former we may be well allowed to rank the lefter Syrtis (P), so famed among the antients, as well as the moderns, for its dangerous sand bank, so fatal to mariners that fail along that coast. The greater, mentioned in the margin, will be spoken of in its proper place, it lying on the gulf of Sidra on the coast of Tripoli. The lefter, which belongs to the Tunfan coasts, between the island of Jerba and the promontory of Cape Conti, that is, from latitude 32° 40' to 35°. The antients, indeed, reckoned it to reach no farther northward than the islands of Qerqeyshef; but since we find, that there is a long succession of flat islands, banks of sand, and oozy bottoms (Q), extending themselves from the island of Jerba to the cape of Capeviso above-mentioned. We need not question, but the Syrtis extends itself quite from the one end to the other of that huge and dangerous gulf. It is unnecessary here to inform our readers, that hydrographers give the name of Syrtis to any place, where the waters run at some times very high, and at others very low, and sometimes retire so far from it, as to leave the sand quite naked and dry. Our author adds, that, when he sailed along the coasts of this lefter Syrnis, the east winds were too violent to permit him to observe the flux and reflux, but was credibly informed, that the sea, about the island of Jerba, frequently rose twice a day a fathom or more above its usual height.

The next natural curiosity of this kingdom is its hot baths, and sulphureous springs, of the bath of which it has a great variety. Some of these are of so intense heat, that they are quite unfit for bathing; particularly those of Methoutern and Mereges, the former of which will boil a large piece of mutton very tender in a quarter of an hour. Others again, as those of Seedi Esli and Elama el Hannanah, are just of a proper heat for baths; and a third sort, as the Ain Haute and Ain Zouar, and most of the springs of the Jerfod, Cafa, and Zouar, are little more than lukewarm, and nourish a number of fishes of the pearch and mullid kind. Most of these of this latter sort, when cold, are clear, transparent, and fit to drink, and as sweet to the palate as rain water; whence we may safely conclude, either that their sulphureous effulvia do quickly evaporate, or else that the virtues, ascribed to the bathing in them, consist chiefly in their genial heat.

Again it is observed, that these intense ones of Hannanah and Methoutern, above-mentioned, do, in some measure, dissolve, or rather calcine, the rock through which they run, to the distance sometimes of an hundred feet. So that the subtility of the rocks being become soft and uniform, the water, by making equal impressions, leaves them in the shape of cones or hemispheres, of the height and diameter of about six feet, more or less; and these the superstitious Arabs believe to be the tents of their ancestors petrified. In like manner, when the subtility of the rocks contain some larger layers of harder matter, which resist the force of the water, their imagination immediately transforms them into heeps, oxen, horses, nay men, women, and children, whom they suppose to have undergone the same fate with their tents. There is still another singularity observed, with relation to those hot springs; viz. that the ground beneath them founds and feels so hollow, that one is apt to fear sinking every moment through it; whence it may be reasonably concluded, that the air, which is pent up in those cavities, must form a great variety of sounds, more or less thrill and loud, according to the directions of the wind, and the motion of the ambient air, as it makes its way out along with the water of those hot springs; for, if any of them is either stopped or dried up in one place, it will soon after make its way through at another; which doth likewise account for the various shapes of cones and other traces which we observed to be caused by the hot waters. These founds the Arabs, however, believe to be the music of the Jenauns, or fairies, which they suppose to make their abode in these kinds of places, and to be the agents in all these extraordinary phenomena.

But we return to the other baths. We have already mentioned those in the neighbourhood of Tunis, as likewise the river Gabbs, and its hot waters (Q). Other baths of the same hot nature there are, which, having nothing singular, we pass by, and only take notice of those called El Hannanah, resorted unto from all parts of the kingdom, and situate about four leagues westward of Gabbs, which place is called El Hannanah Gabbs from them, to

(P) There are two of that name, distinguished by the antients by the epithets of aqua and parva, the greater and the lesser Syrnis. This last is derived from the Greek word συρηνων, to derive, hence the reflefs, that come within the verge, seem to be attracted by the waves; or, as others will have it, from the vast quantities of sand and mud which their violence dashes after them, both in coming and going (22). This maritime track, however, was on that account called Regio Syrnis, as the reader will see in the descripation formerly given of it (23).

(Q) It is on these kinds of shallows, that the inhabitants, from antient times to this very day, were wont to catch great quantities of fish, by wading a mile or two from the shore, and fixing, in various windings and directions as they went along, hurdles made of reeds, in which they seldom failed of including a good number (24).


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distinguish it from another Gabbs. These baths are sheltered, however, from the weather, by nothing better than a miserable thatched hovel built over them. The baths are about 12 feet square, and four feet deep, and have, at a convenient distance from the surface of the water, some masy benches of stone for the bathers to sit upon. One of them is called the Bath of the Lepers, and is much frequented by perfous labouring under that, and other the like diseases, and below it the waters irritating and forming a kind of pond, it is not improbable, that it may be that which Læo fllies the leper’s gate, who tells us, that the water that forms it runs through the town of El Hamma, as he corruptly calls El Hamma, and adds, from his own experience, that the water is so impregnated with sulphur, that it will by no means quench one’s thirst. Of the same nature are the natural fows of Braza, the antient Bruzo, about eight leagues westward of Karyona. The natives fill them Ham- mam, or baths, though they are no more than so many vaulted rooms, perpetually full of sulphurous fumes, like the grottos of Trefoli, and some others in Italy, and are chiefly frequented by the Arabs for the benefit of sweating.

Another kind of natural curiosity of this country is their salt lakes, some of whose waters are not inferior to sea-water in their saltness; particularly that called Shikhah of Lass-Deah, or Lake of marks, so called from a great number of trunks of palm-trees, placed at proper distances, to direct the caravans in their march over it. We have given an account of all other particulars, excepting this of its saltiness, in our Antient History, to which our readers may recur. But besides this, and other lakes and marshes, and oozy grounds, in which the fals either incrustate on the top, or settle like a pavement at the bottom, there is, at a small distance eastward from the Marks lake above-mentioned, a famed mountain of salt, named Bibel Hadefla, which is, to all appearance, different from that of the other Sallene. It is hard and solid like a stone, of a reddish or purple colour, and bitter to the taste; but, being washed down the precipices by the cews, becomes soft and white as snow, and looses all its bitterness. There are indeed other such mountains, whose salt is of a blue- father colour, and, without undergoing such accidental purifications, are not only very palatable, but in great request, particularly that of Lactitjba, which, we are told, is sold in Algiers for a penny an ounce.

The artificial rarities found in this country, worth mentioning, are mostly of Roman extraction. One of the most curious of that kind is the threefold mosaic pavement, each part contiguous to the other, near the place called Steady Doude, or sanctuary of David (K), and each of them wrought with symmetry and exactness. Besides the general contrast and design, which is executed with all the artful wrought, and variety of colours imaginable, there are figures of horses, birds, fishes, and trees, so beautifully intermixed and curiously inlaid, that they appear more lively and gay than so many tolerable good paintings. The horse, the Carthaginian insignia, is displayed in the bold open posture it is observed to be in upon the African medals. The birds are the hawk and partridge; the fishes the gilthead, called by the Africans Jeraba, and mullet; and the trees are the palm and olive. The contriver of which is supposed; by that choice, to have designed to point out the strength, diversions, fishery, and plenty of dates and olives, for which this country is still as remarkable as ever.

The amphitheatre of Jemme is another noble piece of Roman antiquity, consisting originally of sixty-four arches, and four orders of columns. The upper order, supposed to be no more than an Attic, hath suffered greatly from the Arabs, and four of the arches were blown up from top to bottom by the Bey Mohammed, which the Arabs, then in a revolt, had made use of as a fortres; otherwise, as to the outside, nothing can appear more intire and beautiful, and within, the platform of the seats, and the galleries leading to them, are still standing, the arena is nearly circular, and in the center of it is a deep well of hewn stone, where the pillar that supported the Velum, or Awnin, may be supposed to have been fixed.

Besides that noble structure, there are still to be seen a multitude of other antiquities; such as altars with defaced inscriptions, variety of stately columns, trunks of marble statues, one of them of the color’s kind in armor, and another, a naked Venus, in the attitude and dimensions of the Medician, both by good masters, but without heads.

Not inferior to this are the triumphal arches of Spatilia, or Sisflitola of the antients, which is of the Corinthian order, and consists of one large arch, with a lesser one on each side.

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* Shaw, p. 214 & seq.
* Afr. l. v. p. 225, & seq.
* Shaw, p. 229.
* Shaw, p. 212, & alibi.
* Shaw, p. 229.

(R) So called from Doude, to they pronounce David, a Musulim faint of these parts, whose sepulchre, as they pretend to show it, is two yards long, but is, in all likelihood, no other than a fragment of some Roman Prætorium, as our author conjectures, from the fine mosaic pavements above-mentioned (25).


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a From this quite to the city, that is about a furlong off, there runs a pavement of black stone, guarded on each side with a parapet wall, for the convenience, as may be supposed, of the triumphers' entrance into the city. At a little distance from the end of the pavement one passes through another arch, or portico, like the former, which leads into a spacious court, in which are seen the ruins of three contiguous temples, whose roofs, porticos, and façades, are broken down; but the walls, with their proper pediments, entablatures, &c. are still standing and entire.

The Memara upon the coasts, about two leagues west by south of Hammamet, is a mausoleum, built in the form of a cylindrical pedestal, near 60 feet in diameter, and with a vault underneath. On the top of it, just above the cornish, are placed several small altars, which the Moors think to have been designed for so many lamps for the direction of mariners (S). These altars had all of them inscriptions, of three of which now remain legible. The first hath these words; L. Æmilio Africano Avunculo; the second, C. Suelio Pontiano Patreuli; and the third, Vitelloio Quarto Patre. These are all of the same mausoleum at Hydra, some of a round, others of an octagon figure; others again square, with a niche on one of the façades, or else a wide open place like a balcony on the top, all of them supported by four, six, or eight columns, and well preferred, only the inscriptions belonging to them are either defaced by time or by the malice of the Arabs.

The last we shall mention of this kind, and that chiefly on account of the laffing nature of its materials, by which the reader may infer the true reason why so many others of the same kind have escaped hitherto, is the cotain, or pier of Demafa, or ancient Thapaicus, which being built in frames, like the walls of Tremecen, and other cities, moffs, castles, &c. of a composition made of mortar and pebbles, appear to this day so strong and well cemented, that the very solid rock cannot be more hard and durable; whence it is, that this great piece of antiquity is still remaining, in defiance of time, the sea, and the insults of the Arabs.

This kingdom, as well as that of Algiers, and others along the Barbary coasts, are very Tunis subject to great earthquakes, which is easily accounted for, from what we lately observed of the great number of hot springs and sulphurous caverns; for we may reasonably suppose, that besides the vast quantities of those effluvia which are continually discharged by those springs, there must remain an almost inexhaustible store of sulphur, nitre, and other inflammable bodies behind, sufficient to cause those frequent and violent concussions, some of which we have given an account of in the last chapter; and these, without all doubt, have helped to increase the number of those devastations, which time, raging wars, and the malice of the Turks and Arabs, have made in all these parts. These earthquakes commonly happen after some great rains, at the end of the summer, or in autumn, and will extend themselves a good way into the sea, and be felt at a great distance from any land, and where the depth of water hath above 200 fathom.

In other respects the country is for the most part healthy and fertile as any under the same climate, excepting, that in the southern parts are many sandy and barren deserts, and the heat excessive. But the northern ones, which lie mostly between 34 and 37 degrees of latitude, and are the best cultivated, enjoy a wholesome temperature, neither too hot in summer, nor too cold and sharp in winter; inasmuch, that no part of the kingdom hath been visited by the plague these 70 years, though so frequent and destructive in most parts of Barbary and the Levant; to which we may add, that, according to the observations which were made by the ingenious Dr. Shaw, during his twelve years residence at Algiers, which is almost in the same parallel, all the revolutions of the weather throughout the year made no greater change in the barometer than one inch, that is, from 29 7/10 to 30 7/10. The winds are mostly from the sea, and consequently are very refreshing; but those that blow from the southern sandy deserts are quite suffocating, especially as they mostly blow in July and August, and will continue five, six, or more days, in the same corner; so that the inhabitants are obliged to water the flooring of their houses to cool them. This wind is likewise apt to blow after the winter frostice, and then, if the snows be ever so deep on the ground, they quickly thaw and disappear, but this seldom happens. The sea winds, that blow west-north-west and north, bring dry weather in summer, and rain in winter; but the

7 Ibid. p. 201.  8 Ibid. p. 163.  9 Ibid. p. 169.  & seq.  b Ibid. p. 191.  c See before, p. 233, & seq.  d SHAW, p. 234.  See also LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMOT, & al.  e SHAW, p. 217, & seq.

(S) The Tunizzas have several of these kinds of watch-towers along the coasts, particularly on the promontories of Capecola, Bithynia, Star, and others; but have nothing worth notice, except the use they are of in directing the vessels that fall along those dangerous coasts.

26) Leo, Marmol, Doper, & al. sep. citat. vid. & Shaw, p. 193.
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(easterly, as well as the southerly, are for the most part dry, though attended with a thick cloudy atmosphere in moist seasons. Their first rains commonly fall in September, and sometimes in October; presently after which the Arabians break the ground, sow their corn, and plant their beans, barley, lentils, and garvancos (T) about three weeks after. If they have any rains in April, as they commonly have, they reckon their crop secure. Their harvest usually begins in May, or the beginning of June, according to the quality of the preceding season. Their ploughed lands are generally of so loose a texture, that a pair of oxen may easily plough an acre, and a quantity of seed, whether of wheat or barley, is about two bushels and an half per acre, which, communis annis, will yield about ten-fold, more or less, and some districts much more. In other respects the product of this country, whether above or under-ground, being much the same all over Barbary, we shall refer our readers to our account of it in the foregoing chapter, and conclude this fiction with observing, that the Tunesians are much more addicted to agriculture than their neighbours the Algerins, and are for making the most of every inch of their ground; so that one must expect no regularity, much less elegance, even in their gardens; fine walks, parterres, flower beds, and other such ornaments, would be looked upon as a waste of so much useful ground; and regularity in planting or sowing, or any other improvement, as a shameful deviation from the practice of their ancestors, which they therefore religiously adhere to, holding it trouble enough to sow and plant, without aiming any farther. Yet both Turks and Moors will readily lend their feasts to Christians, on account of the great improvements they commonly make to them, and, with that view, will grant them the liberty of hunting, fowling, &c. without any limitation, provided they take a Moor in their company. Whereas in those gardens and orchards that are left to their own culture and management, one sees nothing but a confused mixture of trees, shrubs, and bushes, above, with cabbages, turnips, beans, peas, &c. growing beneath, and sometimes barley and wheat intermixed amongst them. As for mines of metals, minerals, and other subterraneous productions, they are still more negligent of them; and the flory, which they tell of Bey Mohammaed's plough-shares, is applicable to both these branches of their natural philosophy. This prince, having been dethroned by his subjects, applied himself to Ibrahim Eljib, Dey of Algiers, who engaged to restore him to his throne, on condition that he discovered to him the grand secret of the kynia, or philosopher's stone, which he had the reputation of being master of. And on his promise to comply, re-inthroned him accordingly. The method he took to perform it was, by sending to the Dey, with great pomp and ceremony, a great number of plough-shares and mattocks, intimating thereby to the Algerin prince, that the wealth of his kingdom was to arise from a diligent attendance on the cultivating of the ground; and that the only philosopher's stone he could acquaint him with, was the turning of a good crop into gold.

Sect. II.

Of the government, laws, language, and commerce of the Tunesians.

The Besbit became despotic and absolute, though not confined to private geouerment.

The government of Tunis at present, like that of Algiers, is altogether despotic, but with this difference, that it is elective in that; and here not only hereditary, but the Bey hath power to name which of his sons he pleased for his successors, without regard to eldership; or, in case he doth not think him worthy, he may raise a brother or a nephew to the throne after him. In all other cafes likewise they are equally absolute and independent either on the Porte or the Dowan. They were once, indeed, under the protection of the

(T) This kind is the Acer of the ancients, and what we call Chicken, and differs from the rest, in that it doth not loosen into a pulp like other pulses by boiling, and therefore is never served up alone, but is brewed over their pillow and cufefaw; but they are most commonly eaten parched, and are then reckoned a delicacy by persons of all ages and distinction. Accordingly most places in Barbary, and other eastern cities, have pain all over it, principally in every three, and when thus parched, exchange their old name for that of leb-lebby. Some of the learned have conjectured, that this pulse is the fame which the holy scripture calls T Coli, and ours, and other versions, render parched corn (27). But we have formerly shewed it more probable, from the likenefs of their shape, that this kind was the Abia Chatirjin, or, as we render it, dove's dung, mentioned in another place, and cannot therefore be the same with the Culi, whatever be the true meaning of this last (28).}

(27) 2 Sam. xvii. 28. wid. Shaw, p. 229, & in al. loc. (28) See dat. Hist. vol. i. p. 815, note (M). former:
 conveying them to his use, and to

their own extent; the latter, in form.

and, after that, the rapacious extortions
and tyranny of its Bajiss had, in some
measure, obliqued them to shake off their yoke, and form a government of their own, they settled it in such a manner that their Deys, as they were then called, could do nothing without the advice and consent of the Douwan. But they have found means in time to rid themselves of this uneasy yoke also, though they yet retain a kind of form or shadow of both. The Porte hath still a Bajiss residing here, but his power and influence is a mere
bype, and serves only to remind the Timfianns that they were once subject to the Turifs
Solans, or at most to prevent the regency doing anything prejudicial to their interest; and as to the Douwan, it being chiefly composed of friends and creatures of the Bajiss, they are rather accustomed to give a forced approbation to their resolutions, than to consult them about the justice or expediency of them. At the first settling of this new form of government, the Dryhiph was the supreme dignity, as it is still at Algiers; and that of Bey was the next in rank, but wholly subordinate to it. However, having since built their power upon the ruins of the Deys, they have by degrees raised it to the despotic height, and independency that we see it now in; and, by making it hereditary, have prevented, as much as possible, those frequent depopulations, rebellions, and massacres, which are the almost constant concomitants of the regal authority, wherever it is made elective, as we have shown it to be at Algiers. We say as much as possible, though far enough from doing it effectually, so as to prevent jealousies and cabals, or sons from rebelling even against their fathers, much more against such of their brothers as are nominated to the succession by them; so that, in spite of all their precautions, the dignity often falls to the share of that son who has been able by his address to form the strongest party, than to him who hath been appointed to it by the father, or to him that is most worthy or best qualified for it. Hence it is, that whenever the throne becomes vacant, whether in the course of nature, or by open treachery and rebellion, which is often the case, it is seldom filled up again without a great deal of bloodshed, rapine, and violence, in proportion to the number of competitors.

The Bajiss re-

and by what means the Bajiss gained this despotic superiority over the Dryhiph, will be

belet seen in the history of it, which we shall give in the left section of this chapter. At present this last dignity is dwindled to such a degree, that it hath scarcely half the share in the government that the Bajiss enjoyed when they held the next rank under it: for these

them were commonly appointed governors of the provinces, where they lived in great state and grandeur, and gained immense riches by the oppression of, and vall exactions on, the subjects, as well as by linking some considerable part of the revenue into their own coffers; whereas, now the Bajiss, by dividing the kingdom into the two circuits formerly mentioned, taking the whole inspection of them into their own hands, and calling the revenue in person, at the head of their flying camp, had at once stripped them of the greatest branch of their wealth, grandeur, and authority, and left them only a mere dependence on the favour of the Bajiss, for such places and employments as might help them to keep up some shadow of their former state. Both they and the Douwan took great umbrage at this excess of power and arbitrary proceedings; and much more so at their entailing the royal dignity on their descendants, and making it still more sure to them by the alliances which they contracted with the Abass princes, their neighbours. And the noble and Abass

united struggles which they made to shake off that new and insatiable yoke, make no incon-

considerable part of the Timfiann history; though, instead of meeting with the success they deferred, they have rather helped to render it more heavy and durable.

It must be owned, however, that, with all this excess of power, they come vassally short of their court the wealth and magnificence of the former kings of Tunis; we mean those of the Laffis, barbarous

we have seen, p. 210, & seq.

dom. Hist. Vol. VII. 41. rency
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rency towards flate grandeur than any of the rest, so they can but secure to themselves, and a
their descendants, the privilege of reigning with an uncontrolld sway. 4

They have, indeed, some cogent motives to take off their thoughts from animating at
making such a high figure, as would rather create envy and jealousy, than awe and regard,
either from their uneasy and oppreseed subjects at home, esceptially the Moors and Aрабians,
or from their neighbours on every side, but more particularly from the Algerine Deys on
their left, and the Tripolitians on the right; not that the latter have any great power to hurt
them, unless be it by joining with the former, or afflicting some of the Christian maritime
powers, as the English and French; with whom, therefore, the Tunisians must endeavour to
cultivate a fair correspondence, by reason of the neighbourhood of their fleets.

But over the Algerines they are obliged to keep a more watchful eye; for these, be
being more addicted to the piratical trade than to that of merchandise, have gained a vast
superiority over them ever since they left off the corsair employment, for the more peace-
ful one of trade and commerce; inomuch, that an Algerine Raie will suffer his crew to
commit the foulest disorders without controul, even in a Tunisian road or harbour; whilst
these, afraid of bringing upon themselves a most savage militia, who they know would
with nothing more than a pretence of marching into a country so much better than their
own, are forced to put up with every insult and abuse from that haughty quarter. Hence
it is, that they are never better pleased than when they see that they are embroiled, either
with domestic feuds or some foreign war; though, in this latter case, the Bey of Tunis seldom fails
fending them amicably, with offers of his assistance; which, nevertheless, if accepted,
is sure to be delayed under some pretence or other; instances of which we have given in
the last chapter. The truth is, the Algerines are no less superior to them at land than they
are at sea, not only in wealth and strength, but their soldiery and sailors are more warlike,
flout, and desperate; and, by their insolent behaviour, have, in a great measure, so inti-
mitated them, that they content themselves with keeping a watchful eye over all their
measures, without daring to take any steps that might give them any real umbrage, much
less furnish so savage, rapacious, and formidable a neighbour, with a pretext for invading
them atref. For it is but too plain, from what we have seen in the latter part of their
history, that it hath been one constant piece of their policy to foment divisions, revolutions,
influencing new elections, and sometimes even deposing some of their Beys, and setting up
new ones in their stead. And, on the other hand, whenever they have thought fit to come
an open rupture with them, whether justly or not, they never failed sending their
hungry troops to ravage their territories, carry off their most valuable effects, and destroy
what they could not take with them. Upon these accounts, it is the interest of the Tunisian
Beys, first, to entertain a sufficient number of renegades in their pay, whose fortune,
depending wholly on them, will of course be both more faithful to them, and more vigil-
ent in preventing the Arabian Cheyks from carrying on any secret correspondence, or
entering into any combination with the Algerines. 2. To keep a good understanding with
the Bey of of Constanaza; and, indeed, it is their mutual interest so to do; for no longer
than they are true to each other, and behave with spirit, can they ever be a match for

Algiers. 3. We have likewise hinted, that Tunis ought to cultivate the friendship of the
English and French; and that, not only for the sake of their advantageous commerce with
them, but much more so, as without that it would be out of their power either to carry it
on with any other nation, or to gain any advantage against the Spaniards, Corsicans, Sardi-
nians, Venetians, and Ecclesiastical State, with whom they are always at war. So that upon
the whole, as long as they attend to these three important points, they might have little
to fear from their rapacious neighbours, could they but as easily put an efectual stop to
that corruption and violence which commonly over-rules all their elections; whilet such
a destructive practice is suffered to reign amongst them, they will hardly ever be out of
danger of some fresh attack from that quarter; and that, perhaps, whilst their own swords
are drawn against one another.

What the revenues and land forces of the Tunisian Beys are not so easy to guess; the
former, consisting chiefly in the tribute which the Aрабians and Moors pay to him, and in
the customes arising from imports and exports, are in a constant fluctuation; because, on
the one hand, both Aрабs and Moors, often find means to elude the payment of it, by
concealing the product of their land (for they generally pay in kind) in large repositories,
either under ground or in caves, such as their mountains abound in, and removing with
their families and cattle into some inaccessible places against the time of the Bey's circuit,
and returning again as soon as he is retired with his flying camp; they being so poor, and
so heavily loaded with taxes, that, without such frequent escapers, it would be impossible
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* Leo AFRIC. GRAMMAR, MARMOL, DAPPER, DAVITY, & al. sup. citat.
* Lit. of Tunis, ch. v. p. 503, & seq.

See before, p. 238, & alibi.
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a for them to subsist, even in their miserable way of living. And as for the imports and exports, they are settled upon so sure a footing that it would be, if not impossible, at least very difficult, as well as hazardous, to deprave them in them, as we shall shew under a subsequent head. Their forces mostly consist of renegados, and a few militia: for they have no Janissaries in pay, as they have at Algiers; and this militia is chiefly kept in their garrisons and sea-ports; but is neither so well paid nor disciplined as the Algerine. The renegado soldiers, who chiefly compose the Bey's guard, and the garrison of his capital, are, indeed, better maintained and clothed; but without those singular privileges which are allowed to the Algerine Janissaries. So that, upon the whole, one would wonder at the paucity of their forces in time of peace, and how their Beys dare to trust their government and vast territories to so weak and unconsiderable a guard: they can, indeed, under all emergencies, command a powerful army of Moors and Arabs, both horse and foot, but have but small dependence on their fidelity, seeing the hatred between their nations, heightened by the exactions under which they groan, gives the tyrannical masters but little reason to expect any other than a forced and reluctant service from them.

Their shipping is likewise much inferior to what might be expected from such a maritime trading nation, except what is employed in this latter branch; those that belong to the government are no more than four, and all of them but poorly rigged; the largest not carrying above forty guns: they had, it seems, one of seventy guns; but which, through some defect in her building, could never be fit for service; besides about thirty galliots, carrying from 20 to 120 men, which are commonly commanded by a renegado, and manned partly with some of the same sort, and partly by Turks and Caffaliges, or sons of the married soldiers. The Christian slaves work the ship, and the Turks are only concerned in the fighting part. The four great ships that lie out on the cruise twice a year are supplied with oil, butter, vinegar, and biscuit by the Bey; but as those provisions are not sufficient, their captains, for two piastras more from every Turk, enlarge the allowance to a certain rate for forty or fifty days at most. Other galliots are likewise fitted out by private owners, who, at their own expense, carry on their cruise, pay the ship's crew, and defray other charges, and are allowed the sole property of the prizes they take, except such perquisites as the Bey reserves for himself, much after the same manner as we have seen at Algiers.

d To these we may add a great number and variety of other mercantile vessels; of whose shape, rigging, and use, as well as of the four ships of the government, the reader may find the best account we can give him of them in the margin (A), as far as relates to their present state. For it is plain, from those authors who have formerly wrote of it, that it made a much greater figure at sea before the end of the last century, than they have in this!

When any of the government's ships brings in a prize, the hull of the vessel, and half prizes being the cargo, after the ship's expense hath been deducted, belongs to the Bey, and the other is divided between the Rais, or captain, and the company. The Rais hath six shares, the under Rais four, the pilot four, the gunner four, the clerk three, the quarter-master two, the cook three, and each private man half a share. As to the prizes, the Bey, besides his half, has the privilege of buying the rest at 100 piastras per head, which he seldom fails of selling for 300 or 400, only every tenth head belongs to the Dauwan.

When a Christian merchantman comes into the road of Tunis, he hoists his colours, and salutes the caique of Gobiet with three guns; after which, the master comes ashore to inform the Aga whence he comes. But when a man of war, belonging to a Christian state, comes in, he anchors at some farther distance from the castle than the merchantmen, and is first saluted from it according to his rate, which he returns with the fame number of guns. All the time of his stay the flag is hoisted at the consul's house belonging to his nation; and all the merchantmen of the same nation keep their colours flying. Upon the arrival of any such men of war, their consul is obliged to give notice of it to the Bey, who immediately orders all the flaves to be put up in their respective bagnois, lest any of them should find means to get on board of her; in which case there would be no reclaiming them.

1 See before, p. 210, & seq. 2 See before, p. 218. Davit, & al. sup. citat.

(A) The Tunisian vessels may be divided into ships, pataches, polachas, ketches, barks, pinks, tartsans, and canoes; all which have their respective uses and advantages, and are differently rigged and worked. The ships have four masts, the main, the fore, the main, and the bow-sprit; the pataches differ only from the ships in having no mizen-mast; the polacha hath a square sail to her main-mast, a smack sail to her fore-mast, and a very small mizen-mast; the ketch hath several smack sails forward, her main-mast is higher than that of other vessels, but her mizen and bow-sprit of the usual length; all the difference between the bark and the pink consists only in their head, which in the former is full, and in the latter sharp; both have a main, fore, and mizen-mast; rigged with smack sails: most of the tartsans and canoes have but one mast, neither is there much difference in their sails.

1 Grammat, Marmol, &c. (1) See Hist. of Tunis, 1750, p. 306.
them. At their departure the Bey commonly sends the captain the usual present of oxen, a sheep, poultry, and other refreshments. All trading vessels, which load or unload in this kingdom, are obliged to pay four duties: viz. anchorage, which amounts to fourteen one-half piasters for loading, and as many for unloading. The average on ships loading, being part of the public revenue, rises and falls according to the exigencies of the state. This duty, which ran high in the year 1733, amounted to twenty piasters for every ship, whether loading or unloading; that of the patachas, polacras, ketches, and canoes, to eighteen; pinks and bars to fourteen, and tartans ten; and double the sum, if they both loaded and unloaded. To these we may add the duty of two per cent. called the confulsip, on every cargo taken on board at Tunis; and is for the salary of the conful and other officers. The passports granted to French captains are, at the desire of their own crown, limited to three years; at the end of which they are to appear before some admiralty court in France before they renew it, under severe penalties. But those granted to the English extend to fourteen years, without being confined to the obligation above mentioned.

Tunis exports to France corn, oil, beans, lentils, wax, wool, hides, and Moroccan skins; and receives in exchange Spanish wool, Languedoc cloths, vermillion, sugar, pepper, cloves, wine, brandy, paper, hard-ware, iron, and steel. The Italian trade is wholly carried on by the Jesuits, who fend the same commodities to France, and import from thence Spanish cloths, damasks, several sorts of silk and woollen stuffs, gold and silver tisse, &c. The French pay three per cent. for all the goods they bring from, or into, France; and the Jesuits ten per cent. on their imports from Italy. The Turks and Moors export to the Levant woollen stuffs, lead, gold dust, and chequins, and a vast number of bales of caps; and bring in return figs, calices, iron, alum, and vermillion. They fend much the same kind of commodities into Egypt; but the oil that is carried thither must be put up in jars, and not in casks, because the greatest part of it is designed for the lamps of Moors and Medina; and the Arakians would think it polluted, if the casks might have formerly contained wine. They import in exchange from thence linen, coffee, rice, flax, and cotton. The number of French ships freighted at Tunis, by Turks, Moors, and Jesuits, amount yearly, we are told, to no less than 150 to the Levant, and 50 for France and Italy; as for those of the English their number is uncertain. One considerable branch of the Tunisian commerce is that of the caravan vessels, which trade to the Levant, not only on account of the half average they pay to the state, but of the vast concourse of people they occasion, and the tax on passports: but the most considerable of all the caravans are those from Sallee and the Cadefis; the first of which arrives about three weeks before the Ramadan, and enriches the Tunisians with gold dust and chequins, to the value of 100,000 pounds sterling. The Cadenfum, which comes in twice a year, likewise brings plenty of gold dust, besides a considerable number of negroes, which they exchange for clothes, paper, Venice glass, wire, coral, and other toys. In most other respects the commerce of the Tunisians is carried on much after the same manner as we have been at Algiers; and with this advantage, that foreigners, whether of Christian, or any other nation, are used here with greater humanity and equity than there. The Englishe, French, Portuguese, Dutch, and Genoese, have their consuls, who are likewise treated with greater regard and esteem. They have not only their fine houses in the metropolis, but handsome villas, or country seats in the neighbourhood of it; in both which they live in a splendid manner. We have already hinted, that theirs and their officers salaries arise from the duty of two per cent. on all vessels that take their cargo on board at Tunis. This duty is collected by a merchant of the greatest repute, who pays his account every year before the conful, chancellor, and four other merchants.

All public conventions and instruments are written in the Arabic tongue; which, by the introduction of the Turkish religion into all Barbary, and the intercourse with the Moors, is much corrupted from its ancient energy and elegance. As for the public commerce, it is commonly carried on by the help of the Lingua Franca. The great number of renegades from France, Italy, and Spain, which are here greatly encouraged, on account of their abilities, professions, and proficiency in all Christians, have likewise rendered their own language sufficiently familiar in those parts, especially in Tunis, that it would be dangerous to talk of matters of state in any of them, before Turks or Moors. Many of those renegades find means to raise themselves to the most considerable employments, and to gain immense riches; and the Turks, though haughty towards the rest of mankind, yet pay a singular regard to these wretches, and give them all possible marks of esteem to all outward appearance; but, in their hearts, envy, hate, and despise them. The Jews likewise swarm in this kingdom, on account of their useful services in commerce; and, tho' no less defied in all other respects, are yet suffer'd to trade and flourish, and to live after their own manner in their respective quarters. They are reckoned to be nine or ten thousand in the city of Tunis; many of whom carry

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*Hill of Tunis, ch. vi. p. 126, & seq.*

*Id ibid.*

*Id. ibid.*

*Id. ibid. p. 309.*

*Id. 153d. ch. iv. p. 352.*
The history of Tunis, from its foundation by Sinan Basha.

The country had hardly seen an end of its subjection to the two foreign yokes under which it had long groaned, viz., that of the Romans, and that of the northern Vandals and Goths, but it was itself involved with the rest of Barbary, under that of the Saracens, which was governed by viceroys, with the title of Emirs, who first establisht that form of government, under which it continued afterwards by different families during the space of near five hundred years. We have already shewn, in a former chapter, what a desperate expedient the Khalif of Kairouan took to be revenged on his treacherous viceroy, Abul-Hagan, who had feizd on his African dominions, and got himself confirmed king of them by the Khalif of Babylon, whilst he was busy to take possession of his new conquest of Egypt; and in order to recover them from him. The traitor, Abul-Hagan, being defeated and killed by those plundering swarms of Arabs, which he had invited into Africa to assist him, his two sons, to avoid their father's fate, fled for refuge, the one to Tunis, and the other to Bujeygab, where they were received as princes, and took the sovereign power of those two principalities upon them; but were quickly after forced to submit to Toubih, al-Touchfen, of the tribe of the Amorvaides, who then reigned in the wild of Barbary, who on their submission left them in possession of their respective new dominions, which they quietly enjoyed, until that tribe was dispossessed of their sovereignty by that of the Amorvaides; who, upon a general revolt, obtained the same sovereign power, drove these two princes out of their dominions, and took upon them the same honours and titles that were given to the Khalifs. These refudad at Morocco, and governed Tunis by their viceroy, till towards the decline of the Amokedish tribe; when the Arabs at Tunis raised a revolt against them, and besieged the king of Morocco's governor. This last soon received a reinforcement from him of a small army, and twenty vesseils, under the command of Abuledi, or Abdul Hedi, an officer of Seville, of the tribe of the Ma'amuda; who, landing at Tunis, found the city almost ruined by the Arabs; but soon thought of means, by his addresses and conduct, to bring matters to an accommodation; and, upon certain conditions, obliged them to leave both the city and villages in peace. He governed that kingdom with the title and full power of a viceroy; and at his death, left the government of it to his son Abu Zekhtarab, a person Abu Zecha's in no wise inferior in prudence and conduct to his father; and who, to keep all things under his quiet, built a citadel on the highest part of the city: after this, he extended his conquests as far as Tripolis, raised large contributions in Libya, Numidia, and as far as the land of the negroes; and left an immense treasure, at his death, to his son and successor Abu Fezra, after having held his government ready and prosperous during the troubles that reigned moft of that time between the Benimerini and Amokedesh.
Abraham, or, as he is most commonly called, Abu Ferraz, whose ambition was now a
equal to his overgrown wealth and power, was not long in pusillanimity of his father's dignity
before he looked upon himself as too considerable to pay any farther submission to the king
of Morocco. The distinctions that raged between the other powers of Africa had too far
weakened them to permit him to overlook such a promising advantage; and, as he might
justly look upon himself as their superior in strength and opulence, so it was natural for him
to aspire at the reduction of the whole country under his dominion, especially as the Beni-
merin had, by this time, made themselves masters of the kingdom of Fez, and the Beni-
gens of that of Tripoli; so that the kingdom of Morocco alone remained in the hands of the Almohades.

With this hopeful prospect before him, Abu Ferraz began his expedition with Tripoli,
which he quickly reduced, and obliged the king to become his tributary. His example was
soon followed by that of Fez, who, being then taken up with the siege of Morocco, thought
fit to prevent the like visit, by sending him an embasy with rich presents, and the most
solemn assurances of his friendship and submission, and of his acknowledging him thencefor-
ward as his sovereign.

There needed no more to persuade Abu Ferraz to turn back, who accordingly entered his
capital in triumph, and there assumed the title of king of Africa, and established his court
in that city in the same pomp and magnificence as that of the Sharif of Morocco. From that
time the city of Tunis began to outvie most of those of Africa, being embellished by many
famous edifices, and defended by strong walls, towers, and other bulwarks, answerable
to its new title of "Metropolis of Africa." Abu Ferraz at his death divided his dominions
between his three sons; to one he gave that of Bugia, to the second that of Numidia, and
to the third, named Hutmens, that of Tunis.

Hutmens, or, as others call him, Aitmen, was no less valiant than his father. He
greatly enlarged his territories, disposed his brother Haman of Numidia, the kingdom of
which he rejoined to his own of Tunis, and caused his eyes to be put out. He reigned, according
to Grammeny, forty years, and left his kingdom to his son Abu-Baz, who was after-
wards deprived of it by one Jafob, or Subob, who filled himself the son of Omar III.
Khalif of the Afastan Saracen.

Hutmens, as well as his father, during his life-time, kept the kings of Fez so far
in awe, that they had not dared to undertake any exploits or conquests for fear of giving
him umbrage; but, after his death, they became powerful enough, in a little time, to caufe
their sovereignty to be acknowledged by all the Mammelucks of Africa, and to extend their
dominions to the most eastern parts of Barbary, and southward as far as Negroland. They
likewise had some bloody wars against the successors of Hutmens; till at length Hafan, or
Hafen, one of their kings, came and besieged Tunis, and quickly after took it, which
obliged the king to flee for shelter into the neighbouring deserts, then inhabited by the
Arabians. It was not long, however, before he returned with a strong body of them; and,
having defeated Hafan, recovered his capital and his kingdom. In the mean time, whilst the
Tunisian monarch was at war with that of Fez, the city of Tripoli, which we lately observed
had been subdued by Abu Zacharia, revolted, and continued five years independant; till
Abu Hamen, successor of Hafan, came and defeated Muley Abu, and obliged him to fly to
Confantina, where he befieged and took him prisoner, and confined him in the castle of Cuta,
then belonging to the Moors.

Tripoli taken:

Whist this was doing, the city of Tripoli saw itself at once surrounded by a squadron of
Genoese ships, and twelve gallies, which quickly forced them to surrender at discretion. All
the inhabitants were made slaves, and were to be carried away, when the king of Fez,
being apprized of it, offered 50,000 crowns for their discharge, and the purchase of the
city from them. The sum was readily accepted on those terms by the Genoese, but not so
honestly paid by the Fezzian monarch; one half of it being, we are told, false money, which
they ignorantly took for good.

The king of Fez died some time after this new purchase, and was succeeded by Abu-celem,
who entered into a treaty with that of Tunis, kept still prisoner at Cuta; and, by means of
some alliances between them, restored him to his liberty and kingdom. Abu Alcet had not
long returned to his dominions before he recovered the city of Tripoli, and others of his
provinces, of which Hafan had stripped him, and enjoyed them peaceably afterwards, as
did also his successors; till one of them, named Abu Barca, was affiainated, with one of
his sons, in the citadel of Tripoli, by order of Chiaib, his nephew, who had raised a rebellion
in the kingdom. He had not been long in the possession of it, before a first cousin of his
revolted, defeated, and killed him, and enjoyed the crown peaceably whith he lived; and
at his death bequeathed it to Zacharias, the nephew of the above-mentioned traitor, Chiaib,
his predecessor. This dying soon after of the plague, the chief inhabitants chose for his

fuccesfor
Muley Abu Camen was succeeded by Muley Mahomed, of whom we find nothing remarkable, except that he reigned thirty-three years in Tunis, and had many children; the eldest of whom, called Mamoun, he caused to be imprisoned, on suspicion of some treasonable design against him; and the rest were so vicious and profligate, that he could not find one among them all that was fit to succeed him. He at length pitched upon the youngest, not only because he was esteemed the most valiant, but on account of his mother being an Arabian of that country; and he hoped by that means to secure them the more firmly to the interest of his family. This successor was the since famed Muley Hassen, whom we have already spoken of in the history of Algiers, and who was restored to his kingdom by the emperor, after Barbarossa had driven him out of it; by which means he became tributary to that monarch (A), as we shall soon see.

For Hassen had not long been settled upon the throne, and proclaimed Mahomed’s successor, before Mamoun, his eldest brother, who was still kept close prisoner, made some strenuous efforts, by the affiance of his keeper, to make his escape, and claim his right to the crown. He was, however, discovered before he could accomplish it, and condemned to lose his head for the attempt; and with him were as many others of his brothers and relations, as could be caught, put likewise to death. Afrasid, another of his brothers, had, however, the good fortune to escape, and flee to Buchara in Nividia, where he met with a kind reception from Abdala, lord of the place. This lark, having immediately raised an army of four thousand Arabs, marched with him at their head against Hassen, and defeated him; but, as they had no artillery with them, they could not force an entrance into the town; so that Afrasid was obliged to take his leave of the Arabs; and, having set fire to the suburbs, and all the adjacent parts of it, marched forthwith to Algiers, to implore Barbarossa’s assistance, who governed that kingdom with the title of Viceroy, or Baifs, under the Soltan. This lark, who had for some time looked upon the divisions that reigned between those two brothers, and their partisans at Tunis, as a proper juncture for seizing that kingdom, and annex it to his Ottoman dominions, not only gave him a very friendly reception, but took him with him to Constantiopolis, under pretence of soliciting some farther assistance from, as well as for the protection of Solyman. And it is fearfully to be doubted but he would have obtained his request, had not Barbarossa acquainted that monarch with the design he had been hatching against that kingdom. This proposal was too tempting to be resisted by that politic court; so that whilst Afrasid was detained as a kind of prisoner in that city, Barbarossa sent with a sufficient squadron towards Tunis, where he arrived soon after. Upon his first appearing on the coasts, Hassen, who suspected his brother Afrasid to be there among them, and had caufe to apprehend some revolt among the Tunisians, retired out of it, with some of his Arabs, and lay concealed among them till he could penetrate into the design of the Turks. Barbarossa sailed directly towards Bizerta, which immediately surrendered to him, out of spite to Hassen, who had disobliged the inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to Porto Farno, and the Cape of Carthage; and last of all, posted himself before the tower of the Goletta, or ciradel, which he saluted as usual, with a broadside without a ball, in token of alliance and friendship, which was returned in the same manner from the tower.

He next demanded of them for whom they held the place; and was answered, for him that should be king of Tunis, where every thing was in commotion, and in great expectation of Afrasid, whose brother Hassen was become detestable to his subjects, on account of his cruelties and oppressions. When Hassen heard this, he immediately came down from

(A) This prince, we are told (1), did boast himself to the emperor to have been the thirty-fifth king of his family, who had reigned successively in Tunis during the space of 450 years, and to have been defended from Melchior, one of the three Magi, or wise men, who came to pay their adoration to the new-born Son of God at Bethlehem (2). He bore in his effusion a lance between two fowards, with their points upwards, and three crenets over them; above them a crown, and over the crown a star. This coat of arms, our author tells us, Muley Mahomed, the son of this Hassen at Palermo, had upon the foward he then wore (3).

But, adds he, African writers, on the contrary, derive their genealogy from the Houmtes, which were a branch of the descendants of Buqamuda (4): whilst others affirm them to be descended from Omar, the second Khalif (5). However that be, with respect to their pedigree, we have seen, that these kings of Tunis have carried their conquests as far as Sicily, and reigned a considerable time in that island (6). Afterwards they became tributary to the Normans, upon the declension of the Arabian empire, and to the French, under the reign of Charles, then king of Sicily; who, upon the death of his brother Louis, since named, came to the assistance of the Christians, and obliged the Tunisian king to become tributary to him.

The history of Tunis.

Book XXII.

The Tunesians, HASSAN was no sooner got out of Tunis in that dismal plight, than the governor and chief officers of the castle, who made no doubt but that Afrasiab was in the Turkije fleet, released his wife and son out of confinement, arrayed them in princely apparel, and paid them the same respect as if he had been in possession of the crown. They likewise sent a couple of fine horses, richly clad, to Goelitta; the one for him, and the other for Barbarossa, to make their entry into Tunis, and with them several chiefs of the army, to assure them, that that capital was wholly at their devotion. This notion, which had been artfully spread among the Tunesians by the subtle Barbarossa, had so thoroughly possessed their minds, that, upon his entering the suburbs and city, at the head of his 9000 Turks, which he had transported thither in sixty royal galleys, he was received with the loudest acclamations; and, having paid his first devotions at one of their mosques, marched directly to the castle, amidst an innumerable crowd of people. But how great was their surprize, when, instead of Afrasiab, they heard him mention no other name but that of Soliman and his own; and how much greater their resentment, when they were apprised, that their so much wished-for prince was still detained a prisoner at Constantinople. They tumultuously assembled themselves in arms, under the command of their Mezouar; and, whilst some were dispatched after Hassan to bring him back, to deliver them from the Turkije impending tyranny, the rest began to assail the traitorous Barbarossa in the castle; but these were soon after dispersed by loss of a general discharge, which he ordered his musketry to make upon them; upon which they were easily brought to acknowledge the Grand Signor for their sovereign, and him for his vicervy. The next step he took to keep them under, was to enter into an immediate alliance with the Arabs; and, by their assistance, to make himself master of Kayserian and other places, which city he strongly garrisoned with his Turks. After which he caused the canal of the Goelitta, which communicates with the sea, to be made wider, in order to enlarge the port, in which work the Christian slaves were employed. As for the fugitive Hassan, he found no better resource than to retreat among some of the neighbouring Arabs, that were still his friends; with whom he stayed still, he was reinstated by the emperor Charles V. to whom he applied for assistance against Barbarossa. This was, however, a dangerous expedition; his applying to a Christian emperor for assistance was an action that could not but render him still more odious, not only to his own subjects, but likewise to all the Mohammedan princes, and much more so, as he could not regain his crown on any other terms than by his becoming a tributary to that monarch. But his cause was by that time become too desperate to permit him to be deterred by any such confederations, or to listen to any thing but the motives of revenge, as well on his own faithless subjects, as on the treacherous Barbarossa and the Porte. So that his favourite renegado, by nation a Genoese, no sooner undertook to negotiate that affair with the emperor, than he dispatched him over to his court with the proposal, which was no less readily agreed to there. And it was no wonder it should be so, considering what an additional strength the annexing of this viceroyship to that of Algiers would afford to that pirate, already so formidable at sea, and on all the Mediterranean coasts, to say nothing of the advantage that would accrue to him by that kingdom's becoming tributary to him. Accordingly, Charles the fifth was easily determined, not only to undertake so advantageous an expedition, but even to put himself at the head of it, and to command it in person.

But though it was concerted and carried on with all possible secrecy, and the proper shipping got ready in the ports of Naples, Sicily, Genoa, and Spain, with no less expedition, yet Barbarossa had such speedy notice given him of it by a Florentine priest, who was then bound for Constantinople, and charged with some important affairs relating to the French court, that he had time enough to apprise the Porte of it, and acquaint it with the imminent danger he was in of losing not only his fleet, but all his conquests in Barbary, if not speedily succoured. He was, however, disappointed of his hopes from that quarter; the Grand Signor being then fully employed with all his forces in Aja, and his minions at Constantinople either unable or negligent to send him any supplies of men or ships; yet this dangerous situation did not discourage him from making a brave defence: and, since he could not fortify the city of Tunis so well as he could have willed, by reason of the several eminences that commanded

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1 MARMOL, lib. vi. ch. 16.  
2 MARMOL, ubi sup.  
3 See Grammat. Marmol, &c. sup. citat.
The history of Tunis.

a. It on the west side, nor dared to demolish the suburbs, which are one one of its chief ornaments, for fear of disobligeing the Tunesians, he set himslef immediately to fortify the Goleta, which was at that time little more than a square tower, and seemd only designed to command the mouth of the canal, by which the sea enters into the lake that fronts the town. He not only added some strong out-works to it, but threw a stout Turkish garrison into it, and furnished it with every thing necessary for its defence: after this he sent to invite all the Moors and Arabs to his aid, and remonstrated to them, that this was a common cause, in which they were all equally concerned; inasmuch as the loss of Tunis would not only endanger that of all Barbary, but much more so, as it would reduce all the states under a Christian yoke, and prove of the most dangerous confiquence to the Mohammedan religion.

b. This last consideration alone would have been sufficient to arm all the Mohammedan princes against the apostate Hafsan, and his powerful ally; the former of whom he had in vain endeavoured to get into his hands dead or alive. This circular letter had the desired effect, and brought to his assistance most of the Levantine corsairs, and armed the Moorish and African princes against the league.

His next care was to cause a stout thick wall to be built quite from the sea side to the water tower, and from thence, by winding about towards the lake, formed a kind of bulwark, with proper embrasures, which faced every side. He likewise built over the canal a spacious bridge, within side of that circuit; and, on a spot of ground between the sea and the Goleta, he caused a rampart to be reared, which had a full view of all that coast, and defended the twelve galleys that were left out, whilst all the rest of the shipping was securfed within the canal, or in the lake; and both could play their artillery on the enemy as occasion required. All these, and other precautions for a defence, with regard to the out-works, being taken, as far as the shortness of the time would permit, he took care to fill this new circuit with a sufficient number of forces. He threw into it 7000 fighting men, 4000 of whom were either Turks or renegades, 2000 were Tunesian Moors, many of whom were persons of rank and distincion, and 1000 were chosen from among the freest Janissaries; all of whom he provided with plenty of artillery, arms, and other ammunitions and provisions, which were supplied to them by the vessels that kept still going and coming to and from Tunis. After which he fate himself down, fully determined to wait the arrival of the enemy, with an intrepid resolution, answerable to his character and situation.

c. On the other side, Charles V. having got intelligence of the preparations he had made for his reception, ordered his whole navy, amounting to 1400 ships of all sorts, and first appears; amongst them ninety royal galleys, to set sail with all possible expedition for the Tunesian coasts. They soon reached the Cape of Carthage, which having doubled, they sent to reconnoitre the Goleta; near which they landed their numerous forces without any opposition.

Barbarossa, nothing dismayed at their number and strength, nor at their first successes in taking and plundering several of the neighbouring villages, whence they carried off some quantities of corn, oil, and other provisions, first of all assembled the Arabian chiefs, and exacted the usual oath of fidelity from them: for, besides 15,000 of them which he kept in his pay, great numbers of others were come to lift under his banner, not only as he allowed them a better pay, but out of hatred to Hafsan and the Christian forces; to them he joined some Turkish horse and foot, which he drew out of Tunis, and sent them to scour the country, and to annoy the Christian camp by their skirmishes, whilst they were laying siege to the city.

These frequent excursions did not, however, hinder its being carried on with great vigour, though with various successes. But we hope it will not be expected that we should, in a work of this nature, enter into a particular detail of it, which would carry us beyond our bounds; and that it will suffice our readers to tell them in general, that it was concerted and executed with all the regularity and advantage that the situation of the place would allow; the emperor having taken sufficient care to furnish himself with the expertest engineers and the most confinmate commanders, as well as to supply his camp, not only with all that was necessary to carry on the war, but with every thing that could render it easy and convenient for his numerous army; insomuch that the freets of his camp afforded great plenty and variety of all sorts of provisions, and well-floured markets, as any city in Europe; for, besides the great number of florelhips which were ordered to accompany this expedition, they had frigates and other vessels constantly coming in, laden with wines, corn, and other provisions, from Naples, Sardinia, Sicily, Majorca, and Minorca; besides which, they were likewise abundantly supplied with fresh water from the adjacent springs; insomuch that Muley Hafsan, upon his first arrival at the camp, was beyond measure affo-
The history of Tunis.

Book XXII.

The garrison retreated.

Charles V. enters the place.

The emperor, now master of the Goletta, entered the place, attended by the Infant Don Lewis, Hafsan the Tunsgian king, and a numerous retinue of his officers; and, upon his approaching the gate, turned himself to Hafsan, and told him, that that was the gate thro' which he should quickly re-enter into the possession of his new kingdom. To which the king answered, with an humble low bow, and thanked his imperial majesty for so signal a favour.

Barbarossa left on this occasion 300 brass cannons, besides a number of others of cast iron, 87 flaps, 42 of which were royal gallies, and about a dozen Christian merchantmen, which that corsair had formerly made prizes of. The number of his slain on that day amounted to above 1500 Turks and Moors, besides those killed and wounded in their retreat to Tunis and Arades, and on the lake. The Christians found here likewise an immense quantity of the baggage and plunder taken from the enemy.

(B) There were three batteries raised against the fort, the most considerable of which battered the new bastion with 24 pieces towards the sea side, between that and the Goletta, and fired sometimes against the tower and the new raised wall, as occasion required. About 100 paces farther was another battery of fix guns, which kept playing likewise against the wall; and, on the right hand of this, was another battery of ten to batter down the rampart, which the Turks had built between the wall and the lake.

Before these land batteries, Andrea Doria was making a constant fire against the place from his galleys, which he sent one after another before it; and one had no sooner fired all its guns than it was succeeded by another; whilst the grand caraca, belonging to the knights of Malta, which was higher than all the rest, was loaded behind them all, and easily discharged its large artillery over them with such fury and effect, that it disembowelled all the guns that were in the tower.

The Maltese commanders strove to disquiet themselves more than all the rest upon this occasion. Among them the commodore Beigele, observing that some of the gallies, for fear of running aground, kept their oars above water, hailed to them in hand; and cowardly exclaimers, said he to the officers, must the fouling of the careen of a few gallies disturb our peace in so glorious a enterprise? and made them immediately apply their oars, and approach nearer to the tower.

But the boldest action of all was that of Signor Conqueria, another Maltese knight, who caused a barca-longa, with a good number of musketeers, to row to the very foot of the tower, from which he kept continually firing against the Turks that appeared upon the breaches; and, whilst one fire was charging, he artfully talked about and caused the other to be discharged; by which constant play he killed a vast number of Turks, without receiving any damage from the tower's fire (7). This may serve to shew how eager the Christians were of carrying that important place, and how impossible it was for Barbarossa to prevent it, or for his new works, the most part of which were left unfinished, to hold out against such a constant fire from so many different batteries, that the besiegers had hardly time to repair one single breach. But the Christians paid dear for it, when they came to take it by assault; which, though it lasted but one hour, was not less bloody than violent; and in which the knights of Malta, who always challenge the post of honour, met with such a furious opposition from the Turks, that, besides a great number of them that were killed on the spot, there scarce came off one without being wounded (§).

The garrison, seeing itself overpowered, made their retreat in as good order as they could; 4000 of them took the way to Tunis, through a tract that had been marked for them by pofts set into the ground along the shallows; 2000 others, crossing over the canal, and breaking the bridge which Barbarossa had laid over it, filed off towards Arades, but suffered pretty much from the enemy in their rear before they could reach the place (4).

There remained only about 150 Turks in the Goletta, who were left there to set fire to some mines, and blow up the enemy upon their entering the place; but the Spaniards made such speed to get into it, that they prevented, in a great measure, the dreadful effects of the powder. One Turk did, indeed, set fire to two barrels of it, which threw up the upper story of the tower, and shattered the walls of it in several places. Upon which Don Diego de Mendoza rushed in at the gate through the smoke and rubbish, followed by about twenty of his men, and drove the Turks before them. He had not gone far before another barrel was fired, which burned his hand and side, and wounded some of his men; notwithstanding which, the rest of his men coming in to his assistance with sword in hand, they made themselves a bloody way through the Turks, and soon set up the imperial standard on the top of the tower.

f Marmol, Vertot, & al. sup. citat.

§ lidem, ubi sup. * Marmol, ubi sup.
quantity of fire arms, swords, ammunition, and other warlike stores: that being the arsenal in which Barbarossa kept all his arms and piratical spoils, as it was till then reckoned impregnable. *

Immediately after the taking of this fortress, the only one that Tunis had for its defence, Hafsan, to his great mortification and grief, found the emperor's council much divided, whether they should proceed with the siege of that capital or return homewards. Tho' who were for the latter alleged, that Barbarossa, being quite stripped of his navy and chief fortresses in that kingdom, would soon be forced to return to Algiers, and Hafsan's subjects to their obedience; so that they had actually completed what they came for. The emperor was quickly apprised of this by the Infant his son, who was altogether for continuing the war; and, having convoked them into his tent, after a mild rebuke to those who opposed it, solemnly declared to them, that he was not come so far merely to seize upon the Geelta and the piratical ships, but to restore the dispossessed king of Tunis to his dominions, and to deliver above 20,000 Christians from slavery, who expected their liberty from him; and concluded with telling them, that he was determined either to acquit himself with honour of that enterprise, or die in the attempt. Upon which it was resolved, that the fortifications of the Geelta should be reduced into a narrower compass, and that a garrison of 1000 men should be put into it; and admiral Doria was ordered to cruise along the coasts with his fleet, and the foiled to be furnished with a sufficient quantity of provisions: the whole army began to march in battle array towards Tunis, on the 20th of July, by the road that lies between the olive wood and the lake.

Barbarossa was soon apprised of their march; and, though he forewarned plainly enough that the loss of the Geelta and his fleet would be followed by that of Tunis, and of the whole kingdom, yet, like a politic commander, he resolved to defend that capital to the last, in hopes of some favourable change. With this view he made his Arabian chiefs take a fresh oath to him; but in that very night he assembled all his Turkish officers at his palace, and acquainted them with the great danger he was in, not only from the Christian army, but likewise from his Arabian troops, and still more from the Tunesians; and proposed to them the method he had pitched upon to free himself from it; which was to blow up all the Christian flaves, in number about 7000, and to betake themselves to immediate flight.

This design was happily disapproved by some brave corsairs, not only on account of the odiousness of such a barbarous action, but likewise for the loss of so many useful hands. Upon which it was resolved, that they should provide for their own safety for that night, and early on the morrow march out of the city, at the head of all their forces, Moors and Arabs, as well as Turks. The Tunesians were no less glad at their departure; among whom Hafsan, their king, had found means to deliver a number of bills, advising them to drive the tyrannical Turks out of their city, and to receive in their stead their lawful prince, which artifice had greatly increased the ever-mistrustful Barbarossa and his Turks diffidence and fears of them. They marched only about three miles from the city, and encamped upon a plain called Cazar-mexwee, which is full of orchards and fresh springs, where he disposed his army in battle array, in the most advantageous manner to oppose the enemy.

The Spanish historians, to exaggerate the glory of their monarch, made his army to have consisted of no less than 90,000 fighting men; but we shall leave it to the reader to judge, from the success of their actions, whether it could be really so numerous; seeing all other Christian writers agree, that he left no more in that defeat than 300, and the emperor only eighteen men. However that be, the two armies quickly came to an engagement; in which the Arabs, who were ordered to attack the enemy on all sides, presented themselves with their wonted eagerness (Barbarossa having before-hand raised their expectation of the immense plunder they should find in the Christian camp, in order to secure them to his interest), and fell upon them with the greatest fury, and with their wonted outrages: but they had no sooner heard the roaring thunder of the Christian artillery, and stood the first discharge of their muskeeters, than they betook themselves to flight, with even greater haste than they had flown on the onset; nor could any promises or menaces prevail upon them to return any more to the charge (C).

The misfortune was, that the Christian army was quite spent with excessive heat and thirst, and the Turks still kept possession of the water springs; so that it was difficult to


(C) These stout warriors, in order to ingratiate themselves to the emperor and the king of Tunis, made afterwards a great piece of merit of this their precipitate flight; pretending, that it was done in order to intimidate the Moors and Tunesians from exerting themselves, as they would probably have done, had they found their ground. But, though this was looked upon as an artful pretence to excuse their cowardice, yet it is more than probable that it greatly contributed to that general defection that ensued soon after, and was so far of single service to the Christians (9).

(9) Marmol, ubi sup. Vertor, ubi sup.
keep them from straggling to the lake to quench it. At length, after several fresh onsets on both sides, the Turks began to give way, leaving seven pieces of artillery behind them; soon after which the Christians got possession of the springs, and regained their spirits so far, that Barbarossa, who was everywhere trying in vain to rally his scattered troops, was forced to follow after his own run-away; and, on their part, Moors as well as Tunesians, made much greater speed to get into the town than they had done to come out of it.

At their arrival, Barbarossa, instead of replying his troops for their balkeness, contented himself with calmly telling them, that he designed by the next morning to try their courage once more against the Christians; but this he only did the better to conceal his premeditated flight, which he now found dangerous to disclose even to his own Turks. His design was soon discovered by the dispatch he endeavoured to make to get all his treasure out of the castle, as well by the secret direction he gave to have all the Christian slaves blown up, though none of his creatures proved inhuman enough to execute that bloody order. He had at that time a Maltese commander, named Paul Simoni, among his captives, who had formerly behaved so gallantly against the Turks, that he would not suffer them to be redeemed or exchanged at any price. This gentleman, having some seclusion or intelligence of his horrid design, found means to bribe two of his renegade jailors to procure them some files and hammers, by the help of which they soon got off their fetters and those of their companions; after which, forcing open the doors of the castle armory, they furnished themselves with what weapons came first to their hands, and cut in pieces all the Turks they found in the castle, and placed a strong guard at every avenue of it. Whilsit this was doing, Simoni appeared on the battlements with the white banner, and invited the Christian army to come to their assistance. The unsuccessful noise and uproar soon brought Barbarossa thither, who commanded the gates to be immediately opened to him; but finding his orders only answered by the musket-shot, and vollies of stones, which the slaves discharged against him, cried out in a rage, I am undone; these Christian dogs have got possess of the castle, and of all my treasures. And, without staying longer, he went and gathered to him what Turks he could get, and fled away with all speed; so that, before Charles V. could get the news of this revolution, he was got safe to the city of Bona.*

Simoni was the first who sent the emperor notice of it, as soon as he heard that Barbarossa had fled from the city, and was also the first who presented himself to him, upon his entering the city, at the head of 6,000 slaves, his companions. The flight of whom was so agreeable to that monarch, that he tenderly embraced the Maltese knight, with these words, My dear friend, blessed for ever be that noble resolution which enabled you to break off your fetters, to facilitate my conquest, and increase the glory of the Maltese order. The brave Simoni was soon after dismissed, with all possible tokens of esteem and friendship, to his noble brotherhood of Malta, and met with a reception suitable to his merit. But the joy that reigned in the camp of the Christians was soon after dampened, by the horrid outrages and cruelties which the emperor's troops committed on the unfortunate Tunesians of both sexes. The men were tortured all manner of ways, to obliged them to discover their hidden wealth, and the women, especially the young ones, were exposed to the assaults of every lustful ravisher, and were even torn from their mothers arms, by those very officers who should have protected them from the inulfs of the soldiery; so that neither sex, age, nor rank, were exempted from their brutalities. Hafian made in vain the most pressing application to the emperor, to suppress those cruel disorders, at least in appearance; for he knew that his subjects had cauf to hate him, not only for his former tyranny, but much more for his calling a Christian army to his assistance, and bring them and himself under a foreign yoke (E);

u Vertot, Marmol, & al. ubi sup.

(E) A most remarkable instance of this singular hatred, we are told, was given to him, on this occasion, by a young beautiful damsel of distinction, named Asifa, whom he met by chance in the street, as she was led away captive, and bound, by a Spanish officer. Hafian, whether drunk with pity, or, perhaps, with some still more lively passion, immediately offered to redeem her at any rate; but she, changing her grief into resolution, spit in his face with these words: "I gone, "wicked and pernicious wretch, who, to regain a king; "dom which did not belong to thee, has most shame- "fully betrayed thy nation and country." The king, however, without offering any remonstrance at her refusal, offered the officer some very considerable sums for her ransom; when she, becoming more outrageous, bid him beyond a second time, telling him, that he could not suffer him to add to a tyrant's (10),

Marmol confirms likewise what we have said of his revengeful temper for, when the emperor told him that he had promised to his troops the plundering of the city, and asked him, whether there was any quarter, streets, or houses, he would wish to be spared, he readily answered in the negative, and added, that there was not one subject in it that he had not cause to be displeased with; from which it plainly appears, that he then regarded his revenge more than his interest. But he was soon after obliged to alter his tone, when he found that his soldiers, especially his German troops, massacred all they came at without distinction, out of a notion that was spread among them, that he had obtained a promise from the emperor, that none of the inhabitants should be made slaves, for he then applied a death to him, and begged that the soldiers might be contented with the plunder, and that the citizens might be made prisoners of war, which was granted to him, and an end, though late, was put to their horrid butchery (11).

Chap. 4. The history of Tunis.

and, being naturally haughty and vindictive, might take a secret pleasure in their distress and misery. However that be, it is reckoned that near 200,000 of them either perished or were made slaves, besides those myriads whom the soldiers sacrificed to their fury; many more, seeking to save their lives by fleeing into the adjacent deserts, were destroyed by the excessive heat and thirst, and every kind of want and misery; and those of both sexes, that were reduced to a dreadful slavery, amounted to above 40,000.

Charles V. now mastered Tunis, refitted Muley Hassan on his throne, but it was on Hassan re-

condition that he should become tributary to him; and, as a pledge of it, kept the fort of Jorfed to his throne. Geletta in his hands, the fortifications of which he ordered to be repaired, and new ones to be added to them, and obliged Hassan to pay the garrison, which he left in it, and to send prince Mohammed, one of his sons, thither, with some officers of his court, as hostages of his vassalage (F). He designed likewise, before he left Africa, to have laid siege to Mebedea, a sea-port in the kingdom of Fez, but was prevented by a sudden storm, which so shattered his fleet, that he was without the greatest danger and difficulty that he reached the port of Trapane in Sicily. *

Muley Hassan, being now become more odious than ever, not only on account of the late cruelties committed by the Christians in his metropolis, but much more for his vassalage to and alliance with them, found very quiet in his kingdom since his restoration than he had before. The emperor had left him 250 of his soldiers, to be a guard both to his person and castle, but had the frequent mortification to hear of some of his cities which revolted from him, and either erected themselves into little commonwealths, or put themselves under the protection of the Turks. Barbarossa, who was gone from Bosnia to Algiers, with a resolution to raise a powerful army and fleet against him, quickly returned with them, and made himself master of several considerable places; whilst, by the affiance of Andrea Doria, Hassan had reduced several others to their allegiance. But that admiral was too politic to act against the Algerine viceroy, who, though the most dangerous enemy that the emperor had among all the Turks, yet he thought it more prudent to let him escape in the Adriatic *, when he had it in his power, and was strongly solicited, to have defeated him there; a politic maxim, too common among commanders of all nations, not totally to overthrow an enemy, though a rival, who gives them such an opportunity to display their talents and capacity. But whilst Hassan and he were consulting about the means of suppressing Barbarossa's conquests upon him, one of which was the port of Sufa, which was revolted from him, and on the point of falling into his enemy's hands, it was agreed, that he should apply to the grand master of Malta to assist him in reducing that important port, which had been already taken from him. He sent accordingly an ambassador, named Camichi, or Camigi, to represent to him the danger he was in from the advantages which the Turks were still gaining over him. The grand master, who considered that matter as more immediately concerning the emperor than his order, failed not to acquaint him with it, as that prince was now his vassal and tributary. The emperor sent forthwith orders to his viceroy of Sicily to send him all the assistance he could; but this left was, though ready and free with his promises, yet to flow in his performance, that, being at last quite out of patience with his untoward subjects, and weary of waiting for the promised succour, he resolved once more to go and solicit it in person *.

But whilst he laid in Sicily, and was consulting with the viceroy about the most effectual means of suppressing the overgrown power of Barbarossa, his ill fortune raised him a more powerful and dangerous enemy at home, of whom he had not the least mistrust. This was his own eldest son Muley Humida, who, at the instigation of a great favourite, named Masmud, whole father Hassan had put to death, took the most effectual means to dethrone him, during his absence. To this end he began with complaining, that his unhappy father was gone over to the emperor, with a design to turn Christian, and to concert with him about depriving him of the succession, whom he knew to be an enemy to Christianity, and


(F) By the same treaty, Muley Hassan was tied to several other articles, the principal of which were those that follow:

1. That all Christian captives, of whatsoever nation, should be released without any ransom.
2. That Christians should have a free commerce throughout the whole kingdom.
3. That they should be allowed to settle in it, to build churches and monasteries, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion.
4. That no corfain, Turk or Moor, should be allowed to come to any port, be furnished with any provisons, or be admitted or favoured in any cafe, by the Tunisians.

1. That the Geletta should appertain to the emperor, and his successors, for ever; and that Hassan, and his successors, should pay 1,000 golden crowns yearly, for the maintenance of its garrison.
2. That the kings of Tunis should hold themselves vassals and dependants on the crown of Spain, and send thither yearly, in token of it, six horses and twelve falcons; in consideration of which they should be initiated to the protection of that crown, &c. (12). All which were equally granting to the Mohammedan powers.
to letting the crown on his next brother Mohammed, who had betrayed a great propensity a
to it. After this he caulked several false rumours to be spread, the one, that being seized
with some dangerous distemper at Naples, he had to be baptized before he died. Another
report went current, that he had been taken by the Turks, and carried prisoner to Constan-
tinople, where he would either be put to death, or imprisoned for life, on account of his
apostasy. As his father was so ill-beloved at Tunis, these rumours were readily believed;
and the prince made no difficulty to come into the city, and take possession of the royal
palace. He met there, however, an unexpected repulse from the old governor, who firmly
refused him for his so easily crediting such ill news, and being in such haste to get into his
father's throne, for which he would be quickly called to a severe account. Hamida, con-
fronted at his repulse, retired to a pleasure-house; he had a few miles out of Tunis; upon b
which the old governor went in a vessel to the Coleta, to inquire after the king's health;
and, being assured, that he was still at Tunis, and in perfect health, returned immediately to
the city, and took the most effectual means to suppress all these false reports.
But this was so far from silencing these reports, that it rather spurred the prince and his
favourite to propagate and aver them the more openly. Nothing they pretended was more
certain than the king's death, and his dying a Christian; and the old governor, who was in
prince Mohammed's interest, went to the Coleta, where he was kept hostages, as was hinted
before, to concert with him, and the Spanish governor, about the proper means of having
him crowned, in prejudice of Hamida; adding, that the Tunisians would soon see him come
therein, at the head of his Spanish auxiliaries, if they did not prevent it before it was
too late. The boldnesses with which these things were affirmed, failed not to give them a
tincture among the people, over greedy of a change; and the danger of a Christian
king forced over them, for such young Mohammed was now believed, soon alarmed the
whole populace, and Hamida was lent for, with all speed, to come to protect them from it.
They found him in his garden, overwhelmed with dread and grief at the dangerous and
unpunishable leap which his favourite had perfidious him to take. He was quickly awaked,
however, from his melancholy fears by the shouts of the people, who were sent to fetch
him, and hailed with them to Tunis, where, being joined by the rest of the populace, he
went at their head directly to the castle, caulis the old governor to be murdered, with
several others of his father's faithful friends, and, Abulfot, forced the most beloved of
d Hafian's wives into his inauspicious embraces.

The news of this unnatural rebellion soon reached the unfortunate Hafian, who, to pre-
vent his son's entering into some crafty alliance with Barbary, made all possible haste to
reach his own capital. He had about 2,000 Italians with him, which the viceroy had given
him leave to infill among the banditti, and other outlaws, in the neighbourhood of Naples,
and landed with them at the Coleta, whence he was advised by the governor not to stir,
till he was well apprised of the strength of his rebellious son, and the disposition of his sub-
jects. But he, thinking that Hamida would never have the boldnesses to face him, marched
directly to Tunis at the head of his small army. What still more determined him to haffin
thither, with so weak force, was, that the treacherous Hamida had sent a party of his creatures
to meet him, not as an enemy, but as loyal subjects, who came to welcome their native prince's
return to his dominions, and to assure him, that they had left his revolted son in the utmost
conformation and despair; and that he seemed resolved to go and take refuge among some
friendly Arabs, in the farthest parts of his dominions. Some say, that the citizens having
asked Hamida, whether he would submit to his father, he answered, That his father had turned
Christian, and came to destroy them, and they ought all to flind in their own defence; to
which they replied, if the king comes accompanied by Christian soldiers, we will die in your
defence; but if he brings none but his Moorish guards, we will not consent to take up arms
against him. Upon which it was agreed, that this party should go before to reconnoitre
what force the king brought along with him. However that be, he had disposed his 500
Moors in such a manner, that they covered the Italian forces that came behind; whilk the
citizens from within kept themselves up in arms, waiting the signal for which they were to
take; at length some skirmishes happened between both; that were without and the king's
forces, which occasioned a discovery of the 2,000 Italians; upon which the Tunisians, taking
it for granted that he was turned Christian, as his son had given out, a bloody battle imme-
diately ensued, in which his forces were greatly overpowered, not only by the Tunisians, but
by some large parties of Arabs, that lay in ambush among the neighbouing olive trees; so that, after an hot engagement, in which many of his forces were slain and taken prisoners,
and a much greater number ran away into the woods, and thence into the Coleta, in a sad
plight, he was surrounded by his son's forces, and brought prisoner into his capital, and there
confined. In the morning, he sent to intreat his son to come to him, and hear what he had to lay for himself, in order to come to an amicable composition with him; but
Hamida absolutely refused to see him, and sent some executioners to him, who left him
only
only the choice, either to lose his eyes or his life; and, as he chose the former, they immediately deprived him of his fight with a hot lancet, and left him to languish in his dungeon, laden with chains, grief, and misery.

Hamida, now in a terrible position, as he thought, of the throne, turned his troops against Bizzera, one of those towns in which Barbarossa had thrown a Turkish garrison, but, whilst he was busy in reducing that important place, the viceroy of Naples, apprised of Hassan’s defeat, had sent him a fresh supply of 1,800 Spanish troops, under the command of Alonso Brancos, who landed at the Goletta, together with some Arabs, and other allies; upon which the governor and his friends, who hastily dispersed themselves into several parts of the city, it being neither safe to remain in his house, nor to sit on the throne.

b Then a holiday, in which the Tunisians made great rejoicings; and, being thoughtless of any danger, and these coming on the sudden in arms to the castle-gate, killed the guards, and made themselves masters of it. Abdalmelich immediately seized upon the young Said, Hamida’s son, and caused his eyes to be put out, and himself to be proclaimed king. He had not enjoyed that title much above a month, during which he took care to send 6,000 ducats to the governor of Goletta, pursuant to the old treaty, before he was taken ill of some dangerous distemper; upon which he released his brother Hassan, and sent him back his wives and concubines, which his unnatural son had seized on, and forced to his bed, and which, for that reason, he refused to admit any more into his own, but sent them back to their respective parents and relations. Abdalmelich died about a fortnight after, during which sicknesse his servants stripped him of his best furniture, and kept him to close a prisoner, that, every time the door of his chamber was opened, he expected they were going to assassinate him.

c As soon as he was dead, the Tunisians chose Muley Mohammed, Hassan’s son, then an hostage at Goletta, for his king; but Francesco Tosa, the governor of the fort, refused to release him, and set up one of Abdalmelich’s sons, named also Mohammed, upon the throne, who was received with great applause, but reigned only four months. In the mean time Muley Hassan ventured to go to the Goletta, probably to expotulate with the governor, but was sent by him to the small island of Tabarka, which lies on the coast between Bonn and Carthage, whence he passed afterwards to Sardinia, Naples, Rome, and last of all to the emperor, at Florence, who gave him a kind reception, and seemed to pity him much, but bad him hope for better times.

d All this while the treacherous Hamida, being denied admittance into his capital, and other towns of the realm, wandered about from court to court, among the Moorish and Arabian chiefs, to beg their assistance. At length the Tunisians, who were by that time dissatisfied with Mohammad’s government, sent to invite him back. Hamida accordingly embarked, with such friends as he had with him, in a corail vessel, and landed soon after at Monofec. Thence he got to some of his Arabian friends, from whom he obtained some reinforcement, with which he entered unexpectedly into Tunis, that the young king had scarcely time to save himself in the Goletta. Hamida no sooner saw himself master of the city and calfe, than he caused all those that had been in the opposite interest to be put to the most cruel deaths; some of the principal of whom he caused to be thrown to, and to be devoured alive by dogs. After this he quietly enjoyed the kingdom till the year 1570, when his metropolis was betrayed by some of the inhabitants, into the hands of the famed Othoili, or Ioniti, then Bafha of Algiers; since which time both that, and the whole kingdom, have remained in the possession of the Turks, as we have already heard in the foregoing chapter.

e But to return to the unfortunate Hassan; he still remained in some of the emperor’s dominions, till that monarch had raised such powerful armament, which failed soon after into Africa, in order to dispose of Barbarossa, and other Turkish corsairs, of those places which

(1) This was, indeed, a poor comfort and recompence for the loss of his eyes and kingdom; and, tho’ the only one he ever received from that monarch, was still thought greater than he deferred, for his servile flattery and attachment to a Christian prince. But there were two other circumstances, which did not aggravate his misfortune, than it did the Spanish ingratitude. The one was the governor of Goletta’s depriving his son of the fiefdom, and keeping him still an hostage, or rather prisoner, when he might have set him upon the throne, with the common consent and approbation of the Tunisians. The other was, his wrenching him of a great part of his cattle, jacks, and other valuable things, which he had intrusted to his keeping, upon his going into Europe to go to Naples, and which he now refused to restore to him in his greatest distress.

(2) Bosio, Marmol, Vertot, &c. ubi sup.

(3) See before, p. 266.

(4) Marmol, notwithstanding his usual partiality for the Spaniards, owns, that the unfortunate Hassan made bitter complaints to his imperial majesty against his governor, yet doth not mention any rebuke being given him for what he had done, nor any other redress granted to the sufferer; but only says in general, that the emperor pitied him, and ordered that he should be supplied with everything he could need of, till better times, which never came; for both master and minister not only suffered his unnatural and pernicious son to retain his father’s throne without molestation, but even allied him against his two chief enemies Hayadin Barbarossa, and his favourite Dragut (13).

they
they had made themselves masters of along the coasts of Barbary. In this expedition he had taken care to engage the Pope, the Geneues, Venetians, and the Maltese; who were all to furnish their several quotas of ships, men, and ammunition, to join that large fleet, which he had ordered to be equipt in his several ports of Spain, Naples, and Sicily: all which made up a most powerful force, and was commanded by the great Geneues admiral Doria, and some of the most experienced officers of sea and land, both from the isle of Malta, Spain, and Italy, which threw all the piratic crew into the greatest consternation, put them upon the most expeditious means of defence, and obliged them to apply to the Porte for fresh assistance. This armada was to begin with disemboging the famed corsair Dragut out of several sea-posts on the Tunisian coasts, of which he had made himself master, and which were now become his arsenal, magazine, place of arms, and of his corsairs rendezvous.

But, before we proceed farther with the other exploits of that celebrated pirate, our readers will not perhaps be displeased, if we give them some previous account of his original, and most surprizing rise and character. He was born in a small village of Natolia, situated over against the isle of Rhodes, of mean Mohammedan parents, who lived by the tillage and product of a small spot of ground. Dragut was soon weary of their way of living, and lifted himself at the age of twelve years, under an officer of artillery, belonging to the Grand Signor's galleys, as a common sailor, but soon became a most expert cannonner under him, and served some years in that quality. At length, having gathered up some money, he bought a share in a brigantine belonging to some corsairs, and was, by his good fortune in it, enabled to be master of a small galley of his own, by which, besides the many prizes he took, he became so perfectly acquainted with all the isles and sea-posts, bays, harbours, rocks, and shelves, on all those coasts, that he was gladly received into the service of the no less famed Barbarossa, then admiral of the Turkishe fleet, and the terror of all the Christian maritime states. Barbarossa was too well acquainted with his valour and merit, not to give him all possible encouragement; and, after having made him go thro' all the lower ranks, raised him to that of his lieutenant, and gave him the command of a squadron of twelve galleys.

From this time Dragut did not suffer a summer to pass without ranging the Christian sea-coasts, and committing some dreadful ravages on those of Naples and Sicily. Scarcely a vessel could fail from Italy to Spain but became his prize; and, whenever he failed of making a sufficient number of such captures, he made himself ample amends by some defunct along those coasts, and plundering whole towns and villages, and carrying the inhabitants into slavery. At length the emperor, tired with the daily complaints which were made to him of these continual depredations, sent express orders to admiral Doria at any rate to put an end to them, and to rid those seas of so dreadful an enemy. Doria accordingly equipt what ships he could get fit for his purpose, and gave the command of them to his young nephew, to give him an opportunity of signallizing himself against such a formidable enemy. The young admiral lost no time, but failed with all expedition in quest of him, and had the good fortune to find him in a small creek, near the castle of Giratetta, on the coast of Corse, between Calvi and Layaazzo.

Dragut, who knew nothing of the imperial fleet being at sea, was scarcely got into it, before he saw himself closely shut up, and furiously battered by the cannon of the castle, and the artillery of the imperial squadron. He defended himself at first with his usual bravery, but finding their fire so much superior to his own, and himself surrounded by the inhabitants of that coast, who ran in hoes to help to destroy a piratic crew, which had so often ravaged their towns and villages, he was forced at length to hang out the white flag. He tried in vain to capitulate; all that he could obtain of the young admiral was, to save his own life, with the les of his liberty, and the surrender of himself, and all the vessels he had, at disposition, to the governor of the castle, which was accordingly complied with. What most mortified the rough old corsair was, when he and his officers were brought into the admiral's ship, to find him a mere stripling; insomuch that, unable to contain his indignation, he broke out into some indecent expressions, which procured him a severe drubbing, and occasioned his being clapt in irons as a common thief (I), and to be sent to Genoa, where he continued four years in a state of slavery, in spite of all the efforts and vaunts of Barbarossa and the Grand Signor to have him ransomed at any price. The Geneues would, in all likelihood, have kept him in that state his whole life, but were at length forced to surrender him to Hayradin Barbarossa, who had succeeded his brother at Algiers, and at the Porte as Turkishe admiral, when they saw him appear at the mouth of

(1) His expresion, at the sight of the young admiral, was, 'Am I then doomed, at these years, to see myself laden with fetters by a bandit of effeminate youth?' but some writers add, that the term effeminate implied something more reproachful and scandalous, though nothing but what is as common to be met with at Genoa or Rome as in any part of the Turkishe empire. Their
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a their river to demand him, at the head of an hundred galleys, to prevent their city and territory from being bombarded and ravaged by him. Dragut was accordingly released, and sent, laden with rich presents, to the old Turkish admiral. He was quickly reinstated by him in his former post, and put at the head of a powerful squadron, and in a condition to revenge at once his former disgrace, and the ill treatment he had received from the Genoese, during these four years. His resentment, by this time, having inspired him with a more inveterate hatred than ever against the Christians, he began to vent it at first against the kingdom of Naples. He took and plundered the castle at Lamore, and all the villages along that coast, carrying off great numbers of captives, and other valuable plunder. His next booty was a Maltese galley, which had been parted from its squadron by a storm, and in it were found 70,000 crowns, designed to be employed in repairing the fortifications of Tripoli, which made that loss the more considerable. On the other hand, Hayradin Barbarossa, having turned over the care of his fleet to his released lieutenant, was occupying, being above 80 years of age, then indulging himself in his old debauches at Constantiropole, which he now followed to such a degree, with a number of his fairest captives, that he was found dead in his bed by the excess of them, to the great regret of Sultan Selim, who, to repair as much as possible that great loss, ordered all his co-faibles to acknowledge Dragut for their commander. He did not, however, belittle on him the title of admiral, but contained himself with confirming him in the authority which Barbarossa had intrusted him with, over all the southern coasts of the Mediterranean.

c Dragut, now invested with the protection and authority of the Grand Signor, thought it highly necessary, after the example of his old master, to secure some strong place of retreat for himself, his ships, arms, and captures; in conformance of which he seized on the sea-ports of Sonza, or Sweta, and Menafr, which belonged to this kingdom of Tunis, and being open, and without fortifications, received indifferently all the pirates of every nation; so that they were as often under the dominion of the Turkish, Moorish, and other corsairs, as under that of their natural princes. Dragut was at that time in quiet possession of them, but easily foresaw, that he would not be able to hold them long against the superior forces of the emperor, and that he should certainly be attacked, by the next spring, by the united fleets of Naples and Sicily; he therefore cast his eye upon the port of Africa, or, as it was afterwards called, Meledia, situate between Tripoli and Tunis, and not only strong by nature, but much more by its prodigious walls, and various outworks, as well as by an old well-built citadel, furnished with artillery, and other kinds of arms and ammunition, and a most commodious and spacious harbour, sheltered from all winds, and well fenced against all attempts. Neither did thence advantages discourage him from pursuing his design, but only made him alter his measures; and, as he was not in a condition of reducing it by force, he resolved to attempt it by stratagem and treachery, in which he but too well succeeded, and by which he was enabled to do such incredible damages to the Christians on those seas, and sea coasts, till happily dislodged from that strong bulwark by the imperial fleet.

b But, before we come to speak of that successful transaction, the retaking, and afterwards the demolition, of that once so celebrated a city and strong fortresses, it will not, we hope, be unacceptable to our reader, if we give him some account of that important place, of its illustrious repairer and inquirer, and of the immense labour and cost he bestowed in the building, beautifying, adorning, and fortifying it, in order to render it, in all these respects, as well as that of its advantageous situation, equal, if not superior, to any maritime city, not only in Africa, but in the whole world.

africa is situate in 35° 16' of north latitude, and 27° 21' of east longitude, from Paris, and is commonly supposed to be the ancient Adrumetum of the Romans, but had undergone sundry vicissitudes since their time, and was run into utter decay and ruins, when Meledia, the schismatic Khalif of Kairwan, rebuilt and fortified it, and called it by his own name Meledia. It is built on a kind of peninsula, falling out of a point of land into the sea, about four leagues east of Tobulba; and, at the time of its being besieged by Charles Vth's forces, was encompassed about with thick stout walls, and flanked with strong towers, and other outworks, being surrounded on all sides by the sea, except a narrow slip, or neck of land, of about three hundred and fifty paces in breadth, which joins it to the continent. This space was occupied by a strong castle built within the wall, which was solid rock, up as high as the plinth, and forty feet thick, together with six towers at proper distances, and solid like the wall, and projected another forty feet outwardly, as far as the barbacan of the ravelin. Above the castle were two other walls, the one answering to the town, and the other to the country, within which, and the void space between the towers, were the governor's apartment and the soldiers barracks. The four middle towers were of a square, and the two others, which were washed by the sea, of a round figure, and of a

* Marmol, lib. vi. c. 28. Vettori, Hist. of Malta, lib. xi.
† See D'Anville's map of Africa.

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considerable height; every one of them had little doors, covered over with flatted iron, and a
fo low, that one could not go in or out of them without flooping; so that each tower was a
separate fortress. In the second square tower, towards the east, was the principal gate,
then being none towards the land side.
This gate, as hath been elsewhere hinted, ran under the tower, through a long, dark, roof-
ed, avenue, in which were fixt double doors in a direct line, and covered with platted iron,
the inner one of which, as one came into the city, were of flat iron bars, nailed to each other
crossways by strong nails of the fame metal, without any timber; each of these doors had a
lion in relief caft in braves, and fo placed, as if looking at each other. The doors were not flat,
but somewhat bending outward, and had each their iron portcullises and retreats, which
fiid down from the top of the tower, about eight yards from the height of its wall. There
b was still another a little lower, which served for a false battery, and was twelve feet thick,
and with nine towers so nicely disposed, that each three answered to two of those of the
castle.
The city was 5,300 paces in circuit, and towers all around at the distance of thirty yards
from each other. The arsenal faced the east, and stood near a stately mosque, contiguous
to the city wall. At the end of the town, towards the north, is an eminence, on which
was built a tower, which commanded the whole prospect of the sea. Within the town was
an inclofed haven, which one entered into by a high arched gate, in which the galleys and
other leffer vessels were shut up; for those of a larger size, there was a convenient harbour
near it. Fronting the city, on the south side, ran a ridge of rising hills covered with vine-
yards, and bespangled with variety of pleasure houses; and, on the east side, reigned a con-
tinued verdure of gardens and orchards, which were watered by the help of some adjacent
wells. Behind them were the arable lands, which ended at a ridge of high hills, running
quite from east to west, on the other side of which are seen some spacious plains, abounding
with excellent pastures, to which the Arabs resort in the winter, with their vaft herds of cattle,
for the sake of that and the severall small lakes that were formed here and there on the lower
grounds.
This was the fine situation, beauty, and strength of Mbedia at this time; and the flourishing
condition in which the Khalif above-mentioned had raised it, after it had been totally
ruined by the succesorrs of Mohammed; and, as he designed it for the place of his residence,
instead of that of Beyrouth, he had been no less profuse in adorning it with the most flately
edifices, than in fortifying it in the strongest manner; and, with respect to the latter, we
c are told by our author, that he even wished that he could surround it with walls of braves,
instead of those of stone. Dragut had likewise, by this time, taken care to furnish it with
all manner of arms and ammunition, and to throw into it a stout garrison, and had given
the command of it to his nephew *; and in this advantageous condition was this fortress,
when the emperor Charles V. formed that noble resolution to wrest it out of that pirate's
hands, to mauge all difficulties and discouragements, and the inability the king of Tunis was
to give him any other assistance, than that of supplying his fleet with all necessary provi-
sions to carry on the siege.
As soon, therefore, as every thing was got ready for that expedition, the king Muley
Hassan, old and blind as he was, resolved to pas into Afric with his two sons, Muley Moham-
med and Muley Bubekar, and to accompany the viceroy of Naples to that siege, fully deter-
mined, if he could recover his dominions, to take the severest revenge, not only on the
perfidious Hamida, but upon all his friends and partisans. He failed accordingly with the
fleet, which soon reached the coasts of Barbary with a fair wind, where the admiral, accord-
ing to the emperor's orders, landed his forces at Cape Bonajind, and feized on the fort Cali-
bis, whence he advanced to Monadera. Here the Turks, having sent some parties to recon-
noitre them, were so vigorously attacked by the Maltese knights, at the head of a strong
Spanish squadron, that they forced and puriied them quite into the town, and made them-
selves masters of it. The castle was next summoned to surrender, and, upon the Turkish f

governor's denial, was taken by assault, notwithstanding a vigorous defence, and great loss
on both sides. The governor, an old corsair, was killed, and the rept of the garrison, as
well as the inhabitants who had taken refuge in it, were made slaves.
This quick success encouraged Doria to undertake next the siege of Mbedia, to which
end he immediately wrote to the emperor for a fresh supply of ships, men, artillery, and pro-
visions; and, whilst these were coming, went and posted himself among some islands near
the place, to prevent Dragut's throwing any new reinforcement into it; all this while the
viceroys of Naples and Sicily had orders to fend him whatever supplies he wanted, and were
getting them ready; and the latter sent Doria word, that the inhabitants of that island were
so highly concerned in driving the Turkis corsairs out of that place, that he defigned to
come thither in person, attended with a good number of troops, provisions, and ammuni-

* Marmot, abf sup. viol. & Verto, abf sup.
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He was an old experienced officer, his name Don Juan de Vega, and the emperor had sent express orders to the admiral, not to undertake any thing of moment without him; all which not only caufed the siege to be greatly retarded, but was a great mortification to him, who plainly forefaw, that, if he quitted thefe illands, Dragut would not fail to fend some frefh forces into the town; yet was he forced to fay to Palermo, in order to take his directions from him, and haften thofe succours which he had promifed to bring. They accordingly failed to Drepano, where they met the Neapolitan succours, which confifted of 24 galeries, and other transport ships, commanded by Don Garcia, the young viceroy of Naples. And this was like to have occasioned another delay, that young nobleman absolutely refusing to act as aubalern, as he fitted to, to the brave Juan de Vega, and infifting upon Dragut commanding his own troops. The matter was at length, with fome difficulty, compromiffed, by a mutual agreement, that each of them should command his own forces, and that the operations of the siege fhouln be determined by the plurality of votes of the council of war. But, during that long delay, and Doria's abfence, Dragut had taken care to fend into the town a plentiful reinforcement of his beef troops and officers, as well as of ammunition and provifions; whilst himfelf, with his fleet, were scouring the coasts, to prevent any frefh supply being brought into the Christian camp. This was the fitution of both fides, when the army-landed, in order to begin the fiege in form; the fight of which, and of fo powerful a fleet, but effpecially the batteries, and other preparations, would easily have brought the fentinels and chief inhabitants, who looked upon Dragut, their tyrant, with horror, to a speedy capitulation. He had left his nephew, Effe Rais, a bold and refolute foldier, whom he had left governor of it, threatened to plunge his dagger into every man's heart, one after another, that durft utter a word about capitulating, and to fet fire to every quarter of the city. He then asked them, in a gentle manner, whether they could be fuch fools, as to expect any favour from fuch enemies of their religion, and whether it was not much faper, and more honourable, to venture their lives and fortunes in defence of it, effpecially as they were supported with fuch a powerful and numerous garrison, and fuch brave old experienced officers as he had under his command. This flienced them at once, and animated the populace to a high degree againft the Christians, and prevented all farther danger of a mutiny from that quarter.

to affuir thofe citizens how little he feared this vaft Christian army, he ordered a party of horfe, and about 300 musketeers, to fally out, and take pofition of a neighbouring hill, and harass from thence Don Garcia's camp, which was nearest to it. Against them Don Garcia fooned, at the head of a strong party, to diflodge them. The firkimf was hot and bloody; but the Turks, being quickly supported by 600 Moors armed with muskets, fell fo furioufly upon the Neapolitans, that they and their commander would in all likeli-hood have been cut to pieces, had not the brave Juan de Vega Sacrifed his rehment to the emperor's service, and made all poffible speed to their rescue, and defperf the enemy.

But he was not more fuccessful in his firft attack, for, observing that his cannon had made what he fuppofed a fufficient breach in one of the outworks, he was immediately for mounting it by alfault, notwithstanding his being told, by thofe who had been sent to view it, that it was fortified within with strong intrenchments, and filled at the bottom with iron spikes, which would infalliibly occafion the deftruction of the affiftants. But, fuppofting the report, or thinking it exaggerated by their fears, he would allow only a day or two longer to widen the breach, after which he caused it to be mounted by the Sicilians, two hours before daylight, which they did with uncommon bravery, and met their deaths in the attempt, not above one of them having escaped the fword of the enemy, and him they only spared, in order to force him to make fome difcovery. Neither did thofe, whom he lent to support them, meet with a better fate, they being all deftroyed by the befiegers fire or fword, and lay in dreadful heaps one upon another, till the founding of a retreat put an end to the flaughter.

About this time the unfortunate king of Tunis, Muley Hassan, who had followed the Christians hitherto, and burned with defire to be restored to his kingdom, and conuequently much moves with grief at their long delays, and now much more at their bad fucces, was taken ill of a fever, and died in a poor wretched hut, on an adjacent hill, in the 66th year of his age. He was tall of stature, and of a black complexion, wife and valiant, but fo vindictive, that he breathed nothing but anger and rehment againft his unnatural fon and his friends. His body was conveyed to Kayroon, the burying place of the kings of his race.

All this while the Christian army received constant supplies of men, provifions, and mar- tial stores, but was no lefs annoyed by the frequent fallies of the befiegers, and the ambufhes of Dragut, who had landed in the neighbourhood with about 800 Turks, and lay concealed behind

* Marmol, lib. vi. c. 18.
behind a hill, among the olive woods. This corsair, ever watching all advantages to annoy the enemy, had hired besides 3,000 Moors, and sent word to his nephew, that he designed to attack the enemy, at that wood, on St. James's day, that being the place whence they had their fascines, and ordered him to be ready on his side to make a vigorous rally at the same time. In the mean time a Moor, who belonged to the late Haffan's retinue, observing these Moors laying in ambush on their bellies, as he was going to the camp, and, meeting the Christian party going for fascines, cau ted them to halt, and went to apprise the Sicilian viceroy of it. Don Juan, thinking it dishonourable to recall those men back to the camp upon a bare rumour, resolved to go to effect them, accompanied by the governor of the Goletta, some Maltese and other commanders, and a good squadron of horse, which immediately brought on a bloody engagement; for Dragut and his troops, which lay concealed in the wood, waited no longer than till they were come near enough, and then rushed upon them with their usual fury, with their fabres in their hands. The onet was fierce and long, several of the Maltese knights, Perez de Vargas, governor of the Goletta, and a great number of Christians, were slain, and the viceroy, with great difficulty, got out of the wood; and when he had regained the plain, was closely pursued by Dragut a considerable way to the camp. Whilutf the Turks and Christians were engaged in the wood, the governor, according to his uncle's orders, made a vigorous fally out of the city, and, in spite of the fierce fire which the besiegers made upon him, which killed a great many of his men, some of them ventured so far as to plant two standards on the enemies trenches; but finding them doubly guarded, and the men regularly planted on their posts, he thought fit to found a retreat, and retired into the town without doing any other harm.

Don Juan, on the other hand, had no sooner recovered his camp, than he ordered, by way of revenge, all his batteries to make a dreadful fire against the place, but the walls proved so thick and strong, that they scarcely made any impression on them, inomucht that the generality of officers began to talk of raising the siege. At length Don Garcia, the young viceroy of Naples, proposed to the council of war, to attack the place on the sea-side, where he was informed, by some defaters, the walls were much weaker, and would more easily give way. Upon which these two flat galerries were immediately ordered to be fastened together, and a little battery to be raised upon them, with parapets and embrasures, and to be towed in the night to the place destined for the new attack; which, being done accordingly, the batteries began to play with such success, that a sufficient breach was quickly made for an assault. Immediately the knights of Malta, according to their privilege, prepared to mount the breach, accompanied by four companies of their own troops, and a great number of volunteers of several nations; whilutf the viceroys of Naples and Sicily were causing a diversion on the land-side with their own troops. The assailants, finding themselves frequently stopped by some sandy banks, jumped into the sea, which came sometimes up to their very necks, and gained the bottom of the wall with great difficulty, whilutf the Turks, planted on the top of the breach, were making a constant discharge of their cannon, muskets, arrows, fstones, boiling water, and wild fire, which destroyed a great number before they could come to scale the breach. They met with no less difficulty, and a considerable loss, before they accomplished it, and penetrated from it to the town, which they were obliged to do, over a few beams and boards, the remains of an old gallery, now demolished, which communicated to it. The outcries of the inhabitants soon brought thither those Moors and Turks from the ramparts on the land-side, where they had been opposing the Spaniards and Neapolitan troops: and here would have begun a new fight, had not the Maltese by that time dispersed themselves through every part of the town, and driven the inhabitants out of it sword in hand, some of whom fled through the plain into the woods, others to the sea-coasts, and others desperately threw themselves into the waves; for the viceroy, finding against his expectation all quiet on the land-side, none of Dragut's forces appearing to make a diversion there, poured in his musqueteers and other forces in such plenty that most of the Frenchmen of place looked for some time like so many fields of battle; for the troops of the garrison so dreaded Dragut's resentment, that they would accept of no quarter, but fought desperately to the last, and died with their weapons in their hands.

The plunder which was found in the place was of an immense value, it being, as we observed before, the repository of Dragut's treasure, his chief arsenal, storehouse, and granary; besides which they found the merchants houses full of rich merchandizes of all sorts, gold, silver, jewels, rich stuffs, drugs, &c. and the inhabitants of both sexes, who were made slaves, amounted to seven, Marmel lays ten thousand. But the most valuable prize was the city itself, the strongest on all the African coasts. The viceroy of Sicily, who was the oldest and chief commander, took possession of it in the name of the emperor, and challenged the whole glory of its reduction to himself, and made his son, Don Alonso, governor of it, though Don Garcia deferred the greatest share of the honour, not only on account of his gallant behaviour during the siege, but as it was by his advice and con-
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a trivance that the siege was carried on at the most advantageous side, when the rest were ready to raise it.

Dragut, entangled at the loss of the place, all his stoves, riches, and slaves, sent immediately an embassay to Porto, accompanied, as usual, with large presents, to represent to the Grand Signor the importance of this and the other two towns, which Charles V. had stripped his empire of, contrary to the treaty still subsisting between them, and, at the same time, inveighed bitterly against the knights of Malta, to whose bravery the loss of them, especially that of Mehemia, was chiefly owing. Suleyman was by this time become too powerful not to resent such a breach of faith, yet would not begin any hostilities, till he had sent to the emperor to demand the restitution of those three places: he was answered by that monarch, that those places belonging to the kingdom of Tunis, now tributary to the crown of Suleyman, his generals had acted no other way than any other sovereign might have done, against a corsair that was detested by God and man, and whom, without intending to break the truce with his highness, he determined to pursue as a common pirate, wherever he lurked. This answer could not fail of exasperating that haughty Sultan, who caused a fresh order to be immediately dispatched to Dragut, to take up all the galleys and vessels that sailed under Ottoman colours, and to use his utmost efforts to recover those places from the Christians. At the same time, to take from the emperor all pretence to treat the corsair as a pirate, he sent him a commission, by which he appointed him Sangiac of the isle of Santa Maria. Dragut could not but be highly pleased with his new title and commission, but had but little fromach to the order of retaking these towns, as long as the Maltese continued so strong at sea, and in possession of Tripoli, and therefore sent word to the Porto, that he could have but little hopes of succeeding in that enterprise, unless the Sultan attacked both their island and that city with fire and sword, and drove that powerful enemy out of Africa, as they had been formerly out of Asia. This advice, being relished by Suleyman, diverted the storm from the coasts of Tunis to the islands of Malta and city of Tripoli, in the former of which Dragut lost his life, as will be hereafter shewn.

By all that we have seen of the emperor's conduct in the reduction of these three Tunisian sea-ports, it doth not appear that he had any other view than the depriving of that formidable corsair, and all the piratical tribe, of those advantageous retreats. As for Maley Hassan, and his two sons, who came to this siege with them, we do not find that he had any thought of restoring any of them to the throne, though his interest might have induced him to it, as the then possessor of it, the perfidious Hamida, had not only disavowed all dependence and vassalage to him, but was then his declared and irreconcilable enemy, and was no less preferring Dragut, by his embassies and presents to the Porto, to induce Sultan Suleyman to declare war against him.

The truth is, that Charles V. had too many things of greater moment upon his hands, as will be shewn in a subsequent part, to give any farther attention to these conquests, which he was quickly after obliged to abandon, and even to order this important place to be demolished.

But to return to the garrison: Don Sancho de Leca was soon after sent thither to succeed Don Álvarez as governor, who ordered them to make fresh incursions upon the neighbour-

e ing Moors; whence they came back laden with rich plunder, which he obliged them to live on, without allowing them any farther pay. The soldiers, apprehending that he fink it in his own pocket, became so exasperated against him, that he was forced to fly to save his life; upon which they chose one Antonio de Aposi to command in his room, together with a fierce major to see his orders executed. The vicerey of Sicily, being acquainted with this revolution, sent word of it to the emperor, and, at the same time, endeavoured to reduce them to their obedience, by dropping the usual provisions that were sent to them from thence. But this only obliged them to equip a small vessel with 60 soldiers, who, falling into Sicily, seized what corn they could get out of the vessels. They likewise obtained other provisions from the grand master of Malta, and other places, for their money;

f so that, being by this means so plentifully supplied, they resolved, one and all, not to receive Don Sancho again, tho' the emperor and vicerey had sent them orders to submit to him, under severe penalties. This contest lasted a considerable time, during which officers were sent, some with threats, others with flattering promises. Some of them had even been bribed by the vicerey to affiancate the heads of this small, but well-governed republic, but were prevented from it by a sudden blast of a burning wind, which forced them to seek for cool shelters in caves and cisterns, just as they were on the point of executing their bloody design: yet this prevented not the two chief affiances from murdering the ferjeant-major, and such other mutineers as were the main props of the revolt; after which all became quiet again. At length a new governor was sent thither, who found the place in want of all things for its defence, and the soldiery in great ferment for want of pay. He
Charles offered the viceroy of Tunis, who proposed the demolishing of it to the emperor; but a that politic monarch was rather inclined to turn that place over to the knights of Malta, instead of Tripoli, which the Turks had lately retaken from them, and proposed to pay them 20,000 crowns per annum for the maintenance of the garrison and fortifications. No artifice was omitted by his ministers and creatures to persuade the grand council to accept of the emperor's generous offers, as they were filled. Those knights had too many powerful reasons to deter them from faddling their order with such an important place; such as disflobbing the French king, exasperating the Porte, &c., so that the proposal was rejected by a great majority. An embassy was immediately dispatched to him to excuse their non-acceptance; and though Charles could, as grand protector of their order, have obliged them to it, yet he choseth rather to have it demolished, and gave orders to have it done accordingly.

On their abandoning the place, they brought away, in two large chests, the remains of those brave commanders who had lost their lives at the siege of it, and had lain buried in the principal monk of it ever since it was taken. Upon their arrival in Sicily, the viceroy of that island ordered them to be deposited in the great cathedral of Mount Real, near Palermo, and a mausoleum to be erected over them, with a pompous epitaph to their memory, the Senate and purport of which the reader may see in the margin (1). To complete this fiction, the emperor was now glad at any rate to prevent the danger of Mabella's falling into the hands of his Turkijb, or other enemies, by blowing up all its fortifications, and reducing the rock into that heap of ruins in which the French, then at war with him, afterwards found it, who were sent by their general to reconnoitre it.

This proved, however, a difficult task to be performed in due time, not only on account of the number and strength of those works, which would require a vast number of hands, but because it was to be done with the utmost secrecy, left the French or Turkish fleet, then out at sea, and not very far from the place, should come and surprise it before it was completed. On the other hand, there reigned a general mistrust among both soldiers and sailors, being unaccustomed to such laborious works, and already highly satisfied with want of their pay, and on account of the arrears that were due to them; nor would the danger they were in from the Turkish and French fleets have been sufficient to induce them to let about it, had not the political governor appeased their discontent by a prompt payment of part of their demands, and great promises and engagements for the rest, to be paid at the first Sicilian port they should come at after the work was done. This had, at length, the desired effect, and miners, soldiers, and sailors, went about it with such readiness, and piled it night and day with such dispatch, that nothing remained to be done but setting fire to the mines.

Their next business was to put their men, artillery, and ammunition on board, leaving only an officer behind, whom they could confide in, together with two-thirds of a company of foot, to blow up the whole, and to see that no one mine was left unfrung. Those under the walls and principal towers amounted to twenty-four; every one of which ran with its branches by several ways quite down to the very foundation, and had a soldier appointed to set fire to it, with each a match of a fathom and a half in length, and exactly of the same thickness. They were ordered to light them at the firing of the first cannon, and to follow down at the firing of the second. They were likewise ordered to put into it the great pipe made for that purpose, and to push them to the mouth of each mine in such manner, that two spans of it might penetrate into the powder, and the remainder should be out of it, with its end lighted and burning; and this was done to the intent that they might all take fire at the same instant of time. Every soldier was moreover ordered, after he had planted his match in the manner above-mentioned, to go and visit that of his next companion; and the commanding officer was to take care that everything was performed according to order, and with the utmost speed. The reason of all these precautions is obvious; for if, among such a number of mines, one or more had chance to spring before the rest, some of them might have been so far overwhelmed by the rubbish as to extinguish the matches, and prevent their blowing up, which would have frustrated their designs, as their intention was to destroy all the fortifications so effectually that they might not be restored.

As soon, therefore, as the soldiers had set fire to their respective matches, they hasted into their boats, and rowed far enough from the shore to be out of all danger from them.

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1 Marmol, Bosio, Vertot, &c.

* Marmol, Afric. lib. vi. c. 18. ad fin.

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The first mines that sprung up were those of the west side, which blew up all the towers of the land side into the air towards the west, though so strongly built, and at such a vast expense and labour, that the Khalif Mebedi was heard to say, he would have been at the charge of casting them in metal, if that would have rendered them more safe and impregnable. And such was the destruction of them, and of the other works every where, that one would have imagined that the four elements had lent their united strength to complete it; so incontinent was that noble place reduced into a heap of ruins, as not to be known even by its own inhabitants; insomuch, that this port became afterwards fatal for a while to the vessels that failed thither. There was but one out of all the mines that miffed taking fire; namely, that which lay under the great tower, through which was the deep gate leading to the land side, lately describ'd. The officer and his men were, therefore, obliged to land once more and set fire to it; upon which both that and the two towers which guarded the entry of the port flew up into the air, and discovered the large marble columns which supported them, and which were all of one solid piece, to avoid the use of cement, which might otherwise have been apt gradually to be impaired by the dampness of the ground and the beating of the waves; and with the same view they were reared on a stout pavement of large blocks of the same hard stone; by which, and all we have said above, our readers may judge what an immense labour and expense it must have cost the Khalif above-named to raise this city to such a prodigious degree of strength, which required so much of both to reduce it to that heap of ruins in which it hath lain ever since. And we are in hopes, that the curiousness and importance of this subject, so completely transmitted down to us by an eye-witnes of such note and credit, will sufficiently apologize for our having dwelt so long upon it.

If Charles V. had now caufed to rejoice at his successes in the demolition of a fortres which had proved a heavy and expensive burden to him, and which none of his friends cared to take off his hands in any consideration, Hamida, the then reigning tyrant of the Tune фаш kingdom, had no least reason to be pleased to see himself happily rid of so powerful an enemy, and so grievous a thorn in his side as the Christian garrison had been to them, which chiefly maintained itself by the depredations they made in his territories. However, that monarch had still the Goletta in his hands, and in it a good strong garrilion to keep him in awe; and it is very likely that that obliged him to become his tributary, especially as that would prevent any new attempt against him from that quarter in favour of his brother Muley Mohamed: for we are expressly told, that he continued in the quiet possession of the throne seventeen years, after the demolition of Mebedia, that is, till an. 1570, when the new Dey of Algiers drove him out of it, at the earnest request of his most considerab[e] su[jects].

The suddenness of this new revolution was occasioned by his horrid tyranny and cruelties, particularly over several of the nobility, whom he had grievously insulted and abused both in person and estate. So that, unable to bear his yoke any longer, they resolved to apply to the above Hali, or Ochelli, Batha, newly created Dey of Algiers, with whom several of the chiefs were personally acquainted. Accordingly, some of them were deputed to invite him to their assistance, and even to offer him the sovereignty of the realm, to be possessed by him in the name of the Ottoman emperor.

The chief managers of this negotiation were Alcayde Ebn Jibaera, general of the horfe, who bore Hamida a mortal grudge, though he so artfully concealed it, that he was not in the least suspected by him, and two other chief officers. These easily prevailed upon Hali to undertake so advantageous an expedition; and, upon his appearing at the head of his forces, and ready to engage, went all three over to him with their own partisans, according to agreement, at the very instant in which Hamida was preparing to attack him. This unexpected defection threw the tyrant into such a panic, that he left his army and fled, with as many officers as would follow him, with all the speed he could to his own capital, not in the least doubting but that the citizens would unanimously oppose a Turkifh enemy, whom they thought had so much cause to hate. But, to his still greater mortification, they found them all ready to join them as soon as they appeared within sight of the walls, to which Hali had pursued him. In his distress he ran to his palace, and taking out thence two of his wives, two sons, and what money, jewels, and other valuables he could get, he flew away in the night to the Goletta, attended only by twenty-five of his friends and domestics. In his way he was overtaken by a party of Moors, who were apprized of his flight, and who quickly eafed him of the most valuable part of his luggage, without offering any farther harm either to him or his retinue; and, with the remainder, he got happily into the Spanifh garrison; whilst Hali and his Turks entered the city of Tunis without the least opposition, towards the latter end of the year 1569. A mutual satisfaction soon appeared between the conqueror and his new subjects, whilft he not only treated them all with peculiar courtesy, but, contrary to the Turkifh custom, shewed himself liberal and grateful to those who had been the chief pu-

1 Vid. MARMOI, in fin. cap. xxviii. lib. 6.  
2 GRAMMAT., MARMOL, &c sp.
motors of this revolution. The Arabian princes came likewise to Tunis to congratulate him on his success, and offer their services and friendship to him, in hopes, most probably, of obtaining some presents, or at least a promise of such a yearly pension as the former kings of Tunis used to pay to them, in order to fix them to their interest. These likewise met with a gracious reception from him at first; but, whether they did afterwards intimate any thing like that to him, he took care to let them know, a few days after, that he should expect a tribute from them, to help to defray the charges of the government; but was not a little surprised to hear them answer, with a noble boldness, that he must expect no other tribute than what he exerted from them in the field with sword in hand. Hali flaid some part of the next year to settle the state of his new kingdom, and appointed his favourite renegado Ramadan Sardo viceroy of it; who, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, became afterwards Dey of Algiers; and under him he left another Neapolitan renegado, named Mabamed, to act as field general. These had under them a garrison of 3000 Turks and renegades to keep the people in their obedience; and, all things being thus regulated, he left the city, and returned to his own kingdom about the beginning of April, highly satisfied with his successful expedition.

During these transactions, Muley Mohammed, the brother of Hamida, had found means to escape, first into Numidia, and thence into Spain, where he earnestly solicited that court to be restored to the Tunisian kingdom, promising, on that condition, to hold it from the Spanish crown, and to become tributary. In whole favour the new armament was ordered under the command of Don Juan of Austria; of which we shall give an account in a subsequent part of this history. As to the reducing that kingdom on the following year by Selim II. under the conduct of the famed Sinan, Balha of the Levant, it hath been already related in a former volume, to which we shall refer our readers for a further account.

Sinan found this new conquered kingdom divided, chiefly by the revolt of Kayrowan, which had chosen a prince of its own, upon the expulsion of the Turks out of Tunis by the emperor, in order to prevent their falling again under the Turkish tyranny. They had, after the ejection of Barbarossa out of Tunis, elected the chief Afakiz of their great mosques for their sovereign; who, by the assistance of his new subjects and some Arabian troops, seized on several towns in the neighbourhood of Kayrowan, and had taken upon him the royal title. He had likewise made an alliance with Hamida, the king of Tunis, by some intermarriages, and was still upon the throne at the time of the emperor’s expedition against Meledia, and assisted him with some troops and provisions, in order to drive Dragut out of it. For this that corsair had sworn his death in revenge; and, to accomplish which, he corrupted several of the inhabitants, and particularly some Afakiz, to admit him into the city in the dead of night. So that entering it, at the head of some of his troops, he easily surprized the king in his palace, and murdered him: after which he made himself master of the place; and, though himself was killed at the siege of Malta, about eight years after, as will be shewn in the sequel, yet had none of the Tunisian princes been able to reduce it to their own subjection.

This was the state of the kingdom when Selim II. dispossessed Philip II. of its metropolis. Sinan Balha, who was at the head of this expedition, the better to secure this new conquest to his master, not only destroyed all the Christians he found in that place, except about fourteen, whom he sent bound as trophies to Constance, but demolished the walls and caravans, and caused a new one to be built nearer the port; and, to prevent any new factions arising for the future to disturb this new state, he modelled it much after the form of those at Algiers and Tripoli; that is, he put it under the protection of the Grand Signor, and appointed a Basha, or viceroy, under him, and a Douwan, which consisted of military men; placed proper governors, or Beys, over the provinces and garrisons in other parts of the kingdom, in order to secure its dependencies; and, at his departure, left 4000 janizaries to curb and prevent any future mutiny. And here was a final end put to the power and splendor of the kings of Tunis, after it had continued 370 years, from the time that Habban, al. Abu Fezes, laid the first foundation of it, an. 1204.

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1 See before, p. 266, & seq.  a Grammat., lib. viii. c. 2. sub fn.  b See before, vol. v. p. 507.

See the history of Malta.  c Marmol, lib. viii. c. 34.  d Vertot, Davit, Dapper, & al. sup. e See before, p. 317, & seq.
S E C T. VI.

The sequel of the history of Tunis, after its conquest by the Turks, to the conclusion of the peace and treaty with England, an. 1718.

In this section, instead of a series of princes, such as we have seen in the last, the reader must expect little else but a list of rapacious Dey's, or viceroyes, chosen by their own ambition, much after the same manner as those of Algiers, whose avarice and ambition made them produce sooner a sedition than another, that within the space of 120 years, that is, from the time of these first elections, to that of Aggi Mohamed Ceggia, there have reigned no less than twenty-three. all of whom, except five, have been either deposed, strangled, or some other way murdered. From the very beginning the Tunesians were so dissatisfied at the Ba'ha, whom Sinan had set over them, that they immediately petitioned the Porte to abolish that dignity, and to give them leave to elect a Dey from among themselves, with the same power as those of Algiers; which being readily granted to them, they forthwith proceeded to the choice of one, whom they massacred before the year was out. Ibrahim, who succeeded him the year following, was in danger of undergoing the same fate, but timely prevented it by fleeing to Mecca. To these frequent and bloody revolutions succeeded another in process of time, in which the Beys, or second rank of officers, raised their power on the ruin of that of the Dey's: so that the Beylik became gradually fo despotic and absolute, that the grand Doouwan, or supreme council, dwindled to a mere shadow of power, and are to this day convoked by those Beys, merely to approve of what they decree, without being ever consulted by them, except when they are obliged to it, in order to prevent some fresh tumults, or to screen themselves from the resentments of an exasperated populace; neither hath the grand council a much greater influence in the elections to the Beylik, they being commonly carried by violence; the strongest sword or interest is the firet, and most commonly the only means of attaining that dignity, without any regard to succession. These disorders, perhaps, which have caused so much confusion and bloodshed in that kingdom, were, in all likelihood, the chief motives which induced the Porte to revive the old custom of sending their Ba'has thither, to be a check or curb to their arbitrary proceedings.

Accordingly, we have taken notice in the Algérie history of several who were become friends of the Beys by the removal of their enemies from the Deylik of Algiers to the Ba'halik of Tunis. Such were the brave Porte. Ramadan Sarde, Hali Ba'ha, and others, who were as well received, and as little beloved at Tunis, than they had been at Algiers; yet these were recalled at the end of two years at most by that jealous and politic court, and sent upon expeditions of equal credit and importance. And this seems, in all probability, to have been done, to prevent the no less jealous and powerful Beys raising some dangerous commotion against them, on account of their furious and intrepid conduct in supporting the interest of the Ottoman Porte, rather than out of fear of any coalition between them and the Tunesians.

However that be, we must look upon the whole space of the Dey's reign as not only an era of rather anarchy and confusion than of a well regulated government, but likewise as a period little known to us, considering, that the various attempts made by the emperor, and other Christian princes, on this and other maritime kingdoms of Barbary, had put a stop, in a great measure, to all kind of commercial intercourse between the Europeans and them, and inspired all those Mohammedan nations with an invincible jealousy and hatred against every Christian nation. So that all the correspondence that passed between the European states and those of Barbary, was merely of the piratical kind, and the only one by which they desired to supply themselves even with such European commodities as they could not do without. And in this the Tunesians came not behind any of their neighbours; and we are assured, by an ingenious gentleman, who hath lately resided in a considerable time in those parts, and from whole account of this kingdom, published a few years ago, we have taken the greatest part of this sequel of its history, that a Genoese renegade, who flourished some time within this interval, and was made commander of the galleys of Bizerta, a commodious port belonging to this kingdom, had made about twenty thousand Chrillian slaves.

Such is the history of this kingdom, could we, or were it worth our while, to collect all the material transactions that have happened in it, from their first establishing themselves in this tumultuous and arbitrary form of government, we should find it to consist chiefly in their
The history of Tunis.

Book XXII.

Constant depredations at sea, and their frequent revolts and contentions, butcheries and tyrannies, at home; many of them fomented and heightened by the Turks, in hopes of finding some proper opportunity of raising themselves to the same height of delusive power over the Moors here, as they have done in Algiers, Tripoli, and were like to have done in Morocco and Fez more than once, as we have seen both in the two former chapters. Of this the Beys were so aware, and so watchful against, that they made it a settled rule of their politics to cultivate a good understanding and friendship with the Sharifs on the one hand, and to obstruct the growing power of the incroaching Turks on the other. The Algers, on their part, were no less watchful to prevent too close an union between the Beys and the Sharifs, as their country lies between them, and liable to be attacked on both sides, and to become a prey to thole two states; and it was this jealousy that kindled those frequent wars which happened between them; and, particularly, that dreadful one against the Tunesians, which we just gave a hint of in the history of Algiers; but which we shall here resume a little lower, as it is one of the most considerable transactions of their modern history, and the most proper to give our readers a taste of the rest, which we pass over for the reasons lately mentioned.

Morat II. Bey of Tunis, left three sons at his death, Mabamed, Hali, and Ramadon, who all contended for the succession to the Beylik. Ramadon was the first, who, for peace's sake, gave up his pretensions, and left them at liberty either to divide or dispute the government between them. Their ambition soon determined them to the latter; which contesed a great effusion of blood for some considerable time, till Mabamed, whether out of religious considerations, or tired with the opposition, gave up to Hali, and retired to Kayrowz, where he gave himself up to solitude and devotion. Hali had not been long in quiet possession of the Beylik, before the war was kindled again by his own treachery: for Mabamed, at his representation, having intruded his favourite son Achem to his care, he, upon some jealous furnishes, had caused him to be put to death. Mabamed was soon informed of his perfidy by Cebely, the then Dey, or next in dignity to the Bey, an ambitious statesman, who had long since waited for a favourable opportunity to raise himself to the Beylik, and now thought to effect it by the destruction of the two brothers; and, the more effectually to excite his resentment, offered to affix him with all his power and interest to revenge his son's death. Hali, at this time, had likewise made some strenuous attempts upon the city, for which the Tunesians had taken up arms against and defeated him; so that he had been forced to fly; but, upon hearing that the exasperated Mabamed was hastening to Tunis, he made all the dispatch he could reach that city before him; but the politic Cebely took care to flout the gates against him. Mabamed, to prevent the like obstruction, declared, that he came with no other view than to punish the authors of his son's death; but was told, that they, having notice of his approach by his brother Hali, had escaped on board a vessel, and were failed away. At this news he left no time, but pursued so closely after them, that he came upon them before they could put to sea, and took the vessel; and having sacrificed those murderers to the manes of his dear son, returned directly to Tunis.

In the mean time the ambitious Cebely had taken such care to inflame the citizens against the two contending brothers, upon whose destruction depended all his hopes, that, upon his return, they flout their gates against him, and boldly declared, that they would not submit to two brothers, whose mutual contentions alternately destroyed them; so that he must not expect any allegiance from them, unless he sacrificed his brother to the peace and tranquillity of the Tunesian state. This declaration soon caused a defection among Mabamed's troops; a great part of whom withdrew into Tunis, which obliged him to reconcile to his brother, and to join forces with him to reduce the mutineers within. Upon which Cebely made a stout rally upon them, and gave them both such an overthrow, that, if he had pursued his victory more closely, he might easily have gained his end, and been raised to the Beylik: but, instead of it, he suffered them to go on in their own measures, till, having hired a body of Algerine troops from the Dey, Ibrahim, for 40,000 piasters, he saw himself at once closely besieged by him and the two brothers in the city of Tunis. He had, however, the precaution to hire some Moors chiefs to assist him in the place, and the siege had already lasted from the month of September, 1652, to that of June of the following year; by which time those auxiliaries, naturally accustomed to range, being weary of continuing so long cooped within the city walls, retired to their mountains, and left him to make the best defence he could with his own citizens.

They had no sooner abandoned the city, than Kara Olfman, who commanded the cavalry in it, fell out, under pretence of pursuing those fugitives; instead of which, he marched directly to the two Beys; upon which the gates were immediately opened to them, yet rather as friends than conquerors. Whilist these were entering in at one end, Cebely was endeavouring...

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a vouring to make his escape at the other; but, being discovered, was brought prisoner to The Algerines. 

b to be banished, and confining in none but his own Moors) terrified that pusillanimous prince to such a degree, that, to avoid their carrying it any farther, he caueth those two innocent Moors to be thrown head-long from the terris of his palace, and stole away to his camp with as much haste and privacy as he could. Those enormities still raging in the city, his brother Hali, a prince of more courage and conduct, and left hated by the Turks, hafted immediately into it, at the head of some of his troops, and quickly drove them out of it, and all was quite again.

c In the interim, those of Cheleby's party, having resolved to assassinate the two Beys, rushed into Dey Ibrahim's tent, whither they suppoed they had retired, and surrounded it by the next break of day; but not finding them there, went forth into that of Hali; who, being still in the city, they missed likewise; whilst Mabanned, not thinking himselfe fate in his camp, was making all the haste he could out of it. He was, however, soon overtaken by his brother-in-law, Ben Choueeke, who, after some severe reproofs for his untimely pusillanimity, told him, in plain terms, that nothing but his presence could put a stop to the present commotions; and that Tunis was the place where he must either conquer or die. And, indeed, his cowardly flight had so far reanimated Cheleby's partisans, that they had ventured into Ibrahim's tent, where he was kept, with a full design to have carried him off, and proclaimed him Bey. But that being quite opposite to Ibrahim's interest, he at once put an end to all further attempts on his behalf, by causing him to be strangled, and his body to be exposed before his tent, the sight of which so cooled and terrified the warmest of that party, d that they were the very first to acknowledge Mabanned; who, on his side, soon after dismiffed the Algerines at the same rate he had hired them. Mabanned having now got the pole power into his hands, and none left to oppose him, began immediately to gratify his incontinent avarice, by the most exorbitant confiscations and extortions; insomuch that his most wealthy subjects were those that were most exposed to his rapacious cruelty. He had likewise renewed his alliance with the Sharif of Morocco; when the Tunejians, weary of his tyranny, saw themselves obliged to invite the Algerines to their assistence against him. Cheleby, or, as others call him, Chaban, then Dey of Algerj, readily accepted the invitation; and, having sent a sufficient number of forces to secure his frontiers on the western side, to prevent Mabanned sending him any forces from thence, marched directly to Tunis, at the head of e 10,000 of his Turks. Mabanned went out, at head of his numerous Moors, to meet and attack them; but they, like their pusillanimous leader, affrighted at the sight of the Turkish forces, whom they had been so long inured to dread, immediately fled and forsook him; upon which he returned to Tunis with such prodigious consternation and speed, as threw the whole city into an universal panic; insomuch that Ramadan, the then Bash, the Bey, and many other persons of distinction, made their escape on board a French vessel, bound for the Archipelago; the former of whom went afterwards and put himself under the protection of the duke of Tuscany.

The Turks immediately laid siege to Tunis; and, whilst that lasted, which was four whole months, Mabanned making a most vigorous defence, their troops committed the most grievous ravages in all the adjacent countries. At length, Mabanned, finding it dangerous to trust himself any longer among his discontented subjects, took the first opportunity to abandon the city, and fled for refuge to the defert of Zabara, upon which the city immediately opened their gates to the Algerines. As soon as their Bey saw himselfe master of the town, he appointed Ben Chouecke Bey, and Tatar Bey of Tunis; and, having repaid himself advantage for all his charges and troubles, returned to Algerj, leaving those two to govern that state as they thought fit. He was no sooner gone, but this new Bey, like a rapacious wolf, began to exercite the most horrid outrages and cruelties on the unhappy citizens; and, as if the conftituting their all to his own use had been too small a punishment, he ordered eight hundred of the chief of them to be tortured to death by the most inhuman 

g and excruciating tortments. He carried, at length, his tyranny and impiety so far, as to attempt to force some women, near relations to Mabanned, out of a celebrated alymum, in the city of Keyroean, whether they had fled for safety; which so exasperated the inhabitants,
that they rose up in arms, and forced him to flee out of the city to save himself from the effects of their fury. The revolt soon spread itself from that city through the principal ones of the kingdom, to so great a degree, that his outrages and cruelties seemed to have quite obliterated those of the fugitive Mabined; so that they quickly after agreed to send some bodies of men to go and seek him among those deserts where he lay concealed, and to invite him to come back and resume his former government.

Mabined was then reduced in the territories of a powerful Arabian Cheykh, whose father he had some time before unjustly put to death, imagining, perhaps, that that would be the last place where his exasperated subjects would suppose him to be concealed. But as soon as he found himself to be discovered, and that they were in full search after him, and little dreaming how different their errand was from what his fears and guilt suggested to him, he went immediately and surrendered himself to the Cheykh, wholly relying on his generosity for a protection. The Cheykh, no less conscious of his father's guilt, than ambitious to oblige and protect a submисive enemy, not only received him under his protection with the utmost readiness, but as soon as he was apprised on what account his subjects were come in quest of him, generously furnished him with a body of 10,000 horse; which, being joined with those troops of his own which were come to meet him, enabled him to give Ben Chainee a total overthrow, the consequence of which was, that he soon recovered his capital, and was reinstated in the Beylik. The first thing he did after his restoration was the recalling of his brother Ramadan from Tufkoy, where he had refused himself, and bestowed the Beylik upon him. He died soon after of an apoplectic, and was succeeded by him in the Beylik, c by the interest of the Algerines, in opposition to the Douwan, who were for chusing of his nephew, Morat, to the dignity, as being much better qualified for it. The Algerine party having thus far prevailed in favour of that weak prince, he no sooner saw himself poached of the supreme power, than he gave himself up to pleasure and indolence, and committed the whole management of all his affairs to an Italian hider, named Messoule, a person no less unfit to hold the reins of that government than himself; for who, by his pride, ill-conduct, and mismanagement, quickly brought the kingdom into a general commotion and discontent. The Douwan and grandees which had declared for Ramadan, in compliance to the Algerines, began to see their fault and danger, and did not fail of making loud complaints against them and the Bey, and his prime minister's ill-conduct. Great caballing was made everywhere against them, accompanied with private consultations about dethroning Ramadan, and electing Morat in his room; which at length so alarmed the favourite Messoule, that he could find no other expedient to avoid the impending storm than by inflicting a strong suspicion into his weak master, that his nephew was plotting against his life: whereupon the frightened Ramadan, no less pusillanimous than credulous, caused him to be apprehended and brought before the council, who, being all his creatures, made no difficulty to condemn him to lose his eyes.

In all these transactions it is not to be doubted but the Algerines had the greatest hand, whose interest it was to have not only such weak princes, and bad ministers at the head of the Tunisian affairs, but likewise to embroil them so far with the Douwan, that they might always have an opportunity to thwart any measures they might take to the prejudice of their own state. For had the cabals in favour of Morat succeeded, who was a prince of a quite opposite character, the harmony which seems to have reigned between him and the grand council might have been productive of some steps, by way of retaliation, for the outrages they had lately suffered from the Algerine forces, and a firmer alliance been made between this republic and the emperor of Morocco against them. Mulay Ismael having no less cause to fear the growing power of Algerines than the Bey of Tunis, from the hostilities that had passed between them, of which we have given a further relation in a former chapter. So that upon all accounts it was plainly the interest of the Algerines not only to prevent that brave enterprising prince from being raised to the Beylik, but even to deprive him and all his partisans of all hopes of his ever doing so. But happily for him, their design was disappointed, by the surgeon, who was to execute the sentence upon him.

He was a French renegado; and, whether bribed by some of his friends, or the hopes of some suitable reward, found a method to deceive his feverish enemies, and to save his eye-fight at the expence of his eye-lids; the cutting off of which so bereaved his eyes with blood, that he really seemed wholly deprived of the use of them. This was farther confirmed to them by some trials they made upon him, to be fully satisfied about it; such as setting chafing-dishes of burning coals in his way, over which he artfully stumbled; pointing of drawn swords before him, against which he advanced without betraying the least concern or fear.

Ramadan and his council having seen enough to convince them that he was really deprived of his sight, sent him under a strong escort to the castle of Sufa, and committed him
Chap. 4.

The history of Tunis.

a him to the care of the Aga, a renegade monk, nick-named Papaliga, on account of his
apostacy; but who, being sharper-fighted than the council, soon discovered the deceit, and
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ing another Bey, he was at length forced to subscribe to their demands; one of which was, that he should pay them 200,000 piasters as soon as he had recovered his dignity; and the other, that he should, from that time, become tributary to Algiers.

This treaty was not so secretly agreed to but the Tunisians got notice of it, and were highly displeased with the second condition, though they would have readily conformed to the first. But though they were fully satisfied that it was th'o' mere necessity that Ibraim had submitted to those hard terms, yet the thought of his condescending to become tributary to that rival state, made them unanimously resolve not to admit him any more into their territories, and to keep all avenues as closely shut up against him as if he had been an enemy.

These orders were so strictly executed, that, upon his arrival at the port of Bizerta with his small retinue, he was denied access to the place; upon which he sent two of his officers to enquire into the reason of their behaviour; but these were immediately put under an arrest; by which he easily judged that he should have no admittance into it. He then failed directly to Porto Farina, where he expected a more favourable reception; but, to his great surprize, met with a much bolder repulse: for Hassam-Ben-Halil, who commanded in that place, and observed him at a distance from the shore, immediately dispatched a vessel out against him. The engagement was hardly begun, before Ibraim received a shot from a musketer which put an end to his life and to the action; upon the news of which Hassam was, for his zeal and vigilance, chosen to succeed him by the Tunisians; and it is to this day Bey that we owe the renewal of the peace with that state; by which we shall speak immediately; and probably occasioned the abolition of an infamous custom among their prostitute women, who, whenever they met with a Christian of virtue and seriousness, used to entice him by the most licentious potions and actions; nor would they leave him till they had extorted some money from him.

During the long interval of all the Beylks we have been speaking of, their merciless corsairs, as well as those of their neighbours of Algiers and Tripoli, ranged the Mediterranean with a high hand, and infested the Christian coasts with their frequent incursions, committing horrid outrages on the inhabitants, plundering them of their most valuable effects, and carrying off an infinite multitude of them into dreadful captivity, to the great interruption and decay of commerce. Those dreadful piracies had gone on successively with them till the year 1682, when the famed admiral Reyler chafed a Turkish vessel, called the Three Crosses, into the very bay of Tunis, and there burned it on the 26th of February of that year, after he had rescued twenty-six Christian slaves out of it, and made the rest of the crew prisoners. This action was soon after followed by a peace, which was concluded by him with Mahamed, the then Bey, the Dey, and the whole Douwan, and signed on the 2d of March following. Among other articles, one was, that all past hostilities and outrages should be forgotten on both sides, as if they had never been committed; and that peace, friendship, and a good understanding, should thenceforth be established and cultivated between both nations. The fame was likewise concluded with England soon after; but neither of them were well observed by them longer than they were yearly bought by exorbitant pretensions from the reign of king George I. when admiral Baker renewed it with them, as well as with Algiers and Tripoli, or rather concluded a new one with them, which hath continued ever since, and is as follows:

The articles of it.

ARTICLES of peace and commerce between his most sacred Majesty king George, &c. and the most excellent lords Hali Baha, Hassan-Ben-Halil Bey, Cara Mustapha Dey, the Aga, and the Douwan of the noble city of Tunis, and the whole body of militia of the said kingdom, renewed and concluded in the year of Christ, 1716, by John Baker, Esq; vice-admiral, &c.

1. That all former grievances, lofses, and other pretentions between both parties, shall be void and of no effect, and from henceforward a firm peace for ever, free trade and commerce, shall be and continue between the subjects of his most sacred Majesty George, king of Great-Britain, &c. and the people of the kingdom of Tunis, and dominions therunto belonging. But that this article shall not cancel or make void any just debt, either in commerce or otherwise, that may be due from one peron or perfons to others of either party, but that the fame shall be liable to be demanded, and be recoverable as before.

2. That the tribes of either party shall have free liberty to enter into any port, or river, belonging to the dominions of either party, paying the duties only for what they shall sell, transporting the reft without any trouble or molestation, and freely enjoy any other accru-

* Id. ubi sup.  † Dapper's Afric.
Chap. 4.  The history of Tunis.

The late exaction which hath been upon the lading and unlading of goods at Goletta, and the marine, shall be reduced to the antient custom in those cases.

3. That there shall be no seizure of any ship of either party at sea, or in port; but that they shall quietly pass, without any molestation or interruption, they displying their colours: and for the prevention of all inconveniences that may happen, the ships of Tunis are to have a certificate, under the hand and seal of the British consul, that they belong to Tunis; which being produced, the English ship shall admit two men to come on board them peaceably, and satisfy themselves that they are English; and although they have passengers of other nations on board, they shall be free, both they and their effects.

4. That in an English ship shall receive on board any goods or passengers belonging to the kingdom of Tunis, they shall be bound to defend them and their goods, so far as lies in their power, and not deliver them unto their enemies; and the better to prevent any unjust demand being made upon the crown of Great-Britain, and to avoid disputes and differences which may arise, all goods and merchandizes, that shall from henceforward be shipped by the subjects of this government, either in this port or any other whatsoever, on board the ships or vessells belonging to Great-Britain, shall be first entered in the office of Cancellaries before the British consul residing at the respective port, expressing the quantity, quality, and value of the goods so shipped, which the paid consul is to certify in the clearance which is given to the said ship or vessell, before the departs; to the end that, if any cause of complaint should happen thereafter, there may be no greater claim made on the British nation than by this method shall be proved to be just and equitable.

5. That if any ships of either party shall, by accident of foul weather or otherwise, be cast away upon any coasts belonging to the other party, the persons shall be free, and the goods saved and delivered to their lawful proprietors.

6. That the English which do at present, or shall hereafter, inhabit in the city or kingdom of Tunis, shall have free liberty, when they please, to transport themselves, with their families and children, though born in the country.

7. That the people belonging to the dominions of either party shall not be abused with ill language, or otherwise ill treated; but that the parties so offending shall be punished according to their desert.

8. That the consul, or any other of the English nation residing at Tunis, shall not be forced to make their addresses, in any reference, to any court of justice, but to the Dey himself, from whom only they shall receive judgment: this is in cafe any dispute should arise between a subject of Great-Britain and one of this government, or of any other foreign nation: but if it should be between any two of his majesty's subjects, then it shall be decided by the British consul only.

9. That the consul, or any other of the English nation, shall not be liable to pay the debts of any particular person of that nation, unless obliged thereunto under his hand.

10. That as the island of Minorca in the Mediterranean sea, and the city of Gibraltar in Spain, have been yielded and annexed to the crown of Great-Britain, as well by the king of Spain as by all the several powers in Europe engaged in the late war, it is hereby agreed and fully concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the said island of Minorca and city of Gibraltar shall be forever, in every respect, by the government of Tunis, to be part of his majesty's own dominions; and the inhabitants thereof shall be looked upon as his majesty's natural subjects, in the same manner as if they had been born in any part of Great-Britain; and they, with their ships and vessells wearing the British colours, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the kingdom of Tunis, and shall pass without any molestation whatsoever, either on the seas or elsewhere, in the same manner, and with the same freedom and privileges, as have been stipulated in this and all former treaties in behalf of the British nation and subjects.

11. And the better and more firmly to maintain the good correspondence and friendship that have been so long and so happily established between the crown of Great-Britain and the government of Tunis, it is hereby agreed and concluded, by the parties above-mentioned, that none of the ships or vessells belonging to Tunis, or the dominions thereof, shall be permitted to cruise, or look for prizes of any nation whatsoever, before or in fight of the aforesaid city of Gibraltar, or any ports of the island of Minorca, to hinder or molest any vessells bringing provisions and refreshments for his Britannic majesty's subjects, troops, and garrisons in those places, or give any disturbance to the trade and commerce thereof; and if any prizes shall be taken by the ships or vessells of Tunis, within the space of ten miles of the places aforesaid, it shall be reftored without any dispute.

12. That all the ships of war belonging to either party's dominions shall have free liberty to use each other's ports for watering, cleaning, and repairing any of their defects; and to buy and ship off any sorts of victuals, alive or dead, or any other necessaries, at the price
price the natives buy it in the market, without paying custom to any officer. And whereas a
his Britannic majesty's ships of war do frequently assemble and harbour in the port of Makon,
in the island of Minorca, if at any time they, or any of his majesty's troops in garrison
there, should be in want of provisions, and should send from thence to purchase supplies in
any part of the dominions belonging to Tunis, they shall be permitted to buy cattle, alive or
dead, and all other kind of provision, at the price they are sold at in the market, and shall
be suffered to carry them off without paying duty to any officer, in the same manner as if
his majesty's ships themselves were in the port.

13. That in case any ships of war belonging to the kingdom of Tunis shall take, in
any of their enemies ships, any Englishman serving for wages, they are to be made slaves;
but if merchants or passengers, they are to enjoy their liberty and effects unmolested.

14. That in case any slave in the kingdom of Tunis, of any nation whatsoever, shall
make his escape, and get on board any ship belonging to the dominions of Great-Britain,
the confoul shall not be liable to pay the ranfom, unless timely notice be given him to order
that none such be entertained; and then, if it appears that any slave has got away, the
said confoul shall pay to his patron the price for which he was sold in the market; and if no
price be set, then to pay 300 dollars, and no more.

15. And the better to prevent any dispute that may arise hereafter between the two parties
about the salaries and public ceremonies, it is hereby agreed and concluded, that whenever
any flag officer of Great-Britain shall arrive in the bay of Tunis, in any of his majesty's ships
of war, immediately upon notice given of it, there shall be twenty-five cannon fired from
c the castle of Goletta, or any other the nearest fortification belonging to Tunis, according to
custom, and as a royal salute to his Britannic majesty's colours; and the same number shall
be returned in answer thereto by his majesty's ships. And it is hereby stipulated and agreed,
that all ceremonies of honour shall be allowed to the Britannick confoul who resides here, to repre-
sent in every respect his majesty's person, equal to any other nation whatsoever; and that
no other confoul in the kingdom shall be admitted before him in precedence.

16. That the subjects of his Britannic majesty, either residing in or trading to the Tunesian
dominions, shall not, for the time to come, pay any more than three per cent. custom
on the value of goods or merchandizes, which they shall bring into or carry out of the
kingdom of Tunis.

17. It is moreover agreed, concluded, and established, that at whatsoever time the said
government of Tunis shall please to reduce the customs of the French nation to less than
they pay at present, it shall be always observed, that the Britannick customs shall be two per
cent. less than any agreement that shall hereafter be made with the said French, or than
shall be paid by the said subjects of France.

18. It is moreover agreed, concluded, and established, that in case any Britannick ship or
ships, or any of the subjects of his Britannic majesty, shall import at the port of Tunis, or
any part of this kingdom, any warlike stores, as cannon, muskets, pistols, cannon powder,
or fine powder, bullets, masts, anchors, cables, pitch, tar, or the like; or also provisions; viz. wheat, barley, oats, beans, oil, or the like, they shall not pay any duty or
custom whatsoever for any such kinds of merchandize.

Read, approved, and ratified, by the parties above-mentioned, and signed and sealed by
them in the said city of Tunis, on the 30th day of August, O. S. A. D. 1716.

And thus much for the history of Tunis.
Chap. V.

The history of Tripoli.

This state, though under the protection of, and tributary to, the Porte, assumes the kingdom of the name of kingdom; the Grand Signors being always fond of multi-Tripoli; plying those titles, in order to swell the pomp and grandeur of their own. It takes its name from its own metropolis, which is likewise filled New Tripoli, in order to distinguish it from a much more ancient one on the same Mediterranean coasts in Phoenicia, which is still very considerable, and retains its ancient name.

The kingdom of Tripoli is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the west by Tunis and Blededgerid; on the south by mount Guibet, or Atlas; and, on the east, by Carca, or rather by Egypt, where its boundary terminates at the Cape Sobyman, or Solomon, according to the late and more accurate geographers (A). In this case the extent of this kingdom, from west to east, that is, from the town of Capri, or Gabs, on the extent from coast mouth of the river Triton, which is the boundary on the Tunisian side, in east longitude 10° 13′, to Cape Sobyman 25° 27′ (B), will be 15° 14′, or near 200 leagues, exclusive of the windings of the coasts, gulphs, &c. The truth is, that all the maritime towns, not only from the cape above-named to the town of Derne, where some authors place the end of its eastern limit, but even quite almost to the gulph of Sidra, which tract is better known by the name of Dernian coasts, are either so ruined, or dwindled into such poor inconvenient villages, that it is hardly worth the Turks or the Bash of Kairo's while to dispute about the property of them with the state of Tripoli; and hence it probably is, that most of our late geographers assign it to the latter. As to the depth of it, from north to south, it varies very much, being in some parts, especially the farthest part of the gulph of Sidra inward, to its utmost extent southward, scarcely above forty leagues; and in others, as about the city of Tripoli, where the coast stretches farthest northward, quite to mount Atlas, its southern border, above double the number.

Tripoli hath formerly been divided into seven provinces; viz. 1. Tripoli Proper; 2. the 1st division country of Misrata; 3. of Haifa; 4. Benolea, Touarga, al. Tegry; 5. Gulph of Sidra, into provinces; 6. Ougaro; and 7. coast of Derne. At present it is commonly divided into maritime and inland; the inhabitants of the former chiefly live upon commerce and the piratical trade; and the latter, for the most part, on plunder and robbery: each of those divisions hath some cities and towns, besides a much larger number of villages, which lie scattered chiefly thro'.

See Antient Hist. vol. 1, p. 394. b See the map of Barbary.

(A) This Barca tract, both the maritime part, which is likewise filled a kingdom, and the desert, some geographers pretend to appertain to Egypt, and to be under the government of the Bash of Kairo (1). But others, with more probability, look upon them to be under this of Tripoli. The truth is, that not only the desert, but even the maritime, as in such a miserable plight, that they are hardly worth claiming by either. The former being nothing but a dry, sandy, barren wilderness, inhabited by one of the vilest sorts of Arabs; who still answer the character we have given formerly to the Barcai (2), whether defended from them not, as well as the description we meet with in Pindor of them (3), who flies them, Late fowetrs Barcei; wretched that live altogether on the plunder of caravans, and other travellers, and murder them upon the flight occasion or dislike.

We are told moreover, that, after they have robbed and stripped those that fall into their merciless hands, they oblige them to drink their famishs full of milk, and hang them by the heels, to make them vomit what gold or gems they suppose to have swallowed down (4). In a word, they become so terrible to all passengers, that the caravans, and other merchants, that carry things of any value with them, either rather to fetch a large compass about to avoid falling into their hands. Add to this, that their extreme poverty, and the fierce unconquerable temper they still retain, will fearlessly make it worth any state's while to hold them in subjection, where it little benefit or advantage is to be reaped from it. We may add, that Loo, Sanoff, and other authors, have given this desert a much larger extent, by joining it to those of Ougaro, Sidra, and some others which lie on the south of it, and are quite different from it, as the reader may see by the map of this country, otherwise it would be next to impossible for those caravans to take such a prodigious circuit to avoid them.

(B) We have followed Dr. Shaw in settling the western limits at the city of Capri, or Gabs, which, being sittuate on the other side of the Trition, as well as that of El Hamma, must of course belong to Tunis (5); whereas most other geographers place them under this government (6). We have, therefore, in complaisance to both, mentioned the hot baths and springs of them among the natural curiosities of the Tunisian kingdom: and shall give the further description of those two places among the rest of the Tripolitan cities, as being the most considerable next to Tripoli in the whole kingdom; though, in reality, both are in a very ruinous condition, as will be seen in the sequel.


Mod. Hist. Vol. VII. 4 T the
The history of Tripoli. Book XXII.

The latter: most of them very poor and thinly inhabited; the country being almost everywhere sandy and barren. As for cities and towns, those that preserve that name, are those which are situated along the coasts; of the most considerable of which we shall now give an account; the rest, being either wholly depopulated and gone to ruin, or are only inhabited by a few fishermen, lime-burners, pot-ath-makers, and here and there some few labourers: all of them reduced to the lowest degree of misery and wretchedness, through the cruel exactions of the government, or the frequent depredations of the Arabs. Tripoli, the metropolis of the kingdom, was formerly divided into two parts, the old and new; the former, which was the native country of the emperor Severus, is supposed to have been built by the Romans, and was once conquered by the Vandals, and at last destroyed by the Mohammedans, under the Khalif Omar II. since which time it hath never recovered itself; or, if it ever did, it hath been suffered to run into decay, and is now almost gone to ruin: the latter, which stands at a small distance from it, though of no great extent, is populous and in a flourishing condition. It stands on a sandy ground by the sea side, and is surrounded with high walls and stout ramparts, flanked by pyramidal towers, but not kept in good repair, and without any fort. It hath but two gates, one towards the inland on the south, and the other towards the sea on the north, where it expands itself in form of a crescent, near a spacious and commodious haven. The point by the east is little else now than a group of scarped rocks; on which are to be seen some ancient forts, now gone into decay; but that to the westward is defended by a strong castle, surrounded with fortifications after the modern fashion, and furnished with some large cannon.

The new Tripoli was, it is supposed, built by the natives, who gave it the name of Tarabalhis, or Trebulis, whence the Latinists have called it Tripolis. Some authors pretend that it was once a place of vaft trade, on account of its neighborhood to Numidia, Tunis, &c. and reorted unto by vessels from Malthe, Venice, Sicily, Marseille, and other parts; there being hardly such another commodious sea-port along this whole coast, till you come to Alexandria: by which means it became so opulent, that it was filled with rich merchants, abounded with fine monks, hospitals, and other public buildings, and excelled Tunis in beauty and wealth. And though it retains now but few traces of its ancient splendor, having little else inviting to the eye except the outside, whilft its houses in the inside are low and mean, its streets narrow, dirty, and irregular, there are in it, nevertheless, some monuments still standing, which will not permit one to doubt of its having formerly made a much nobler appearance; particularly a triumphal arch, one half of which now lies buried in the sand; though what is still to be seen above it is a sufficient witness of its former grandeur.

Neither shall we need to wonder at this extraordinary decay, if we consider the two great inconveniences which this city labours under; viz. first, the want of sweet water, here being neither rivers, springs, nor wells, nor any other means of supplying it with that useful element but the common one of cisterns, and referrors of rain water; and, secondly, the great scarcity of corn, and other product of the ground, occasioned by the dry sandy soil that surrounds it for miles together on the land side; especially if we add to these what some authors affirm, that all that land was formerly arable and fertile ground, producing great abundance of corn and other grain, till the sea overflowed it, and left those vast quantities of sand which now cover the whole surface of it (C), and render it incapable of bringing forth any thing but palm-trees; which, we are told, grow in great plenty, notwithstanding the barrenness and dryness of the soil, and yield the most delightful dates, which is a considerable part of their food: besides these, they have the lotus, or latas; a tree of which we have spoken in a former part, whose fruit is reckoned still finer than the dates, and makes a most excellent wine; so that the plant serves them for meat and drink, from which they have been filled by the antients Latophagia. But, upon the whole, were it not for the continual supply of provisions brought in by their coiftars, and

(C) We are accordingly told, that the sea, being higher along all those coasts than the land, hath inundated a good way into it, which plainly appears from those spots where the cities stand, and which are all covered with deep floods up to the arm pits for above a league together. To which we may add, that there were still to be seen, in Marmol's time, if they are not so now, houses buried in those sands, and quite covered with the sea; so that the inhabitants have been forced to retire more to the south, in proportion to the inundations which the sea made upon them on the north side of their town (7).
a other trading vessels, Tripoli could never subsist by the product of its own territories, but must soon be starved; and hence we may infer the cause of its present decay.  

Adjoining to the walls of the city is a famous burying ground, in which are found coffins, urns, medals, and other curious relics of antiquity. The Franciscan friars have here a very handsome church, convent, and hospital; the last of which is the more necessary, as the city is so often and so severely visited by the plague. Other orders of monks were likewise settled in it, who have been since obliged to abandon it, probably on account of its decay above-mentioned. The country about it is, however, adorned with a multiplicity of handsome villas, cultivated chiefly by Christian slaves, and much like those about Algiers and Tunis, spoken of in the two foregoing chapters. It is observable, with respect to those unhappy wretches, that there is but a very small number of them here, in comparison to the many thousands that swarm in those two capitals, insomuch that they have but one bagnio in the whole city to lock them in at night. They just keep a sufficient number to serve them in the lowest offices, and cultivate their villas, and make a traffic with their of the rest. The people here carry on a great trade in linen cloths, great quantities of which are wrought by the inhabitants; but their chief dependence is on their own corfairs, and those of other nations which refer to it. They keep, indeed, few of their own, six or seven at most; yet those are so expensive, and make so good an advantage of their situation, as being within the reach of those merchant ships which trade into Egypt, Italy, and the Archipelago, that they can greatly infest those seas, and do a deal of mischief among them.  

b Cape, or Capez, called by the Moors Cabez and Gabs, is, as we have lately seen, situation Capez, on the northern banks of the river of its name, supposed the Triton of Ptolemy; and, as that is the boundary between Tunis and this kingdom, should of course belong to the former; but is, nevertheless, reckoned by the generality of geographers among the cities of the latter. It stands on the bay of its name, and is large, and well defended by an old wall and a strong fort. Near it are the ruins of the old city, called by the Romans Vactaca, the old city and its ruins by those. This last was built on a little rising ground, about half a mile from the new, and thaws still some marks of its antient grandeur; particularly some square pillars of a peculiar granite, not to be met with in any other parts of Barbary, or perhaps of Africa. It was formerly washed by the sea, which  

grows daily shallower, by the addition of sand on the one hand, and the mud and other filth which is washed into it by the river Capez, a thing very common on all the coasts of Barbary, and owing chiefly to the indolence and carelessness of the inhabitants. And hence, probably, the cause of the decay of the new town, which is now but thinly inhabited, and that only by poor fishermen and husbandmen, who cultivate a little barley, and great quantities of palm trees round the place; but whole dates are so soon dried, that they will not keep the year round, like those that grow in Numidia, to supply which defect, they make use of a root which grows here in plenty; and, when boiled like a potato, hath the taste of an almond, and yields them a good nourishment. The inhabitants here are quite black, and so poor, that they esteem him a wealthy man among them who hath a bushel of barley in his possession; so terribly are they oppressed by the regency on the one hand, and by the Arabs on the other. As to what particularly relates to the river Capez, or Triton, and to the lake of the same name, we shall refer our readers to the description we have given it in our Antient History.  

Mahara, or Mackara, is now a poor village, situation on the mouth of the Cape, remarkable only for a modern citadel, which was built on purpose to guard the entrance into that gulph. El Hammah is another antient town, long since gone to decay, and about four leagues from Capez. It is remarkable only for its Roman walls of square stones, and some inscriptions, mentioned by Leo Africanus, Dapper, &c. but since so defaced, that they are not now to be seen; and for its hot sulphurous springs, which are conveyed to it by an old aqueduct, of which we have spoken in a foregoing chapter. In other respects it is now a poor miserable town, inhabited only by some few fishermen and husbandmen, whilst the greatest part of them, as well as of the adjacent country, seek for a better livelihood from the piratical trade; in which they are neither so oppressed by the government, nor infested by the plundering Arabs.  

Zorara, or Zarra, is another ruinated town, surrounded by an old decayed wall, and Zorara no bor- situate near the sea, about thirteen leagues from the island of Jerba, or Zorba: some think yer; it to be the antient port Pithian. At present it is inhabited by poor people, who live either  

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1 Marmol, Davitt, Dapper, &c.  
2 Geog. l. iv. c. 3.  
3 See Shaw's Travels, p. 165, and his map of Tunis.  
4 Marmol, Baudrand, Martinier, &c.  
5 Id. ibid.  
6 Antient Hist. vol. vi. p. 670, & seq.  
7 See Shaw, p. 213.  
8 See before, p. 309, & seq.  

by
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Book XXII.

By burning of quick-lime and pot-ash, or follow the piratical and fishing trade. All these stand on the western coasts of the gulph of Sidra. Those that are within it, and on the eastern side of it, are still in a much more ruined condition, as we have had occasion to observe a little above; and whoever compares their ancient flourishing state with their present miserable plight, the many dreadful vicissitudes they have undergone under the Goths and Vandals, the Arabs, Mohammedans, and other barbarous nations, to say nothing of the Europeans, who likewise put a helping hand in spreading the devastation still farther, but still more the tyranny of their government, which hath not only given the finifishing stroke to it, but hath put an invincible obstacle to their recovery, notwithstanding their advantageous situation for commerce, and the once known valour and indufry of the native inhabitants, will have more cause to wonder that any of those should still chufe to live among so many dreadful ruins, under such a grievous load and variety of misery and oppression, than if he saw them wholly abandoned to the wild beasts, fowls, and venomous insects, and quite turned into a perfect barren wilderness.

But what hath contributed most to the ruin of all these maritime towns, and their piratical trade, on which, like their neighbours, they chiefly subsisted, is their neighbourhood to the island of Malta, which, lying conveniently over against these coasts, hath enabled the noble knights of it to have a more constant watch over them, and, by suppressing their frequent excursions, obliged them to take up with the fishing trades, and the cultivating of as much land about those ruined places as will just serve them from hand to mouth. And we make no doubt, but that those brave Maltese have likewise prevented the corsairs of Tripoli from being either so numerous or hurtful as they would have been otherwise, though they are not able totally to suppress them.

The only place of note on the west of the gulph aforesaid is Derna, now a small town, but heretofore in a much better plight, and built by the Moors, after they were driven out of Andalufia. It stands about half a mile from the sea, and is surrounded with some fine springs of sweet water, one of which runs quite through, and others around the walls of it; so that it is a territory capable of bearing some corn and garden-stuff; but is so poorly inhabited, that little advantage is reaped from it. This town is still the capital of a district of its name, which extends itself, and reaches from Cape Bomb eaf, to the gulph of Benghasi well, above 100 leagues, and still farther towards the inland. This district is chiefly inhabited by wandering Arabs, to the amount of 30,000 families, who pay a small tribute to the Bey of Tripoli. This tract is almost everywhere covered with a kind of plant or shrub, which bears a thick downy leaf, and thick bunches of a yellow flower, which gives an excellent taste to their honey. As for the road, it is very bad and unsafe near three parts of the year.

On the western side of the Sidran gulph is the canton or district of Misrata, containing what was antiently called Cyrenasia, and Pentapolis, from its five cities; and now called Misrata from its capital, hath still some towns and villages, both on the sea-side and inland, which drive a kind of commerce with the Christians for European commodities, which they sell to the Negroes, and exchanged for slaves, mulf, and civer, which they carried into Turkey, and sold at good prices. The inhabitants were rich and warlike, ever impatient of the Tunefian yoke, as now of the Tripolian; but this large and once flourishing tract is likewise reduced to a low ebb by the corsairs, who plunder their coastes, and the Arabs, who ravage the inland, when they join with the Berebers. They can muster up about 10,000 men fit to bear arms, and are often at war with the Arabs, but are nevertheless forced to submit now to the Turkish yoke and tribute, in spite of all their valour and number.

The other countries and districts in the inlands are still more desert and void of towns, as well as more unknown to us. All that we can say is, that they are inhabited by much the same people with the two last-mentioned, who live after the same manner, and strive alike to free themselves from the tribute exacted from them. The land is for the most part dry and barren, and so fandy, that one cannot travel through it without sinking above the middle in sand; so that were it not for the abundance of dates which grow in it, and for some mountains that afford a kind of pasturage for their cattle, it would be impossible to subsist. On the farthest extremes, south and east of this kingdom, in particular towards the desert of Barca, lies the country called Auguela, Anguela, or Onguela, which, though for the most part sandy and barren, hath, nevertheless, some spots so well watered as to afford great plenty of dates; and the mount Meys, which divides it from the Barcan kingdom, affords excellent pasturage. In this territory, besides the town of Auguela, from which...
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a the canton takes its name, is another, seated at the foot of that mount, called Si-ubah, Siubah, al. San Rey, which is the very last on that side that belongs to the government of Tripoli. And it is remarkable, that the inhabitants have preferred their name ever since Ptolemy's time, who makes mention of the Augilah, as inhabiting these parts.

b The coasts afford no natural curiosity, except the gulf of Sidra, which is, indeed, the chief and only one, and hath its name from a small island at the bottom of it. It was antiently called the Syris Magna, in opposition to the lesser one, of which we have spoken in the last chapter; both are very dangerous to mariners, but this is more so of the two, because it draws with greater violence, and the sands are here deeper, and of a quicker nature. It had, nevertheless, no less than 29 towns, according to Ptolemy, of which there remain only some ruins, or poor villages. It has but few rivers that discharge themselves into it, and those of no great note. Nor are the Cafarnaca, Rufalmahe, Magra, great note; and others, that empty themselves into the Mediterranean, and are supposed to spring from the Gibel, or Atlas, of greater consequence, except that they serve to nourish an infinite number of palm trees, by being distributed into canals, without which it would be impossible for them to grow in such vast and numerous sandy deferts.

c Antiquities and artificial curiosities are no less scarce in a country where the inhabitants are such professed destroyers of them. The only one to be met with is the triumphal arch of white marble we have already given some account of, which lies almost buried in the sand and earth; and even this had not been now to be seen, had it not been for a tradition, which
d Passes for current among the inhabitants, that the very attempt to demolish it would be instantly attended with some dreadful misfortune. In confirmation of which, they still flee a stone half loosened from the rest of the fabric, and confidently assure you, that a prince having begun to remove some of the stones, the workmen were at first scared with a terrible earthquake, but persevering still in their work, in spite of that supernatural warning, they were all buried under a cloud, or, as they term it, a prodigious rain of sand. It is probable, that there was some magnificent structure built near this elegant arch, seeing one cannot dig far under the ground about it, without finding some of the largest marble stones that are to be met with anywhere.

e As to what is still to be seen of this famous work, the architecture and the bas reliefs are
f exquisite. There are four butts of Roman confus, but very much defaced. The four
g corners of the building are supported by an equal number of pilasters, adorned with vine leaves. Over each of the four gates is seen a triumphant chariot, in one of which is represented Alexander drawn by two sphinxes, with some slaves under it. As for the inscriptions over the gates, they are all worn out, except one on the north-side, which is still legible, is of a round figure, and hath some fine ornaments in bas relief. The stones are all of fine marble, between five or six feet thick, and all fastened to each other with leaden plates and iron cramps, without either mortar or cement.

Among other artificial trifles, that are to be found among the monuments out of the walls of Tripoli, of which some have the form of ovens, but larger and higher, and about
two or three fathom deep, cut into the rock, with niches around them, the author tells us, he found a wooden coffin, adorned with platted lead scolloped, the human bones therein almost confused. At the foot of the coffin was a large earthen urn set in the rock, and round the coffin dishes and plates of different sizes, that had been filled with some forts of meats, the bones of which were not confused. There were likewise, several forts of neat drinking glass, a cupping glass, and a copper lamp almost eaten up with rust; but nothing of any value, except two silver pieces as thin as paper, and about two inches broad, and three long. In most, if not in all these tombs, are found a large glafs urn and human bones, and the bottom is covered with a reddish water, but insipid to the taste.

The government, religion, laws, customs, &c. of this kingdom, being in a great
measure the same with those of Algiers and Tunis, we shall have the less need to expatiiate upon them, after what has been said on these heads in the two foregoing chapters. Only, with respect to the first of these articles, it will not be amiss to observe, that the Beys of Tripoli are not mere titular vaills to the Porte, like them, but are really under some kind of subjection and tribute to it; and this, joined to the other exigencies of the regency, the avarice of the Turkish Bashas sent thither from Constantinople, and the general decay of commerce, obliges them to load the subjects with such heavy taxes and extortions, as have

Reduced the greatest part of the kingdom to the lowest degree of indigence and misery. The revenues of this kingdom, like those we have already spoken of, arise chiefly from their corrairs, who are nevertheless but few, they seldom amounting to above seven or eight, and of these one only can properly be called a ship, the rest are commonly small gallyes, poorly manned and equipped. The next is the duty on imports and exports, and on the

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* De Lisse, Atlas.  
* Geogr. lib. iv. c. 5.  
* See Antient Hist. vol. vii. p. 175.  
* See before, p. 309, &c.  
* Geogr. lib. iv. c. 3.  
* See Marmol, Davity, Dapper, & al.  
* Lucas's Voyages, lib. ii. p. 100.  
* Martinere, &c.  
* Idem ibid.  

**Note:** The text appears to be a historical account of Tripoli, mentioning its geography, history, and cultural aspects, including the city's name, its coasts, natural curiosities, and the remains of architectural structures. It also touches on the government, religion, and taxation within the kingdom, highlighting the economic struggles faced by the inhabitants. The text is rich with references to earlier works and authors, indicating a comprehensive approach to the study of Tripoli at the time. The note at the bottom suggests a methodological approach to the study of trade and taxation in the region.
The history of Tripoli.

Arabs and Moors heavily taxed.

Jews, who are very numerous, and severely taxed, as they drive the greatest share of the Italian commerce; and on the natives, who, though ever so poor, must yet pay part of the product of their ground, or other manufactures; and lastly, on the country Moors and Arabs, among whom the Bey sends his flying camp of janissaries, if he doth not go himself at the head of them, to levy it; for these last, as well as the Moors, who are no less riotous and impatient under the Turkish yoke, are kept too poor by those heavy taxes, that nothing but force, and sometimes exemplary severity, can extort it from them. For, as their commerce is greatly dwindled of late, by reason of the heavy imposts laid upon it, and the exigencies of the government increased, by their being tributary to the Porte, so they are forced to exact greater taxes from the subjects to supply them, though they are in continual apprehension of their putting themselves some time or other under the protection of some Christian power, to alleviate their misery. And, indeed, there is hardly any tie that of religion could have prevented their doing so long ago, in spite of the vigilance of the regency over them. However, the Bey, by means of his protection from the Porte, makes shift to keep up a kind of despotic power, as he is besides generalissimo of all the forces, and, by appointing of such officers to act in all capacities under him, hath also made himself so absolute over the Douran, that it is now kept only as a matter of form, they having nothing to do but to approve and ratify whatever he pleases to lay before them; neither doth the Porte, or its Bahia, concern themselves in the government, provided he doth but punctually pay his tribute to the one, and satisfy the avarice of the other, they leave him to govern the rest with as arbitrary a sway as he pleases.

As for their commerce, it chiefly consists in slaves, either such as are taken by their corsairs, or such as they traffic for with their neighbours; the greatest part of both which they send into Turkey, where they can dispose of them to the best advantage. The next branch is that of affris, which they buy from the Abrians, and sell to the Europeans to make gulls and fope: the rest of their traffic is not worth mentioning. But one thing is worth taking notice of with respect to this regency: viz. that they are here more ferocious observers of their treaties with other nations, and punish the breach of them with greater severity than any of their neighbours; which punctuality, whether it proceeds from real probity, or a conscientiousness of their own weaknesses, is nevertheless of no small advantage to navigation and commerce. What revolutions this kingdom hath met with, since the decline of the Roman empire to the reduction of it into the present form of government, and what else relates to their modern history, will be seen in the following section.

SECT. II.

The history of Tripoli to this present time.

This state, as well as the rest of Barbary, after being freed from the Roman yoke, paffed consecutively under that of the Vandals, Saracens, and thence under that of the kings of Moroce, Fez, and Tunis, by turns; till, weary of their slavery and oppression, they resolved to have a monarch of their own, whom they chose from among themselves. It is true indeed that we do not read of any of them that have signalized themselves by any remarkable exploits. Neither was Tripoli looked upon as a kingdom of any great consequence, till it became a bone of contention between some of the Christian princes, and the kings of Tunis, who had been the longest possessors of it, since the expulsion of the Vandals out of Africa. We have already taken notice, that the old city had been taken and totally destroyed by the Arabs, under their Khalif Omar II. after a siege of six months, the greatest part of the inhabitants either butchered, or sent slaves into Egypt and Arabia. A long while after which, the Moors rebuilt it, and called it Tarabils, and the Europeans, New Tripoli. But whether upon the fame spot, or a little farther to the south, by reason of the incroachments of the sea, is not certain. However, it became subject to the kings of Tunis in time, and it was under one of them, named Bucamen, whose predeceffors had joined the Tunisian crown to their own of Fez, that the Tripolitians, to whom his tyranny and oppressions were become insupportable, chose one of their fellow citizens king over them, in his stead, and made him master of his treasury and revenue. The new king governed them at first with great equity and moderation; on the other hand Bucamen sent a considerable army against him, the command of which he had given to a general in whom he knew he could confide, but he being poisoned by the intrigues of some of the principal inhabitants, the army returned home without doing anything. The new king no sooner saw himself out of danger, than he began to play the tyrant in his turn to fuch

1 Idem ibid. vid. & State of Tripoli, p. 313, & seq.
2 Idem ubi sup. 3 Idem ibid. 4 Ein RAK.

8p. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 44.
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a degree, that the citizens conspired against him, and he was murdered by his brother-in-law. They chose in his room one Abulacer, who had been formerly an officer under him, but had since retired, and turned marabout or hermit, and who was easily persuaded to take the reins of the government upon him; but he had not reigned many months, before Ferdinand, king of Castile and Aragon, sent thither Peter, count of Navarre, with a powerful fleet, and above 15,000 armed men on board, and a great quantity of ammunition and other stores, who came and laid siege to the capital. Abulacer, who had had private notice sent him of this vast descent by some Genoese merchants, above a month before, had taken all proper measures to make a vigorous defence. But neither the great number of forces he had got with him, nor the artillery which he had planted at proper places, could prevent their landing, and laying close siege to the place; whilst Don Diego Pasbeco, at the head of 4,000 men, was ordered to prevent the approach of the natives, who came in shoals from all the adjacent parts, both on foot and on horseback, to his assistance, during the time of the attack. The assault began, accordingly, about nine of the clock in the morning, and, in spite of the vigorous opposition from within, a great number of Christian soldiers were got upon the ramparts by eleven, many of whom were thrown back, and those that ventured down into the place fared still worse, both from the besieged, and excels of heat and thirst. At length some of them, having refreshed themselves at the wells that were near the ramparts, found means to force open the gates, and give a free entrance to the besiegers; upon which the Moors abandoned the place, and Abulacer, with his family e and friends, retired into the castle; thither the Spanish count followed him closely, left he flayed. should fully thence upon his men, whilst they were busying themselves about the plunder of the city, which in gold, silver, and jewels, amounted to an immense value. Abulacer, however, finding himself unequal to so powerful an enemy, surrendered himself the next morning on honourable terms; and was sent with his wife, two sons, and an uncle, to the emperor Charles V. then at Palermo, who soon after gave them their liberty, and sent them back to Tripoli, and restored him to his former dignity, on condition that he should become his vassal and tributary. In the mean time, the count feiziz on the treasure he found in the castle, which proved still more considerable than that of the city (D); and, having caused the latter to be garrisoned and fortified, by the addition of a smaller one nearer the port, sailed away. Soon after this Abulacer returned to Tripoli, and caused the city to be rebuilt and repaired, and held it in the emperor's name till the year in which the knights of Rhodes were driven out of that island, and forced to retire into Syracuse, when application was made to that monarch, who was pleased to bestow the island of Malta upon them, Given to the together with the city and castle of Tripoli, which lay just over against it. These sent knights of Malta e accordingly and took possession of it, and made one of their order governor, and put a garrison into it of their own. They were hardly settled in it before Barbarossa made himself master of it, together with Tunis, Bizerta, &c., but it was soon after retaken by the emperor, and restored to them, as we have seen in the Algerine history. They continued in possession of it till the reign of Soliman, who, under pretence that it belonged to royal galleries, and about 30 other vessels, under the command of Sinan Basha, who had under him the famed Saliba Rais, surnamed devil-driver, and the no less famous Dragut, often mentioned in the foregoing chapters. With this fleet, which carried 12,000 fighting men, Sinan sailed directly for Tripoli, and landed his forces, artillery, and ammunition, at the Anguls point, whence he sent his summons to the governor to surrender, promising him, on that condition, to grant him and his garrison their liberty, but threatening, in case of refusal, to put them all to the sword. To which arrogant message the governor, by the advice of his council, returned an answer to this effect: That he was sent thither by the grand master to defend the city, and that he would never surrender it without his order; upon receipt of which the Basha ordered immediately the principal fortresses, in which the governor commanded, to be battered with 40 pieces of ordnance. But that side was so strongly fortified with ramparts and outworks, that it would have been next to impossible to have succeeded in

*See before, p. 248, & seq.  
(D) This plunder, which, like that of the city, is said to have amounted to an immense value in gold, silver, jewels, and other costly things, is so much the more remarkable, as we are told, that both the prince and the inhabitants had, upon the advice sent them by the Genoese, conveyed away above 5,000 camel loads of their richest goods, before the siege began. The number of their slain, and those that were made prisoners, were no less considerable, the former amounting to 6,000, whose bodies were either flung into the wells of the city, or into the sea; and of the latter 15,000, besides above 100 Italian slaves, whom they set at liberty (8).
in it, had not a traitor (E) did down the wall, and directed him to a weaker place, where a might attack it with more success, which he immediately did, and, turning his battery against some towers which he had shewed him, made such a dreadful havoc amongst them, that in two days he had brought them to the ground, killed four cannoners, and a great number of Christians, though not without a much greater loss on his side. This so alarmed the governor, if he did not hold a treacherous intelligence with the enemy, that he proposed a capitulation to the officers of the garrison, the greater part of whom opposed it, alleging, that whilst the walls were still standing, and the garrison in so good a condition, it were shameful and unjustifiable to surrender. However, this declaration had no other effect upon him, whether through cowardice or treachery, than to make him pursue his own base measures more closely; and being informed that there was, in the enemy’s army, a French gentleman named Aramont, who had been sent embassador to the Porte, he went privately to him, and proposed the surrender of the place, upon the conditions offered at first to him. Some authors pretend, indeed, that the Bafha refusing to consent to them, he withdrew, but was arrested by him in his way to the garrison. But others, with more appearance of reason, maintain, that there was a secret treaty between the Bafha and him; and the event doth but too evidently confirm it; for the place was no sooner surrendered, than Gambart, and all that were of his faction and nation, were set at liberty, and conveyed to Malta in two galleys; whilst the rest of the garrison, who were by far the more numerous, were detained prisoners, and stripped in the usual form, in order to be sold for slaves.

The Bafha lost no time to summon the garrison of the other fort to surrender; but they sent him word, that they were Spaniards, and resolved to die sword in hand, rather than yield themselves prisoners to him; unless he would promise them, in the presence of all his chief officers, to convey them safe to Malta, with their arms and baggage, and give them a sufficient assurance of his performing it. These conditions Sinan readily agreed to, and sent them, in the presence of all his Sangiacs, his ring as a pledge; upon which they immediately delivered up the fort, and were conveyed to Malta in the manner stipulated, and without delay or molestation (F). Thus was Tripoli delivered up to the Turks on the

(E) This villain was a native of Prouence, but had, on account of his unlawful intrigues with the Moorish women, been obliged to turn Mohammedan; after which he had lifted himself in the service of Aga Morat, and served him as a spy in the city. Morat was a Turkish officer, who had made himself lord of Tachora, a place not many leagues from Tripoli, where he had entertained Sinan in a most magnificent manner, as he was going to lay siege to that place; and, in consequence of some promises obtained from that Bafha, had lifted himself under him, and met him at the siege at the head of 200 horse, and 600 musqueteers. For which service, as well as for the treacherous advice that his favourite renegado had given him, Sinan intrusted him with the government of the place, as soon as it was surrendered to him (9).

(F) This is the most received and most rational account that is given of the surrender of that important place; but which is point blank contradicted by the partizans of France, who lay the whole blame of it on the Spaniards and Catalonians that were in garrison in it, and who, they pretend, obliged the governor to it, contrary to his inclination, and the opposition of all his countrymen.

This gentleman, to whom they give the name of Gaffar de Feller, and the title of marechal, was, they say, an old experienced knight of Malta, whose merit and valour might have intitled him to be at the very head of that order, but who, on that very account, was become obnoxious to the grand master of it, a Spaniard by birth, and too jealous of the glory of his nation, not to endeavour to draw such an affront from it, and throw the whole blame on the French governor and his partizans; so that, according to them, the cowardly Catalonians and Spaniards were the first movers of the sedition in the place, by their daily clamours, that the governor delayed the surrendering it without resistance, than to have them all butchered, or made slaves by the besiegers; whilst he, on the other hand, was sure to make his own terms with the Bafha, both for himself, and those of his nation. They add, that when the governor, to appease their mutinous complaints, ordered some of their own officers to go and view the state of the fortifications, they made such a dreadful, though false report of them to the rest of their companions, so as put them out of all further patience; the event of which was, that the tumult increased to a greater degree, and the governor, to avoid some more fatal consequences, was forced to capitulate.

They go on, and tell us, that, upon their arrival at Malta, D’Omedes, the grand master, acquired the Spaniards of every thing that was laid to their charge, and ordered the marechal, and most of his partizans, to be arrested as the betrayers of Tripoli.

The marechal was thrown into a dungeon, in order to be tried with the rest of his accomplices; and the French embassador D’Aramont was treated in most of the court of Christian princes, as acting in concert with the marechal; and it was even pretended that if Henry II. his master, had sent him thither to negotiate that reasonable project with the Turkish Bafha, his friendship to the Turk, and hatred to the emperor, whom Tripoli was of the greatest importance, as it covered his other dominions in Italy, were pretended to be the main spring of the whole. In a word, the French treachery was, by D’Omedes’s private emissaries, become the common subject of such loud complaints in most Christian courts, that Henry found himself obliged, in order to clear himself and his embassador from those scandalous rumours, to send Filigynagon, a knight of St. John, to Malta, to make a strict inquiry into the behaviour of his embassador, as well as of the late governor of Tripoli, and to oblige the grand master to fend him an account of what they had to allege against the former, and of their proceedings against the latter. Filigynagon executed his commission with great courage, fidelity, and prudence, whilst D’Omedes groved, by the bated artifices, and foulest intrigues, to

defeat
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The 14th of August, after it had continued in the possession of the Christians a little above 40 years, from the time of its being taken by the count of Nourre. Sinan committed the government of it to the Aga Moret, mentioned in the last note, upon condition that he should hold it under the Grand Signor, and to resign it whenever he should appoint a governor of it.

It was not long, however, before the famed corsair Dragut, of whom we have spoken more fully in a former chapter, got possession of it; and, being repulsed on his attempt upon Malta, came and made it his place of arms, not indeed with the title of Bahia of it, which title, as well as that of high-admiral, the Grand Signor had absolutely refused him, but only under that of governor of it. This did not hinder him, however, from fortifying Forte by both city and castle with strong walls, and other outworks, and the addition of two flour forts nearer to the sea-side, and a new supply of artillery and ammunition, by which it was, though not without prodigious expense, become one of the strongest cities in Africa, and the common retreat of most of the corsairs that roved under Turkish colours, from whence they infested the coasts of Italy, Sicily, Naples, and Spain. Dragut had likewise made from thence a successful descent on the island of Jerba, Gerba, or Gelves, on the mouth of the gulf of Gabès, or Capza, near the Lesser Syris, and had obliged the Cheykh or lord of it to become tributary to the Porte. Not long after this, John de Lacerta, duke of Medina Lacerta Frankfurt, being sent viceroy of Sicily by the king of Spain, thought that nothing would signalize the rise of his new dignity so much, as the suppression of all those Turkish corsairs, and that the most striking of Tripoli.

effectual method was making himself master of Tripoli, their general rendezvous. His design was highly approved by the king his master, and several other crowned heads, and particularly by John de la Valetta, grand master of Malta, who all promised their assistance in it. But Lacerta was no sooner informed of the strong posture of defence which Dragut had put it in, and of his standing army, than his courage failed him, and he proposed that the taking of the island of Jerba was before the attempting of Tripoli. The grand master, who saw through the artifice, gave him several weighty reasons against it; but finding him still determined to pursue his wild project, told him in plain terms, that he might do as he thought proper, but that, if he did not give him assurance of his falling directly to Tripoli, he must not expect any succour from the Maltese order. Upon which Lacerta swore to him, by the life of the king his master, and the head of his own son, Gajen, whom he had with him, that he would fail entirely thither, and lay siege to the place, and embark accordingly on the tenth of February, the grand master furnishing him, besides the galleys and forces he had promised him, 200 Maltese pioneers to assist him at the siege.

Dragut no sooner heard of this fleet being got near the island of Querqyfes, than he failed out towards them with two of his galleys, against whom Lacerta sent a greater number of his own; but whilst these, instead of engaging him, were busy in rifting two merchantmen from Alexandria, Dragut got clear of them, and sent one of his galleys immediately to acquaint the Porte with the news, and to desire a speedy succour, whilst he went and fortified himself in Tripoli. Thither failed soon after the duke Lacerta, after having tried in vain to take water at the island of Jerba; and, coming near the dry lands of Polo, went 

† See before, p. 328, & seq.

defeat all his measures, and fix the treason on those two great perfidious, one of whom was still kept in fetters, and the other had left the island, and was gone to Constan tinople. In spite of which all, he was at length forced to clear both, by a letter to the French monarch, dictated by the grand council of Malta, and which he was forced to sign. Copies of this letter were immediately sent to all his ministers at every court, and Villegagnon wrote, moreover, a full account of the whole transgression, which he dedicated to the emperor. So easily a thing it was for the most Christian king to justify himself, and his minister, from so foul an aspersion as that of joining with the Turk against the emperor. Thus far the French account, in justification of that governor and ambassador, in which we have omitted many other heinous crimes laid to D'Omedes's charge, though without any farther proof than their own bare word, but which to explode would draw this note to too great a length. In the mean time, neither what they have told in vindication of their two counymen, nor the letter, written by the grand council of Malta to the French king, and signed by the grand master against himself, have been yet able to clear two material objections against the light in which they have represented the whole transgression, or, to speak more properly, against the variety of milts they have endeavoured to throw over it. The one is, if the governor had no finaller views in giving the French embassador the private meeting, why did he repair to him alone, and not rather take some of the officers of each nation, that were then in the place, along with him? and how dared he to leave his government, to go in that private and solitary manner into the enemy's camp? The other is, if his partizans had so far justified his behaviour in it, and his capitulating immediately after, and had made it appear to the grand council of Malta, that the chief cause of this sudden surrender of the place was owing to the grand master's neglect of providing it with all proper necessaries for a siege, and of sending such supplies as they wanted, when closely besieged, why was he not immediately released out of his hard confinement, as well as the rest of his countrymen? And why did the grand master's strange mifconduite go not only unpun ished and unconfined, but even unmentioned any-where but in this account? But there needs little more than a bare reading of it to be able to judge at whole door to lay the inst of that important city, as well as of the artful ways used in it to lay it at the wrong one.


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some
some of the crew to land, where they dug several wells, and found the water very clear and a
sweat, which nevertheless proved so unworthome, that many of his great officers, as well
as failors, died of it, and a much greater number fell ill and became usefles. They were
soon after forced to weather out a violent storm, which shattered several of their ships,
among which the Sicilian Capitano foundered and fink.

The storm was no sooner over, but the Maltese admiral, according to his instructions, pro-
pelled to remove to Languir, which was a healthier and more commodious harbour, where
their ships might be safer from any attack from the Turkish fleet, which was in full sail, as
he was well informed, to come and attack them; but Lacterra, quite sick of such dangerous
expiditions, ordered his armada to return to the isle of Jerba, where they landed without
opposition, but found the wells filled up; and, after having with much labour opened them,
the waters had contracted an intolerable bitternes, by the quantity of aloe leaves which the
Jerbites had flung into them, so that they could not drink them. The Cheyk, or lord of
the ifland, sent to beg an interview with the duke, in order to come to some capitulation,
as he found himself unequal to do great a force, but the motion was opposed by his fiery
troops; upon which notice was given him by two Christian slaves, that he would be attacked
early on the next morning by the Jerbites. Lacterra, resolvling to be beforehand with them,
ordered his army to meet them; upon which 2,000 of the enemy, falling out from behind
a hill with their usual noise, fell upon them, but, having neither horse nor fire-arms, were
easily put to the rout with great loss; upon which the Cheyk came and delivered up the
keys of the castle to him, and acknowledged himself a subject of Spain. Lacterra, elevated
beyond measure at this success, was so fullicious of preferring this ifland as a monument
of his good fortune, that he set immediately about building a fort with four bastions, and
some other fortifications in it, to keep the Jerbites in awe, as well as to suppress the incurs-
ions of the pirates.

In the mean while Soleymen, who, upon the first news sent him by Dragout of this expedi-
tion, had caused a powerful fleet to be equipped, consiting of 85, some say 94, galleys,
commanded by the famous Kara Mustapha, each of which carried 100 Janifarries, under
the command of Ponghi Balha, the Soltan's favourite; of which all Doria, who was then one of
the chief officers in this expedition, and Yeffetores, the Maltese admiral, had had repeated
notice. On the other hand, the heat and unhealthines of the country, joined to the bad-
ness of the waters, and the unworthomeness of their food, had bred a great sicknes both in
the Christian army and fleet, of which many were already dead, and Doria himself was con-
fined to his bed with it. These two generals in vain endeavored to persuade the duke to
leave the ifland for a while, and meet the Turkish fleet near the Archipelago, and not stay till
it was joined with the Barbary corsairs. But he, more intent upon building a fort in Africa
that should bear his name, than to their salutary counsel, flacked not the work till news
was brought him on the 10th of May, that the Turkish fleet, consiting of 85 sail, had been
seen on the coasts of Gofa ifland three days before. Neither did he then desist till it appeared
on their own, at which time the brave Doria cried out, One man's obstinacy hath ruined us
d at all; however, we shall not be defeated without having foreseen our danger.

In the confusion that reigned at their approach, both in the army and fleet, but espe-
cially in the latter, whose ships, it being low water, stuck so fast in the sand, that the Turks
boarded them with sword in hand, took 20 of their galleys, and 12 large ships, with all
their tackle, arms, &c. without any opposition (G). One only, commanded by Macdonalt,
a brave and experienced commander, tho' pursuied by three of the enemy, escaped to Malta,
to bring the melancholy news of this defeat; whiles the Turks made the air and sea reound
with their rejoicings and firing. Under this desperate dilemma Lacterra repaired to Doria,
who still kept his bed, and addressed himself to him in these words: "O Doria, the only
defender who had flied so much forefight and conduct upon this occasion, what would
have sheltered them selves under the cable of the ifland, were quickly burnt by the Turks. The French,
no fear, lay the whole fault on the duke, whom nothing could prevail upon to suspend the building of
him that the confedemates put to sea, and left the duke and his forces on the ifland to
the belt defence they could, at the first approach of the Turkish fleet, by which they were easily thrown
into confusion; and, being attacked in the rear, became
an easy prey to the enemy; which not only extenuates
the ill conduct of the new vicereoy, but throws the blame
on the Maltese commanders, who were moily French.
Hes likewise makes the loss of the galleys to amount to
21 galleys and 14 ships, besides nine others, which,

(G) There is some contrariety in the account of this
transaction, between the Spanish and French authors;
and no wonder, considering how natural it is to them
to eclipse each other's glory to advance their own. Mar-
om mentions it differently; he says that they confederates put to
sea, and left the duke and his forces on the ifland to
make the belt defence they could, at the first approach
of the Turkish fleet, by which they were easily thrown
into confusion; and, being attacked in the rear, became
an easy prey to the enemy; which not only extenuates
the ill conduct of the new vicereoy, but throws the blame
on the Maltese commanders, who were moily French.

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a. "you advise me to do?" To which he replied, "Sir, you command the land forces, and it behoves you to take the best precautions you can for their safety. As for me, I design to be carried this night into a light brigantine, and to endeavour in the dead of the night to make my way through that vast forest of ships that surrounds us, and pick up as many of our scattered vessels as I can meet with, and fail directly to Melfina." Upon which the duke, more solicitous for his life than his honour, resolved to follow him; and leaving the care of the troops that were in the island, and amounted still to about 5,000, to Don Alvarez de Sande, a famed commander, got on board the brigantine with several other general officers; and Doria had the good fortune to conduct them safe through the enemy's fleet to the isle of Malta, whence Lacerta failed soon after to Sicily.

b. But it fared much more dreadfully with those who were left in the island, upon whom the Turks poured down their numerous troops, and laid close siege to the castle, which Don Alvarez defended as nobly and long as was possible for a commander to do, considering that he had not only the victorious Turk to encounter with, but want of water and all sorts of provision, and a grievous sickness, which had impaired the greatest part of the army, through the violent heats and excessive drought of the weather. They had neither water in the cisterns, nor wood to dress their victuals, and laboured under such excessive thirst, that great numbers of men deserted daily to the enemy. The place was all the while battered with 18 pieces of cannon, which had at length dismounted those of the besieged, and destroyed most of the outworks. The siege had lasted near three months, by which time the garrison was, through famine, sickness, and desertion, reduced to less than half of what it was at first. In this extremity the brave governor proposed to the rest of his soldiers to make a bold sally, when the enemy least expected it, and either save themselves by their valour, or die with sword in hand, to which they readily agreed. But, unfortunately for him, the Turks had notice of it by some defectors; so that he was no sooner got out, but he was himself surrounded on all sides by such numbers, as at once not only deprived him of the honour of dying in the attempt, but took him and the poor remains of his garrison prisoners. Immediately after which the Baisha entered the castle, and ordered all the fortifications to be razed, to prevent the Christians returning thither after his departure. Thus ended this unfortunate expedition, in which the Christians lost near 14,000 men, either killed, made slaves, or dead by sickness and want. The king of Spain alone lost 28 galleys and 14 transport ships, besides those of the Pope, of the Maltese, and of the duke of Tuscany. Kara Myslapha failed soon after with his victorious fleet to Constantinople, and Dragut and his corsairs back to Tripoli, where he refuted the reins of that state under the Grand Signor's protection, with additional favours from him for his timely services and vigilance, till a grievous wound, which he received at the siege of Malta, put an end both to his life and it, about fix years after it, as we shall see in its proper place.

c. After his death the Porte continued sending either a Sancjak or Bafta to Tripoli, the castle being garrisoned with Turks, and the city inhabited by Moors, and the kingdom kept still under tribute to the Grand Signor. The piratic trade went on still with success; the renegades met with the usual encouragement from the Turks, and were promoted to the command of their corsairs, and even of their whole fleets, and sometimes to the Baftaship; these recommending themselves to the regency, not only by their desperate behaviour, but much more by their peculiar barbarity to the Christian prisoners, which often provoked the Christians to use the same severity to theirs by way of reprisal, and were carried on both sides to such an excess, as can hardly be repeated or thought of without horror.

d. In this condition the kingdom continued, till the Turkish government, becoming more and more heavy and intolerable, by the avarice and tyranny of those Baftas, a certain marabout, named Sid Hajab, about the close of the 16th century, found means to raise a general revolt both in the city and country, not doubting but he should be affixed therein by some Christian princes abroad, as well as by the Moors and Arabs at home, to drive all the Turks out of the kingdom; after which he might mould the government of it as well as he was able, and, in case of need, put it under the protection of those who had affixed him in carrying on this new revolution. But, unfortunately for him, he did not take care to secure a foreign assistance, before he broke out into this open rebellion; so that Hajfen Bafta, the then Turkish admiral, came suddenly upon him, at the head of 60 galleys, and a number of other ships and forces, which he had procured from Tunis and Algiers, and gave him so many signal overthrows, that he was at length abandoned by his troops, and affrighted by his own partisans, which put an effectual end to the revolt. Hajfen sent the marabout's head to Constantinople, and had hardly settled the government on the old footing, and taken all necessary precautions to secure the authority of the Turkish Baftas from the like attempts, when a new governor, sent thither from the Porte, found a much more effectual way totally to suppress it as long as he lived. This man was a renegade Greek, of the ancient family of the Yuliimiani, and known then by the name of Mahmet Beyg, who, by his intrigues and

bribes,
bribes, had obtained a banner or government from the Grand Signor, failed directly to Tripoli, and, having got possession of the castle of it, refused to acknowledge or receive any Basha from Constanținople, and took the reins of the government wholly upon himself, not indeed as independent, but as vassal and tributary to the Porte, to whom he obliged himself to pay a tribute and hommage, as an acknowledgment of his subjection and dependence. And it is not unlikely, that the matter was compromised in that manner between the grand vizier and him, if not the Sultan, before his setting out of Constanținople, and with the same politic views as that court agreed it with the Deys of Algiers. However that be, Mahomet kept himself secure in his castle, which, besides its other fortifications, was guarded with a strong garrison of soldiers, whom he had taken into his pay. And though he kept, as he said, as a guard to his person, and to avoid the fate of so many other Bashas, whom the Porte had caused to be strangled or banished, upon the least umbrage or pretence.

The tribute he paid to the Porte confined chiefly in slaves, and such other curious or rich presents as were most acceptable to that court, and were carefully sent at all proper seasons, by which means Mahomet kept himself firm in his despotic government, which he established much after the same manner that we described at the close of the last section, except that, some time after his death, the Tripolitans were again obliged to receive a Basha to be a check on their Deys, which last were chosen by the militia, and mostly by the same tumultuous and bloody methods, as we have seen practised at Algiers.

His successors continued paying the same acknowledgements; though it sometimes happened, that both he and they had the mortification to see those ships intercepted and carried off by the Malta cruisers, who lay in wait for them. Thus, at one time, they took from the former three large vessels laden with Moors, Negroes, and some valuable commodities, in their way to Constanținople; and a few years after another Maltae cruiser, named Charal, among other prizes he made on the coasts of Barbary, took three large ships belonging to Tripoli, together with a considerable number of other vessels, which they were escorting to Constanținople. The fight was very obilinate on both sides; Ibrahim Rais, who commanded the Turkish convoy, had 450 soldiers on board his three ships; but, being attacked on all sides by the Maltae fleet, was forced to yield, after a most desperate defence. The Christians made above 300 Turks prisoners in this action, and their commander, and entered the port of Malta with 20 ships, laden with the richest spoil.

S E C T . III.

Of the bombardment of the city of Tripoli by the French fleet, and the disadvantageous peace they were obliged to submit to.

The next remarkable transaction relating to the history of this piratical republic (for we omit those of lesser moment, such as their frequent domestic broils and revolts against their Deys and Douwan, upon every discontent, their good and ill successes in their piratical excursions), was the dreadful bombardment it brought upon itself by their breach of faith to the late French king Louis XIV. a prince no less known for his severity in punishing that crime in others, than for his own particular disregard to it in himself. The various instances we have given in the history of the two neighbouring republics of Algiers and Tunis, in the preceding chapters, evidently shew, how ready those piratical states are, we may add, how often they have been obliged by a proud, lazy, and starving populace, to violate the most solemn treaties with Christian powers; and what an encouragement the protection of the Porte, which they buy by a small homage and yearly tribute, hath been to their principals to do so, whenever their interest or safety gave them an occasion or pretence for it. But, however such breaches might go unpunished with some Christian powers, the French court never stood aghast in the awe of that of Constanținople, to decline taking a severe revenge of them for such infringements against it.

What gave occasion to the present dreadful execution we are going to relate, was a capture made by a Tripoliten corsair of a ship under French colours, and that republic's detaining a great number of French subjects in a state of slavery, the restitution of both which had been in vain insisted upon by their consuls; which insolent refusal the French monarch so highly reprobated, that he ordered all his captains, who cruized on those seas, to make reprisals on them wherever they met them.

Pursuant to these orders the marquis D'Anvreville, who was dispatched by commodore Croy, Relat. de L'Afrique, part i. c. 10. feil. 1 & 2. attacked

See before, p. 209. & seq.  
See before, p. 209. & seq.  
See before, p. 287. & seq.  
La Crot, Relat. de L'Afrique, part i. c. 10. feil. 1 & 2.
a attacked them; three of them, however, making all the sail they could, had the good fortune to get out of his reach, whilst the other three, venturing to stand the engagement, were so terribly shattered that they were forced at length to sail away, with the utmost speed, to the island of Chios to be refitted. The commodore Du Quefne had no sooner noticed them than he came with a squadron of seven ships, and surprized them there; but, before he began any hostilities, he sent to acquaint the Aga who commanded in that place, that he came as a friend, but that he had express orders to come in quest of some Tripolitan pirates, who, by the tenor of treaties still in force, were filled rebellious subjects, and given up to the just vengeance of the Emperor of France. This specious declaration did not, however, meet with the favourable answer he expected from the Aga, the Tripolitans being at that time nearer to the place, and began to cannonade it with such fury, that the Tripolitans, who were then employed in refitting their shattered vessels, and in no condition to defend themselves, betook to the water, and swam, with all possible haste, to the two forts belonging to the town. Du Quefne tried in vain to enter the port, being prevented by a strong squall which they had laid in his way. A furious combat ensued, which lasted three hours and a half, the caftle all the while firing their artillery upon his squadron, who, in their turn, threw no less, than seven thousand bombs from theirs against it, few of which failed of making some dreadful execution, either on the Tripolitan ships, or on the city, a great number of whose houses were either thrown down or terribly shattered, and many of the inhabitants killed or wounded. On the next day the city sent to demand a parley, and to engage either to oblige the Tripolitans to accept of a peace, or to drive them out of the port. Du Quefne, instead of giving any answer to these proposals, removed with his squadron farther off, in order to block up those coasts more easily. This hostile infringement of the French on the Chios, and their ill treatment of the Tripolitans, soon reached the Ottoman court, and the complaints made of it both to the Grand Signor and Douwan fo greatly exasperated them against the French, that the embassador of Louis XIV. M. de Guilleragues, then at that court, who had express orders not to relax or recede in the least from his master’s pretentions in this affair, found it a difficult task to maintain his honour and interest in so delicate a point, and was forced to make use of all his politics, bribes, and cabals, to prevent a rupture between these two monarchs. At length, after a long and strenuous contest between the grand vizier and him, the Ottoman court agreed, that the captain Bafa and M. du Quefne should terminate the affair by a treaty of peace, of which the articles were as follow: 1. “That all the French, who were on board any vessel, whether of the Tripolitan corsairs, or any other that were sailed out from that city, since the year 1681, should be set at liberty.” 2. “That the ship of captain Crawdill, which they had taken under the French banner, and carried to the port of Chios, should be restored, with all its artillery, arms, equipage, &c.” 3. “That the vessel taken under Majorcan colours should be detained in the same port, under the authority of the captain Bafa, with all its rigging, cannon, arms, &c. till it be decided whether it ought to pass for a French vessel.” 4. “That all freights, belonging to Tripoli, should not pretend to visit any trading vessel under French colours, nor attempt to seize upon them, or the men or effects, in case they were provided with letters from the French admiral.” 5. “That all strangers, on board any French vessel, shall pass free and unmolested in their persons and effects; as likewise all Frenchmen, of what rank soever, who shall be found on board any vessels under strange colours, even those of an enemy.” 6. “That no French prizes, and their prisoners, shall be held in any port belonging to the kingdom of Tripoli.” 7. “That France shall have a consul at Tripoli.” 8. “That no corsair, belonging to Tripoli, shall make any prize on the French coast, at a less distance than ten leagues.”

The reader may see by these articles, what a strange influence the French court had over that of the Grand Signor; but the regency, who paid not the same regard to it, rejoiced them with the utmost indignation on that account. This was no more, probably, than Louis XIV. expected, who had taken care by that time to provide such a powerful armada against that republic, as could scarcely fail of forcing them to submit to more disadvantageous articles than those which had been imposed upon them by the Porte.

Accordingly on the 15th of June of the very next year 1685, the marshal D’Estrees, a fleet [ed. 8] vice-admiral of France, appeared before their capital at the head of his fleet, and was there joined by the marquis of Anvreille and captain Njoumond, who had been cruising in that Tripoli.

* Idem ibid. 4 La Croix. ibid. seq. 2.
neighbourhood, expecting his arrival. Some days were spent in reconnoitring the place, and choosing a proper spot where to cast anchor, whilst M. Tournelle, followed by some armed long-boats, went every night to foundering, as far as the walls of the city, till he had found one about a league distance from them, and there they formed their line of battle, and the plan of the siege. On the 22d orders were given to the bombardiers to get all the mortars ready; whilst the shallops, belonging to the men of war, went and anchored within gunshot of the town, and, about eight at night, they began the attack; and Mr. Tournelle, who had the command of it, having ordered three armed galleys before the port, to prevent any obstruction from the enemy, they began to throw some bombs in the place about ten of the clock, with great success, and without any molestation from the Tripolitan fleets all that night, though they had kept a constant firing of their musketry the two foregoing nights on the bombardiers, though much nearer to them. They continued plying their work till the next morning, by which time they had thrown 500 bombs into the place. They resumed it on the night following about midnight, and made such terrible execution, that they could see the spreading flames in several parts of the town, without receiving one shot from it; and, on the morrow, the marshal D'Estrees cauèd the port to be every-where found, in spite of all their fire, in order to find a proper place to raise a fresh battery, which might destroy both the town and its fortifications. In the mean time some of the bombs having fallen on a place where the people were assembled, and killed about thirty or forty of them, threw the whole city into the utmost consternation, and filled the air with the most dreadful outcries. At length, finding the enemy resolutely bent on their ruin, and purifying their work with so much intrepidity, they agreed to dispatch a herald to the marshal to obtain a peace from him at any price.

The person they made choice of for that purpose was a venerable old man, 94 years of age, who, being introduced to the vice-admiral, addressèd him in words to this effect: "I am the unfortunate Trik, the father in-law of Baba Hafian, driven out of Algiers after a reign of 24 years, during which time I had been their Dey, and always behaved as a faithful friend to the French. I am now sent to you by the Dhouwan of Tripoli, to know what your demands are, and to mediate a peace between you and them." To this the vice-admiral answerèd in such terms as expressed his satisfaction; and, having acquainted him with the motives which had induced the king his master to begin the war against the Tripolitans, and propòsed to him the most effectual means of putting an end to it, promising him, at the same time, a cessation of hostilities till the next day, that they might have time to take his measures about the articles which he should fend to them. Trik assured him, that no time should be lost about it, the city being wholly inclined to peace; and leaving one of the principal members, who had accompanied him, as an hostage, returned with Mr. Raymond, a major of the French army, and Mr. La Croix, who was to serve as interpreter; upon which orders were given to fire five pieces of cannon, to assure the city of the cessation of the bombardment.

They met with a very civil reception from the Dey, who on the next day, being the 25th, cauèd the articles to be read before the Dhouwan; the principal of which were,

1. THAT they should pay 200,000 crowns as an equivalent for all the captures they had made of French merchantmen; and 2. To restore all the Chrisitian captives they had taken fighting under French colours. The first of them was greatly excepted against, on account of the impossibility of raising such an exorbitant sum; but, after some debates, they agreed to pay down 500,000 livres, and to release all the French captives; and as to the money, they promised that one part of it should be sent that very night, and the remainder within 20 days; which term the vice-admiral reduced to 15, and that on condition that they should furnish his fleet with a daily supply of beves for their maintenance, and that of the navies. And as to the Chrisitian captives, they engaged to release 200 of them, which, they said, were all then they had within and in the neighbourhood of their city. And as to the 400 more, which were then rowing in the seven galleys belonging to their republic, and at that time in the service of the Grand Signor against the Venetians, they would send ten of their principal citizens as hostages for their release, upon the return of those ships. An hundred and eighty of the former were accordingly restored by the very next morning, together with two other hostages for the remainder; but they raised several difficulties about the payment of the 150,000 livres agreed on; yet not being able to obtain any abatement on any pretence, and being on the contrary threatened by the marshal with fresh showers of his destructive bombs, the Dey saw himself obliged, not only to lay a tax on the citizens, but even to order the heads of five ringleaders of the malcontents to be struck off. This execution, joined to the admiral's menaces, so terrified the mutineers, that they immediately complied with his severer terms; insomuch that on the next morning, which was the 27th, and the day on which they were to pay the above-named sum, they brought but a small moiety of it in coin, and the rest in ingots, rings, bracelets, necklaces, gold chains, diam-

The great fire for peace.
The history of Tripoli.

They did not complete the payment of the stipulated sum till the 9th of July following; at which time they had fripped the Turkish synagogue of all its rich lamps, the Janizaries of their mitred caps, their horses of their richest harness, and their grand standard of its gilt silver ball; the admiral protesting, that he would not sign the peace till full payment of the sum was made, and threatening the citizens with a fresh bombardment at every delay; in a manner, that the fear of it had driven great numbers of them out of the city into the adjacent fields, to avoid being buried under the ruins of their own houses. At length, Mr. La Croix, the interpreter, having translated the articles of peace into the Turkish language, went in and read them before the Bey and Douwan; where, being solemnly signed and sealed, public notice was given of it by firing twenty-five cannon, the one to express their joy, and the other to return thanks to the marshall D'Eyrest for his services done to their republic; which, besides the large sum above-mentioned, and exacted with so much rigidity, consisted in the destroying of a vast number of houses, and the death of 320 persons buried under the ruins. The regency begged in the next place, that a confidule might be appointed to reside at Tripoli, which was readily granted; and M. Martinet nominated to that office, until his majesty's further orders arrived. Upon his coming to the house appointed for his residence, the French flag was hoisted up on the top thereof, and saluted by a third discharge of the same number of cannon.

Thus ended this dreadful expedition, to the great satisfaction of the French monarch, and his trading subjects in those parts; and which, how severe it may appear in its execution, must be owned by all that knew the avarice and perfidy of that piratical nation, to have been the only effectual way of bringing it to reason, and of deterring, if any thing will, all those miscreant corsairs from committing the most cruel, audacious outrages on those seas, in violation of the most solemn oaths and treaties with Christin princes and states: a talk which the great Charles the Vth, the English, Dutch, and other maritime nations, had attempted in vain in their turns.

By this treaty of peace the republic was further obliged to send an embassy to France, Tripoli for the which was to consist of two of the chief officers belonging to either of the three states; viz., the Bey, the Douwan, and the militia, and those to go and offer a kind of homage, or tribute, in their names, to the French monarch. The persons nominated to that office were the Khalil Aga, governor of the Baldis, and Heffer Aga, an officer of the marine. The presents they were to carry were to be some of the most curious birds and beasts that their country afforded, as lions, tigers, leopards, dromedaries, Barbery horses, oriches, &c.

They landed at Toulon on the 3d of May, 1687, accompanied by eight domesticats, besides the son of Khalil Aga above-mentioned, and were received there by the intendant of the marine, and maintained there and every-where else at the king's expense. They were obliged to stay there forty days, to recover themselves and their wild creatures from the fatigues of their voyage, withstanding their eager desire to get to Paris, and have the honour, as they expressed themselves, of being presented to the greatest monarch in the world.

They were no less liberal of their compliments on him, whilst they were shown, during that interval, the several rarities of the place; such as the arsenal, dock, port, and vessels riding in it. And much the same thing they did at every city through which they passed, and especially at that of Lyons, where they halted some days, and were visited by all the quality of both sexes in their richest dresses and equipages. The same honours were paid to them at Charenton, where they halted thirteen days, before they were conducted to Verailles, where the king and court then were, and where they were presented to them on the day after their arrival, in the usual form, just as his majesty was going out of his chapel. The speech they addressed him in, if their interpreter hath done them justice, was in the same low flattering style with all their other encomiums on him. It was to the following purpose:

"Great monarch of the earth, the envoys of the Bey, Douwan, and the militia of Tripoli, are come to present to your majesty some horses, dromedaries, and other animals of king's property, as an homage and tribute which they offer to your majesty; and they shall return home highly satisfied with the honour done to them of appearing before the greatest king in the world." Their reception was suitable to their high-born compliments; and, upon their leaving Paris, where they had been invited to view the rarities and curiosities of that city, and especially of the louvre, or royal palace, they expressed their admiration in words to this effect. Surely gold must be the most common of metals in this kingdom; and, by a Compliments, all that we have seen, we are fully persuaded, that his majesty need only form any one Compliment, with a shout immediately accomplished; so worthy did his sweet and affable temper ren.

† La Croix, ubi sop. in fin. sect. iii.
der him of the empire of the world. The royal academy, observatory, the various manufa-
tures they were shewn, particularly that called the Gobelins, or tapestry weaving, and many other such curiosities, produced still some fresh encomiums on the French nation; and this in particular, upon the whole, that nothing was impossible for it but the avoiding of death.

But that raised them to the highest pitch of wonder was the opera; the music, actors, dresses, scenes, and machinery, appeared to them to be nothing but a continued series of the most surprising enchantments; but so charming and attractive, that the old furious coxcomb being asked how he liked it, could not forbear expressing his admiration; and, at length broke forth into this appropriate allusion. Were we, said he, attacked by ever so powerful an enemy, we should not fail of making the best and stoutest defence, as long as our strength and ammunition lasted: but if attacked by those that compose the opera, with all this noble equipage and irresistible charms, we could do no other but lay down our arms and surrender ourselves to them.

They were at last admitted to the long wished for honour to see his majesty dine; and were no less surprised at the magnificence of his table, and the grandeur of his attendance and retinue on the occasion, if not still more at seeing that great monarch of the world eating and drinking like other mortals. Here they were presented each with a rich gold chain and medal, with his majesty’s effigy curiously stamped; and their retinue were likewise gratified with some suitable donation: after which they received their audience of leave and returned to Toulon, extremely pleased at the kind, and at first unlooked-for, reception they met with on this occasion. For, from the treatment their city and republic had received from the French vice-admiral, the severer articles imposed upon and exacted from it, but more especially from some expressions which Khail Aga let fall at the unexpected honours which were shewn to them at their first landing, that they rather feared they should be forced to undergo many reproaches and mortifications from that refecting monarch, as this embassy of submission and tribute was in some measure extorted from their regency. But now, from the opposite treatment he had met with, could, upon his return, experimentally acquaint his piratical countrymen, that the French monarchs were no less polite and generous towards their freeload and submissive allies, than severe and vindictive against those who presumed to break their treaties with them. Experience hath since sufficiently shewn how effectual two such ties as those have been to keep that perfidious nation firm to their treaties with France, though no other maritime power hath been able to do the like by them.

Something, however, like this policy, the Sultan hath been often obliged to use towards them, by treating them either with kindness, indifference, or even with severity: sometimes also he is obliged to bide the heads of the regency, particularly a new Dey, in order to secure their fidelity, to procure their assistance, or, as it often happens, to express his approbation of their choice; but often they will not reward any singular service done to him by some considerable prents; but most commonly that of some fine large ship, well manned and equipped, because the benefit it extends more to the good of the community, lays of course a greater obligation on all the subjects, especially as they have a few of their own, and those small, and poorly manned and equipped; though it often happens, that those presents, but more especially those late vessels, with all their men, cargo, equipage, &c. become prey to their irreconcilable and ever wakeful enemies the Maltese knights. Of this extraordinary bulk and equipage was that which was presented to the new Dey, anno 1724, which, though capacious enough to carry forty-eight large guns and fourteen pater- noes, and 400 men, was, nevertheless, so fine and excellent a failure, that it was with no difficulty that the chevalier de Chantefay, who commanded the Maltese frigate, could come up to and engage it; neither did he make himself master of it till after a continual firing on both sides, which lasted four hours.

To pursue the history of this kingdom still farther, would be both a needless and irksome labour, were we better acquainted with the transactions of it by land and sea, than it is possible for us to be; we should find little else in it but either the same scenes of piracy and cruelty in one, and of ambition, perfidy, rebellions, and murders in the other, as we have already seen in Tunis and Algiers, only done by different actors; so that a great part of it would be a dull repetition of sundry events which we have had occasion to mention in the two foregoing chapters. We shall, therefore, close their history with what is more interesting to England to know; viz. the treaty of peace and commerce concluded by the regency of that piratical republic with our British vice-admiral Baker, anno 1716; and is as follows:

* La Croix, ubi sup. fect. iv.
† Vertot in his lib. xiv.
ARTICLES of peace and commerce between his most sacred majesty king George, &c. and the most excellent lords Mahamet Bey; Tuffe Bey, the Douwan, and the rest of the officers and people of the city and kingdom of Tripoli, renewed, concluded, and ratified, on the 19th of July, A.D. 1716, by John Baker, Esq.; vice-admiral, &c.

1. That all merchant ships belonging to the dominions of Great-Britain, and trading to the city, or any part of the kingdom, of Tripoli, shall pay no more than three per cent. custom for all kinds of goods they shall sell; and as for those they shall not sell, they shall be permitted freely to embark them again on board their ships without paying any duty whatsoever, and shall depart without any hindrance or molestation.

2. That all ships and other vessels, as well belonging to the said king of Great-Britain, or to any of his majesty’s subjects, as those belonging to the city and kingdom of Tripoli, shall freely pass the seas, and traffic where they please, without any search, hindrance, or molestation from each other; and that all persons and passengers, of what country soever, and all manner of merchandises, goods, and moveables, to whatsoever people or nation belonging, being on board any of the said ships or vessels, shall be wholly free, and shall not be stopped, taken, or plundered, or receive any harm or damage whatsoever from either party.

3. That the Tripolitan ships of war, or any other vessels thereunto belonging, meeting with any merchant ships or vessels of the king of Great-Britain’s subjects (not being in any seas belonging to his majesty’s dominions) may send on board one single boat with two sitters, besides the ordinary crew of rowers, and no more than the two sitters to enter into the said merchant-ships, or any other vessels, without the express leave of the commander of each such ship or vessel; and then, upon their producing to them a pass, under the hand and seal of the high admiral of England, or of the commissioners for executing the said office, the said boat shall presently depart, and the merchant-ship or ships, vessel or vessels, shall freely proceed on its or their voyage: and though the commander or commanders of such merchant-ship or ships, or vessels, produce no pass from the high admiral of England, or, &c. yet, if the major part of the ships or vessels company be subjects of the said king of Great-Britain, the said boat shall presently depart, and the merchant-ship or ships, &c. shall freely proceed on their voyage: and any of the said ships of war, or other vessels of his said majesty, meeting with any ship or ships, &c. belonging to Tripoli, if the commander or commanders of such ship or ships, &c. shall produce a pass, signed by the governors of Tripoli, and a certificate from the English consul residing there, or, if they have no such pass or certificate, yet, if the major part of the said ships or vessels company be Turks, Moors, or slaves belonging to Tripoli, then the said Tripoli ship, vessel, &c. shall freely proceed on their voyage.

4. That no commander, or other person, of any ship or vessel of Tripoli, shall take out of any ship or vessel of his said majesty’s subjects any person or persons whatsoever, to carry them anywhere to be examined, or upon any other pretence; nor shall use any torture or violence unto any person of what nation or quality soever, being on board any ship or vessel of his said majesty, upon any pretence whatsoever.

5. That no ship-wreck belonging to the said king of Great-Britain, or to any of his subjects, upon any part of the coasts belonging to Tripoli, shall be made or become a prize; and that neither the goods thereof shall be seized, nor the men made slaves; but that all the subjects of Tripoli shall do their best endeavours to save the said men and their effects.

6. That no ship, nor any other vessel of Tripoli, shall have permission to be delivered up, or to go to any other place at enmity with the king of Great-Britain, to be made use of as corsairs against his majesty’s subjects.

7. That if any ship or vessel belonging to Tunis, Algiers, Tetuan, Sallem, or any other place being at war with the said king of Great-Britain, bring any ships or vessels of his said majesty’s subjects to Tripoli, or to any port or place of that kingdom, the governors there shall not permit them to be fold within the territories of Tripoli.

8. That if any of the said king of Great-Britain’s subjects shall happen to die in Tripoli, or any of its territories, his goods or monies shall not be seized by the governors, or any ministers of Tripoli, but shall remain with the English consul.

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10. That neither the said confoul, nor any other subject of Great-Britain, shall be bound to pay the debts of any other Britishe subject, unless they become surety for the same by a public act.

11. That the subjects of his said Britishe majesty in Tripoli, or its territories, in matters of controversy, shall be liable to no other jurisdiction but that of the Day or Douwan, except the difference be between themselves; in which case they shall be liable to no other determination than that of the confoul.

12. That in case any subject of his Britannic majesty, being in any part of the kingdom of Tripoli, shall happen to kill, wound, or strike a Turk or Moor, if he be taken, he shall be punished in the same manner, and with no greater severity than a Turk ought to be for the like offence; but if he escape, neither the English confoul, nor any other Britishe subject, shall be in any sort questioned or troubled on that account.

13. That the English confoul now, or at any time hereafter, residing at Tripoli, shall be there at all times with entire freedom, and safety of his person and estate, and shall be permitted to chuse his own interpreter and broker, and freely to go on board any ship in the roads as often as he pleases, and to have the liberty of the country, and shall be allowed a place to pray in, and that no person shall do him any injury, in word or deed.

14. That not only during the continuance of this peace and friendship, but likewise if any breach or war happen to be hereafter between his said Britishe majesty and the city and kingdom of Tripoli, the said confoul, and all others his majesty's subjects inhabiting in the kingdom of Tripoli, shall always, and at all times, both in peace and war, have full and absolute liberty to depart, and to go into their own, or any other country, in any ship or vessel of what nation ever so, they shall think fit, and to carry with them all their effects, goods, families, and servants, though born in the country, without any molestation or hindrance.

15. That no subject of his Britannic majesty, being a passenger from or to any port, shall be molested or meddled with, though he be in a ship or vessel at war with Tripoli.

16. That if any of his said Britannic majesty's ships of war come to Tripoli, or to any other port or place of that kingdom, with any prize, they shall have liberty to sell it, or otherwise dispose of it, at their own pleasure, without any let or molestation; and that his said majesty's ships of war shall not be obliged to pay any customs whatsoever; and that if they shall want provisions, victuals, or any other things, they may freely buy them at the market price.

17. That when any of his Britannic majesty's ships of war shall appear before Tripoli, upon notice thereof given to the English confoul, or by the commander of the said ships to the chief governor of Tripoli, public proclamation shall be immediately made to secure the Christian captives; and if, after that, any Christians whatsoever make their escape on board any of the said ships of war, they shall not be required back again; nor shall the said confoul or commander, or any other Britishe subject, be obliged to pay any thing for the said escaped Christians.

18. That all the merchant-ships coming to the city or kingdom of Tripoli, though not belonging to Great-Britain, shall have free liberty to put themselves under the protection of the Britishe confoul, in felling and disposing of their goods and merchandise, if they shall think proper, without any molestation.

19. That all the Britishe ships of war carrying his majesty's flag, upon their appearing before the city of Tripoli, after due notice given of it by the Britishe confoul, shall, in honour of his Britannic majesty, be saluted with twenty-seven cannon fired from the castle of the city, and that the said ship shall return the same number to it.

20. That no merchant-ship belonging to Great-Britain, or any other nation under the protection of the Britishe confoul, being in the port of Tripoli, shall be detained from proceeding to sea on her voyage longer than three days, under pretence ofarming the ships of war of this government, or any other whatsoever.

21. That no Britishe subject shall be permitted to turn Maphem in the city and kingdom of Tripoli (being induced to it by any surprize whatsoever) unless he voluntarily appear before the Day, or governor, with the English confoul's interpreter, thrice in twenty-four hours, and every time declaring his resolution to become Mowedan.

22. That his Britannic majesty's confoul residing in Tripoli shall, at all times when he pleases, have liberty to put up his said majesty's flag on the top of his house, and there to continue it displayed as long as he pleases; and likewise that the said confoul shall have the like liberty of putting up and displaying the said flag in his boat when he pases on the water, and no man whatsoever to oppose, disturb, or injure him therein, either by word or deed.

23. That whereas the island of Minorca and city of Gibraltar have been yielded to his Britannic majesty by the king of Spain, as well as several other powers of Europe engaged
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in the late war, it is agreed and concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the said island of Minorca and city of Gibraltar shall be esteemed in every respect by the government of Tripoli to be part of his Britannic majesty's dominions, and the inhabitants thereof shall be deemed his natural subjects, as if they had been born in Great-Britain; and they, with their ships carrying British colours, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the kingdom of Tripoli, and shall pass without any molestation, either on the seas or otherwise, in the same manner, and with the same freedom and privileges, as have been stipulated in this and all former treaties in behalf of the British nation and subjects.

24. And whereas, in the treaty concluded in the reign of king Charles II. anno 1676, by Sir John Narborough, an article was inserted, by which the ships of Tripoli were excluded from cruizing before, or in sight of, the port of Tangier, then belonging to his majesty, it is now ratified and concluded, that none of the ships or vessels belonging to Tripoli shall cruise, or look for prizes, before or in sight of the island of Minorca and Gibraltar, to disturb or molest the commerce thereof in any manner whatsoever.

25. That all and every article in the treaty shall be inviolably kept and observed between his sacred British majesty and the most illustrious lords, &c. of the city and kingdom of Tripoli; and all other matters, not particularly expressed in this treaty, and provided for in any former, shall still remain in full force, and shall be esteemed the same as if inferred here.

Dated, in the presence of Almighty God, in the city of Tripoli, on the 19th day of June, anno 1716 of the Christian era, and of the Mohammedan Hijra 1128.

C H A P. VI.

The history of the kingdom of Barca.

We have by this time nearly finished our African history, and taken the round of all its coastts, as well as of its principal inland kingdoms, and are happily arrived at the country, or, as it is more commonly titled, the desert of Barca, situate between Egypt and Tripoli, and contiguous to both; extending itself in length from east to west, that is, from the confines of the former to those of the latter, from the 37th to the 44th degrees of long. from Paris, and in breadth, from north to south, about thirty leagues; though its confines on the south side are various, and at best very uncertain. Leo Africanus and Marmol give this country a still more extraordinary length and breadth; but it is plain they both included within them the Regio Sycita, on the south side of the Syrma gulph; seeing, according to them, the whole length amounts to 1300, and its breadth to 200 miles, from the Libyan sea to the confines of Numidia; whereas our most modern geographers compute its length only from the eastern coast of the gulph to the Alexandrian confines, or from the 37th to the 60th degree of longitude from east to west, whatever it may be in its breadth from north south.

We have given an account of its antient state in a former part of this work. It retains still its old name and fertility, being, for the most part, especially the middle, nothing but a tract of dry and barren sand; on which account the Arabs, its chief inhabitants, title it Sabart, or Ceyrat Barka, that is, the desert or road of whirlwinds, or hurricanes (A). It labours almost every where under a great scarcity of water; and, except in the neighbourhood of towns and villages, where the ground produces some small quantities of grain, such as corn, millet, and some maize, the rest is in a manner quite barren and uncultivated, or, to speak more properly, incultivabile; and even of that small quantity, which those few spots produce, the poor inhabitants are obliged to exchange some part with their indigent neigh-

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(A) Some authors have derived its name of Barka from the verb Bara, to blest; and will have it to signify blesst, but, besides that it is differently spelt in the Arabic, and can bear no other signification than that we have given it from Leo Africanus, Marmol, and other Arabian writers, the dry, sandy, and barren nature of the country (in which, to use the words of Quintus Curtius (2) and Arrian (3), a traveller seems to wage war with nature, the ground sinking under his feet at every step, his eyes being blinded by the sand which covers it, blown in clouds about him by the wind and air) plainly shews, that the name of Barca could not belong to it in any but an ironical sense.

1 Leo Afric. lib. vi. sect. 10. Marmol. lib. vi. c. ult.  2 Lib. iv.  3 Lib. iii.
bours for dates, sheep, and camels, which they stand in greater need of than they, by rea-
son of their great scarcity of grains and other proper food; for the want of which, those
which are brought to them seldom thrive or live long. But the most desert and danger-
cous of all is that in which the temple of Jupiter Ammon is; which, though in
other respects so pleasantly situated, is surrounded a great way round about with such quick
and burning sands, as are very detrimental to travellers, not only as they flink under their
feet, but being light and heated by the rays of the sun, are easily raffed by every breath of
wind; which, if it chance to be in their faces, almost burns their eyes out, and stifles them
for want of breath; and, if vehement, often overhauls whole caravans. We have for-
merly seen the sad catastrophe of Canophyes and his army, in his bold attempt against that
temple and oracle, as well as Alexander's more successful, though difficult, expedition to it.
But, upon the whole, the country may justly be termed a sandy desert, through which
there is no travelling without the help of a compass, or the direction of the stars, and
the it was once the thoroughfare for the caravans from Barbary to Morocco to Mecca, yet
it has been since so infested with wild Arabs, that they are obliged to Fear fifty leagues about
to avoid being plundered by them.

The French geographers divide the country of Barca into that which they call the king-
dom, and the desert; the former of which hath some considerable ports, towns, and villages;
and is, according to them, under the protection of the Porte, and governed by a Cadi,
who is the Basha of Kayro, and hath his residence at Tripoli: but this seems to be said
without any good authority. According to Sanfon and Baudranch, this other part, which
spreads itself along the eastern coast, and which they call the eastern shore of Tripoli, extends
itself from the port of Solomon, or Solymus, to the gulf of Sydor; but this coast is most
commonly known by the name of Derna, from one of the most considerable towns and ports
upon it; besides which it has several others, and the ruins of a much greater number, which
are now reduced to poor villages. The most remarkable ones are the Cape Raccochino, filled
by Ptolemy the great Ciceronius, because it forms a peninsula; and the farthest towards
Egypt is the town of Alexia, or Ouguela, which name it seems to have preferred ever since
the time of Ptolemy, who calls the inhabitants Angelians. Its territory, though mostly
defert, hath good water, and produces dates. Between those two are many others, but dif-
ferrently placed and named by those geographers, which shews that this coast was but little
known to them, as the Porto Taheraca, formerly Batracba, Batraqua, and Patriarcha, Cape
de Lucco, or Laco, antiently Promontorium Canonymum, Porto Mejulman, the haven of Salone,
Solana, suppos'd by some to be the antient Portus Panormus and Gelmis, and by others the
Portus Catabatamus, but none of them with any certainty. Our latest geographers agree
in placing it on the most eastern verge of the Barcan coast, next to the confines of Egypt.
To these we may add some few more out of La Croix; viz. the great valley of Carpe Sappi-
res, the antient Catabatamus, which extends itself quite to Egypt, overgaunt the spot
where stood the temple of Jupiter Ammon. The Arab pilgrims, who go through it to Mecca,
call it in their language Rejaebhir, or the ruined places. From these one comes to Porto
Albione, or the Sultan's port; that of Cagour, formerly Trifacci; the cape and haven of
Rasa, antiently Paretonium; and, lastly, the city of Barca or Barca, which gives name to
the whole province, and lies farther up into the inland, on the eastern coast of the gulf of
Sydor above-mentioned. Ptolemy, who gives it the name of Paleonam, tells us, that it was
a celebrated city in his days; and Pliny and Strabo, who give it the same name, tell us, it was
a famed sea port in the Pentapolis Cyreniaca. It still retains that name with a small
change, and is called Telmena to this day; but from the different situation which thes
latter give it from Ptolemy, who places it higher in the inland, as well as from Strabo, who
places it to the port of Barca at the distance of 100 and the city 500 fadaces from the sea, one may
reasonably conjecture, that Paleonam did not stand where the city but where the port of
Barca did. And this will at once reconcile the difference between those antient geographers.

Thus much must suffice for the towns and most considerable places in this vast tract.
What condition they are in, what commerce they drive, or how and by whom governed,
we cannot find any satisfactory account of; and it is most likely that the maritime towns are
under the protection of the Porte, but whether under the government of the Basha of Tripoli
or Tripoli, or whether they have formed themselves into free states like those of Algiers and
Tunis, we cannot say; only we are told, that the inhabitants of the maritime towns are more
civilized and convertible than those of the inland. The first profests Mahometanism, and have
imbibed the notions of humanity and justice; whilst the latter, those especially of the desert,

* De hoc vid. Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 426. & seq. 9 Ibid. vol. ii. p. 57. & seq. 9 Ibid. vol. iii. p. 347. & seq. 8 La Croix. Afr. part i. c. 9 c. x. Baudranch, & al. 7 Geogr. l. iv. c. 5. 6 De his vid. La Croix, De Lisle, D'Anville, & al. 5 L. iv. c. 5. 4 Vid. La Croix, & al. sup. citat. 3 Vid. La Martiniere, sub voce Barca, & al. sup. citat. 2 who
who have neither religion nor any sign of worship among them, are altogether as savage and brutish, and live wholly upon theft and plunder, like all other wild Arabs, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in some of the foregoing chapters: for it was by them that this track, till then a continued barren desert, was first inhabited; who, at their first coming into it, settled themselves in the best cantons; but as they multiplied, and were at frequent wars, one herd or tribe with another, the strongest drove the weakest out of the best spots, and sent them to wander in the desert parts, where they live in the most obscure and miserable condition; their lot scarcely yielding any one necessity of life, food, or raiment. Hence it is that they are said to be the ugliest of all the Arabs; their bodies having scarcely anything but skin and bones, their faces meagre, looks fierce and ravenous; their garb, which is commonly what they take from the passagers and pilgrims who go through those parts, tattered with long wearing; whilst the poorest of them have hardly a rag to cover their middle.

They are likewise reported to be the most resolute and expert robbers and plunderers, that being their chief employ and livelihood, both which frequently yield them so lean a harvest, that necessity forces them to lengthen their excursions as far as into Numidia, Libya, and other southern parts for fresh supplies*. Our author adds, that they commit the most unheard of cruelties on those that fall into their hands, making them drink plenty of warm milk, and then hanging them up by the feet and shaking them, in order to make them bring up any ducats, or other small coin, if any such they had swallowed to conceal from them.

They will even rake in their excrements, in hopes to find something to recom pense their trouble and indecency; it beingusual, it seems, among those merchants and pilgrims, who travel through this desert, to take that method to save what gold they carry about them; and whether any be found so concealed or not, they never fail stripping them of every thing they have, even to the last rag of their cloaths: in which, however, they come short of that inhumanity which is commonly practised in other parts of Africa by that plundering nation, who murder as well as rob their prey, unless they can get more by selling them for slaves than eating them; of which we have seen several instances in the foregoing volumes*. And yet so poor, indigent, and famished are these Barcaus, that they commonly let, pledge, and even sell their children, to procure the necessaries of life, to the Sicilians, and other neighbouring Christians, from whom they have most of their corn, especially before they set out for any long excursion: and it often happens, that after a successful one, they are enabled to redeem them again, but find that they have been converted and baptized; of which our author tells us he saw many instances in Sicily*; but whether converted or not, they all partake of that fallen taciturnity and stupid ignorance about their country, which is common to all the Africani that are forced out of it, that there is no possibility of extracting any intelligence from them concerning it.

Here, therefore, we shall put an end to this chapter, referring the further account of the few Arabian dynasties which have flourished in this kingdom, as well as those of Numidia, Libya, Nubia, and Scene, or Upper Egypt, to the supplement we have elsewhere promised†, where the reader will have them all at one view; and where we shall likewise supply any material omissions which may have happened through the course of this extensive work; and shall also take care to inflict such other discoveries as have been lately made by some learned travellers, on the antiquities, and other valuable rarities, both natural and artificial, of this kingdom, especially of that part of it called Scene, or Upper Egypt; but which are not numerous enough to make a separate section of in this chapter.

The history of Maltha.

Book XXII.

Chapter VII.

Section I.

The history of the island, and of the order of the knights, of Maltha.

Malta, island described.

This little island, known to the Romans by the name of Melita, and famed chiefly for the hospitable reception which its inhabitants gave to the great apostle of the Gentiles, and to the rest of his shipwrecked companions, lies in the Mediterranean sea, between the coasts of Tripoli and those of Sicily; and tho' distant only 18 leagues south from the latter, and about 50 north of the former, is nevertheless reckoned among the African islands by Ptolemy, and rightly enough, seeing the Punic corrupt Arabic, which was formerly spoken by the inhabitants, seems to them plainly enough to have had their origin from thence. It is situated about the 36th degree of north latitude, and between the 15th and 16th of east longitude, having the southern coast of Sicily on the north, tho' of Tripoli on the south, the Morca and island of Candia on the east, and, on the west, the islands of Pantanarea, Linosa, and Lampadisa. Its fourth coast consists of little but rocks and shelves, without any port or creek to fall into; but on the eastern side it hath some commodious havens, particularly those called Cala di S. Marco and Cala di S. Paolo; but the two most considerable ones in the island are those on the south-east side, the one called Marza Muzet, and the other Morca, which signifies a port, and is the larger of the two, and lies on the right hand of port Muzet. These two are divided only by an oblong peninsula, on which is built a flat fort or castle called St. Elmo, which defends the entrance into both. Within that of Muzet lies a small island, near which the ships suspected of infection are obliged to perform quarantine. Tho' of St. Nicolo, Scatu, and Siroco, have little or nothing worth notice, and more need not be said of them (A).

This isle is commonly computed to be about 19 or 20 leagues in length, 9 or 10 in breadth, and 60 in circumference, little less or more. But though it had been antiently in the possession of the Carthaginians, Romans, and other polite nations, yet it seems to have been little better than a barren place, partly sandy, partly rocky, the latter having hardly any depth of earth, and that so heavy, as to be scarcely capable of producing corn, or any other grain, except cummin, and some other such-like feeds; its chief produce being figs, melons, honey, cotton, and some few other commodities and fruits, which the inhabitants exchanged for corn; and in this barren state it seems to have continued, till it came into the possession of the Maltese knights. It laboured likewise under great scarcity of water and fuel: upon all which accounts it was till that time but thinly inhabited, there being only about 30 or 40 boroughs, or other villages, scattered about in poor hamlets, and no city except the capital of its name, and the town and fort of St. Angelo, which defended the port, of which we shall give an account in the sequel: so that the whole number of its inhabitants scarcely amounted to 12,000, women and children included, and the greatest part of them very indigent. In a word, it was so barren, poor, and uninviting, that when the emperor Charles V. offered it to the knights of Rhodes, after their being driven out of that island, their commissaries, who were sent to take an exact view of it, brought back such a discouraging account of it, that it was not without great difficulty that they were prevailed upon to accept of it. How it hath been improved since their settlement in it, we are now going to shew.

(A) According to this situation, which the generality of modern geographers (1) unanimously give it, it is plain, that it is different from another island of the same name, Malta, but now Melita, on the coast of Dalmatia, near the city of Ragusa. Malta is supposed by Plutarch (2), from its situation, and other particulars, to be the antient Hibernia mentioned by Homer (3); whence the Phoenicians were afterwards driven by the Phorcides, and retired into Scenic and the island of Cyprus, which is the more probable, as the antient poet places the mountain Melita in that island. He hath likewise brought some very probable arguments to prove, that Melita or Malta is the antient Ogygia, in which the famed nymph Calypso, daughter of the Ocean and Tethis, received the shipwrecked Ulysses, and detained him fourteen years at rest and board (4), but being out of the limits of our modern history, we shall content ourselves with the bare mention of it here, as no notice had been taken of it in the antient.

The island of Maltha hath now four considerable towns, surrounded with stout walls, and other fortifications; viz. Città Valetta, Città Vecchia, or old city, or antient Maltba, the town of St. Angelo, called also Città Vittoriosa, or the victorious city, and St. Michael, all of them well inhabited, and in a thriving condition. Besides, these poor hamlets have Strength, grown into stout and populous villages, the old ones into considerable boroughs or towns, well built and inhabited, and the ground every-where so well cultivated, as to be able to supply the inhabitants with plenty of all necessaries. The ports and havens on the coast have likewise received their respective improvements, as the whole island every-where is so strongly fortified, that it hath been enabled to resist and battle all the power and efforts of the Ottoman emperor to this very day. It is true, indeed, that the strength and success of this place, and its having proved such an effectual bulwark to Christianity, hath been chiefly owing to the singular bravery and zeal of that noble order; but still it is as plain, that they have spared neither pains nor cost to render this new settlement as impregnable as art and diligence could make it. They have likewise added not a little to its strength by the training up the inhabitants, who are naturally very stout and brave, to their martial discipline, so as to be ready to appear in arms upon any invasion, or other emergency; and these were grown so numerous, that in the year 1632, when an account was taken of them under their grand matter Antonio de Paulo, they were found to amount to 51,750 souls, people. Numerous exclusive of the knights of the order, the clergy, which are also pretty numerous, and of those they file familiars, or officers of the inquisition.

The natives are very robust and healthy, notwithstanding the excessive heat occasioned by the refraction of the sun's rays from such abundance of high rocks that cover the island, but those are so well refreshed by the western and north-westly winds, which commonly blow during the best part of the afternoon, that they are seldom incommoded by them, and even strangers easily accommodate themselves to the climate. There was a time, indeed, when most part of the country was afflicted with a contagious fever during the hot months, more especially that of Augib. This was then attributed to some particular inclemency of the air at that season; but it being afterwards found to proceed from the vaunt quantities of flux which used to be then thrown into the water to soak, and a prohibition issued against it, the distemper wholly ceased. There are no rivers in the island, but here and there some excellent springs of fresh water, and, where these fail, they are forced to dig wells in the rock; but their cities are most commonly supplied by rain water, which they preserve in their cisterns.

The city of Maltba, or antient city, formerly called Melita, on account of the great quantity of honey which the island produced (B), was once the capital and only city of it.

It is very antient; and its cathedral, dedicated to St. Peter, is the first that ever was built in it, soon after St. Paul had converted its inhabitants; and the common tradition is, that the prefect Publius, who so kindly received that apostle, was converted by him, and made the first bishop of it. It hath not any thing else worth notice; and that which is now the most considerable upon all accounts is that called Città Valetta, by the Italians Terra Nova, and by the French Ville Nouve, or the new city. Some give it likewise the title of Città Notabile, or the notable city, upon what account we cannot find; but its first name was given to it by the famed John de Valetta, grand master of the order, who caused it to be rebuilt immediately after it had been sally battered, or rather almost ruined, by the Turks, from the castle of St. Elmo, which is situated just before it, and of which they had made themselves masters, as well as of the greatest part of the island. The city is built upon a rocky ground, high and craggy, which makes its streets very unpleasant and uneven, being most up and down hill, though otherwise strait and large. The handmost of all is that which reaches from castle St. Elmo to the royal gate; it is about a mile in length, and here it is that the finest races are run by horses and stags on rejoicing days. The ground on which the city stands parts the great port of Marsa from the lesser one called Marsa Mazzet, or Mussette, which forms a kind of peninsula, open to the sea-waves at three different places, by means of a deep ditch cut into the rock, which

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Fortifications. It is reckoned a very strong place, not only on account of its advantageous situation above-mentioned, but much more for the stout walls flanked with bastions, and other modern works, and surrounded by a deep and large ditch, cut likewise into the solid rock, and some other fortifications added to it occasionally at different times by the grand masters of the order, of which we may have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history.

Free Buildings. Neither is its beauty within the walls inferior to its strength without; the streets of it being wide, long, and frait, adorned with handsome houys, and noble public buildings of square stone, flately and spacious, particularly that called Strata Reale, or high-street, and the Strata de Merchants, or merchant-street. The houys amount to above 2,000, are strong and lofty, flat on the top after the easter manner, and for the most part provided with cisterns and reservoirs for rain water; but they have been since much better supplied with a delicious spring that hath been conveyed thither by proper aqueducfts from the Porta del Monte, near the sea side, under the reign of their famed grand master Alof de Vignacourt; by which means not only the city is supplied with plenty of it, but the springs that rise in the haven may have it conveyed into their cahys, by help of canes or pipes, with great care and expedition.

Gotts. Besides the Porta del Monte, towards the sea above-mentioned, the city hath two other gates leading into the adjacent territories, on the inland side viz. that called Pata Real, or royal gate, and Pata Boucheron, so called from its neighbourhood to the butchers slaught-

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Gardens without. ter-houys. The country about the city abounds with delightful gardens, some of them cut out of the solid rock, and made productive of all manner of fruits, flowers, and herbage, and kept in excellent order by dint of labour and industry, that in particular called Bascheta, or pleasure garden, belonging to the grand master, and situate on an eminence on the west side of the city, yields the most beautiful prospect, from the great quantities of stately trees which grow upon it, as orange, lemon, citron, pomagranate, olive, peach, nectarine, and e other fruit-trees. One part of this delicious spot is made into a warren, and breeds a great quantity of hares and rabbits; another, planted with olive-trees, abounds with flags, deer, &c. The whole is finely variegated with springs, cascades, and other water-works, and adorned with a most stately palace, whose apartments and lofty walls are magnificently furnished and adorned. The top of it is a noble platform, which hath some pieces of mounted cannon, and commands as well as yields a most charming prospect, particularly that of the bishop's garden, situate between that and the city.

Churches. Here are seven stately churches, the most considerable of which is the cathedral, dedicated to St. John, the patron of the order, whose right hand they pretend to have as their most valuable relic. The other six are those of St. Agnin, St. Dominique, St. Marie du Trés, St. Paul, the Madonna, or lady of victory, the Madonna del Carmine, and the college of Jaffa, besides chapels belonging to the monasteries, nunneries, hospitals, and other religious houses.

Palaces and seats for the seven tongues. Here are likewise besides the grand master's palace, of which we shall speak in its place, several others, commonly called by the knights Borgia, and by the French Auberge, or inns, as they were at their first institution, but are since stiled more commonly courts or palaces, from their sublateral magnificence, designed for the seven nations, or, as they affect to call them, tongues, of which their order at present consists; they had formerly an eighth, which was called that of Angletown, or English, but this hath been abolished since the reformation. The names of the others are Providence, Aquigny, France, Italy, Arragon, Germany, and Spain or Caffile. Each of them have their great halls, where they hold their national councils, before they meet in the great one, in which every thing relating to the order is deliberated, the grand masters choves, peace and war resolved, ambassadors received, and the like, of all which we shall have further occasion to speak when we give an account of that order, and its institutions and rules.

The grand master likewise always resides in this city, and hath his palace built between the caffle of St. Elmo and the cathedral of St. John. It is a most sumptuous edifice, and by far the largest and most magnificant in the whole island; and it is the great hall, in which is held the general chapter or assembly of the knights of the first order, or, as they are stiled, the knights of the great craft, of whom we shall speak more fully in the sequel. Near the same caffle of St. Elmo is a very noble hospital, which was greatly enlarged and enriched in the year 1664; in which everyick perfon hath a separate room, within a spacious hall, 50 yards wide, and 70 in breadth. There are 25 of these chambers on each side of the hall, divided by a wide gallery, which runs through from end to end. In these each sick perfon is lodged in the most commodious manner, and not only attended with the utmost care by proper physicians, surgeons, &c. but, what is more, is served by the knights themselves, though all of them perfons of the greatest rank and quality, none but such

1 Dapper, Davy, Vertot, &c.

m Vid. aoe. fop. citat.
Chap. 7. The history of Malta.

a being admitted into that order; and one would have been struck with the deepest admiration, to have seen with what tenderness and readiness those noble knights did attend, and even emulate that kind of hospitable charity towards their respective wards. Their sick persons are all served with silver; not a plate, dish, cup, spoon, &c. but is of that metal; and in these utensils are brought their victuals to their bed-side by those knights, as likewise the medicines and other things that are ordered to them by the physicians; of which there are commonly four kept in pay, who regularly visit them every morning and evening. But we must here observe, that the Maltese knights have greatly degenerated from the rules, and, within this last century, from the obsequiousness of those of their kind institution, and have given themselves more to luxury, gallantry, and other modish vices, than to the obsequence of the primitive practice of the canons of their order, or the imitation of their predecessors, whole extraordinary valour and undaunted bravery abroad, when fighting against the enemies of Christianity, joined to the most zealous obsequence of their religious discipline, had justly gained them the universal admiration and esteem of all Christendom. However, with respect to the hospital we are now speaking of, though they have quite relaxed from that antient humility and condescension in performing the lowest offices to those patients, yet they still take care that they shall be attended with the same care and diligence by persons of a lower rank.

Near this place, and the grand master's palace, is a large market-place, where all manner of provisions are brought and sold by the country people, in great abundance; such as corn, and other grain, fruits and greens of all sorts, wild and tame fowl, hogs, goats, oxen, sheep, and other necessaries of life. Most of the dead commodities are brought upon asses, which the natives of those mountainous parts are forced to use instead of horses. This market is kept every day, and in summer, when the heat is excessive, begins several hours before sun-rise. But the greater part of the corn and other provisions is brought thither from Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, &c. besides what is got by the prizes they make upon the Turks and other enemies at sea.

There is likewise another spacious square before the banjert, or prison, where their flashes are kept; which last is a very large building, suitable to the vast number of those flashes they are continually bringing in from the coasts of Barbary, and the Turks and other dominions; and this piazza is the place where they are exposed to sale. We have no room to describe their other public buildings; such as the bishop's palace, the custom-house, treasury, chancery, foundery, valet magazines for corn, wine, and other provisions, and many others of the like nature. But we cannot omit here a short account of their arsenal, which is not only a foppish edifice without, but is perhaps one of the best-furnished with the greatest quantity of arms, and other warlike weapons, machines, engines, &c. of all sorts, and kept in the most elegant regularity and order of any in Europe; it being always under the inspection of one of the order, and adjoining to the palace of the grand master.

This huge pile consists of a spacious hall, in the middle of which stand five wooden machines, of a square figure; on all the four sides are hung, with great symmetry and neatness, all sorts of armour; such as helmets, shields, breast-plates, coats of mail, swords, halberds, pikes, half-pikes, daggers, muskets, pistols, and others of the like nature, of various shapes and sizes. The walls and beams across the ceiling, are likewise covered with long and cross-bows, and other such warlike weapons, as were in use in former times, and which were brought thither from the island of Rhodes; the whole containing as great a quantity of arms as would completely equip an army of 30,000 men. Adjoining to and across that hall is another, which is likewise filled with all kinds of arms, which were for the most part brought thither from Holland by the then grand master Lascaris, who made a present of them to the order. Besides these, every knight hath his own armoury for himself and his retinue, within his own house; and so hath every burgher and peasant throughout the island.

At the entrance into the bay, one meets with two large rocks, which advance into the sea over against Città Valetta, like the two fingers of a hand; on the point of one of which, near the mouth of the bay, stands the town and castle of St. Angelo, and on the other that called Città Vittorio, both built on the rock and strongly fortified. The former of these had formerly some strong outworks, arsenals, magazines, a palace, and apartments for the knights, and an hospital for sailors; but was almost totally ruined by the Turks, anno 1565. Since which it is inhabited but by a handful of people, mostly belonging to the dock where the galleys are built, and where the commander of them hath a house not far from the water-side.

The other, which stands further in, and called Città Vittorio, from the fierce it main—Città Vittorio—tained against the Turks, was built by one of the grand masters, named Philip de Villiers D'ol.  

* Dapper, Davy, Vertot, &c.  
* de his vide Vertot.  
* Vertot, &c. al. sup. citat.

Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.  
5 B  
Adam,
Adam, soon after the order had taken possession of the island; and is still very well fortified. a It is about a mile and a half in compass, and contains about 1200 houses, which are mostly inhabited by Maltese natives, and mariners. It hath five or six small churches, one of them belonging to the Greeks, and a palace, which serves for a court to the officers of the inquisition. The town and harbour of St. Michael, commonly called the Single Island, from one of the grand masters of the order, who caused it to be built anno 1560, is only parted from the land by a deep ditch. It is about a league in compass, and well fortified after the modern manner; and is chiefly inhabited by the corsairs of the order, who are sent to cruize against the Turks. Between this port and that of St. Angelo is another, to which all the corsairs and galleys come to anchor with their prizes and plunder, whether taken from Turks or Christians. This port may be shut up by the means of a strong chain, to prevent the Turks, or any other enemies, entering into it; and here the standard of the city and castle are displayed, when any gally or other vessel is failing in. Behind that of St. Michael is the place where the Dutch vessels usually come to anchor*. And thus much may suffice with respect to the most considerable sea-port towns.

The villages, or abadies, as they are called by the natives, or corsairs by the Incians, though, as we have elsewhere told, they were reckoned by authors of older date to amount to no more than between thirty and forty*, yet they have so far increased in number, as well as built, since the fortification of the order in the island, as to amount to above sixty; some of which are like wise become very considerable*. They were divided soon after into parishes, as the better regulation of their several districts; whist the directions and encouragements they have given to the mountaineers, and the example they have set before them, how to improve their lands to the best advantage, and the training them up under their martial discipline, in order to defend themselves against invasions, have at once enabled them to live more happily and safely under their new masters, than they did before their coming, under their former government.

This island never was noted for any natural rarities worth notice; if we except the cave of St. Paul and his company took shelter from the rains, when the viper fastened to his arm; on the roof, sides, and floor of which, we are told, are found in the solid stone, which is of a soft nature, the eyes, tongues, heads, and other parts, of that reptile kind, in great abundance, and so lively represented, that no art can exceed them. The like of which we are also told are to be found in many other parts of the island; and all of them are said to be far, and are used accordingly, as an efficacious antidote against the bite of poisonous creatures, and even against all kinds of poison. And this, the tradition adds, is a quality which was given to them by the miraculous blessing and prayers of that apostle, in whom no venomous creature could live in that island ever since that time (C). Near that place is a well of excellent water, which they likewise pretend was at first miraculously brought out by the same apostle’s sprinkling the rock, to quench the thirst of his companions after their shipwreck; and some other virtues are likewise ascribed to the water by the superstitious inhabitants, not worth repeating; only it may not be improper to observe, in general, that the island is almost every way, but more particularly on the south coast, surrounded with such a quantity of rocks, the greatest part of which scarcely rise above the surface of the water, that we need be the less surprized at any of the circumstances related by St. Luke concerning the apostle’s shipwreck there*. But the most singular rarity we read of in this island, is a spot at some small distance from the village and church of St. Matthew, where there stood formerly a little church, which suddenly disappeared, whether blown up or sunk in the ground by some small earthquake; in whose place there is now to be seen only a large hollow or precipice, between forty and fifty fathom deep, and about five hundred yards in

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(C) We are farther told, that the converts whom St. Paul made during his abode in that island, built a little church on that spot of ground, which, by reason of its being e-posed to the winds and waves, was often blown down and rebuilt. That which is now to be seen upon it was built by the famed Alfer di Vignacouer, grand master of the order, anno 1606, and is a very handsome, tho' small structure. On the altar-piece is a curious piece of painting, representing the apostle’s shaking off the viper, without receiving any hurt from it, and surrounded with men, women, and children, all drawn to the life, and in attitudes of admiration and surprise, and in the old Maltese garb; and the whole very well executed. On the top of the painting is the following Latin inscription:

Viperis ignis a S. color eau praebuit
Sagratos invadit; in insula benedictas
Angulibus & herbis adimit amne cirus.
M. DC. V. (8).

(8) Davide, Duper, Vertot, & al.
The history of Maltha.

Chap. 7.

a circumference: but what the most surprising of all is, that the bottom of it is flat, and like an orchard, having fumdry fruit trees, and other plants and vegetables, growing in it 4.

Among the few artificial rarities, except the noble buildings and gardens above described, which are to be met with in this island, we may reckon the two marble heads in half-relief, much larger than the life, which were discovered in it anno 276, and are now seen fixed into the hinder wall of the grand master's palace; the one inscribed to Zephania Orientalis Dominica, and the other to Penthesilea. In the church dedicated to St. Agatha is a most noble statue of that female saint in white marble, placed upon the high altar, and exquisitely wrought. When the Turks laid siege to the city, the superstitious inhabitants fetched it out of the church, and placed it upon the ramparts, where the saint was exposed to the continual firing of the besiegers; and while she was wholly employed in protecting her votaries, and unmindful of her own safety, a random shot came and carried off the little finger of her right hand, which obliged her afterwards to keep so good a look-out, that the received no further harm. This image is held in great veneration by all the Maltese, as the protector of the city and island. But the greatest curiosity is the grotto of that saint under the church, which runs a great way under ground. The place hath three apertures, at which the curious are let down by ropes, furnished with flambeaux and other conveniences. But they find it, upon their coming down into it, so full of turnings and windings, so interwoven with other meanders, that they have not the courage to penetrate far, for fear of being bewildered and lost. What is still worse is, that the fear and terror they are in all the time hinders them from being able to make any observations, or giving any tolerable account of it; which proves such a discouragement, that few people have the curiosity or heart to go into it. They flew in their great armoury, among other curiosities, the armour, shield, &c. of some of their most famed warriors and grand masters; a cannon made of bars of iron, fastened together by a strong wire, with a very thin case of wood, and the whole covered with a thick leather, well sewed, and so curiously painted, that it looks like a real brass gun. These were at first invented for the convenience of carrying them over high rocks and mountains; but being apt to burst, or become unfit for service, have been let aside since.

We have already taken notice of the conduit that furnishes the city of Valetta with fuch d plenty of water; in memory of whose founder, Alaf de Vignacourt, a handsome pillar is erected, about 15 feet high, with his court of arms upon it. But the most curious of all is the fountain in the great square, and made by the grand master Lascaris. It is of stone, cut in the form of a basin, which stands on a pedestal, about three feet from the ground. In the midst of it is a spire, or obelisk, about four feet high, adorned with flowers and festoons, hanging from the four angles, from the top to the bottom; and on the top of the obelisk is another basin, smaller and more neatly wrought. The water rising at the four angles of the obelisk in the first basin falls into the small one above, which being pierced through, sends it back to the lower in a great variety of streams, from which it again falls into a large stone trough, where the horses come to drink, and thence into a lower one, where dogs and other like creatures come also to quench their thirst. This piece, and the conduit that furnishes it with water, are by Vertut filled a work of an antient Roman.

We hinted a little higher, that the soil of the island is either stony or sandy, dry, and mostly barren, naturally; yet it hath this good quality, even where the leafy pains have been taken to cultivate and enrich it, that what grows upon it is of a high degree, either for taste or flavour. The flowers and aromatic herbs yield a most odoriferous and excellent smell; the fruits a most delicate flavour and relish. Their cotton, which doth not grow here upon tall trees, as in Egypt and other parts of Asia, but upon shrubs, not above half a yard or two feet high, is reckoned the finest in the world. It must be sown every year, because it dies after it hath yielded its seed. The pods, which contain the cotton, are of the bigness of a filbert; which, when ripe, splits itself into three or four pointed leaves, whences comes out this fine soft wool; in the midst of which is found a kind of oily feed, of a whitish colour and oblong figure, whole pith taffets much like a sweet almond, or pine-kernel. The grapes, both white and red, are as large as plums, with a thick skin, and of a delicate taste, and will hang on the twigs four or five months. The wine made of them is strong and spirited, but in small quantity, because the greatest part of them is sent to market, and eaten fresh or dried. The scarcity of fuel is such, that the olive-wood, which is brought hither from Sicily, Allican, &c. is sold by the pound; the common fort use either dried cow-dung, or wild thistles, to dress their meat, heat their ovens, and for warmth in cold weather.

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* Bosio, & al. supra citat.  † Thevenot, part. i. c. 7. & al. supra citat.  2 Id. iibid.  † Lib. xiv. sub. ann. 1016.  1 Aurel. supra citat.

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Notwithstanding the great want of pasturage, and other herbage, they breed here a great quantity of sheep and goats, whose flesh is the most exquisite, as they chiefly browse upon the aromatic plants that grow on the rocks. Here are likewise hogs in abundance, and very good affes, mules, and some horses, which are chiefly fed with barley and chaff. The tame fowl, especially hens, are very large; and those of the wild kind, particularly partridges, come from divers other countries in great flights, especially in the months of March and October, and are observed to keep the same tract as they who come from the seaside to the city of Valetta. The chief carriage of provisions, and other commodities, through the country, is upon affes or mules, which are never tamed, any more than the horses.

The natives, both men and women, go commonly dressed in the Sicilian fashion, though not so genteel. The women are not tall, but yet handsome, sprightly, and witty. Shy b and modest in outward appearance, yet wild, and extremely given to jealousy and revenge. They appear in public without any circumspection, but affect to wear a veil to cover, or either to discover or conceal their face, as they think proper; so that, under pretence of receiving the fresh air, or seeing their way, they will cast a wanton eye on thole they like, or else pass them by with an affected air of bashfulness and fear.

The same one may say of those of quality, who wear a veil, or kind of mantle, which covers them from head to foot; but some, that are either handsoome or wanton, will manage it with such dexterity, as to display some charms to advantage; and no wonder, when they meet with so many young knights, drest in the most gallant fashions of their respective countries, instead of that of their order; an irregularity which many of their grand masters have in vain endeavoured to suppress; and who being kept under the bonds of celibacy, are of course the more inclined to intrigue and debauchery. In the hot weather, most of the women, especially the young ones, whether of high or mean rank, wear no other clothing than their smocks and flappers within their housles; but these are commonly so long, that they come below their ankles, and some of them wrought and flowered with silk, gold, and silver, after so costly a manner as to cost 100 or 150 crowns. But when they go abroad, they throw their long veils over them, and most commonly wear their linen drawers under them. Beneath they wear a kind of white pumps, which reach up above the ankles. They take care likewise to dress their heads with variety of ornaments, some with jewels, others with trinkets, but chiefly by the plaiting and curling of their hair in various forms, and raising it much above their foreheads. But their greatest pride, when they go abroad, is to have a handsome, or even numerous, retinue of servants and women slaves attending them; and some will even go supported by them on each side, in a flattery manner, though of themselves healthy and lively enough, and generally very fruitful.

The men are both stout and warlike, very sparing and moderate in their diet; by which, and their constant labour and exercise, they live to a great age, even above 100 or 110 most commonly; but they are extremely jealous and misanthropic, vindictive and treacherous, and for a slight injury or affront, such as calling one rogue, or, which is worst of all, cuckold, will frequently assassinate one another. Our author adds, that, upon the arrival of the order in their island, great numbers of the better sort came to meet the grand master Villiers upon his landing, who wore long and bushy beards, and a kind of petticoat about their middle, which came down below the calf of the leg, and being wrought and fitcheted with cotton, would defend them from the shot of an arrow. As for strangers, they chiefly follow the fashions of their respective countries. That of the knights, and the different badges of their respective dignities, shall be described when we come to speak of their order.

The language of the natives, as we have already hinted, is the old Punic or Arabic, which is moreover pronounced so differently, and with such variety of accent, by every village, that those who have the least knowledge of it can guess what parish they belong to almost as soon as they open their mouths to speak. The greatest part of the country natives hardly understand any other; but those that live in cities and towns speak the French and Italian tolerably well. But that which is most in use, both in the city of Valetta and among the knights and persons of rank, is the Italian.

We do not find that they have any writing amongst them; their very contrasts of marriage are made by an exchange of a handkerchief, or some such trifle, between the bride and bridegroom, before witnesses, which done, they may, and usually do, cohabit together some small time, during which the man leads his bride about the streets or lanes of the village, either to shew his complaisance for her, or to convince her that he is free from jealousy. All this is allowed even before the marriage ceremony, which is usually performed at church. And indeed their poverty is such as doth not admit of any greater formality or ceremonial. In their burials they have borrowed from the Greeks the old unnatural custom.

* Boho, Daffy, Dapper, Vertot, & Thivenot. * Aud. supra citat.
Chap. 7.

The History of Malta.

a of hiring women-mourners, or rather howlers, who accompany the corpse with most hideous and dismal outcries, gettures, and actions, tearing their hair, and scratching their faces, in a most dreadful manner, all the way they go. The near relations likewise have their hair, and throw themselves upon the dead corpse, and send forth the most doleful lamentations over it. The procession is preceded by a number of perfons in black, and masked (D), followed by another retinue of monks and priests, one carrying the cross before them, and the rest holding torches in their hands. These have their bodies covered with a kind of upper garment, of black serge or freeze, which reaches from head to foot, and drags a long tail behind them, or is held up by some underling. The rest of the funeral ceremony is performed much after the rite of the Greek church, and needs no farther description.

b The forces of the island, abstracted from the knights, and those that belong more directly to their order, consist in the number of the inhabitants, among which they reckoned above 25,000 men, about the middle of the last century, all able to bear arms, robust, and well disciplined, and who are obliged, at the firing of the signal cannon three times, to appear under their proper standards, in all their martial accoutrements, in less than two hours.

They commonly wore long swords and daggers, bows and arrows, lances, pikes, both long and short, which they used with great dexterity; but since they have been under the discipline of the Maltese knights, they are become no less expert in the use of all firearms, and other modern weapons. They are likewise for the most part good horsemen, both on horseback and on foot.

c The number of gallies which the order, or, as they affect to file it, the religion (because they are chiefly designed for its defence, and are esteemed the bulwark of it against the Turks and Barbarian pirates) furnishes, is more or less, according to the exigence they are in.

(d) The number of them used to be five, till Anno 1627, the grand master Paul ordered a sixth, and, Anno 1652, Lascaris a seventh, to be built. These are very well and strongly built, well manned and commanded, having usually each 100 mariners and 25 knights on board; and that which is called the Capitana, and carries the standard of the order, hath most commonly 30 knights. Besides these, they have a number of galleons, and other inferior vessels, the crews of all which consist chiefly of slaves, of which they have seldom less than 2 or 3,000, whereas those who do not serve on ship-board are employed in the most laborious and lowest offices at land; and these are so constantly bought and sold every market-day, that there is no counting the number of them*. Upon the whole, whether we consider the vast quantity of artillery, and other warlike ammunition, with which every one is furnished, the experience and bravery of the commanders, the good discipline and constant watch that is kept among them, joined to the advantageousness of its situation, we shall be obliged to own, that it was not without good reason that this island hath been long since distinguished by the title of Fior del Mondo, or Flower of the world. But it is as in continual danger of being surprized either by the Turks or Barbarian pirates, so every place of confluence, especially along the coasts, hath its governor and proper garrison, which keeps a constant guard, and a strict patrol every night both on foot and on horseback; and, upon the least appearance, give the immediate alarm by beacons set on fire on the high grounds, from which they are answered by the firing of the city guns; so that the alarm is spread thro' the island.

f The traffic of the island is inconsiderable, consisting chiefly in wine and a few silks; but there is a great quantity of corn imported from Sicily, Alicant, and other places; and, when that proves insufficient, their ships sail out in quest of it, and oblige them to see their way through. This drees is common to all those fraternities, they differing only in the colour of it, some being white, others blue or red, but most generally of the black hue. All these commonly sit at the funeral of a brother or a father, that is, of one of the fraternity, in their respective drees, and are buried in it when they die.

* Bosso, &c. sup. citat.  
* Id. ibid.  
(D) These, we suppute, belong to some of those fraternities called penitents, which are very common in all the pagan countries, and appear at their funeral and other processions in a long linen habit, which covers their usual drees, and is gilt about with a fixing or fimbir. Over their heads they wear a piece of the same cloth, fown in the shape of what we call an Hippocrates's fleece, through which there are two holes cut out for

** Bosso, &c. ubi sup.  
** Id. ibid.  

1 Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.
The history of Maltah.

Book XXII.

as many vessels as they meet with, which are laden with it, to part with it at the a price that they would have sold it for, at the port to which they were bound. As for the Turkif and Barbarie corsairs which fall into their hands, they are sure to be made prizes of, and the whole cargo feized, whether laden with corn or any other merchandize, and all the people in the ship are made slaves; and, as they are seldom without having many such vessels cruising on that sea, so we may look upon these captures to be one of the most profitable branches of their commerce; for it is by this means that they are able to furnish Sicily, and other parts of the Levant, with spices, sugar, and other the like commodities, in return for which they bring back grain, pufhe, fish both fresh and salted, wood, oil, filks, and other necessaries. But the chief profit of these goes to the order, the native inhabitants having no other share of it than by the exchange they make of them, with the produce of their own lands and industry; infomuch that, excepting some few of them, not above ten or twelve in Bosfo's time were worth above 200 or 600 crowns by the traffic they carried on of their cotton and cummin feed; the rest, as we have already hinted, were very poor, and it is scarcely to be supposed they have been suffered to grow richer since that time.

The people very poor.

Money coined here.

The money coined here is inconsiderable, it being with some difficulty that the emperor Charles V. allowed them that privilege. It chiefly consists of silver and copper pieces of low value. The smallest of the latter metal are called Piccoli, six of which make a grain, or grain, ten of these make a Carlin, two of which make a Tarino. The Tarini are either of copper or silver, and amount to about 4.4; French money. They have some pieces of the money of brasil worth four Tarini each, but pass no where but in the island, and are cast merely to preserve the silver coin for foreign traffick. The Scudi, or Maltese crowns, are reckoned worth about 54 pence of French money. They coin likewise sequins, which are worth about 16 Tarini; but, besides these, they have variety of foreign coin, such as Venetian and Turkish sequins, which are worth 18 Tarini; the Spaniolo piibole, which is worth sometimes 33 and sometimes 34, as their value alters in other countries. They make use likewise of the Spaniolo dollars, Talers which pass commonly for 10 Tarini, but these must pass through the hand of the mint's officers, and have his mark stamped upon them.

Governor of the island.

The grand master, who is always chosen with great caution and ceremony by the chapter of order, as we shall see in its proper place, hath the whole revenue of the island, as well as of the small and inconsiderable one of Gofo adjoining to it, of which more hereafter, over both of which, at his election, he is invested with the sovereign power during his life, by the grant which the emperor Charles V. the then proprietor of it, gave to the first of them at his investiture of those islands; so that they have held ever since the title of sovereign princes, and are next in rank to the imperial and regal dignity, and take place of all other sovereign princes, and even of the Roumi cardinals, and send and receive ambassadors like other crowned heads.

The rank and dignity.

To these the popes added some other privileges, besides confirming the foregoing; so that when one of them comes to Rome, he is intitled to the nearest place to his holines, whether in the church, chapel, or other place, and, in a cavalcade, to ride immediately before him, and alone (1) (E); for, long before their being poffessed of this island, a grand master of the order was looked upon as the most powerful of all the Christian princes of the east.

Revenues.

His revenues, arising not only from a certain tax upon the island, and that of Gofo, including with it the duties on salt goods imported and exported, and such like imports, were computed by Bosfo to amount to about 10,000 crowns, one year with another: and he says that the emperor Charles V. hardly received more from thence than 47 ducats per annum. But, besides these, the order allows him the like sum for the entertainment of his table, the right of admittance upon all prizes, at the rate of 10 per cent. as well upon merchandizes as upon salaries paid by the church. Accordingly, when he was, among other Christian princes, invited to the council of Trent, and had sent thither two of his order as his ambassadors to that grand assembly, one of whom, by reason of his extreme old age and infirmities, could not reach it, the other, named Raya, coming to challenge his rank according to that of his principal, was at first strenuously opposed by the whole body of bishops, who thought it a'affiliency to their dignity to give place to a simple monastic, sent thither as deputy from a mere fraternity of his brethren, for so they termed him. They were however obliged to submit to it, he was allowed to sit among the other ambassadors according to the rank formerly assigned and settled by the pope.


Slaves,
Chap. 7.
The history of Malthe.

a slaves, gain arising from the vacant commanderies and priories, formerly common to the order, but since appropriated to him, together with some other perquisites annexed to the dignity, of which we shall speak more particularly in the sequel, were computed, in the whole, at about 40,000 more; in all, communica annis, about 60,000 crowns. With all this great income, and pre-eminent rank, he assumed no higher title in all his letters, &c. Humble titles, than that of The humble servant of the sacred house of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and of the military order of the knights of the hospitall of our Lord, and defender of the poor Christians.

b Lafor, affixing it to the beginning of his letter to the states general, for the restitution of those lands which they had alienated from the order.

His state is still greater than his title, he sitting always under a canopy, whether in the Grand State, church, general assembly, or even at his table, at which last none are permitted to sit with him but the knights of the highest rank, or of the great crois, and these only upon foots or chairs without backs, and where his meat is served in by twelve pages of noble families.

He hath likewise his high fieward, and carver to taste his meat, and his cup-bearer to do the fame by his drink. He can never be deposed from his dignity without the pope's consent, nor can any one decide any dispute or controversy between him and his knights in this his holiness. Other things relating to his power, dignity, election, &c. will be better seen when we come to speak of the order in general in the next fiction.

At present we have only considered him as sovereign prince of Malthe and Goza, of which last island we shall now give a short description before we proceed further.

This small island, called by the inhabitants Gaudife (G), and by the Italians Goza, in the island of the west, from that of Malthe by a narrow channel of about a league and a half, or two leagues, on the north-west side of it. Its length is about three leagues, and breadth one and a half, and compass about eight, and is surrounded with steep rocks and shelves, and of difficult access on all sides. It hath neither town nor village, but only a few scattered hamlets, in which there might be about 5000 souls, men, women, and children, who, to secure and their possessions from swarming corsairs, have made a shift to erect a small fort upon a high rock, but which the Maltese commissaries, who were sent to take a view of the island, found to be ill built, that it hardly deserved that name.

The ground is mountainous and rugged, yet fertile, and so well cultivated, that it not produces only supplies its own inhabitants with plenty of corn, fruits, and other products, but sends some quantities of them to those of Malthe. The chief villages, or hamlets rather, are called Scilendi Domere, and Muggiari, and these breed great numbers of sheep and goats. The island breeds likewise abundance of hares, rabbits, bees, and fowl. Near it, towards the Barbary coasts, stands a high steep rock, on which they catch some of the beaf falcons, a small number of which are sent to the king of Spain every year by the grand master, as a kind of homage or acknowledgement they are obliged to pay to that monarch, in consequence of the grant he made to them of these two islands by the emperor Charles V. The grand master afterwards much improved its fortifications, especially after it had been treacherously betrayed to the Turkisfi admiral by its governor, and retaken by the Maltese. The former, upon their feizing and plundering it, found in it above seven thousand souls, which shews how much it had improved under the latter. And the grand master Vignecourt, knowing of what consequence it was to prevent the Turks ever becoming masters of it, put it into such a condition of defence, that all the attempts that have been made since upon it have proved ineffectual. The castle, which, by reason of its high situation, commands the whole island, was surrounded with a stout baftion, and some other works, and well provided with artillery, and all kinds of warlike ammunition and provisious, and the garrison sufficiently reinforced.

c The governor, who is sent thither every three years from Malthe, commonly resides in the fort, and there has been since a small town built at the foot of the hill on which it


(4) Thus the deed granted by the grand master Foulks de Villaret, dated from Rhodos, October 17, 1515, ran in these terms, Brother Foulks de Villaret, by the grace of God, and of the lady agnatefois, humble master of the house and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and guardian of the poor belonging to Jesus Christ (11).

(5) This island, from its old name, situation, and other characteristics, is rightly enough supposed to be the same with the Gaudia of Pliny and Mela, the Gaudia de Strabo, the Claves of Ptolemy, and the Vulcans of the Latin Itinerary or Marmion (12). The name of Gaudia is of Arabic extraction, and we find it named Gauda by some Arabic authors, which was in all likelihood given to it by that nation when they had it in their possession (13).


The history of Maltha.

BOOK XXII.

ftands. The inhabitants of the island speak the same Arabyk, and follow the same customs, as those of Maltha. They are stout and long-lived, the air being very clear and healthy, and the fresh springs and fountains in great number, and yielding excellent water. They are all of the church of Rome here, as well as at Maltha.  

Between the islands of Maltha and Goja lie the small ones of Comin and Cominit, the former of which is supposed to be the Helboaca or tide of Talon of the antients, and is likewise used for the government and protection of the grand matter. They were formerly uninhabited; but, by the care of the famed Vincenot, a fort having been built upon each of them for their safety, they are now pretty well inhabited; and that of Comin, which is about four or five miles in circuit, breeds a large quantity of cattle, and other animals of all sorts. That of Lampedusa, called by Ptolemi Lipudusa, lies about 25 or 30 leagues west-south-west of Maltha, in latitude 34°, about 70 or 80 from the continent. It is altogether uncultivated and uninhabited, but hath the ruins of a castle, towers, houses, &c. The reason of its being abandoned is abundantly ascribed by some to spectres and phantoms that haunt it, by others to its unwholesome air, which causes frightful dreams and visions.

However, it is certain, that there is a church or chapel in it dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and divided into two parts, the one frequented by Christians, and the other by Moslem medians, both of whom, from a zeal of religion, come to pay their devotions and free-will offerings, which they leave behind in their respective partitions, no part of which is ever touched, much less carried off, by any of those votaries, there being a notion or tradition, that whoever attempts it can never flit out of the place; so that the knights of Maltha, who lay claim to the place, come in their gallies at certain times, and carry away the offerings made by the Christians, and apply them to the support of the hospital of Trapani in Sicily, called Nunnata, for the benefit of the sick poor, or convey it to their own island. How that which is offered by the Turks is disposed of, we are not told; but we may safely believe they are no less charitable in the use of it than the Maltos knights. This island, to which Mr. Bandrand gives about 16 miles of circumference, became more known since the dreadful shipwreck of the fleet of the emperor Charles V. on its coasts, Anno 1552.

SECT. II.

The history of Maltha, since it came into the possession of the knights of its name, together with an account of the origin, institution, laws, discipline, &c. of that order.

Ancient state of Maltha.

We have already hinted in the last section, that this island was given to this order of knights by the emperor Charles V., in lieu of that of Rhodes, out of which they had been driven by the Turks. But that nothing may be omitted in this modern, which had been overlooked in the ancient history, it will not be amiss to say something of its ancient state, before they became masters of it. According to an ancient tradition, it had been under the dominion of an African prince named Battus, an enemy to queen Dido, from which it passed under that of the Carthaginians, as we may rightly infer from sundry Punic inscriptions to be seen on stone pillars, and other monuments, still standing. From these it passed to the Romans, who made themselves masters of it at the same time that they subdued the island of Sicily. These were driven out by the Arabs in the year 829; who were driven out of it in their turn by Roger the Norman, earl of Sicily, who took possession of it Anno 1190; from which time it continued under the dominion of the kings of Sicily, and thence fell into the dominion of the emperor Charles V., above-mentioned, by his conquest of Naples and Sicily, and has been formerly shewn in the histories of those several kingdoms.

In the mean time, as the knights (to whom it was granted by that wise and politic monarch, as much with a view to preserve his Italian dominions by this means, as for the defence of the Christian church against the overgrown power of the Turkish monarchs) had already signalized themselves during several centuries, against those sworn enemies of Christianity, and, like a second race of warlike and zealous Maccabeus, were become no less famous for their singular piety and zeal, than for their surprizing bravery and success, under the different names of knights hospitallers, knights of St. John, of Rhodes, &c. it will be very proper to trace their original up to the fountain’s head, in order to give our readers a clearer idea of the design, origin, institution, progress, and excellency, of that so justly

famed order; and of that invincible courage which they displayed during so many centuries, in defence of Christianity.  

We have shewn, in the ancient history, to what a dreadful and distressing condition the city of Jerusalem had been reduced under the tyrannical government of the implacable Saracen's, after it had undergone so many disasters under the Franks and Persians. In that last, however, the Christians had been treated with more tenderly than the rest by the Khalif Aurun, on account of the good understanding which subsisted between the emperor Charles the Great and him. But, after the death of that Khalif, they underwent a much severer treatment than before, occasioned by the discord which arose between the Mohen- medan princes of Persia and Egypt, under whose respective dominions the country of Pales- tine, commonly called Holy Land, had often been divided. The latter at length remaining matters of that province, the Christians again were treated with humanity and gentleness, till the reign of Khalif Egun, who, though born of a Christian mother, made it his study to persecute with more uncommon cruelty, as he thought thereby to take off all suspicion of his being in the least degree inclined to their religion. Amongst other marks of his hatred, he caused the church of St. Sepulchre to be demolished, which, as we have already shewn, continued 37 years in a ruinous state, till rebuilt by the emperor Menenias, at his own charges, Anno 1048, and with the consent of the then Khalif Bomenfar.  

About the same time, some Italian gentlemen and merchants, who had been witnesses of the ill treatment of the Christian pilgrims, not only from the Mohenmedans, but likewise from the Greeks, who were by this time no less disaffected to them, undertook to procure them a secure asylum in the city of Jerusalem, where they should be wholly free from the inflicts of both. These Italians, who were natives of Antioch, a city in the kingdom of Nijepolis, but still subject to the Greek emperors of Constantinople, went frequently to the seaports of Syria and Egypt, whither they brought, among other merchandizes of value, some curious pieces of work from Europe, which were greatly admired, and quickly sold by which means they easily introduced themselves into the Khalif Menenias Bilah's court from whom, by dint of presents, they obtained a permission to build a hospital, or hospice, at Jerusalem, near the holy sepulchre, for the entertainment and safety of such Christian pilgrims, together with a church, where they might have divine service performed after the rites of their own church; the holy sepulchre then being building of the Greek rite. The monks of this order of St. Benedict officiated in the chapel, and both they and the pilgrims were supported by the alms which were collected for that end in Italy and other parts of Europe, and were constantly remitted thither every year; and from this house arose the order of St. John, we are going to speak of, which proved in time the bulwark of Christianity. In this hospitable place, the Christians of the Latin church were received and maintained, without distinction of nation or condition. Those who had been stripped by robbers, were supplied with new clothes, and the sick, lame, and all that laboured under any affliction or misery, were sure to meet with a suitable relief from this new kind of charity, till the city was surprised, and almost totally destroyed, by the Turks, or Turcomans, of whom we have The Turks formerly given an account, and the whole garrison of the Egyptian Khalif cut in pieces by feline Jerusalem.
To return therefore, to our forlorn hospital of St. John: the Khalif of Egypt, who had taken the advantage of the defeats which the Turks had received from the Christian crusaders, and retaken the city of Jerusalem from them, being justly afraid of, as well as threatened by, the Christians, whom his breach of promise had greatly exasperated, of being driven out from it, had taken care to send about 40,000 regular troops into it, besides the 20,000 Mehemmedans that were already in it, whom he had obliged to take up arms against all adventurers, whilst the governor was ordered to imprison by degrees all the Christians he was suspicious of.

Among these was the celebrated Gerard, a Frenchman of Provence*, who at the same time that he came to visit the places of that city, had dedicated himself to the service of the hospital of St. John, and, for his singular piety, and tenderness to the pilgrims, had the care and management of that house committed to him, under the title of administrator.

At the same time a Roman lady, named Agnes, a person of no less merit, took care of those of her own sex; and these two extended their charity not only to all pilgrims, but even to the Infidels who came thither for any relief; but much more so after the city was taken by the Christians, by whom he was set at liberty, and had the singular pleasure to see it enriched by the greatest donatives, and endowed with lands to a very great value; and the number of male and female hospitalers greatly augmented; and then it was that he formed the design, in conjunction with the lady Agnes, to persuade all, or as many of those devout brothers and sisters as were willing to renounce the world, and enter into a monastic life; and framed the rules of their order, which he soon after got to be approved and confirmed by pope Pafchal II. who took them under his protection, granted them sundry great privileges, and appointed him rector of the hospital during his life; with an injunction that, after his death, the brotherhood should proceed to the election of a new governor, under the name of rector. Hence it is that some authors have reckoned him the first master of the order*, though he was only the founder of it, and that title is given by all the knights only to his successor Raymond, according to the tradition which hath been generally received among them. However that be, the good old Gerard lived to a great age, highly revered by all Christians, and no less regretted on his death. The principal rules, drets, and other particulars, of this new order, the reader will find in the margin (H), as they were afterwards confirmed and improved by his worthy successor,

Raymond Dupuy, by the Latins called De Polie, a native of Dauphiné, a person of a very antient and noble family, was unanimously chosen to succeed him, under the title of Major; and is accordingly placed by most historians at the head of the grand matters of

kings of Jerusalem, without however exempting them from their religious vows, and the other duties of hospitality (15).

There was the greater necessity for such a military order at this time, as the roads through that small new kingdom, which was confined only of the capital city and three or four more, were so infested both by Turks and Saracens, that there was no travelling from one place to another without the greatest danger of being massacred by these implacable enemies. The boroughs and villages were still more exposed to their cruelty, and wanted such brave intrepid men to scour and rid the country of them. And, if what some authors say can be depended upon (16), those monks and other Christians that attended the three hospitals during the siege of that city, had found means to keep a correspondence with the besiegers; by which means, and the extraordinary conduct and bravery which they shewed on that occasion, they greatly contributed to the surrender of it; upon which account it was that Geoffrey the new-made king bethought himself large revenues and privileges to those hospitals; and it is not at all improbable, that Raymond, who had been an eyewitness of their singular behaviour, and in all likelihood bore himself a part of it, might take the first hint of joining the military to the religious discipline, and of fashioning this new order with that twofold view, and rendering them thereby equally useful to two such valuable and necessary ends.

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(H) The good old Gerard, in the first institution of this order of hospitalers, had contented himself, it seems, with leaving them some few rules, or injunctions, such as with the help of his good example, might inspire the fraternity with the deepest sentiments of charity and humility towards all, not only the Christian pilgrims, sick persons, and others more immediately under their care, but likewise towards all others, Turks and infidels excepted. The drets he prefigured to them was black and plain, differing only with a white cross upon the breast. The lady Agnes being appointed prioress of the sisterhood, admitted the same drets among them; and both were, with the approbation of the pope, and patriarce of Jerusalem, inducted into the order of St. Augustine, and bound themselves under the same vows (14); and there were all the rules that founder gave them.

But his successor was no sooner chosen in his place, than he perceived the necessity of adding some particular statutes, such as might not only render them useful to religion by the charitable entertainment of the Christian pilgrims, but likewise by facing the roads from the banditti which infested them, and the infuls of the infidels, and to oblige them to take up arms upon all occasions, they should thenceforth be called to by their superiors, against the enemies of Christianty', by which they might become as it was a perpetual crusada, and a military corps to fight in defence of it, under the direction and hands adversity of the

The history of Maltha.

Chap. 5.

a the order. This excellent man, though he saw himself at the head of such a numerous fraternity, could not forbear being sensibly touched with the difflers and variety of dangers and miseries which the Christians of Peloponise laboured under. Vast numbers of them groaning under a rigorous slavery under the Turks and Saracens of Egypt; their few cities in continual danger of being retaken from them, and made to feel the most dreadful effects of war; the towns and villages exposed to the continual incursions of their implacable enemies; their wives and daughters carried off and sacrificed to their brutal lust; many of their men forced to apostatize, to avoid death, or a worse slavery than death; the roads so infested by infidel bandits, as rendered all commerce and communication extremely hazardous: these, and other considerations of the like discouraging nature, and hinted at in the last note, wholly b engaged his thoughts and cares from the very moment that he was raised to his new dignity. He set them forth at last in the most pathetic terms before the whole chapter; after which he proposed to them the project he had formed of constituting them into a military order, and obliging them to give themselves equally to the exercise of arms, as they did to the duties of hospitality and religion, as the most effectual means of supporting it with honour and safety against the infidels and attempts of their surrounding enemies, especially as they were by that time become rich enough to hire secular troops to their assistance, and to fight under their command; a thing no less worthy of their high rank and birth than their present engagement and zeal for the defence of the Christian faith. The reputation he bore among them made them all look upon this proposal as a fresh mark of his care and concern c for the common faith, and for their honour and safety; but, on second thoughts, they began to doubt whether such a profession could be compatible with their old one. At length their zeal for the defence of the Holy Land easily over-ruled all these difficulties; and as the greatest part of them had fought under their new king, they were easily prevailed upon to renounce their martial employment; for which the patriarch of Jerusalem granted them a dispensation, upon condition, however, that they should never bear arms against any but infidels.

From this time, we are told, the order began to be divided into three classes; in the first of which were admitted those who, either by the nobility of their birth, or the rank they had formerly held in the army, were better qualified and intitled to fight in defence of religion, and of the Holy Land. The second class consisted of such as had exercised the facerdotal function, either as parish priests, chaplains, &c. These, besides their usual attendance at church, or upon the sick, were obliged to take their turns to attend the army as almoners and chaplains. The third class consisted of such only as were neither of noble descent nor in holy orders, who were therefore titled forson brevius, and appointed either to attend the sick and wounded, or in such other inferior offices as the knights of the first class should think proper to employ them in. These last were, in process of time, distinguished by a coat of arms from the knights of the first and second class. Some authors tell us, that Raymond, and not Gerard, was the first who gave the order the black gown or mantle, with the white linen crofs, with eight points, and appointed the form and ceremony of receiving the knights into it, and the oath they were to take at their admission; all which the reader will find in the margin (I). However that be, he got his rule,


(I) The candidate for the order is to appear before the high altar, with a lighted wax-candle in his hand, in a long gown, unriglit, in token of his being free, and, kneeling down, begs to be admitted; upon which a girdle is put on his waist, with the words, In the name of the Father, Son, &c. in token that he is to defend the church, subdue her enemies, and hazard his life for the Christian faith. A girdle is put about his loins, in token of his being from henceforth bound to keep the vows of the order. He waxes the girdle round over his head, in defiance of the enemies of the Christian faith, swathes it up, after having first placed it under his arm to wipe it clean, in token that he will keep himself clean from all vice; upon which the person, who admits him, puts his hand upon his shoulder, and forewarns him not to indulge, or be lured asleep in, vice, and exhorts him to be watchful against his spirit, and ready to perform all good works and good offices.

This done, they put a pair of gilt pins on his ankles, in token that he shall be emulous of all laudable actions, and trample gold and all worldly wealth under his feet, and not suffer himself to be corrupted by them.

He then takes up the lighted candle in his hand, and holds it all the time: that maas is said and sung, and a sermon is preached suitable to the occasion; in which all works of piety, charity, and hospitality, particularly the redemption of Christian slaves, are earnestly recommended to him, together with the other duties of the order, such as obedience to his superiors, diligence in the functions of his profition, &c.

Sermon being ended, he is asked whether he is loaded with any considerable debts, married, or under a promise of marriage, or any ways engaged to live under any other order or profition, or is sincerely desirous to be received into the order of Sr. John; and when he hath answered satisfactorily to all these questions, he is immediately received and admitted into the fraternity.

He is then led to the high altar, holding the mafli, or mafs-book, in his hand, and there makes his solemn vows upon it: after which he becomes intituled to all the
rule confirmed by pope Calixtus II. and some of his successors, and ordered the white cross upon a red field to be displayed upon the standard of the order, with the approbation of pope Innocent about ten years after; from which time the order was distinguished into three classes above-mentioned, of Knights, Chaplains, and Serving Brethren, of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. He and his knights highly signalized themselves at the sieges of Acre, Peloponissos, Barletta, Tyre, and Sidon, and laft of all at that of Antioch, in consideration of which signal service, pope Anacletus IV. granted the order an exemption from the jurisdiction of any eastern prelates.

The order divided into eight tongues.

That of Provence.

1. The first is that of Provence, which probably had the precedence, out of regard to Gerard, the pious founder; and to which is annexed the dignities of the grand commander, the grand prior of St. Giles, the grand prior of Tolosan, and bailiff of Monaco. The priors of Tolosan hath thirty-five, and that of St. Giles fifty-four, commanderies belonging to them.

Auvergne.

2. The second is that of Auvergne, to which is annexed the dignity of grand marshal of the order, the grand prior of Auvergne, under which are four commanderies of knights, and eight of serving brethren, and the bailiff of Curten, now the bailiff of Lyons.

France.

3. That of France, which hath the dignities of the grand hospitaller, the grand prior of France, with 45 commanderies under him, the prior of Aquitaine, with 65, the prior of Champagne, with 25, besides the bailiff of Morca, and the grand treasurer.

Italy.

4. That of Italy, to which is annexed the office of grand admiral of the order of Rome, whose jurisdiction extends itself over nineteen commanderies; that of prior of Lombardy, which hath 45; the prior of Venice, with those of Barletta and Capua, who have 25 between them; that of Pisa, which hath 25; and that of Messina, which hath 12 more; besides the bailiff of St. Euphemius, of St. Stephen de Monopoli, of the Holy Trinity at Venice, and of St. John at Naples.

Aragon.

5. That of Aragon, including that of Catalonia and Navarre, to which belong the dignity of grand protector of the order, that of grand prior of Aragon,

the privileges granted to that order by the see of Rome. He is then reminded, that he must repeat every day fifty Patre Noster and Ave Maria, the office of our lady, that for the dead, together with another number of Pater Noster, for the souls of the deceased knights; and is shown the habit which the knights are obliged to wear.

Whereas the raiment is given to him, such as, in putting on the sleeves, that he is now bound to obedience; the white cross on the left side is attached to him, that he ought to be ready, on all occasions, to shed his blood for Christ, who shed his own; and the eight points of the cross, of the eight beatitudes, that will be the reward of his obedience. The black cloak, which is sharpen-pointed behind, and hath a kind of sharp cowl or cape, is to remind him of the camel's hair-coat which their patron Jobu the Beating wore; and the fringes by which it is tied about the neck, and fastened under the shoulder, of the patron of our blessed Lord, and the funereal patience and meekness with which he underwent it. But this cloak is only worn on solemn days, or when sentence is pronounced upon a criminal of the order, or at the interment of a brother.

They likewise wear another cross upon their breasts, and hanging by a black and white fitt fringing, that goes about the neck, and the ends reach down to the feet; for that which is called the great cross, and distinguishing the wearers of it by the title of Knights of the great cross, is only allowed to those who have lived ten years in the island of Malta, and have performed four caravans or expeditions at sea, in the gallants of the order; and those, who are thus intituled, are obliged to petition for it, and make up their title to it, before the great council of the order, before it can be granted to them. And this should be very serenely, with respect to their particular duties: to which we shall only add, that those knights, who go to war, are allowed what they call a supereav, or upper coat, of a red colour, with a white cross, but plain, and without the eight points. The public protection they make at the altar, at their admission, is to this purpose: "I A.B. do here vow and promise to Almighty God, to the blessed virgin Mary, and to St. John the Baptist, and with the blessing and help of God, to pay true and fine, core obedience to the superior he shall appoint over me, and who shall be duly chosen by our religion, to resource all property, and to live in constant chastity. After which, as he withdraws his hand from the book, the person who officiates at his admission, says to him, "We receive and own you as a servant of mediocrity the poor and the sick, and consecrated to the defence of the catholic church." To which he replies, "I acknowledge myself as such."

As for their form of prayers, their devotional offices, and other particularities, which we have not time to dwell upon, the curious may fee them in the authors quoted in the margin (17).

The history of Malti.

The sixth was that of England, to which belonged the dignity of turnpheelier (K), or abridged.

The seventh is that of Germany, where the grand bailiff and prior of Germany reside; Germany.

The latter of whom is a prince of the empire, and hath under him, in High and Low Germany,

b 67 commanderies, but those that are situated within the United Provinces have been long
since likewise dismembered from the order.

8. The eighth and last is that of Caffile, including the kingdoms of Leon and Portugal, Caffile.

To this is affixed the dignity of grand chancellor of the order, with the priories of Caffile and Leon, which have 27 commandaries, and that of Portugal 31, together with the bailiwick of Bovedo.

As for that of Nigrizond, it is in common between the tongues of Caffile and Arragon;

This division is still subsisting in the same form, excepting only that this last tongue of Caffile and Arragon were substituted to that of England; and that those commanderies, priories, and bailiwicks, were at first affixed to the whole order in general, but have been since

appropriate to the several tongues in the manner and number above-mentioned (L).

By this time the whole order was grown so very numerous, powerful, and wealthy, and

brought under such excellent regulations and discipline (M), that when the grand master


(K) This title hath its origin from the Tuscumans, who commonly called their light horse Turnpelles; that bearing a name given in general to all the children that were born of a Turkishe father and a Greek mother, but more particularly to such of them as were dedicated for the war (18).

It became afterwards a military dignity in the kingdom of Caffile (19), from whence it passed into the order of Malti. But there gave that title only to the colonial general of the infantry. After the reformation, that dignity was joined to the grand master of the order by pope Gregory XIII, and given to Hugh de Lascroix de Verdicto, upon his confirming his election to that forerun Roman, A.D. 1583 (20).

(L) It will not be amiss to explain the import and meaning of those three dignities.

We have already hinted, that the order chiefly subsisted upon the funds and donations which were bestowed upon it by crowned heads and other great persons, and by gifts and testimonials of pious men, in most parts of Europe. This made it necessary for them to appoint proper officers from among themselves to receive near their persons, to take care of those revenues, and to convey them to the hospit of St. John, where they were appropriated by the grand master and chapter of the order, to their proper use; viz. to maintain the hospital of the knight, the chaplains, and serving brethren, the pilgrims that come to visit the holy places, the poor, sick, wounded, maimed, and to defray all other charges of the hospital, the church of St. Stephen, &c.

To procure arms, ammunition, and other warlike necessities, for the guarding of the roads and country against the inroads of the Mohamedans, and of securing the pilgrims to and from Jerusalem, and other services of religion.

And, lastly, to buy, arm, and man, galleys, to scour the seas of pirates, in order to secure the commerce and pilgrimages, and from the Holy Land.

Those knights, therefore, that were appointed in the several parts of Christendom, to take care of the revenues, were called commandaries, from the tenor of the commissaries from the grand chancery, in the terms following: Commandarii, &c. We commit to your care such and such lands, &c. in such kingdom, province, &c. from which thee kind of administrations (18) Wills. See. l. i. p. 71. (19) Lascroix de Verdicto. Albert Aug. l. 15. r. 5. (20) Vertet. ubi Add. vi. p. 706. & aliis prid. (21) Vide Puntviken hief. l. iii. p. 52. &c. & sap. citat. Vide & Vertet. lib. iii. Mod. Hist. Vol. VII. 5E

Raymond
Raymond of Raymond Dupoys, who had now nothing more at heart than to render it more and more useful to religion, came to Jerusalem, to offer his and his services to young Baldwin Du Bourc, now king of Jerusalem, who was then in the extremest want of it, and had obtained the patriarch's approbation and blessing upon his generous design; he was looked upon by all as a person sent from heaven to their assistance, and his military corps as an invincible bulwark against the enemies of Christianity. They were not deceived; and the services which he and his knights did to the young king, both at Jerusalem and in other parts of the Holy Land, were so great and signal, that pope Innocent II. in the bull of immunity which he granted to that order, makes special mention of them: and that all Europe rang of them: which shews, by-the-by, that they began to signalize themselves in that religious war much earlier than our historians have taken notice of; since the bull, as we hinted a little higher, bears date 1130; that is twelve years after Raymond's installation, and the creation of this new military order. But as all these transactions have been already related in our account of that holy war, we shall refer our readers to it.

In the mean time, Raymond Dupoys, who afflicted at most of them, and was quite worn out with age, fatigue, and wounds, thought fit to retire to his own hospital of St. John, where he might be more at leisure to employ the short remainder of his life in preparing himself for a better; and, having governed that order near 42 years, expired in the midst of his brethren, in the 80th year of his age, greatly lamented by them, and by all Christendom, and with the just character of the most pious and greatest commander of that age.

2. Auger de Balben.

He was succeeded by Auger de Balben, by the unanimous choice of the chapter. He was of the same country of Dauphiné with his noble predecessor, and had been his constant companion in his military exploits, as well as one of his most intimate councillors. Soon after his election, he was summoned to the synod held at the city of Nazareth, on account of the schism which had broke out in the church between pope Alexander III. and the antipope Victor III. and their partisans; and, by his extraordinary wisdom and address, greatly contributed to persuade the king, patriarch, and bishops, to declare for the former as the most duly elected, and to excommunicate the latter. He was no less successful in putting an end to the famous quarrel which happened in the year after, about the succession to the crown of Jerusalem, after the untimely death of Baldwin III. by representing to the contending parties the inevitable danger of their untimely discord. He survived but a few months the coronation of the new king, at which he afflicted, being quite worn out with age, and died in the third year of his government.

3. Arnould de Comps.

He was succeeded by Arnould de Comps, a gentleman likewise of a very ancient and noble family in Dauphiné, and much advanced in years, who, nevertheless, was no sooner chosen to that dignity than he flew himself obliged to march, at the head of his knights, towards the frontiers of the kingdom, and suppress the incursions of Sultan Albed, who, scorning to continue the tribute which his predecessor had engaged to pay to Baldwin III. was now ravaging all the frontiers of Judea, at the head of a numerous army of Saracens. He gained a great deal of glory in this expedition, by his quick and singular successes. He died in the 4th year of his government; and was succeeded by


Gilbert D'Assaitz, or, as others file him, De Lallied, an Englishman, as he is supposed by most authors, though with no very sure proofs; but, in other respects, a gentleman of singular courage and valour. Though it was his misfortune to be too early prevailed upon by the king of Jerusalem, whether by bribes or his own ambition is variously reported, to afflict him with all his forces, in his war against the Saracens in Egypt, and, to that end, borrowed the sum of 100,000 crowns from the Florentines, upon the credit of the order. He was so fortunately as to take the city of Balais, the ancient Pelusium, but, as we have formerly seen in the account of that war, his successes neither anwering his fanguei hopes, nor the vast debt he had charged his order with, he resigned his dignity, and embarked for France at Joppa, and arrived safe in Provence, and thence went to Rome, where, notwithstanding his late misfortunes and disgrace, he met with a kind reception from Henry II., king of England; but embarking again at Dieppe for England, was unfortunately drowned, with several people that were in the ship, after he had governed the order about two years; being justly blamed for his ambition in engaging in that foreign war, contrary to the institutions of his order; and for his prodigality of its treasure, which he consumed in that short space.

His successor, Caile, or Caileus, dying within less than a year after his election, we do not read of any remarkable thing that happened either to him or to the order; and it is very likely, that the ill successes and disgrace which his predecessor met with in that war, deterred him from afflicting the king of Jerusalem, though he was then carrying it on still, and was besieging Damietta with his land and naval forces, where he met with a stout repulse.

\* Bosio. & al. supr. citat. 
\* Bosio. & al. ubi supra. 
\* GUille. 
\* Tyrol. lib. ii. c. 5. 
\* Bosio & al. supr. citat.
The history of Maltha.

a. He was succeeded by *Jehoram*, a man of singular piety and charity to the poor. St. Jerome.

b. But of what nation is unknown. By this time the affairs of the kingdom of *Jerusalem* had become so desperate, through the impiety of the king, and the valour and stature of the *Edomites* and the *Ludites*, that both the kings of the *Temple* and the kings of *Syria* were continually up in arms against the powerful enemies of Christianity. Their forces, now exhausted, required fresh and considerable supplies from *Europe*, to obtain which he sent two ambassadors thither, whilst he himself went to implore the assistance of the emperor at *Constantinople*, leaving the care of the kingdom to the grand master of those two orders; whilst *Miller*, a renegade templar, who had joined forces with Saladin, was putting all to fire and sword in *Syria* and *Palestine*. *Jehoram*, with the assistance of his knights, and in conjunction with the Templars, marched against the renegade, and forced him to betake himself to the high mountains and defiles, and obliged the *Turcomans* to raise the siege of *Aracth*, or *Kracht*, and retire, just as the king arrived from *Constantinople*, but without having obtained the desired relief, either of troops or money, or any thing but false promises from the emperor. Soon after this, another of the *Knights Templars*, named *Minos*, having been guilty of an open violation of the law of nations, by the murder of an ambassador of the chief of the *Assafsins* to the king of *Jerusalem*, that prince caused him to be seized, and clapt into irons, with the design to have him sent bound to the prince of the *Assafsins*, but died before he could accomplish it; for though the templar's life was saved by it, yet this deed he had committed greatly impaired the reputation of his order, whilst those of the c. hospitallers greatly increased.

d. As was left the kingdom of *Jerusalem* to his eldest son *Baldwin IV.* then a minor, and a prince of a most sickly constitution, under whom the affairs of the Christians in *Palestine* declined from bad to worse. The grand master *Jehoram* proved a constant friend and supporter to both them and in *Syria*, and obliged the successful Saladin to pretend with great Jof and precipitation into his own dominions. But *Baldwin* having undertaken to build a citadel in one of his territories, on the other side of the *Jordan*, occasioned a fresh and fierce engagement; his army being closely hemmed in, quickly differed themselves, and the knights hospitallers and Templars, who were the only troops that food their ground, were mostly cut in pieces. *Jehoram*, though covered all over with wounds, found means to save himself by swimming over that river, and *Otto*, or *Odon*, grand master of the Templars, was taken prisoner.

One may easily imagine the distress of the Christians in those parts at this time; the king now relapsed into his leprosy, and incapable of governing; the two grand masters, his chief supporters, the one confined a prisoner of war by Saladin, and the other to his bed, on account of his many and dangerous wounds. Pope *Alexander* III. being informed of it, convened the third famed council of *Latrun* at *Rome*, at which many eastern patriarchs and Prelates asifited, in which many complaints were exhibited by them against the too great privileges and encroachments of the knights hospitallers and Templars (*N*), and some new regulations were made upon that subject; and by them, on the other hand, against the e. bartholomew of the eastern ecclesiastics towards the laity, in allowing those that were infected with the leprosy, and lived in communities, the privilege either of entering into the public churches, and not to have any particular one of their own; which was condemned by that council, and those unfortunate people permitted to have, in each of their communities, a church and churchyard, or burying-place. But the greatest complaint of those Prelates was, that all the disorders and losses in *Palestine* were owing to the ambition and avarice of the military orders, whose chief aim was to heap up vast treasures, instead of following the examples of the last king *Antioch*, and of the late grand master *Assafs*, in endeavouring to secure the kingdom from the incursions of the *Egyptian* infidels, by the conquest of that province, and the reduction of *Damietta*, upon which all the rest depended; which flows, f. that the enterprise of those two great men was far from being so ill-judged, as was at first given

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(N) This complaint, as it is couched in the *Lex* of that council, runs in these terms. *Procurat consuetud. & iudiciae leprosorum et aliorum convivium, qui fideles sunt, & hospitallarum, & hospitallarum religiosorum instituta juxta legationes leprosorum nec gregiorum, nec convivi, nec fideles, & hospitallarum religiosorum instituta juxta legationes leprosorum nec gregiorum, nec convivi, nec fideles*.

That of the knights against those bishops and eccles. is in these words. *Ecclesiasticus quidam quae sunt in locis, nec quae suae Civitatis convives regno, qui cum fuissent*

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(24) *Con il. Lib. alt. c. 9.
The history of Maltha. Book XXII.

given out, though the ill success of it occasioned its being set aside, and so generally cried a

down. *However* that be, this reciprocal animosity of the clergy and laity did not hinder
Reginald, lord of the strong castle of Margaë, on the confines of Judea, from making a
prefrent, or rather an exchange, of that important fortrefs to the order of St. Jobao, who
immediately caused new fortifications to be added to the old, besides its eminent situation on a
high, steep, and almost inaccessible rock (O). Yet did not this valuable acquisition
compensate the much greater loss of the grand master Jéobert, who, according to the gene-
nrality of writers, died of grief, from the melancholy situation and daily decay of the king-
dom of Jérusalem.

7. Roger des Moulinis.

Jéobert was succeeded by Roger des Moulinis, or de Molinis, a person of singular valour
and prudence, who applied himself immediately after his election in carrying on the war
against Saladin, and in reconciling some differences between the patriarch and the prince of
Antioch, about some temporalities he obtained from pope Lucius III. and a fresh confirmation
of the rules and statutes of the order, to which were tacked several considerable privileges.
He was scarcely returned from Antioch before he received the doeful news of the dreadful
massacre of the knights of the order that were settled at Conflantimale, and had been all
murdered there by the Latinis, except a few who escaped by sea, and brought the dreadful
tidings. The distressed condition the kingdom was then in, the incapacity of the king's
either acting or marrying by reason of his leprosy, and the cabals which resulted from it,
having made it necessary to send an embassy to the pope, in order to obtain a new
crusade, the grand master Des Moulinis, together with that of the templars, were chosen to
accompany the patriarch of Jérusalem to Rome; from thence they went to France and England,
the ill success of which expedition we have elsewhwere shewn. At his return he continued
still to be at the head of his knights in all their engagements with Saladin; and it was in
one of them that he ended his government by a mort glorious death, having his horse
killed under him by the treacherous count of Tripoli, who had gone over to the Saracens,
and was then fighting in disguise. Upon his fall, he was quickly surronded by those
barbarians, who dispatched him with a multitude of wounds, whilst a great number of his
knights came and loft their own lives in striving to save his; so that when the fight was
over, and the knights came to the field of battle to look for the body of their grand master,
found it, after much seeking and toil, quite covered with heaps of Turcomans and
Saracens, whom his sword had fent before him into the other world. His remains were
immediately conveyed to Acre, where he was buried with all the pomp and grief which were
due to so great a captain and champion for the Christian faith; but though the knights loft
to valuable a grand master, they had the comfort of seeing above 15,000 of the enemy
lying dead on the field of battle, which was fought on the 27th of May.


The enemy being still in the heart of the kingdom, and ready to engage them in a short
time, the chapter thought fit to elect the brave Garner of Nogali in Syria, in the room of
their deceased grand master, who signalized himself in that dangerous battle, which was
fought on the 11th of July following, wherein Guy de Lusignan, king of Jérusalem, was
defeated and made prisoner, the holy cross taken by the enemy, and most of the knights
either slain on the spot, or afterwards in cold blood by Saladin. Garner, after havin
having till he was covered over with wounds, happily escaped his fury, by flying to Acre, where,
in a few days, he died of them, after he had enjoyed his dignity two months and ten days.


The small remainder of the knights chofe, in his room, Emengard, or Emengard D'Aps,
who was with great difficulty prevailed upon, at that unhappy conjunction, to accept of the
dignity. And no wonder, for he entered upon it on the 20th of July, and the victorious Saladin
took possession of the city of Jérusalem on the 15th of October following, who drove all the
knights hospitallers out of that metropolis, and soon after all the Latinis out of Palestine, toge-

a Audz. sup. citat.  b Vide Audz. supra citat.  c Guillelm. Tyr. cont. lib. i. c. 5.  d Bosio, ubi sup.  e Baudoin, lib. ii. c. 1. 

(O) This important fortref is situated in Phœnicia, near the frontiers of Jôzua, upon the river Palaon, and about a mile from the city of the same name. It
fonds on a high and rugged rock, and is very strong by art and nature (26). Some authors have pretended, that Saladin was so exasperated at its being ceded to
the knights of Jérusalem, that he went immediately, and so closely besieged it, that they were forced to
surrender it to him after a long and desperate defence

a ther with all the other military orders that had been instituted for the preservation of
the holy city, with an express prohibition ever to return into it. The grand master, seeing
himself and his order stripped of their ancient habitation, transported himself and them to
the great fortres of Margat, lately mentioned, after having, at their own charges, redeemed
about 1000 Christian captives out of the hands of the conqueror. Thither likewise was
quickly removed the bishopprick of Valamia, to be in greater safety from the insults of the
enemy. Here the order continued only till the taking of Acre by the Christians four years
after, in which they had their share of the glory, and removed presently after thither, and
made it the place of their residence; from which they came to be filled knights of St. John
D' Acre. On the following year, Ermengard, the last grand master of the knights hospital-
ners, ended his days, after he had the pleasure of seeing the grand enemy of the Christians,
Saladin, defeated by them. 1

He was succeeded by Godfrey de Duifson, or, as others call him, De Donjon, a native of
France, who had the good fortune, during the time that the order lay between the Chris-
tians and Saladin, to see many noblemen and gentlemen of several nations, who had acquired
great estates in those parts, bequeath them to his order, before their return into Europe;
by which means they and the templars became administrators, and masters of that part of
the kingdom, which still remained in the hands of the Christians: upon which they chose
Antiste de Langagn, then king of Cyprus, king of Jerusalem; but as Duifson well knew of how
little consequence this would be to the Christians, unless they could recover that metropolis,
c he tried all possible means to prevail upon them to attempt the reduction of it out of
hand. But by that time their interests were so divided, that his advice could have no effect;
and he died very soon after the celebration and rejoicings occasioned by the marriage of Isabella
with the king of Cyprus. He obtained, during his grand mastership, several considerable
privileges from pope Celestin III. and some of his successors, particularly a bull from pope
Gregory VIII. enjoining the Christian prelates to excommunicate all those who should attempt
to deprive or wrong, in any-wise, the knights hospitalers of any of their lands, or to extort
any tythes or other dues whatsoever, in contempt of the privileges granted to them by
several of his predecessors. 2

He was succeeded by Alphonso de Portugal, descended from the royal family of that king-
dom; but from what branch of it, we are not told. This gentleman convened a general de Portugal
chapter at the old castle of Margat, soon after his election, where several wise and whol-
some measures were agreed to for the better reformation of the order, now become very
remiss, beginning it upon himself, his household, and equipage; and for the better reducing
the order under a kind of an aristocratical government; some of which still subsist; but
others being misled by the knights, as too severe and rigorous, and he became odious to
them for his too proud and stiff behaviour, he divested himself of his dignity in less than
a year after, and failed for Portugal, in hopes to be crowned king there; instead of
which he was poisoned by his brother, and died on the 1st of March 1209, or, as
others pretend, in a civil war against his rival. Before he abdicated, he had obtained fun-
dry considerable privileges and immunities to his order, which might have procured him
more regard, if his intended reformation had not reduced it into a kind of anarchy and
rebellen, in which the major part publicly refused to obey him any longer, and, by their
living in open defiance of his statutes, obliged him at once to abandon both his project
and dignity.

Godfrey, alias Geoffrey Le Rat, a Frenchman, and then grand prior of France, was chosen
in his room; in whose time died the great Saladin at Damascus, which gave a new life both
to the order and to all the Christian princes in the east, the truce still subsisting under his
successor Saladin, by which they had a very agreeable respite. But that was soon after inter-
rupted by the dreadful quarrel which happened between his order and that of the templars,
which was to have proved fatal to both. The latter, it seems, had driven out by main
force a vaisal of the hospitalers from a castle he held of them near that of Margat, of
which injury he had no sooner complained to them, than they, without any farther cere-
mony, dispatched a number of their knights, who went and scaled the place with sword
in hand, and drove them away. This quickly inflamed both orders to such a deperate
degree, as came little short of a civil war, in which the friends of both interested themselves,
and made two considerable parties, equally inflamed against each other. There being then no
sovereign to curb their resentment, the patriarch and some of the bishops at length found
Brought be-
means to persuade them to a suspension of arms, and to refer the controversy to the deter-
mination of the holy see.

1 Aud. supra citat. 2 Vide Naberat de privileg. fab Godfrey, p. 28. 3 Idem ibid. Vertoy.
4 tom. 1. p. 329. & seq.

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5 F  

Pope
Pope Innocent III, sat then on the chair, when the deputies of both orders came to lay the matter before him; who, by a preliminary sentence, ordered the hospitallers to refit the castle to the templars for one month; after which the owner of it should be permitted to prefer a complaint against them, and have the cause tried before proper magistrates, or decided by such judicious and impartial arbitrators as the chiefs of both orders should mutually agree upon. The pontiff, moreover, wrote letters to the grand masters, exhorting them to set aside all their jealousies and feuds, so dangerous to Christendom, and so acceptable to the Turks, and others of their enemies, and to abide by the decision of the judges, under pain of excommunication, and of his highest reprimand; and, in that to Godfrey Le Rat, he highly blames the violent method they took in favour of their valiant, tells him that he had chosen to have the matter decided by arbitration, rather than to have it brought b before him, to avoid being obliged to pronounce such a sentence against the delinquents, as must have covered them with confusion, and expose them to the world.

The dispute was at length decided in favour of the hospitallers, and the pretensions of the templars declared to be unjust. The castle was restored to the right owners, matters were at last outwardly compromised to the satisfaction of both sides, and a good harmony restored between them. The pope wrote to both, recommending the interest of the king of Cyprus to them, and concludes with threatening those that proved refractory with his highest indignation. But there was very little likelihood that things should continue in that amicable situation, if what an author tells us be true, that the knights templars had then no less than 10,000 manors, besides other revenues and privileges, belonging to them; whereas the hospitallers had no more than 9,000; and we shall find accordingly by the sequel, that this fire of jealousy and envy was only kept under for a time, in order to blaze more fiercely upon every fresh occasion, till they were totally suppressed. But to return:

About fix or seven years after this accommodation died Amalric de Lusignan, without having any children by his left wife Isabella; so that the kingdom of Cyprus devolved to his son Hughes by his former wife; upon which account, and the many feuds which then universally reigned in that island, he bequeathed the government of it to the knights of St. John D'Arc. Soon after this, his wife Isabella, queen of Jerusalem, dying, left her daughter Mary, whom she had by her former husband, under their guardianship, in conjunction d with the knights templars. Godfrey Le Rat obtained, during his government, sundry fresh privileges from the popes Celestine III. and Innocent III. and more particularly from our king John.

The ambassadours which had been sent into Europe, to obtain fresh succours, being returned, fraught with promises of a speedy and warlike armament by sea and land, under the command of the famed John de Brienne, the grand master, who doubted justly whether any such vast reinforcement could be really sent from thence, was yet of opinion to take the advantage of the fear which this report had thrown the infidels in, for renewing the truce with them. His council met, with general approbation, except the master of the templars, who opposed it, it seems, for no other reason than because it was proposed by him, and had interest enough to cause it to be set aside. The grand master died soon after, and was succeeded by Guerin de Montagu, a Frenchman, of the province of Arvergne, who, soon after his election, greatly afflicted the Greeks in Lesser Armenia against the Saracens and Saracens; in recompence of which signal services, the king beftowed the city of Sales, together with the castles of Camard and Nocala, upon him and his order. During his mastership, Andreas king of Hungary, coming to Acre, or Ptolena, and beholding the decent order and charitable economy of the knights hospitallers, bestowed several lands, castles, and other donatives, upon their hospital, besides an income of 500 marks per annum, to be paid out of the falt-works of Sales. He likewise took the habit and crofs of the order, into which he was admitted by the same grand master. Pope Honorius confirmed all those donatives to the hospital, and bestowed several other privilages upon it; as did some of his predecessors and successors. The same was done by the French kings Lewis VIII. and IX. who likewise confirmed all the donatives which had been granted to the order by Richard I. king of England. Pope Gregory IX. likewise confirmed all the privileges and immunities which had been granted by his predecessors, and added some new ones to them. It was likewise during his government, that Damiet was taken by the knights, after a long and stout defence.

Guerin enjoyed his dignity somewhat above 23 years; and, upon his demise, was succeeded by


Bertrand
Bernard de Texti, who, following his predececssors steps, was no lea attentive to the interests of Christendom than to those of his order (P). There never was indeed more need of vigilance than now; when, by the abdication of John of Brienne, the kingdom was like a fish without a pilot; and by the recalling of the Teutonic knights, to suppress the dreadful devastations of the pagans in Prussia, the state had lost a considerable prop; so that it had hardly any other supporters left than the knights hospitallers and templars. The emperor Frederick, as then king of Jerusalem, had indeed promised them, at his departure thence, to fend them his son and succeessor Conrad with a very powerful reinforcement; but, having occasion for all his forces elsewhere, he quickly forgot his engagements to those two orders, which obliged them to mutter up all their prudence and strength to defend itself.

Against such powerful enemies as it had on all sides. Texti, accompanied by Bernard de Gis, to the Burris, knight of the order, and grand prior of St. Giles, went on an embassy to the emperor, emperor, to remind him of his promises. But all he could obtain from him was a confirmation of the privileges and immunities granted to the order by his predeceessors, with the addition of some new ones. The grant is dated from Verona, and pope Gregory, following his example, complimented the order with a new bull, some months after, charging all patriarchs and prelates in Christendom to excommunicate, as he doth in that bull, all those who shall vex, molest, or in any way injure, that order, either in their persons, revenues, &c. It is dated Nov. 24, of the same year*. Bernard de Texti died on the next year at Palermo, some say Diis after the of grief at the fleeing reproaches which the court of Rome had loaded him and his knights with, for the particular effect on him that they had flown for the great Vaties, then emperor of Nice. However that be, he had the satisfaction, a little before his death, of hearing of the arrival of Richard duke of Cornwall, brother of king Henry III. of England, in Palestine, with an army of 40,000 men*.

He was succeeded by Guerin, or Gerin, whose surname and country is not mentioned by 15: Guerin, any author, and who is omitted out of the list by Megisser, tho' so particularly recorded by the ref, for his and the Christian army's total defeat in the battle they fought against the Chromatins, who were ten to one superior in number, and in which such slaughter was made, of the two orders in particular, that only twenty-six, some say sixteen, of the hospitallers, and thirty-three templars, escaped with their lives. The two grand masters were killed at the head of their troops, according to some authors (Q); but, according to others, only that of the templars, whilst Guerin had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, and to be sent Defeated and in chains to the sultan of Egypt, with other prisoners of note; so that it is not known whether he was ever redeemed, or died in slavery. This disaster happened to him about three years after his election to the dignity; and he was succeeded by Bernard de Comps, an old experienced officer, and a native of Dauphiny; who, tho' 16: Bernard so far his order so much thinned by the late dreadful slaughter of its knights, yet being de Comps, applied to for help by the prince of Antioch, who was then invaded on all sides by swarmers of Turcomans, made no demand to put himself at the head of his remaining forces, and to march with his brethren. The matter of the templars did the same with his; and a long and furious engagement ensued between them and those infidels, in which both sides behaved with great intrepidity. Bernard, enraged at an opposition he had not been accustomed to, engages the rushed in foremost at the head of his knights, into the enemy's ranks, forced his way through them, and put them to flight; but, in this last effort, he received so many wounds, that Ditus of his he died of them soon after, in the fourth year after his election*. During the four years of his government, he obtained four different bulls from pope Innocent IV.; the one condemning and excommunicating all those who, in contempt of the privileges granted by his predeceessors, had invaded any of them; the other three were much of the same stamp; being as little regarded by the rest of the world as tho' of his predeceessors.

* Naberat, ubi sup. p. 34. / Bosio, & al. sup. citat. / Bosio, Megisser, & al. sup. citat.

(P) This grand master is omitted by Roudincel, and some other authors, who place, immediately after Guerin de Montaigu above mentioned, the other Guerin, without a surname, and reckon him the 15th grand master of the order, from Gerard, as the first who bore that title(29). But Bofis, and the generality of other authors, leaving Gerard out, and beginning from Raymond de Pelle, or Dyar, mention this Bernard de Texti as the 15th in the list from him, who succeeded the first Guerin, anno 1230, and died in 1250 (30).

(Q) Perton quotes a letter written by William de Chateucreux, knight of the order, who was himself at the bloody engagement, and was some years after chosen grand master of the order, to the lord de Merlay; in which he attributes this incursion of the Chromatins to the league which the Christians had made with the sultan of Damayzus against them of Egypt. The account which he gives of the fight is, that the two grand masters were slain in it, and only himself, and fifteen more of the knights of his order, had escaped from the slaughter (31).


(30) Bofis, Megisser, & al. sup. citat. / Perton, & al. sup. citat. / Davy, Lartig, &c. / Perton, & al. sup. citat. / Davy, Lartig, &c. / Perton, & al. sup. citat.
The chapter chose in his room Peter de Villebride, a gentleman no less esteemed for his a piety than for his singular valour; in the beginning of whole government, Lewis IX. once known by the title of St. Lewis, arrived at the head of a powerful crusade, to which pope Innocent IV. had invited, by a special bull, all the Christian princes of his church. Lewis came and received the cross and habit from the grand master, and engaged to accompany him in all his expeditions, at the head of his order. The better to acquit himself of his promise, he cau$ed all the novices of the order that were in Europe, and all the c$h of the priories, &c. belonging to it, to be conveyed into Paphlagon, in order to march with this reinforcement to join the king at the siege of Damietta. He likewise made very strong efforts to prevail upon the sultan of Egypt to treat with him about the redemption of Christian slaves, which were by that time become very numerous; and, if he could have succeeded in it, it would have proved very serviceable; but the sultan, who was privately in league with the emperor, who hated them no less than he, absolutely refused it, and dismissed the commissioners with very severe, though just, reproaches, of their former perfidy. The ill success of the siege we have already seen; and need only observe here, that, upon his being taken prisoner with the king, the chapter cau$ed him to be redeemed at a great price; but he did not long survive his return to Ptolemais, where he died in the third year of his government (R); and was succeeded by

William de Castelnau, alias Chateauneuf, a French gentleman, of the Auverg"nian tongue, an ancient knight, and so strik"t an observer of their religious discipline, that, if we may believe the French writer of St. Lewis’s life (a), he condemned the knights to eat upon c their cloaks, i"ped upon the ground in their hall or refectory, for having had a flag\ub with some of the Frenchmen of that king’s retinue, as they were hunting an antelope near Ptolemais. In his time, that monarch having cau$ed the fortifications of Ptolemais, Joppa, Cesarea, and some other places, to be repaired, and greatly improved, returned into France, and left the care of that country to the new grand master, about three years after his election; who accordingly fortified the monastery of Mount Tabor, now abandoned, in the shape of a strong citadel; as he did likewise the castle of Bethany, which was granted to him by pope Alexander IV. with all its revenues, and some others, and put a sufficient number of forces and ammunition into each of them, particularly into that of Carac, in the country of Tripoli, which belonged to the order, and that of Aijur, bordering on the conquests of the Saracens in the Holy Land; in which last he put 100 of his knights, with a good number of hired troops, to suppress the inroads of those infidels.

Pope Alexander IV. not content with confirming and augmenting the immunities and priv"leges of the order, besides M. Tabor and the castle of Bethany above-mentioned, with all the revenues belonging to them, added several other grants, in order to keep all their fortified places and garrisons in the best repair; which he accordingly did; but all these pleasing prospects were forced to give way to a more gloomy and discouraging one, which forced itself upon him; viz. that of seeing all the fair promises made to him of a speedy and consider"able succour from Europe come to nothing; the grief of which, in all probability, shortened his days (b). He died in the ninth year of his mastership; and was succeeded by

Hugh Revel, a native of Dauphiny, and of an ancient and noble family, who, by his wife and extraordinary conduct, greatly contributed to raise the l"ute of his order, and his new dignity, at least with respect to the temporal fate of it. He summoned a general chapter of the whole order at Cesarea, where the ab"ses, which had crept into its several commanderies, were examined, and pri"s over them to visit and inspect them, and transnit the revenues of them duly over into the public treasury. The same chapter puffed a law, forbidding the knights to make wills, or leave legacies, or even any gratu"ties, to their domestics, without the leave of the grand master, as being inconsistent with their vow of poverty (c).

These few wholesome regulations were the more necessary at this time, not only to reform several abuses which were grown to a monstrous height, but likewise to enable the order to procure, at their own charge, those succours which they had long expected in vain for their deacons, archdeacons, vicars, and other officers, to summon or sue any of them, or their domestics, upon any account whatsoever. The same prohibition is likewise directed against all counts, viscounts, barons, provosts, bailiffs, and other officers of secular justice; as likewise against laying violent hands upon their persons, &c. and all under pain of excommunication (32).

(R) Among other fresh privileges and immunities granted to this grand master, during his short govern"ment, by four successive bulls, the last of them, dated March 24, 1250, exempts his order, and the downfall of it, from being summoned or sued before any ecclesi"astical court whatsoever: and the archbishops and bishops of France are thereby enjoined to forbid their

(32) Nabot,ubi supra, p. 38.
The history of Malt... from the European princes; the want of which had occasioned the affairs of religion to go from bad to worse. By these means, and other wise precautions of the grand matter, we shall find them still acting, upon all occasions, with their accustomed bravery and zeal, under all the difficulties occasioned by the remoteness and indolence of those crowned heads whose duty and interest it was to have supported them.

Revel was hardly entered into the third year of his dignity, before Bendecador, the bitterest enemy that the Christians in Palestine, especially those of his order, ever had, was raised by the Mamleks to be sultan of Egypt, and threatened the two orders with expulsion from that country. He accordingly began with the cawle of Affor, or Aboo, one of their strongest fortresses, which the late grand master had fortified and garrisoned with 100 of his knights, besides some other troops, who all maintained their ground with the most intrepid bravery, until they were all cut to pieces, not so much that the sultan could not enter the place but by going over the dead bodies, with which all the avenues to it were covered. Next year the sea-port of Gaffa, or Joppa, the castles of Beaufort and Carac, underwent the same fate, and the garrisons were all massacred without mercy to the last man. Antioch was surrendered by treachery, and nothing was left but the dismal prospect of the total loss of the Holy Land; when Revel, in conjunction with the master of the templars, now honoured with the additional title of grand, like his noble colleague, by pope Clement IV. found means to induce the sultan to make a truce, in hopes that, in a short time, they might obtain some succours from Europe. They agreed to pass over together to Italy, in order to promote, by their interest, Tikhon archdeacon of Lige, then in Palestine, to the papal chair, which had been vacant near three years; not doubting but, as he had been an eye-witness of the dismal condition of Christianity, his piety and zeal would fit him up to employ all his interest and authority to procure some considerable reinforcement to these two orders, who were now the only supporters left of that tottering state.

He did so, and, with a readiness suitable to their hopes, invited them both to assist at the general council of Lyons, which he convened soon after his exaltation; and, as that could not meet till three years after, he employed that time in writing circular letters, to exhort the Christian princes, by a timely supply, to prevent the total loss of the Holy Land. We shall not repeat here the refutation of that augury of ill-fortune, nor any other events that happened in Palestine during that time, which the sultan would not have failed of turning to his advantage, had he not been prevented by death before the truce was expired. But in the mean time the grand master Revel, quite worn out with age, fatigues, and which is still worse, with cares and grief, departed this life in the 16th year of his government, and on the year after the death of Bendecador.

He was succeeded by Nicholas de Lorgue, a gentleman of a sweet and inoffensive disposition, whose first care, after his election, was to restore the harmony which had been long interrupted between his order and that of the templars, and to appease the feuds and animosities which reigned among the various nations that were settled in the city. In which he not only had the mortification to find all his endeavours eluded, but likewise to see the truce all on a sudden broke by Sati Moloch, the successor of Bendecador, before it was expired, and the important fortress of Margat assaulted, and surrendered to that treacherous prince, who caused it to be taken and razed to the ground, to deprive them of all hopes of their ever recovering its. His grief for the loss of so considerable a place, as well as for the success of the infidels in those parts, so sensibly affected him, that he took the advantage of a second truce with them to repass into Europe, to solicit for some fresh succours; but all he could obtain was about 1500 men, most of them either banditti, or of the lees of the people, without either courage or discipline. Even the then pope Nicholas IV. refused to assist him with money towards their pay; and with this poor reinforcement he was forced to return to Ptolemais, the fight of which rather contributed to increase than allay the discontents and Lorgue depairs of the fraternity. As for De Lorgue, the cold reception he met with in Europe, returns, joined to the deplorable condition they were reduced to, so effectually touched his heart, that quickly brought him to his grave, in the 10th year of his government, and prevented his surviving the loss of that important place, and of the Holy Land, which he clearly forebore to be near hand.

He was succeeded by John de Villiers, a Frenchman, during whose whole government the affairs of religion went still worse and worse, by the loss of Tripoli in Syria, of Tyre, Sidon, Baruth, and, last of all, of Ptolemais. With regard to this last, it may be observed, that the breach of the second truce was owing chiefly to the garrison of it, or rather to that reinforcement which was thrown into it by the late grand master De Lorgue. We have already hinted what a wretched crew of scoundrels they were, ill disciplined, and worse paid; so...
that they made no scruple to fall out as occasion offered, and to live on the plunder of a
Christians as well as Saracens, without distinction. The sultan in vain sent to demand satis-
faction for these depredations; the jealousy and divisions which reigned in the place, which
was then without a proper governor, and inhabited by a mixed multitude of all nations and
conditions, most of them independent of each other, and living in a kind of anarchy, gave
no room to expect any redress or remedy; and even the patriarch, the pope’s legate, and
chiefs of the clergy, had withdrawn themselves into a separate quarter of the town. Thus
whilst discord, envy, rapine, murder, and every destructive irregularity, were suffered to
reign in the place, that vast multitude, which, united, might have withstood all the efforts
of the enemy, became a sacrifice to their implacable fury, and brought on the loss and
dreadful catastrophe of that unhappy city, as well as the total expulsion of the Chriftians,
and particularly of this order, out of Palestine.

The grand master, and the few knights that survived this irreparable loss, embarked
with all possible speed, as well as the templars and those of the Teutonic order, and dispersed
themselves by several routes. Their example was followed by those who were left in the
castles that remained untaken, but which they found they were unable to maintain
themselves in. The hospitallers, however, being still in hopes that some fresh crusade
might enable them once more to settle in the Holy Land, refused to fix themselves as near
it as they could; and, having obtained leave of the king of Cyprus to take shelter in his
island, he affignd to them the city of Limifto in that island, where they gradually arrived
one after another, as they could best avoid the pursuit of the Saracens. A doleful sight it
c was to see them land, after the dreadful fatigues and dangers they had sustained during that
fiege; and though most of them were covered with wounds, yet were they still more grieved
at their hearts that they had outlived so great a loss. Here, however, they settled for the
present; and the grand master convened two general chapters, one year after another, to
consult on the properest means ofbettering, if possible, their now almost desperate condi-
tion, and preventing the total extinction of their order. He likewise sent to the pope Nicol-
las IV., the melancholy news of the loss of Palestine; who immediately dispatched his nuncios
to all the European princes, to exhort them to set aside all their mutual feuds, and turn
their thoughts and efforts towards the recovery of it. In the mean time Villiers had the
comfort to see the first general council filled with a vast number of knights of all nations,
old and young, who came readily to Cyprus from all parts, none excusing himself from
being at it on that emergent occasion, in so much that there never had been seen so numerous
an assembly since the foundation of the order.

The master’s speech, which drew tears from the eyes of all its hearers, was followed with
an universal prohibition both of old and young, that they were all ready and impatient to
venture their lives for the recovery of the holy places. The misfortune was, that the city of
Limifto had suffered so much from the Arabian and Saracen corsairs, that it was now reduced
to a wide open borough, exposed on all sides; on which account some of the assembly pro-
posed to seek for a more safe and convenient settlement in some part of Italy. This proposal,
however, was rejected with scorn by the grand master and the senior knights, as inconsistent
with the intent and meaning of some of their late statutes, which obliged them to keep as
near the Holy Land as possible, in order to be at hand, whenever an opportunity offered,
to take up arms for the recovery of it; upon which it was agreed to make the best of the
place they were in, and to look no farther.

The first care of the grand master was, to get proper accommodations for the sick,
wounded, lame, &c., as was usually done before; and as there was not room enough in
the place to entertain so great a multitude of knights and their retinue, it was further agreed
that a certain number of these galleys, which had brought them thither either from Europe
or Palestine, should be armed and fitted out, and commanded by turns by a proper number
of knights, whose chief business it should be to scour the sea, and escort the pilgrims that
still went to and from Palestine. Upon which many of them of different sizes began to fall
from several ports of the island, and, at their return, brought in considerable prizes which
they made of the Turkis corsairs, who were watching to intercept those pilgrims in their
pillage thither or homewards. These helped to augment the number of their vessels; to
which they added some new ones, which they ordered to be built, by which means they
began again to make some figure at sea, which served also to keep the knights in action,
and to train up and enure the young ones at once to war and navigation.

In the mean time the grand master Villiers, finding the preparations in Europe for an arm-
ament in their favour to go on extremely slowly, employed his time in making several new
and very necessary statutes and regulations. After which, having obtained leave of the

& seqq.
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a king, he set himself about fortifying the city of Limiis, in order to secure it from the attempts of Melch Nazar, who had succeeded Melch Zaraoth, who would not otherwise fail of assaulting him in so open and defenceless a place. Pope Celestian IV. being at length chafen to the papal chair, and apprised of their loss of all the lands which they had held in Palesti- ne, made it his first care to shew them some marks of this affection; and, though he was soon after cheated out of his dignity, his successor Boniface VIII. shewed himself no less generous to them, by the bulls which he culminated against the kings of England and Portugal. Thee princes, after the loss of the Holy Land, had sequestrated their lands and revenues, to what they called more pious and charitable uses than the supporting those knights in pride and luxury, for which reprobate they had given but too much occasion; but those bulls, notwithstanding their specious pretences, obliged those two princes to obey, and to revoke their sequestration. The misfortune was, that the king of Cyprus, no less haughty than that pontiff, conceived such a jealousy against the whole order, which claimed an independence on any but the pope, that he absolutely refused to suffer them to settle in his dominions, unless they would submit to pay him a certain tribute yearly as their vassals, with which they were obliged to comply, in spite of the pope's thundering bull against it, in which he fitted it a horrid and detestable extortion. In the mean time the grand master De Villiers died at Limiis, quite worn out with grief and fatigues, in the sixth year after his De Villiers election.

b The chapter chose in his room Odon des Pins, alias Odo de Pinibus, a native of Provence, 22. Odon des
c a person already advanced in years, but fitter for the monkish offices than for those of such Pins. a warlike order, and perhaps more devout and retired than was consistent with it. His
affected indolence, and the neglect of sending their galleys in search of fresh captures, soon brought upon him the general disfavour of the whole order, which chiefly subsisted by them. Complaints were therefore made to the pope against him, by the greatest part of them, who at the same time begged leave to depose him. He was thereupon summoned before that pontiff; but died before he reached Italy, in the second year of his government, and was succeeded by

William de Villaret, of the tongue of Provence, at that time residing in his own priory 23. William
do St Giles; but who, upon the news of his election, chose to visit in person all the places de Villaret.
d in the several tongues of Provence, Avergne, and Franches, in most of which he made several
wholesome and needful regulations, before he set out for Cyprus. In his time pope Boniface VIII. confirmed the old rule of the order, which had been left during the siege of Ploemmas, rule confirmed, but the counter-part of which was still extant in the Vatican library. That pontif at the same time conferred upon this order the abbey of Venosa, in the kingdom of Naples, which he had suprised on account of the irregularities of the nuns belonging to it. Villaret, having
thanked his holiness for these two signal favours, set sail for Cyprus, where he was received by
the whole convent with universal joy, and where they had waited with impatience for his arrival; in hopes that his presence would give fresh life to a new project which they had formed for driving the Saracens out of the Holy Land, by making a league with Guzcan, now
e at the head of the Magul Tatars. He likewise received several other considerable privileges from pope Benedict X. and Philip the Fair of France.

But the grand matter had a much more important project in his head, which yet he kept wholly to himself, till he had assured himself of the leableness of it. The ill treatment
which he and his order had received from the king Cyprus, in a great measure forced him into it. It was no less than the conquest of the island of Rhodes, where the lords of Gallia
d had, from governors, erected themselves into sovereigns of it, and had peopled it with Turkisb and Saracen merchants, who admitted all the coerals of those nations into their ports, where they rode safe from the pursuit of the galleys of his order. His first care was to take an exact survey of its ports, fortified places, garrisons, and number of its inhabi-tants; but not finding himself in a condition to attempt it with the small force he had, he failed back to Limiis, with an intent to go thence to Rome, and acquaint the pope with his design on that island, and to procure by his means some fresh assistance from the European princes; but, while he was preparing for that voyage, he was seized with a lingering dif-

f fease, which put an end to his project and to his life, on the 11th year of his grand master-
ship; so that he lived to see the dreadful catastrophe and final destruction of the knights tem- plars.

He was succeeded by his brother Foulk de Villaret, who, being well acquainted with all his
designs, and the plan he had laid for facilitating so noble a project, and a person of no
least courage and conduct for executing of it, was the fittest to supply his place. He failed

accordingly from Limiis, accompanied by a great number of his knights, who were no less

France.

k Bosio, Memise, Byzant, Lusignan, Badogin, Vexlot, & al. ubi fep. 1 N-Verat, ubi fep.
p. 49. 20 n. Aed. Oep. citat. 5 tied.
The history of Maltha.

BOOK XXII.

The poet and French king.

tired than he with the frequent insults of the Cyprian monarch, in the galleys of the order, a
to go and confer with the pope French king, both then in the city of Petrer, to examine
the case of the knights templars, and to propose to the then master of them, who was there
likewise, the uniting of the two orders under one chief or grand master. To this he answered,
that the same proposal, having been formerly made at the council of Lyons, under Gregory
IX. was set aside upon several invincible obstacles which were urged against it; and, amongst
the rest, that the monarchs of Spain, who were at perpetual war with the Moors, and derived
their chief strength from the military orders established in their own dominions, would never
permit that the Spanifh knights, who were solely dependent on him, should become subject
to any authority but his own: and, zedly, that it would be highly unreasonable, and even
dangerous, to obligate that military order to observe the severe discipline of the templars,
with regard to their religious obligations and vows, which they had no proper call, nor
grace given, to observe; so that such an union would rather be a disservice than a means of
recovering the Holy Land, which was what the Christian powers had most at heart, and
estimated the most meritorious action they could contribute to, or exert themselves in.

Upon the whole, the project was set aside, and that of the grand master Villaret approved.of,
exchanging the isle of Cyprus, where they were exposed to the attacks of the Saracens
from without, and to the inquests and extortions of the king from within, for that of Rhodes,
where they would be able to fortify themselves against the one, and be near at hand to attempt
the recovery of Palmyra, whenever a fair opportunity offered. But as the conquest of that
island was an enterprise above their present strength, a fresh crusade was proposed and agreed
to, to assist them with a sufficient force to effect it, without discovering however the partic-
ular design of it, which was its interest to conceal with all possible secrecy. The pope's
bull for it granted such plenary indulgences, and other considerable privileges, to those that
should engage in or contribute towards it, that volunteers came in throngs from all parts of
Europe, especially from Germany, to enlist themselves; and the very women readily parted
with their jewels to contribute towards the expenses of it; so that the vast sums which were
collected quickly enabled them to procure arms and ammunition, and vessels to carry over a
great army, so great, we are told, that, for want of a sufficient number of transport ships,
and to prevent the too great confusion it might cause, the grand master and his knights con-
tented themselves with flogging out the outcasts and beggar accounted for, and taking leave of
the pontift, failed with them for the island of Cyprus, where they arrived late, and without
coming near that of Rhodes, to avoid raising any suspicion. Here he stayed no longer than
he could get his knights, and all the arms and effects of the order on board, and then
set sail again on his intended expedition.

Upon the ungenerous refusal which the emperor Andronicus, who mortally hated the Latins,
made him of the investiture of Rhodes, tho' he had hardly anything left in it but a castrate,
and some shadow of authority, the grand master, who easily forewove the issue of this nego-
tiation, instead of flattering longer at Macry, where he only stopped to take in fresh water,
failed directly for that island, and quickly landed his forces, provisions, and warlike stores,
in spite of the opposition which the Greeks and Saracens, who then inhabited it, could make
gainst them; so greatly were they fallen, by this time, from the valour and noble spirit for
which they had been so justly famed in former days. Not in which they immediately submitted
to the invaders without resistance, for there was scarcely a man in the island that did not make
some effort to drive them out, especially as the emperor Andronicus supplied them with fresh
forces, in hopes that the island would easily submit to him; and, as soon as the Latins were
destroyed out of it, and this contest lasted near four years, though authors have given us
few or no particulars of it, except what relates to the taking of its capital, without which
the grand master clearly forewove the island would hardly be subdued.

The siege was actually carried on with surplifing bravery, the knights emulously running
themselves into the greatest dangers to haffen its reduction; but as the besiegers made a f
no less vigorous defence, he thought it expedient to turn it into a blockade; in which how-
ever he quickly found himself so closely surrounded by the Greeks and Saracens, that he
could get no supply of either forage or provisions for his army.

HAVING at length obtained a supply of fresh provisions by means of some large sums
which he borrowed from the Florentines, and sufficiently refreshed his own men, he came
out of his trenches, and attacked the Saracens, with a full resolution either to conquer or
die. A bloody fight ensued, in which he left a great number of his bravest knights, whilist
the inhabitants fought against them with the utmost fury, as against invaders of their lands,
families, and liberty. At length the Saracens gave way, and abandoned the field of battle,

* Botso, & al. sup. citat.  b Ibid. ibid.  c See Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 141, & seq.
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a of the Archipelago. The siege was immediately after renewed with fresh vigour; the assailants given through a thick volley of arrows, and other missive weapons, from the ramparts, and the standards of the order quickly after displayed upon them. The Greeks, and other Christians, that were found in the place, had their lives and liberties given them, but the Saracens were all cut in pieces. The taking of the city was followed by that of the castle of Lindo, situate on the eastern coasts of the island, near which are two convenient bays, especially that which still retains its ancient name of the Bay of Scopents. Other fortifications, and at length that whole island, gradually underwent the same fortune; so that they got full possession of it in less than four years time. In memory of this signal transaction, so glorious and advantageous to the order, and to all Christendom, they took, and retained
b as long as they kept possession of the island, the name of knights of Rhodes, and it is by that name that we must distinguish them thro' the following fiction'.

S E C T. II.

The history of the knights of Rhodes, from their first settlement on that island, to their being dispossessed of it by Soliman, emperor of the Turks.

c This famed island having been fully described in our Antient History, with respect Island of to its situation, extent, climate, soil, produce, &c. we shall not trouble our readers any farther about it here, except where it hath since received any considerable improvement either in its fortifications, navy, or commerce, since it became subject to the new masters. But as the reduction of it by them was followed by that of eight or nine more of a smaller size and importance, formerly called Rhodian islands, but most of them mere barren rocks, we shall just give a short account of those which proved the most useful to the order in the sequel, and barely mention what is found most remarkable in them, before we resume the thread of our history. Those are known by the names of, 1. Nisara, antiently, Nifros, Seven other small islands; 2. Ler, 3. Calamo, 4. Episcopia; 5. Calcis de Sinia; 6. Tile, and 7. Cos, alias Lango. described.

d Nisara is distant from that of Cos last-named about two leagues, and about the same distance which it is from the continent of Caria. It had formerly a temple dedicated to Neptune, some hot baths, and a good haven; and, upon its surrender, was now given in to the grand master to John and Bonavit Affailers, two brothers, who had signalized themselves at the siege of Rhodes, upon condition they should forthwith build a new galley of twenty oars, man and equip it at their own charge, and go on board it themselves when and where-ever the grand master should order them.

Lero is about eighteen miles in compass, yet is one continued rock, on the summit of Lero, which was a caftel, which defended the harbour from the plundering corsairs. That of Calamo, though full much larger, being forty miles in circumference, is Calamo.

e Likewise a mere continued barren rock: yet did the knights find in it the ruins of a considerable city, whose inhabitants probably subsisted on their commerce, the soil being altogether dry and barren. Those of Episcopia and Tile are still more inconsiderable. That of Calcis or Calcis de Sinia hath little remarkable in it, except that it produces some good wines, and breeds up a vast number of goats. The inhabitants are famous for having a fort of small light frigates, which sail and row with such prodigious swiftness, that no ship can overtake them. This island was likewise famous for breeding up excellent swimmers and divers, who excelled.dived for sponge; and there was a law among them, that none should be permitted to marry till they could dive twenty fathom deep. On the summit of this island the grand master ordered a very high tower to be erected, from the top of which one could see a great way any vessel that appeared at sea, of which they were to give notice to the order, either by their beacons, or by dispatching one of their swift frigates to Rhodes. But the most considerable of all is that of Cos or Lango, which is near four miles long and about two in breadth, and moreover famed for being the native place of the great Hippocrates and Apelles. its foil is fertile, and produces great variety of fruit. The knights found in it a small city Fertile Soil or town, situate by the sea-side, at the bottom of a large bay, and at the foot of a high mountain. The haven was then commodious and wide, but the mouth of it hath been some time ago so choked up with the sand thrown into it by the waves, that none but small vessels can sail into it, whilst those of a larger bulk are obliged to ride in the road near it, which hath a good bottom and anchorage.


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On this island the grand master ordered a stout cattle to be built, with strong towers and a
other bulwarks, and left it under the government of one of the knights, who laid the foun-
dation for a commerce in the island: this became so considerable under his successors, that
the town began to make a great figure, and the island was looked upon as a second Rhodes;
infomuch that it was raised to the dignity of a bishop's see under that of Rhodes, and erected
into one of the bailiwicks of the order.

WHilst the grand master was receiving the homage, and establishing his authority, in
the several islands above-mentioned, the fortifications of the capital were repaired and im-
proved according to his order; so that at his return he failed with his galleys into the har-
bour with great pomp, amidst the shouts and acclamations of his order. He had not long
enjoyed the fruits of this new conquest, before the Saracens, who escaped from the sword of
his troops, by regaining their ships, raised up a potent enemy against him. It was Othman,
alias Othman, of the race of sultans of that name, who then reigned in Byzantium; and, whe-
ter to revenge the blood of the plain Saracens, or out of dislike of having to warlike and
enterprizing an order so near his own dominions, resolved at any rate to drive them out of
that island. After the several conquests he had by this time made in Lycia, Caria, and other
parts of the Greek empire, he bent his whole naval strength against this place; and made
such dispatch in his preparations, that he was able to lay siege to that capital before the walls
and other fortifications of it were fully repaired. His fleet was numerous, his troops were
flourishing and warlike, and accustomed to conquer under his banners; yet did his good fortune
fail him in this attempt. The intrepid valour of the Rhodian knights proved such an effec-
tual bulwark against all his efforts, that he was forced to raise the siege, and retire with a
great loss of his men; which he had no sooner done, than the grand master ordered the walls
to be strongly terraced, and new out-works to be added to the old, to secure that capital
from future attempts.

His next care was to open such a commerce with it as might render it no less rich and
flourishing than strong. To this end he invited all that had retired into different parts of
Greece to come and settle there; which they did quickly in vast multitudes. He also made
the port of Rhodes a free one to all nations, which drew likewise a vaft concourse of mer-
chants thither; infomuch that that city gradually arose to such degree of opulence, as to
come of the most flourishing in all Asia, as well as one of the most secure and commo-
dious havens for all the crusades that came from Europe, to the great joy and satisfaction of
all the Christian crowned heads, and the singular honour of the knights hospitallers, who,
by the taking of this important island, gave the world a proof, that, in the lists of the Holy
Land, they had never reneged their hopes and desire of recovering it again; in which they
shewed themselves much superior in zeal and bravery to their rivals the templars, who so
readily abandoned those holy places to the fury and tyranny of the enemies of Christendom,
to indulge themselves in ease and luxury, and a life quite opposite to their vows, and the
design of their institution. This was, at least, the general outcry against them, whether
deferredly or no, all over Europe, but more especially at the courts of France and Rome, and
what hastened their ruin and total extinction, as well as the bestowing of all their lands and
revenues on the knights of Rhodes.

They appointed Robert Lalleman, of the Black Castle, a person of known prudence and
integrity, and who had been for some time great commander of the order, their attorney-
general, with a competent number of other knights his coadjutors, and sent them with full
power to take possession of all those eftates, and to give proper discharges for them. The
said Lalleman was likewise appointed, by the same chapter, general visitor, inquisitor,
administrator, steward, and reformer of the order on this side of the sea, and ordered to
make a thorough reformation of all the abuses which had crept in, during the late trouble-
some times, with regard to the application of the revenues of every priory, &c. or in any other
infrance; with full power to judge and condemn all delinquents of what rank and quality
ever, to deprive them of their respective dignities and trusts, and nominate others in
their place. He was moreover empowered to admit fit and worthy persons into the order,
and to invest them with the proper habit and other insignia of it. This commission is dated
October 27, 1312; and was the more politically concerted, as the execution of it would at
once silence the complaints which had been made against their order, with regard to those
abuses, at the council of Vienna, by the creatures of the French king, who wanted to seize
on the best part of the eftates of the templars; and as it would prevent pope Boniface, who had
engaged to become himself their visitor and reformer, and to fee all such abuses rectified,
from nominating some of his own creatures to that office. However that be, Lalleman and
his coadjutors found the greatest difficulty, when they came into Europe, to get those eftates
out of the hands of the tenacious administrators; and it was not accomplished till after a

\[\text{\footnotesize De his, vid. int. alias, VERTON, tom. ii. l. iv. p. 51, \& seq. vid. \& ROSIO, MEDIES, \& al. sup. citat. good}\]
good number of years, and much trouble and fatigue. It proved, however, quite otherwise in England, where Edward II. not only published an express order to his officers to put the said Lalleman, and other commissioners, in possession of all the lands which the templars held in his dominions, but likewise sent letters to his barons, to halter the execution of his orders, and to use their utmost power and authority in protecting those commissaries; and not only to see the lands themselves, but even the produce of them, such as corn, fruits, &c. to be delivered unto them. The original of both these letters are preserved in the Tower to this day, which shew, that this prince was above following the example of other crowned heads, in appropriating any of them to his own use, in prejudice of that order b.

We observed, that the success which the young knights had in their cruises at sea had introduced such luxury and refinements, that the grand master was forced to have some statutes made against it. This abuse was by this time rather increased than lessened, not only by the additional augmentation of their revenue, but what was still more surprising, by the example of Villaret himself, whose carriage, from an able and prudent general, was so strangely altered since his late conquest of the island, and his other successes, that he was sunk into the follies of the younger sort, and become despicable to all the ancients, on account of his new and extravagant way of living. His person was always surrounded with a vast attendance, and crowds of fawning parasites; his table served with most exquisite and far-fetched dainties. He bestowed the vacant commands on his worthless favourites, in prejudice of those, who, by their seniority and merit, were much better intituled to them; and shut up all avenues to remonstrances or complaints, denying them access to his presence; or, if he vouchsafed audience to any, it was with the most discouraging haughtiness. He even renounced the usual allowance of the house, and other necessaries to the knights, serving-brothers, and domestics, yet ran the house deeply in debt; for these, and other such disorderly irregularities, he was first summoned to appear before the chapter, which he disdainfully refused to comply with; so that they came at length to a resolution to depose nobis despisit.

The malecontents had at their head Maurice de Pagnac, a strict but four observer of the religious discipline, who, under pretence of freeing their order from such an arbitrary governor, found means to get himself elected in his place. Their next aim was to seize on his peron; and, as that was now become in some measure inexcusable, they offered a very considerable reward to one of his valets de chambrec, to let them into his apartment in the dead of night; but he, instead of accepting of their offer, acquainted his master with what had been resolved against him; who, under some pretence, withdrew himself from the city, and retired to the castle of Liedo, situate on the eastern coast of the island, which he feigned; and, having fortified himself in it, sent to signify to the chapter, he appealed to the pope against his act for his deposition, or any other they might pass against his person and dignity.

All these overt acts of tyranny failed not to turn the hearts of the most moderate against him, and to induce them at last to agree to his deposition. The pope, John XXII. had a Villaret and de Marceze, prior of St. Caprais, and Bofola, his own chaplain, with orders to make a strict inquiry into them, to uphold the two grand masters, and to summon them to appear before him, whilst Gerard de Pins was appointed by his holiness to preside over the order until the matter was determined. They were likewise ordered to seize on all the money, jewels, plate, &c. of Villaret, and to convey them, with an exact inventory of the whole amount, into the treasury of the order, to be applied in the payment of the various sums that had been borrowed from the bank of Florence. The two grand masters, according to the pope's order, fellfails for Aegyum, but, in their way thither, Villaret was received with such marks of respect, as gave his competitor, de Pagnac, little hopes of getting the better of him. After several audiences which that pontiff granted to each of them, and frequent hearings before the greatest lawyers and cardinals, the deposition of Villaret was condemned as too hasty and illegal; by which de Pagnac easily foresew that his own condemnation would be the next step, to avoid the disgrace of which he privately retired to Montpellier, where he soon died of a deep melancholy, which saved the pope the trouble of pronouncing sentence against him.

To prevere, however, his authority over the order, he reflored Villaret to his former dignity, but not without having previously bound him in private to resign it again within a short space of time, upon condition that he should be invested with one of the richest priories, where he might live in splendor and plenty the remainder of his days. The conditions were exactly fulfilled, and he spent the remaining four years of his life at his aforesaid castle of Tyran in Languedoc, and


c. Fitis to Lindo,
was buried in the great church of St. John in Montpelier, where a stately marble monument was erected to him, which sets forth his great exploits, without mentioning his abdication.

We observed before, that the two visitors, whom the pope had sent to Rhodes, had left Gerard de Pins, grand general of the order, and an old experienced warrior, governor of the island during the absence of the two matters. This gentleman saw himself soon after attacked by a powerful fleet, consisting of eighty sail of pinks, brigantines, and other vessels, well armed and manned (A), under the command of the famed Ochman, alias Eveben, the son of Othman, a prince who had spent most of his time in the field, and had by this time subdued the provinces of Mytilene, Lycaminia, Phrygia, and Caria, the last of which was divided from the island of Rhodes by a narrow channel. It was the neighbourhood of these that made his father attempt the driving of the knights out of it, as hath been hinted above, at an unlucky time. But now the opportunity appeared to him altogether favourable, from the reigning divisions, remissness, and luxury, which had crept into the order, the absence of the grand master, as well as of the greatest part of their gallies, which were then either upon the cruise, or elsewhere employed; in short, that when news were brought that the Ochman fleet was designed against that island, Gerard de Pins had no more than four gallies belonging to the order, and about five Genoese trading vessels, with some few pinks and brigantines of smaller sizes. These, however, he manned with soldiers and inhabitants, and set sail against the enemy, who, though vastly superior in number, yet being left accustomed to sea than land fights, were easily defeated, with considerable loss. The Rhodians sunk a great number of their frigates and flat-bottomed vessels, took several more, brought away a great number of prisoners, and dispersed the rest. He failed next to the island of Epipopia, where he put all the old Rhodian inhabitants mentioned in the last note to the sword, to prevent their ever recovering their ancient habitations.

Whilst these things passed at Rhodes, the knights, who were still at Avignon, being convoked by the pope, and exhorted to peace and unanimity, proceeded to the choice of a grand master to succeed Villaret, who had now abdicated according to his agreement. No man could have a better title to it than the brave Gerard de Pins, who had so greatly signalized himself in defence of their island; yet the pontiff had such an influence on that servile chapter, that the choice fell upon one of his own creatures, named Helion de Villeveneue, who, in gratitude to him, fold him some fine seats and lands belonging to the order, in the neighbourhood of Cabors, the capital of Quercy in France, the pope’s native country, where he afterwards settled his obscure family, by which means he made himself still surer of his interest and protection in this his new dignity.

He stayed about two years at the pope’s court, during which time he convened a general chapter at the city of Montpelier, to reform the abuses which had introduced themselves into the order during his predecessor’s government, particularly the remissness of its discipline, the general luxury that reigned among the gayer fort, and, above all, the non-residence of the knights, vast numbers of whom were dispersed through divers parts of Europe, and buried in their commanderies. To recall these, therefore, to their principal house at Rhodes, an act was passed, in which those were declared incapable of rising to any of the dignities of the order, who did not reside a certain number of years in it, and in that time did not engage in some martial expedition at sea or land, for the service of religion, &c. Other statutes were made in this and the subsequent years, to ascertain the different privileges of every class. After having made these regulations, the grand master was detained some months longer by a fit of sickness, which feizied him just as he had prepared every thing for his departure, and set sail for his government as soon as he was recovered of it.

But whilst he was employing in making these regulations for the good of his order, his absence had made room for new ones; so that he found, upon his landing, almost every thing wanted to be rectified. The greatest part of the commanders had left the place upon some pretence or other; the garrisons, for want of being duly paid, were grown shamefully thin; the walls and other out-works were gone to decay; and the same disorders had

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(A) Some authors tell us (1), that this politic prince manned part of his fleet with the old inhabitants of that island, and made them take their families with them, in hopes that they would engage more heartily in the recovery of their ancient lands and habitations; but to that end, left those families in the little island of Epipopia lately deserted, which he made himself master of in his way to that of Rhodes, and took the stoutest men along with him, to assist him in the conquest of this, as soon as he had detached the small forces of the order, of which he thought himself sure. His politics, however, failed him, as well as his hopes; and he, who had been hitherto so successful and victorious at land, had the mortification to see his numerous fleet defeated by a much inferior force at sea (2).

spread themselves in other places under his government; so that his whole time and care were taken up in repairing and strengthening the fortifications, raising new forces, and augmenting his garrisons, which he maintained, it seems, during the reflux of his government, at his own charges; and the island was likewise beholden to him for a stout bulwark which he cauc'd to be erected at the head of one of the suburbs, out of his own privy purse. He took the same care of the smaller islands, which he now cauc'd to be visited by proper inspectors, and put under the government of some of his knights as he thought would contribute moit to their strength and welfare; and who acquitted themselves accordingly of their commission with such faithfulness and diligence, that they were all quickly after put in a good condition of defence; and their inhabitants to well employed, that there was scarcely one poor The island ftouristes a- gain. splendor. They moreover kept those seas free from corsairs; and the coasts of Cyprus and Lefker Armenica, which used to be infested by that piratical crew, were now quite free from them. His charity and munificence extended themselves to the poorest objects, whether pilgrims or others, who were lodged and provided for in a sumptuous hospital erected for that purpose, and had all their wants both of soul and body plentifully supplied.

We come now to a more surprizing transaction which happened under this grand master, and which we relate only on the credit of some of the authors, though others have made no scruple to call it a mere fable; the reader may pass what judgment he pleaseth upon it; but, as it hath a relation to some other parts of this history, we cannot dispense with giving a short account of it. Among the many venomous creatures that infested this island, there was a monstrous large one, of an amphibious nature, which harboured in a subterraneous cavern at the end of a large moras, and had made dreadful havock among the small and large cattle, and even among the neighbouring inhabitants; they gave it the name of dragon, but it was more probably either a crocodile or a sea-horse of the first magnitude; and several Rhodian knights had lost their lives at different times in endeavouring to destroy it, firearms not being then in use, and its skin being proof against any other weapon; upon which account the grand master had expressly forbidden any further attempts against it, under severe penalties. They all readily obeyed, except a Provencal knight, named Deodat de Gozan, who, less regardful of the prohibition, than of the horrid depredations of the monster, resolved at all hazards to rid the island of it.

That he might achieve it the more safely, he went out several times to take a distant view of it, till the want of scales, which he observed under his belly, furnished him with an effectual plan for destroying it. He first retired to his native castle of Gozan, that he might pursue his project with greater secrecy; and there got an effigy of the monstrous creature, made exact in colour, shape, and size, as he could, in wood and pasteboard; after which he set about instructing two young men in the art of catching him at that tender part, whilst he did the fame on horseback with his lance, and in his armour. This exercise he continued several months; after which he failed back to Rhodes with them, and two of his domestics, and, without flinching himself to any one, went directly to the place, and attacked the furious beast, ordering his two servants to stand on the neighbouring hill; and, in case they saw him fall, to return home, but, if victorious, or unluckily wounded, to come to his assistance. On the first onset he ran with full force against it, but found his lance recoil back, without making the least impression on its skin; but whilst he was preparing to repeat his blow, his horse, affrighted at its hissing and fenth, started so suddenly back, that he would have thrown him down, had he not been dextrously dismounted, when, drawing his sword, he gave the monster a delperate wound in the foott part of the belly, out of which quickly flowed a plentiful stream of blood. His faithful horses no sooner saw it than they feiz'd on the place; and held it so fast, that he could not shake them off; upon which he gave the knight such a violent blow with his tail, as threw him flat on the ground, and laid his whole body upon him; so that he must have been inevitably stifled with his weight and fenth, had not his two domestics come immediately to his assistance, and difengaged him from his load. They found him so spent and breathles, that they began to think him dead; but, upon throwing some water on his face, he opened his eyes, and glad was he when the first object that saluted him was the monster dead before him, which had destroyed so many of his order.

The news of this exploit was no sooner known, than he saw himself surrounded with vast crowds of inhabitants, and met by a great number of knights, who conducted him in a kind of triumph to the palace of the grand master; but great was his mortification here, when instead
instead of applause and commendations, he received a severe reprimand, and was sent to a
prison by him, without being permitted to speak for himself, or any one to intercede for
him. A council was quickly called, in which that severe governor highly aggraved his
crime, and, with his usual austerity and ferocity, inflicted upon his being punished with the
utmost severity for his breach of obedience and discipline, which he maintained was of
more dangerous consequence than all the mischief which that and many more such monsters
could do. At length, with much intreaty, he was prevailed upon to content himself with
degrading him, and Gozan was accordingly stripped of his crofs and habit, an indignity
which he esteemed more rigorous than death. He continued some time under this disgrace;

b after which Villeneuve, who was of a generous temper, and an admirer of valour, having
afforded his authority by that severe example, readily yielded to have him received again,
and likewise bestowed many signal favours on him, while the people, less sparing of their
praises than he, paid him the greatest honours everywhere; the head of the monster was
fastened on one of the gates of the city, as a trophy of Gozan's victory, which was still to be
seen there in Mr. Thevenot's time; and the knights, no less grateful, and sensible of this sig-
nal service, readily chose him their grand master upon the demise of Villeneuve, as we shall
see in the sequel. However, even in his life-time he bestowed several considerable command-
deries upon him, and made him his lieutenant-general and bosom councillor; rightly con-
cluding, that a person, who had displayed such extraordinary valour and conduct for the
safety of that island, could not fail of receiving the fame against any of the enemies of Chris-
tianity a.

By this time the island was so well fortified and garrisoned, and the sea so well guarded
by the Rhodian galleys, that the Mohammedans had not dared to make any attempts against
it either by sea or land, and this by degrees introduced a general remission. The cruises
were neglected, because they could make but few prizes; many of the knights left the
island, and returned to Europe, because they found no further opportunities to exert their martial
spirit; and many of them neglected to send their respective quotas, or, as they were filled,
resignations, under pretence that the peaceful calm the island enjoyed made them unneces-
sary; and the far greatest part of them everywhere riot in luxury and sloth, at the expense of
the order, to the great scandal of those who had been witnesses of the quite opposite life, for
which their order had been so justly esteemed.

Pope Benedict XII. who had succeeded John XXII. received frequent complaints against
them, that the beheading of the eftates of the templars had infected them with the same
vices; but, while he was taking the proper means to reduce them to their ancient disci-
pline, he was suddenly taken off. His successor Clement VI. was likewise informed of the
considerable damages which the corsairs of Africa had done to the islands of Cyprus, Candia,
and others of the Archipelago, while those who should have protected them were indulging
themselves in ease and luxury. That pontiff, weary of the frequent complaints which he
received from different quarters, wrote a very severe letter to the grand master about it;
the result of which was, the calling of a general chapter, in which it was resolved, that six
galleys should be fitted and manned accordingly at the port of Rhodes, and maintained at
the charges of the order. They likewise made many wholesome regulations relating to the
dresses, table, retinue &c. of the knights; and appointed three grand visitors to carry them
to his holiness, with their humble request that he would back them with his apostolical
authority, in order to render them more effectual. The pope was highly satisfied with their
ready compliance, and dispatched soon after four of his galleys to join with theirs, and other
allies, in order to drive the Turkish corsairs out of Smyrna, which was then in their hands.
We have elsewhere shewn the successes of that expedition, in which the Rhodian knights
behaved with the greatest bravery. The grand master no sooner heard of their having
obtained that important place, than he caused a fresh supply of forces, arms, and provi-
sions, to be conveyed to it. He applied the short remainder of his days in fortifying the island,
and the grand palace, which he surrounded with stout walls and stately towers, and
other public buildings; he likewise erected particularly a stately church, richly endowed;
and departed this life on the 27th of May, in the 23d year of his government, to the regret
of the whole order, who had given him the epithet of the happy grand master a.

He was succeeded, as we hinted a little higher, by Deodat de Gozan, who lately delivered
the island from a destructive monster. His election being something singular, the reader
will not be displeased if we give him a short account of it. The chapter being much
divided about the choice of a new master, the more religious part being for one who should
keep up the ancient discipline, and the rest less solicitous about that than about having a
martial captain who should revive the cruising trade, and lead them to the acquisition of
wealth and honour; when it came to his turn to give his vote, he expressed himself in the
following words:—

b Baudoin, Davy, Vernet, &c. supra citat. c Aud. supra citat.
a following terms: Upon my entering into this assembly, I took a solemn oath not to professe any knight but such as I thought the most worthy of filling up that important post, and the most affected to the general good of the order; and, after having seriously considered the present state of the Grand Master, and the continual wars which we are bound to carry on against the infidels, the faintness and vigour required to prevent the leaft remittifs in our discipline, I do declare that I do not find any person better qualified for the well governing of our order than myself. He then began to enumerate his former exploits, particularly that of destroying the dragon; but inflicted more especially on his behaviour ever since the late grand master had made him his lieutenant-general; and concluded with addressing himself to the electors in these words: You speech to this have already had a proof of my government, and cannot but know what you may expect from it; I of the chapter.

b am therefore persuaded that you cannot, without doing me an injustice, refuse me your votes.

One may easily imagine the furprize the whole chapter was in when they heard him nominate himself; and some of them could not forbear observing what pity it was that what he had said in support of his own pretensions had not come from any other mouth than his own; but the reflection displeased the rest, and, upon an impartial comparing his real merit with that of the other candidates, he was elected by the far greater majority, to the no small joy of the Rhodians, who looked upon him as a hero, and as their deliverer.

It was not long before his credit and singular prudence gave a new life to the Christian league against the Turks, and his interest procured the command of the fleet to the grand prior of Larnardis, a knight of known valour and experience, who was soon after and sur-

frized that of the Turks, near the small island of Emire in the Archipelago, before the enemy suppos'd them to be failed out of their ports; so that they were scattered all over the island. The Turks at sea. We shall somewhere given an account of that noble action, where the Rhodian admirals took about 120 of their pinks, brigantines, and smaller vessels, put their larger galleys to flight, and brought away above 5000 slaves out of that island. This great victory was followed soon after by another, which he gained in Letter Armenia. The Christian league broke down the Saracens of Egypt, who had made themselves masters of a great part of the country. The king of it had applied to Gooan for some assistance, who, looking upon him as a Christian prince, though a schismatic, made no difficulty to equip a powerful fleet, with a considerable body of infantry, which he sent under the command of some of his bravest knights, who, having joined the Armenian forces, immediately engaged the enemy. The fight was fierce and obstinate on both sides for some time, the Saracens not dreaming of any other enemy than the Armenians, whom they had often defeated; but, when they came to try the valour and bravery of the Rhodian forces, they dwindled into mere cowards and runaways. The greatest part of them were slain in the heat of the action, and a great number of fugitives taken prisoners; together with all their baggage, and the victors did not leave the country till they had driven the invaders out of all their conquests.

In the mean while the Christian league being broke by the parfimony of the pope, and the war between the Venetians and Genoese, that pontiff sent the grand master a letter, to per-

suade him to accept of the truce which the grand signor offered. To which he nobly an-

erred, that though he saw himself abandoned by all his allies, yet the rules and oaths of his order would not permit him to enter into any treaty with the enemies of Christianity; and till it pleased God to raise him some new allies, he was determined at least to stand on the offensive. Having now more leisure upon his hands, he set about examining the accounts of the order, and wrote preffing letters to all the commanders and priors, who had been tardy in sending their respective quotas or refponsorions, to transmit all their arrears without delay. Amongst them some very remarkable ones were directed to the priors of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in which he severely reminds them of their breach of faith, for having neglected to fend their respective contributions ever since their loss of the Holy Land, though they could not be ignorant of their present establisment in the isle of Rhodes, and continued in a shameful inactivity all this time, to the great dishonour of their profession; adding, that if they did not immediately transmit, with their respective arrears, a detachment of their youngest knights, they should find in him a master that knew how to punish their disobedience, as well as how to treat those with the tenderness of a father, who complied with their duty, and his command.

In the next year pope Clement VI. who had granted the order some privileges and immu-
nities, in return for some favours they had shewn to his nephew the vicount of Tarente, wrote him a letter of thanks, but at the same time acquainted him in it, that the doge and senante of Venice greatly complained of his suffering several of his knights to engage in the war between the Genoese and them, contrary to the intent of their institution, which per-
mittted them to bear arms only against the enemies of the Christian faith. To this Gooan replied,
An answer to the pope's complaint.

replied, that, in an order which consisted of such a variety of nations, it was not to be wondered at that some private persons should shew a particular zeal for their own country, and that he doubted not but there were as many such on the Venetian as on the Genoese side; which, however, he said, was highly disapproved of by the order, as well as by himself, neither of whom had taken any part between those two contending powers.*

Accordingly, when that pontiff's successor, Innocent VI. some time after earnestly exhorted him to engage in favour of Matthew Paleologus, against the emperor John the son of Andronicus, and even sent that prince with the letter, earnestly prefacing him to affix him to recover the crown, tho' all the pretence he had to it with that pontiff was, that he engaged, in cafe he was reënthroned, to reunite the Greek to the Latin church; an old shift, which those princes made use of to obtain the affissence of the Latin; Gozans made no difficulty to refuse intermeddling with their difference, as inconsistent with his order; but, to avoid that pontiff's granting him a dispensation for it, he wrote him word moreover, that the treafury of the order was in a manner exhausted through the avarice of the priors in Europe, who sunk the revenue into their own coffers, and were upheld therein by their princes, especially in France, Castile, Aragon, &c. To this he added, that his extreme old age rendered him incapable of governing so extensive an order, and made his authority to be less regarded; upon which account he begged earnestly that his holiness would permit him to resign it to some more able and active person. "Innocent, instead of complying with his request, which he told him his own merit and great services to Christianity would not permit him to do, exhorited him by freth letters to bear courageously the burdans of government, till Providence should think fit to eafe him of it. Upon which he resolved to dedicate the short remainder of his life in fortifying the city and island of Rhodes, and causing a convenient mole to be built in the latter for the ease and safety of the gallies of the order. But, whilst he was thus usefully taken up, his mind was sensibly affected both with the pope's refusal, and still more with the decay of discipline, which he saw with grief to augment every day, without being able to remedy it. This made him renew his request to the pontiff; which he did in such strong terms, and backed with such powerful reasons, that he at length consented to his abdication.

But, whilft his bull for it was dispatching at that court, Gozans, quite worn out with old age, fatigues, and affliction, resigned his life, greatly regretted by the whole order, and much more by the inhabitants, who respected him as their father and deliverer. He expired on the 7th of December, in the 7th year of his government; his funeral obsequies were performed in a manner answerable to his merit, and an epitaph engraved upon his tomb, with only these words, "Draco esteñor, or The destroyer of the dragon."*  

Peter de Cornillian, or Cormillan, of the same county of Provence, some say Dauphiny, a grave and austere person, was chosen his successor; who, immediately after his election, convened a general chapter at Rhodes, to reform some grievous abuses which were crept in, particularly that of using the grand master's seal without his knowledge or order, in sealing orders and acquittances, which were afterwards sent to the treasury; to avoid which fraud for the future, a statute was passed, that such orders, acquittances, and other matters relating to the finances, should no longer be sealed with his seal, but that of the convent, and in full council. Another, and no less prejudicial, abuse committed by those priors, in affirming the right of nominating to the commanderies, to the prejudice of seniority and merit, was likewise redressed, by restraining that privilege to the grand master and his council. His thoughts were, however, taken off from this laudable and useful work, by an order, no less preposterous than jellfish, which he received from the pope, to abandon Rhodes, and to go and settle himself and his order on some part of Terra Firma, near the Turkish dominions, either on the side of Palestine or Anatolia, in order to prevent the Turks, who by this time had conquered part of the latter, seiz'd on Nicea, Burja, and Nicomedia, and had already pass'd the Hellespont, from settling in Negropont, and thence penetrating farther into Europe, a wild and most impolitic project this! but from which that infatuated pontiff, dismay'd at the rapidity of Othman's conquests, could not be diverted by any reasons that could be offered against it. But to give it the greater weight with the grand master and chapter, he sent three of the most considerable knights of the order to them, with orders to represent, in the strongest terms, the grievous complaints which had been made to him against their shameful inactivity and lethargy, at a time when the Turks had ravaged the greatest part of Greece, and were now threatening Italy; and to charge them immediately to set about transplanting their settlement to some country nearer the Holy Land (a thing, he said, which his three immediate predeceivers, John XXII. Benedict II. and Clement II. had tried in vain to move them to, for the good of Christendom), and to assay them, that in g

* Ibid. ubi sup. 
† Bosio, ubi sup. Baudoinz, I. iii. c. 4. Vertot, ubi sup. p. 134. & seq. & al. ubi sup.
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a cafe they refused to comply with his commands, he would not fail of taking all proper measures to oblige them to it, and bestow the immense riches of the templars, which so shamefully lulled them in inactivity and wanton cafe, upon a new military order that would much better answer the end of their institution.

To this severe and threatening mesriage the grand master meekly answered, that he could not thus hastily abandon an island which had cost some of the best blood of the order, without the general consent of his brethren; and that he would summon a grand chapter of them, to consult about it; but the pontiff, rightly judging that the fortifications, riches, haven, navy, &c. would prove an invincible obfusc to their consent, if that chapter was held at Rhodes, immediately ordered it by an express bull to be held at Nijmes; which bull, he told them, they were to look upon as an irrefragable testimony of his will, however his former orders might have been misinterpreted by ill-designing minds, that they should forthwith seek a new settlement near the frontiers of the infidels. The result was, that the perplexity into which this new and positive order threw the grand master, between his duty to his brethren and his obedience to the pope, put a speedy end to his life, in the 18th month after his election; in whose room the chapter chose Rogers de Pins, alias de Pinibus, of the tongue of Provence, a person of an illustrious family in Languedoc, and nearly related to Otto de Pins, formerly grand master of the order, Pins; and of the famed Gerard de Pins, who had lately gained that signal victory over Orcan the son of Ostman, during the absence of the grand master, of which we lately gave an account.

c The pope, however, as intent upon his project as ever, to prevent all delays and opposition from the knights, ordered the grand chapter to be held at Avignon instead of Nijmes. By good fortune some hint was given him in the mean time, that Morea would be a much more convenient place for the Rhodians to settle in than in the neighbourhood of Paleflina, where it would be impossible for them to defend themselves against the formidable forces of the Turks, joined in Mysia and Saracens. The pope immediately approved the proposal; and the knights, in order to gain time, appointed commissions and other officers to treat about it with Robert the tutelar emperor of Constantinople, and James of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, who both laid claim to that peninsula. However, the grand chapter thought it expedient at the same time to suppress some abuses loudly complained against, and chiefly relating to the misapplication of fundy revenues of the templars appropriated to charitable uses, and to order them to be bestowed to their ancient channel, in order to put a stop to all such complaints. Neither did this assembly scruple to prefer some no less grievous ones against that pontiff, who abused his authority over them, rather in oppressing than protecting them, and took upon him the bestowing some of the richest commanderies and priories on a favourite Avragnan, named Heredia, to the great prejudice of seniority and merit. Upon which the grand master thought fit to send some ambassadors to intreat his holiness to recall his nomination, and to consider the great injury he did to their order; but they found him inflexible as well as his favourite, whom they were likewise ordered to induce, if possible, to desist from his pretensions; instead of which, his indulgence carried he so far, as to pocket up the whole income of those priories, without transmitting any part of his responisons to the order. To have preferred fresh complaints against such a powerful favourite, would have only disoblige the pontiff, whom it was their interest to manage at such a juncture: however, to avoid so pernicious an example becoming a precedent in proceeds of time, the grand master convened afresh a general chapter at Rhodes, where this and the like abuses were guarded against by proper regulations. Soon after which he died, on the 27th of May, in the 10th Roger's, death, year of his government, after having, by his prudence and credit, dexterously avoided the end of charity, fatal blow which the pontiff had levelled against the whole order, caused all the flatutes of the order to be translated into Latin and confirmed anew, and almost exhausted his private estate, fold all his plate and jewels, and even moveables, to supply the preffing wants of the sick and indigent during the whole time of a grievous pestilence and famine, which had raged through all the east, for which they gave him the emphatic epithet of Almever.

He was succeeded by Raymond Berenger, defended from the illustrious family of that name in Dauphiny, who signalized the beginning of his government by the number of gal-laverger, where he equipped against the Egyptian corsairs which infested those seas, and all the coasts of the island of Cyprus, where they committed the most dreadful ravages. Berenger, not content to destroy many of them on the open sea, ventured even to go, in conjunction with those of the king of Cyprus, and burn them in the very port of Alexandria. The fleet consisted of above 100 sail of different bulks and nations, most of which had been hired for that expedition, without however communicating his design to any but pope Urban V. now raised to that dignity. They accordingly set sail with this great armament, and arrived in lefs than five days at the walls of that capital. They immediately began to scale them with 

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the most obstinate courage, and in spite of the strenuous opposition of a numerous garrison, a
which, with their mileile weapons, boiling oil, and other destructive means, destroyed them
almost as fast as they mounted. We have elsewhere given an account of this surprizing
action, in which the grand maffer lost a vaft number of his knights, and the Cypriotes of their
troops; but brought home an immense plunder, and a great number of slaves, after having
burnt that noble city, which he could not keep longer, on account of the approach of the
sultan, who was in full march against him, at the head of a powerful army.

His next expedition was against that of Tripoli in Syria, which he sacked and plundered;
and on the next year was fent, by order of the pope, into the island of Cyprus, to suppress
some interfine feuds which had happened in that island, of which commiffion he acquitted
himself with his usual prudence and success.

But upon his return to Rhodes he had the mortification to learn, that the order could
hardly obtain any supply from the refpofions in Europe, through the avarice of the priors
and commanders; which he took so much to heart, that he defir'd leave of the new pontiff,
Gregory XI. to abdicate; but the pope, who knew his merit too well to con tent to it, found
a proper expedient to relieve him of his cares, by summoning a general chapter of the order
at Avignon, to confult of the proper end for redefling that grievance, at which he
should however be exempted from affifting, on account of his extreme old age, and be only
obliged to fend thither an account of them, together with fuch other regulations as he
thought most conducive to the revival of their ancient discipline. By this means several
wholefeome statutes were enacted in that assembly, purfuant to the memorial which Berenger
c had cauf'd to be fent to them; one of which was, that, in all future elections of a grand
maffer, instead of the usual method of taking the votes of all the knights, each tongue
should chufe two electors from among themselves; with refpect to the sovereign council of
the order it was likewife resolved, that it should not be looked upon as complete, unlefs
there were in it eight conventual bailiffs, three grand priors, the president of the infinary,
and at least two knights of each tongue, with the grand maffer at their head, who, as pre fident,
and in regard to his dignity, fhould alone have two votes; and that this grand council,
when thus complete, fhould alone have the dijposal of the vacant priories and command-
deries. These statutes, having been approved by the pope, were transmitted to the grand
manna, to his no small satisfaction; which however he did not live to fee the fruits of; as
he died in the fame year, after having governed the order about eight years and fix months.

He was succeeded by Robert de Juliac, or Jullia, grand prior of France, and then refid-
ing in his priory; who no sooner received the news of his election, than he went to pay his
respects to the pope at Avignon, before he embarked for Rhodes. The firft thing he did
after his arrival, was to turn out all the receivers on his fide of the water, who had been
tardy in their truth. He next was obliged to take upon him the defence of the castle and
lower town of Smyrna, which had been taken during the time of the Chriftian league, as
hath been hinted before, and which that pontif now forced him to take under his protection,
and as now properly belonging to his order; charging him, under pain of excommunication,
to fend forthwith a fufficient number of his brave knights thither, with a competent num-
ber of forces and other provifions for his defence. It is surprizing to read with what emulous
readines a great number of the Rhodian knights offered themselves to go and defend that
place, as foon as the grand maffer, at his arrival, acquainted the chapter with the pope's
positive commands, notwithstanding the imminent danger that attended it, and the unlike-
hood of the Turkifh sultan's fuffering them to remain long in possession of a place in the heart
of his dominions, and which they had with fuch singular valour wrenched out of his hands.

The very reverfe was more to be feared at this juncture, in which Selim, the warlike
fot of Orhan, now on the throne, had in lefs than two years made himfelf master of the
greatest part of Thrace, and of the city of Adrianople, and his lefs notorious succelfor
Amurat had extended his conquifls still farther, and was at that time at the head of a pow-
erful armament, the weight of which, tho' none could certainly know where it would fall,
yet seemed to threaten both Smyrna and the ifle of Rhodes. The grand maffer failed not to
inform the pope of all these preparations, who thereupon convened a chapter of the prin-
cipal commanders of the order, to meet at Avignon, in the month of March following, in
which it was resolved, that 500 knights, and the fame number of efquires, or ferving bre-
then, fhould forthwith repair, the former to Rhodes, who were all to be nominated by the
priors, and the latter to be chosen by the knights fo nominated; foon after which the
grand maffer died, and was succeeded by

Ferdinand de Heredia, the pope's great favourite, mentioned a little higher, and
who was then in his government of Avignon, and was elected to that dignity rather on


account
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account of his great interest with the pope, of whose firm favour and friendship they stood very chosen by the chapter. They were however agreeably surprised soon after to find him become, from one of the greatest oppressors, one of the most generous benefactors to it. He had been married twice, in hopes to inherit his brother's estate, who was of one of the noblest and richest families in Aragon, but had no children by his wife, when he was at length disappointed by her having two sons; upon which, his late wife being dead, he easily got himself admitted into the order by his address, and had attained by degrees to the dignity of castellan of the impolts, one of the highest and most profitable offices, next to that of the grand master. Not content with it, he, by his intriguings with the pope, genius, gained such an influence over his holiness, that he did hardly any thing without his advice, and had raised him to one of the richest priories in Spain, without the grand master's knowledge, though it was properly in his and the chapter's gift. But when he came himself to be raised to that dignity, his mind took a quite different view, and it became his chief ambition and delight to promote the interest and honour of the order, as well as to maintain the privileges of his place as grand master, as we shall see in the sequel.

His first care, after the news of the election had reached him, was, to provide himself with such a noble fleet as might at once support and give luster to his new dignity. Accordingly he embarked, attended with nine large galleys, and a great number of adventurers whom he had taken in pay at his own charge. He was just ready to set sail, when he was obliged, at the earnest request of Gregory XI. who had just then succeeded Urban V. in the pope to papal chair, to suspend his journey for some time, in order to accompany him from Thence to Rome, whither he designed to fail as soon as possible, not only in hopes that his presence would quell the troubles that then reigned in Italy, but also to prevent another pope being chosen there, if he tarried any longer at Avignon. He embarked accordingly at Marseilles, in the grand master's galleys, who commanded them in person, and was accompanied by the grand priors of St. Giles, England, and Rome, and arrived safe at Civita Vecchia, whence the grand master accompanied him in great pomp to his own capital, bearing himself the standard of the order before him on horseback, through the loud acclamations of the people.

Heredia, in haste to return to Rhodos, embarked soon after for that island, where he was impatiently expected by the whole convent. In his way he met with the Venetian fleet near the coasts of Morea, that republic being then at war with the Turks, who had taken the city of Patras, famed for its silk commerce. The Venetian admiral went into his galley to intreat him to assist him in the recovery of so important a place from the hands of those infidels. The two fleets, being joined, sailed directly to it, where having landed their forces, Heredia immediately began to scale it at that place where the walls had been most damaged in the late siege, and made himself master of it without any great opposition, the Turkish governor having referred to the best part of his garrison for the defence of the castle. This last, which was situated on the highest part of the city, was likewise besieged in form with the same bravery and success. The Turks made indeed a vigorous defence; but this served only to whet the impatience of our knights, and much more that of their grand master, who, not finding a sufficient breach made by his engines, than he mounted it the first sword in hand, without minding whether any of them followed him; and, having gained the top, flung himself down, more like a young candidate for glory and preferment, than like one that was at the summit of both. Here he was immediately encountered by the governor, and a bloody fingle combat was fought between them, in which Heredia had the good fortune to run his sword through the body of his enemy, and laid him flat at his feet. In the mean time the rest of the knights came pouring down to his assistance, immediately after which followed a general slaughter of the garrison, who were all put to the sword.

The successe of this enterprize soon enlarged the views of the grand master, who now began to propose the conquest of the whole peninsula. Corinth was the next place that was agreed upon to be attacked, the situation and fortifications of which he resolved to reconnoitre in person. But, unfortunately for him, being unprovided with a sufficient escort, he fell into an ambush of the Turks, who killed all his attendants, and sent him prisoner to the sultan, without suspecting that he was more than a knight of the order. The three grand priors, who, as we hinted above, accompanied him from Marseilles through this whole expedition, as soon as they heard of his being taken, went forthwith to offer the restitution of Patras for his ransom; but the sultan, who had been informed who his prisoner was by some defectors, rejected the offer with scorn; and sent them word, that as he was still master of the rest of Morea, he knew how to recover that city in less time than they had spent in tak-
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Book XXII.

ing it. This mortifying repulse, joined to the disgrace of leaving their grand master a prisoner in the hands of infidels, induced them to send a second offer of a considerable sum, besides the surrender of Patras, for his ransom, and engaged to remain hostages in his hands till that was paid. But though the Turks readily agreed to it, the grand master, then closely confined in the castle of Corinth, no sooner heard of it, than he as generously rejected it: 

"Leave me, my dear brethren, said he, in his answer to them, leave a superannuated and useles old man to die in bonds, whilst you who are young and active reserve yourselves for the services of religion. At length, when those who were permitted to speak to him had tried in vain, by their tears and entreaties, to obtain his consent, he replied, "If such a large sum must be paid for my ransom, let it not be out of the treasuries of our order; my family hath been sufficiently enriched by my means to give me that testimony of their gratitude." One might have expected that the Turks, fond as they are, might have been moved by such a singular instance of generosity; but all the effect it had upon them, was, that theysent him into a closer prison in Albania, and condemned him to a severer confinement, where he was kept above three years, during which he was at full leisure to make the most serious reflections on the insubility of human affairs."

In the same fatal year in which he was taken prisoner, died Gregory XI. on the 3d of March, whose death was followed by that dreadful schism between Urban VI. and Clement VII. of which an account hath been given in a former volume, and of which we shall only say here, that it cau sed another in the order, part holding for the former, but indeed the grand master, and the greatest part of the knights, for the latter; but more especially after the fall of Heredia was returned from his captivity, out of which he had been redeemed by the sums which his family furnished him with; for he then, at the head of the whole convent, publicly declared for Clement VII; in revenge for which, Urban, by his own authority, deposed him, and nominated one Richard Carracciolo, grand prior of Capua, to his dignity; so that there were now two grand masters in the order, as well as two pontiffs in the church; but, if we except those of the Italian and English tongues, and some few commanders in Germany, all the rest steadfastly adhered to Heredia as the others did to Clement VII. A much greater abuse had crept into the order during his imprisonment, which he quickly discovered when he came to examine the public accounts; for in that small space of time the commanders and priors had assumed such a kind of independency, and made themselves the judges of what portion of their possessions they should transmit to the public treasury, without any farther regard to the orders of the council, than what they deemed sufficient for the present exigencies. Many of those of the north had quite debased from keeping up their respective quotas; all which had run the order so greatly in arrear, that he saw himself obliged to take a journey to Avignon, where Clement VII. refused, to beg of that pontiff to interpose his authority, in order to oblige those faithless stewards to refund their ill-gotten wealth, and to clear up all their arrears; but, before he set out, the council obliged him to a solemn oath, that he would faithfully transmit into the public treasury all the sums which he should receive from the respective priories above-mentioned; and that he would not dispose of any vacant benefits until his return to Rhodes. For till further security, they appointed a certain number of knights, whom they knew to be very zealously attached to the interest of the order to accompany him, under pretence indeed of his making a greater appearance, but in reality to be watchful of all his motions; but that precaution was no less needless than their apprehensions were groundless, as the feud plainly shews. At his arrival at Avignon the pope appeared senseably touched at the melancholy account he gave of the state of their treasury, through the avarice and ambition of their faithless stewards; and much more so, when he told his holiness, that he had forebore pressing them too hard for their arrears, lest that should induce some of them to turn schiatics to save their unrighteous mammon. Three chapters were thereupon summoned successively, one at Valentina in Dauphiny, the second at Avignon, and the third at the castellany of impofts for Spain, in all three of which the grand master presided; and partly by his pathetic discourses and behaviour, and partly by the danger he represented the order, and even Christendom, to be then in, thos e abuses, more especially at this juncture, when Bejaanet, now upon the Turkish throne, seemed to threaten both Smyrna and Rhodes, he made such an impression upon them, that many of them immediately offered themselves to attend him back to Rhodes, others engaged to remit all their arrears to the treasury, and several other wholesome regulations were made in each of these chapters; after which the grand master founded two rich commanderies in Spain, and endowed them out of the vast estates which he had formerly heaped up, by way of restitution. His co-rival Carracciolo, not to be behind-hand with him, did much

5 Bosio, Baudoin, lib. iii. cap. 7. Vertot, t. ii. p. 295. & seq. a Bosio, Baudoin, l. iii. c. 8. Vertot, t. i. l. 5. p. 506. & seq. Davit, Dapper, & al. sup. citat.

much
much the fame in Italy, and died soon after. Boniface IX., however, who had succeeded Urban at Rome, declined appointing him a successor, whether for fear of his being rejected by the orders, or out of regard to Heredia, for whom he had conceived a singular respect, and contented himself with appointing a relation of his own to be his lieutenant pro tempore. Heredia being returned to Avignon, and finding the avarice and subsid- dyes which had been promised to him at those three chapters to come in but slowly, sacrific ed another considerable part of his own estate in finding at different times some of his galleys to Rhodes and Smyrna, with fresh supplies of arms, provisious, vau fasts of money to pay their forces, and a good number of knighst and other troops to assist in the defence of those two places. He held afterwards another council at Avignon, wherein it being represented, that the walls and circuit of Smyrna were by far too large, and would require a much more numerous garrison in it than the order could well maintain, they came to a resolution, that they should forthwith be reduced in proportion: to that end, the admiral of Germany was ordered by the grand master to see it done accordingly, and had 4000 florins assigned to him for that end out of his own coffers.

In the March following of the same year in which Caracciolo died at Rome, died also the De Avig- grand master Heredia at Avignon, in an extreme old age, after having enjoyed that dignity nine teen years and eight months, with the greatest reputation. His remains were afterwards conveyed to Cape, and buried in the church of that commandery which himself had founded, and which became from that time a chief bailiwick of the order. He left behind a good number of excellent regulations, both for the reformation and retention of the ancient discipline, which the reader may see among the other statutes of the order, and which were conformed to by the zeal of religion, and the interest of his order, and his great wisdom and capacity for the government of it.

On the first day of his death the grand chapter at Rhodes chose for his successor Philipbert de Naillac, grand prior of Aquitaine, a person equally respected for his valour and prudence. We have elsewhere seen what a powerful league the Christian princes had entered into against that formidable force of Selim Bajazet, in consequence of the crusade which the pope had published the year before. Philipbert was scarcely elected to his new dignity, before he was earnestly pressed by that pontiff, and other princes, to join with them in it, as he accordingly did with great readiness, and immediately ordered his quota of galleys to be equipped, and to join the galleys of the Greek emperor, and the Venetians, under the command of the famed Them-Mecinario, whilst himself prepared all things in order to meet the land forces at the head of his chief commanders, and a great number of Rhodian knights, at the general rendezvous in Hungary. They had fearfully joined them, before Sigismund, then on the Hungarian throne, and at the head of the allied army, sent to compliment him on his arrival, and to invite them into his own quarters, declaring, that he designed to fight at their head; and, as he was no less pleased with their noble appearance, than satisfied with the valour and merit of their commander, placed him and his chief officers near his own pavilion. The reft of the confederate army was very numerous, and made also a gallant shew, and was commanded by some of the most experienced generals in Europe; and yet Bajazet, then in Anatolia, had taken such precautions to flop all intelligence from them, that they did not even know where his own lay; insomuch that when he was got within a day's journey from Nicea, which they were then besieging, they, supposing him to be still in Anatolia, were scattered about the place without fear, discipline, or mischief.

We have already given a large account of the ill success of that expedition, and fatal combat, which proved rather a general rout to the Christians than a regular fight. The Defeated and Rhodians, whose history we are now chiefly concerned in, quickly rallied under their grand master, about the person of king Sigismund, and fought with the utmost bravery. The greatest part of them died sword in hand; and that prince and Naillac must have undergone the fame fate, if Providence had not thrown a fisher's boat in their way, into which they escaped through a thick cloud of arrows from the enemy, and rowed to the mouth of the Danube, where the Christian fleet, which was not far off, gladly received them. They both went on board one of the Rhodian galleys, whence they sailed directly for that island, where they were received, if not with founts of joy, yet with all the respect due to two such great personages. Sigismund embarkd soon after for Dalmatia, and left the grand master to dismiss the loot of so many brave knights, and to feast about the most effectual means to retrieve his dignity and misfortune.

Some time after arrived at Rhodes the defeat of Morea, Theodore Paleologus, where he was likewise honourably received; and it was at this interview that he proposed to the grand master and his chapter the selling of that peninsula to them, to which they readily consented. He was, in virtue of this agreement, to deliver up to them Corinth, Sparta, and

\[\text{Vide ad. sup. citat.}\]

\[\text{Rex.} \]
the other principal cities of the province, and they to pay him the price agreed on in money and jevels before his departure. The grand master immediately sent proper commissaries to go and take possession of those places, who were accordingly received by the magistracy and inhabitants of Corinich with great demonstrations of joy, not questioning, but, under the protection of so powerful and warlike an order, they should thenceforth be free from the incursions of the Turks. But it proved otherwise at Sparta, where the treacherous Greek bishop, an enemy consequent to the Latins, so ingratiated the citizens against them, that they forthwith dispatched some deputies to inform the commissaries, that they were resolved to admit none of them into their city; and that if they offered to come nearer, they should be treated as enemies. Some other less considerable places, however, gladly followed the example of the Corinhibans, and received them with marks of honour; but as they were not provided with a sufficient number of forces to oblige Sparta to submit, they returned back to Rhodes time enough before the despot had left the island; and, upon his being informed of the repulse they had met with from that city, he refunded some small part of the money, and set sail directly for that place. His subjects, glad of his return, received him with all the marks of joy and duty, affurting him, that they should be still ready to shew him the same obedience and loyalty that he had experienced in them during such a number of years, provided he forbore treating with the Latins, and admitting any into his government: but intimating to him at a distance, that they would prefer being subject to the Turks, or any other power, rather than to that of the pope, or any other Latin prince.

By all this he easily found, that it would be next to impossible to make them content with his agreement with the Rhodians; but he was no less concerned about refunding the money which he had received from them for that city, which, as his circumstances then flood, he could hardly spare. On the other hand, the grand master, hearing nothing from him upon the subject, sent him some of the most considerable knights of the order to compromise the matter; and, after many long voyages to and fro, and many other delays, it was at length agreed, that the order should refort the city of Corinich to him, in consideration of which Paleologus should deliver up to them the country of the Sun, and the barony of Zatona, both in the same province of Corinich, besides 46,500 ducats in money, 22,000 of which he then paid in ready coin.

Whilst these things had been transacting, the grand master, who forewast the danger of Smyrna, was in of being quickly attacked by the conquering arms of Timur Beg, or Tamerlane, had taken all proper means to put itself into a state of defence, furnished it with arms, and all necessary provisions, and sent thither William de Mira, at the head of a good number of knights, to command in it, and put all the fortifications of that place in the best condition to withstand a siege; of which he acquitted himself so faithfully, that Bajazet himself allowed it to be impregnable. But after his signal defeat, of which we have elsewhere given an account, Timur, whose rapid successess made him think no place capable of standing out against him, pitched upon it for the first scene of the war which he had declared against the Rhodians, as being the only people, who, though sworn enemies to the Turks, had refused to submit to him. He would much rather have begun with that of Rhodes, though no less strongly fortified, as it was the centre and seat of the order, and would have yielded him more laurels and richer spoils; but, wanting shipping to transport his troops, he rather chose to begin with Smyrna, whose spacious haven, he hoped, might in time furnish him with a sufficient number of them. We need not here repeat his successes against that place, though it was no less gallantly defended by the Rhodians than attacked by his own troops; the taking of which, especially as the conqueror, according to custom, caused it to be razed, was rather an advantage than a loss to the Rhodians, as it had been forced upon them by the fee of Rome to much against their will; but the slaughter of such a considerable number of knights, whom that barbarian caufed to be butchered, was what feinfully affected the grand master and the whole order. However, to retrieve as much as possible so great a loss, the grand master formed the project of feizing upon an old castle, situated in the bay of Ceramis, upon that coast, about 12 miles from the island. He sent himself on board his fleet, and sailed along the coasts of Cari; and, entering into the castle in which Timur

Smyrna besieged by Timur;

ruined and razed.

Naillac builds the castle of St. Peter, &c.

a. easily came. A stout garrison was put into it, and a certain number of vessels of different sizes were constantly kept in the harbour, which, upon the least signal, were ready to join the galleys of Rhodes and Lango, by which means cut off mouth of the river Caria to all the corsairs and pirates, whilst the castle itself served as a place of refuge for all Christian slaves that made their escapes from the neighbouring countries.

Soon after this arrived at Rhodes the Genoese admiral, marechal Boucicault, with seven large vessels and nine galleys, in his way to Cyprus; the occasion of whose falling to this last island with so great a force, was, the war of the Genoese with the Cyprian king James, of which an account hath been given in a former volume. But though the grand master gave him a noble reception at his landing, and entertained him with great splendour during his stay with him, yet he made no scruple to declare his mind freely to him with respect to his design against the Cypriots, which, he told him, would prove the most effectual means of opening a way to the Saracens into that island, which had hitherto proved so strong a bulwark against them, and a flame to all the European shipping. He begged of him at the same time, and in the strongest terms, that he would permit him to fall thither before him, not doubting but, with the blessing of God, he should find means to restore peace between these two nations. The admiral, having given his consent, ordered his capitana, and two other galleys, to be got ready, and embarked thither with the island of Cyprus. At the same time Boucicault went on board his own; and, that he might not continue idle during the grand master's absence, went and ravaged the country round Alexandria, then called Lascandrae, or Scanderova, on the coasts of Syria, and made himself master of some places there, as we have elsewhere shewn. The grand master proved no less successful in the mediatorial office he had undertaken. His great credit and unexpected presence quickly terminated all the differences between these two nations in an amicable manner, as we have seen in their respective histories.

The peace was no sooner concluded than the grand master and marechal Boucicault set sail from that island, and, in their way homewards, jointly ravaged the coasts of Syria and Palatine, at that time in the hands of either the Saracens or the Tartarian troops, which Timur had left there to guard them. They made likewise an attempt to surprize the city of Tripoli; but, to their disappointment, found the avenues to it on the sea-side guarded by 15,000 men belonging to that prince, among whom were 600 of his horse, which appeared all clad in velvet and gilt, if we may credit the writer of that admiral's life. But was this numerous appearance so far from deterring the Rhodian knights from landing, that they force who should cast himself first into the sea with their swords in hand, and the water up to their chin. These, backed by about 3000 of the Genoese forces (a small number against 15,000), marched against them with such surprising fury, that they drove them to the very walls of the city, where they were intrenched up to the neck behind their barriers and fascines. But though to us it must appear no better than a bravado, if not a piece of military madness, to have carried their attempts farther against such a number of forces so barricadoed, and backed by so strong a garrison, yet such was the ambition of the grand master and Genoese admiral, that they would not depart till they made a fresh assault against them, in which there was a deal of blood shed, and many a death's wound given on both sides, till the enemy, who, being five to one more numerous, and of course must suffer the greater losses of the two, were prudent enough to secure themselves from their fury by withdrawing, some into the adjacent orchards and gardens, and others into the city. However, as they had not troops enough to form the siege of the place, they agreed to go and try their fortune against Barat, alias Berytus, a wealthy flappable sea-port on the Pheenician coasts, in which a great number of Christian merchants, especially the Venetians, had their rich ware and country houses. As they were driving thitherwards, they observed a light vessel falling out of the haven, and endeavouring to gain the sea with more than usual speed, but which was soon brought back by one of their galleys which they sent after it. Upon examining the captain of it, they could get nothing out of him, but that he was a Christian and a Venetian, till they began to threaten him with the torture; upon which he confessed, that he had been dispatched from Venice into all the sea-ports of Phoenicia, Palatine, and Egypt, to give them notice, that the Christian fleet, commanded by the grand master of Rhodes and the admiral of Genoa, was at sea, that they might take their precautions against them; at which both the Rhodians and Genoese were so exasperated, that they were for throwing him into the sea, but were prevented by their officers. This did not prevent their pursuing their design on Barat, which they plundered and burnt. Their next descent was on Said or Zith, which they found likewise strongly guarded, and where a violent storm hindered their landing all their forces, so that those that were got on shore were attacked on all sides with great fury by the Saracens.

f. Meets with a strong opposition to capture the town. Upon examining the captain of it, they could get nothing out of him, but that he was a Christian and a Venetian, till they began to threaten him with the torture; upon which he confessed, that he had been dispatched from Venice into all the sea-ports of Phoenicia, Palatine, and Egypt, to give them notice, that the Christian fleet, commanded by the grand master of Rhodes and the admiral of Genoa, was at sea, that they might take their precautions against them; at which both the Rhodians and Genoese were so exasperated, that they were for throwing him into the sea, but were prevented by their officers. This did not prevent their pursuing their design on Barat, which they plundered and burnt. Their next descent was on Said or Zith, which they found likewise strongly guarded, and where a violent storm hindered their landing all their forces, so that those that were got on shore were attacked on all sides with great fury by the Saracens.

They
They defended themselves with no less bravery during the five hours the storm lasted, and then retired to their respective ships, within view of the enemy. They were like to have fared worse in their next attempt upon Lidda, by the Greeks called Diopolis, in Palestine, where, upon their landing some of their troops to reconnoitre the place, they observed only about a great Turk, and some difference from the sea, and therefore they determined to attack by the next rising sun; but, upon their returning to their ships, they saw no less than 30,000 more, who lay in ambush in an adjacent wood, and filled out sword in hand against them; which lucky discovery prevented the ret from landing, and being all cut in pieces 4.

Finding, therefore, the coasts so well guarded everywhere, and the season now far advanced, they agreed to separate. Boccia lost all away to Fanegephia, and the grand master to Rhodes, where he soon after received a visit of thanks from the admiral, furnished his fleet with plenty of provisions, and, after having regaled him with a view of the whole island, sent him home full of admiration at the vast strength of it, the fortifications of the city, the great quantity and variety of gallies and other vessels riding in the harbour, and the surprising number and gallantry of his knights, by whom those seas were so well guarded, that scarce any corsairs dared themselves on them; all which was the more admirable, at a time when the schism, which so long rent the church, had proved no less detrimental to the order, by the advantage which the grand priors and commanders took from it to withdraw, and appropriate those quotas and repotions which they ought to have transmitted into the public treasury: for the suppressing of which grievous abuses they were, as we have had frequent occasion to hint, obliged very often to have recourse to the pope, and other crowned heads, to hold chapters in different places of Europe, and to other measures no less burdensome and chargeable to them 5.

How dread their power and interest were become by this time among their enemies, may be gathered from the overtures of peace which the haughty Sultan was glad to make them, by a particular embassy to Rhodes, by the advantageous articles of which in favour of the order, and the Christians in Palestine, one may plainly see that the grand master accepted his offers in a great measure upon his own terms. The happy turn which the affairs of Chrifentom took about this time did not a little contribute to his obtaining such an advantageous peace, namely, the unanimous zeal which appeared in the greatest part of the cardinals, as well as crowned heads, to put a final end to the schism, by reducing the church to the obedience of one head. It was to that end that the famed council of Pisa was convened, of which an account hath been elsewhere given, to which the grand master was solemnly invited, and the guard of the concave committed to his care. But what gave him the greatest satisfaction was, to see the choice of a pontiff fall upon so worthy a person as the cardinal of Milan, since named Alexander V., though born of the very lowest rank, yet was possessed of all the eminent virtues which could adorn that supreme dignity.

The first thing he did was, to acquaint the new pontiff with a project which he had formed of sending a solemn embassy to the principal courts in Europe, in order to unite them into a league against the Turks, whose overgrown power was now so happily curtailed by the late overthrow of Bajazet, and the rapid successes of the great Timur. The pope not only applauded and approved of his design, but engaged, that, if he succeeded in it, he would declare himself chief of it, and be at the greatest part of the expense. He moreover sent a nuncio to Rhodes, to acquaint the order with his election to the papal chair, though Naillac was still with him, as a mark of his singular regard for the whole order 6.

In order to put the same effectual end to the schism which reigned in the order, as well as to restore the ancient discipline, repotions, &c. and reform divers others abuses, the grand master convoked a general chapter at Nice and afterwards at Dijon in Provence; and, as he thought his presence would be of great service, he was preparing himself for his departure thither, when the pope thought fit to engage him in a defence more advantageous to religion, which was, to send him on an embassy to the kings of England and France, who were then at war, in order to induce them by his address to conclude either a peace or a long truce. Naillac highly relished the proposal; and the more readily accepted of the offer, as it might prove a means to engage those two great monarchs to join in his projected league against the Turks. Having therefore impowered the council above-mentioned to chuse three of their number to preside in his room, he set about getting all things ready for his amiable. The misfortune was, that though that chapter agreed upon some wholesome regulations for suppressing sundry flagrant abuses, particularly with regard to the priories and repotions; yet the schism reigned as much as ever among them, notwithstanding the
new pope's election, the two deposed popes, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XI. refusing to acknowledge the council of Pisa's authority, and the priors, &c. still taking part with one or the other of them, that they might have some pretence for detaining their respective repositions.

Alexander V. died in May following, at Bologna, and was succeeded by Baldufus Caffa. The new pope then legate, or, as he is more rightly styled, tyrant of that city, a person equally infatuated in his avarice, and his other debaucheries, and suspected to have carried his predecessor to be poisoned, to make way for his election, in which he took the name of John XXIII. John 23. a The Rhodian order, in common with the rest of Christendom, became very great sufferers to both from his bad example, and his detestable avarice; insomuch that he caused a bull to be published in favour of one of their commanders, whom he permitted to marry; notwithstanding his vow of chastity, and, by his own authority, appropriated his commandery to himself, and sold it soon after to a youth about 14 years of age, whom he dispensed from taking either the vows or habit of the order. He carried his tyranny so far, as to seize upon all the priories as soon as he heard they were become vacant, and disposed of them afterwards to the highest bidders, without any regard to their character or merit, or the rights and privileges of the order, which, by such frequent arbitrary seizures, saw itself on the eve of being totally ruined. This at length obliged the council of Rhodes to send him a letter, full of the bitterest complaints, and with that laudable freedom which became their exalted station and dignity, representing to him the wrongs which both they and all Christendom must unavoidably receive from his tyrannical conduct. The result of which was, that, through fear of their laying open all his villainies to the general council then sitting, he thought it expedient to relax from some of his arbitrary proceedings, and to recall the grant of some of the commanderies he had formerly sold, without however refunding any of the price to the purchaser.

He was at length deposed by the council of Constance, as we have elsewhere shown, at which the grand master was present, and honoured with the guard of the conclave, asf by Frederic marquis of Brandenburg, William count of Luxemburg, Bruno baron of Veroza, and Otto Colonius, elected in his room in November, who took the name of Martin, and on the 22d of April following dissolv’d the council. Neillius, being now discharged from his office, would gladly have proceeded immediately to Rhodes, where his presence was earnestly wished for by the whole order; but his extreme desire to see the very lands of that long and unhappy city wholly extirpated, prevailed upon him to stay and lend a helping hand to so laudable a work; so that he contented himself with transmitting over to the convent 18,000 crowns out of his own cash, to supply its present exigencies, and then called a general assembly to meet at Avignon, where he could more conveniently afflict. This assembly, which consisted of the ancientest priors, receivers, and commanders, of Italy, France, and Savoy, came to a resolution, that a general chapter of the order should be convened at Rhodes, at which all those, who had hitherto refused to submit to the authority of the grand master, should be summoned to appear, in order to be regularly tried according to the laws and statutes of the order, and be punished according to their respective violations of them.

This resolution had soon after the desired effect; the grand master, who was to take Florence in his way to Rhodes, in order to confer with the new pope about his projected league against the Turks, saw himself met at Bologna by a considerable number of recusants, who now entreated his pardon, and their re-union with the order, promising an entire obedience to his orders for the future, and a prompt payment of all their arrears. He ordered them accordingly to meet him at Ancona, whence they set sail, and arrived safely at Rhodes. A general chapter opened, in which every one expressed an amorous readiness to comply with all his desires, and to agree to the several regulations he proposed to them for the reviving of the ancient discipline, the extinguishing the least spark of schism, and restoring the order to its ancient discipline and opulence. These new fugitives he took care to convey to the pope with all possible diligence, and seemed now to wait for the joyful news of their being confirmed by that pontiff, who, on his part, did not let him wait long for that satisfaction, but sent them back to him, ratified with his approbation, with the highest encomiums upon them and him. His receipt of them was quickly followed by a fit of sickness, which carried him off in a good old age, and in the 27th year of his grand mastership, he was succeeded by Antony Flaviano, of the priory of Catalonia, and grand prior of Cyprius, a native of Arragon, in the beginning of whole government, the tranquillity which
had been so happily settled in the order, as well as in the church, was again disturbed by the successive attacks of the Turks in Apha, and of the Saracens in Egypt. The former had by this time retrieved their affairs to a wonderful degree, both in Europe and Apha, under the reigns of Mohammed I. and his successor Amurat II. the latter of whom seemed to turn his thoughts towards Morea and the isles of the Archipelago. The dread which feized the inhabitants made their petty sovereigns apply to the grand master for succour, who readily equipped some galleys of the order to cruise about those seas, and get what intelligence they could of the sultan's intentions; but whilst he was making all the necessary preparations against any attempt from so powerful an enemy, he saw himself in much more imminent danger from another quarter, namely, from Egypt, where the Mamelus had raised to the throne the famed Circassian Al Nazer Al Dabar, a warrior much more skilful in naval affairs than any the order had hitherto been engaged with. We have already given an account of this new Egyptian dynasty, at whose head this prince now was, who, to keep his new subjects employed, had declared war against Janus the Cyprian king, then in strict alliance with Rhodes. This obliged him to suspend the succours he designed for Morea, and at the same time to try all possible means to mediate a peace between the Saracens and the Cyprian monarch. Al Dabar, who only measured his pretensions by his power, refused to listen to a peace, unless Janus became his vassal and annual tributary, which he no less haughtily rejected; so that there being now no way but that of the sword to decide the contest, Flaviano sent him what vessels, men, and money, he could spare. We have seen the sad result of this war, which ended in the defeat of the Circassian, the loss of a great number of Rhodian knights, and the captivity of the Cyprian monarch, who was carried prisoner into Egypt.

At the news of this disaster, the grand master, fearing the loss of the whole isle, failed thither with fresh succours, with a promise to continue there, provided they resolved to die sword in hand in defence of their country; instead of which, they chose the way of negotiation, as the most suitable to their native indolence; whilst the Egyptian sultan was still finding some pretences to delay it, in hopes that his forces would make themselves masters of the isle before any thing was concluded. This obliged the Rhodian knights that were sent thither to redouble their efforts to stop their progress, whose singular valour upon this occasion so exasperated their general, that, in revenge, he destroyed their grand commandery in that isle, which was the richest that belonged to their order, pulled down all their houses, cut down all their trees, and totally ruined that noble bailiwick. Al Dabar, no less provoked at the Rhodians than his general, was easily induced by his fycophant court to attempt the conquest of their isle, which they deemed to be now destitute of defence, because so many of her knights were gone to defend that of Cyprus. Flushed with these hopes, which he vainly imagined would open a way to his subduing all the other isles of the Archipelago, he renewed his negotiation with the Cypriots, but demanded no less than 120,000 golden florins for their sovereign's ransom, which he knew he was in no capacity to pay. This extravagant demand, however, far from discouraging, induced the grand master, who wanted at any rate to see him at his liberty, to supply him with the greatest part of that sum out of the public treasury; and a peace was soon after concluded between them.

All this while the treacherous Al Dabar, though he knew that the peace concluded between him and the late grand master Niallac still subsisted, was endeavouring to amuse Flaviano with proposals for renewing it, whilst he was making the greatest preparations for invading him. But the grand master, who had his spies every-where, and even among those of his privy-council, was so well apprised of all his designs, that he neglected no means or precautions to elude them. The misfortune was, that the Cyprian war had so exhausted his treasury, that he was obliged to have recourse to the usual though tedious remedy of calling a general chapter, and at the same time to apply to the pope Eugenius IV. f and several other crowned heads, for addition. The chapter, however, met with more readines than could have been expected, considering that the grand priors, commandors, and bailies, of the order, had, during the late troubles, not only relapsed into their old abuse of appropriating the revenue that should have been lent into the public treasury, which had in a great measure exhausted it, but had moreover refused to maintain the number of knights which were quartered upon them, which had obliged a great number of them to disperse themselves among their friends and relations. However, the grand master lent every-where his summons with such diligence, and in such pressing terms, that he was enabled to hold quickly after one of the largest and noblest assemblies that had been seen for a long time in his capital of Rhodes.

* BOSSIO, BAUDOIN, I. liv. c. 2. VERROT, t. ii. vi. p. 425, & seq. & al. ab sup.
Chap. 7.

The history of Malthe.

a This chapter was opened on the 23rd of May by Flaviano himself, with a most affecting representation of the imminent danger which threatened both the order in particular, and Christendom in general, from the growing power of the Turks and Saracens, and much more so from the ambition and avarice of the then grand priors and commanders, whose accounts and long-winded arrears he ordered to be faithfully laid before them, as well as the state of his exhausted treasury. The consequence of which was, that they exprepted the most zealous unanimity to set about redressing all those disorders, and restore the ancient discipline by new regulations and penalties; in doing which, they made such laudable dispatch, that the grand master had time sufficient to make all necessary preparations against any invasion either from Turkey or Egypt. A new statute was likewise made, in order to fix the knights to their respective residences, and to have the young ones trained up in the military discipline, expressly obliging all the priors and commanders to entertain what number of them was assigned to each of them, under the penalty of being deprived of their dignities, and degraded from the order; so that by this wholesome law every prior and convent became as it were a nursery of young warriors, ready to supply the room of those that died in the field, or to be sent upon any expedition which the grand master should think proper. A new bull was likewise expedited to him soon after, forbidding expressly any of the knights to go to Rome without his or the procurator general’s leave; by which another great abuse was prevented, viz. their seeking to raise themselves by the pope’s favour and recommendation, rather than by any real merit. In such pious and excellent regulations did Flaviano employ that leisure time which the truce with the sultan allowed him, and particularly in the erecting a most sumptuous infirmary at his own charge, when death put an end to all his labours on the 29th of October in the 17th year of his grand mastership. He sent, a little before his death, the sum of 200,000 ducats into the public treasury, which were the fruits of that exemplary economy with which he had all along endeavoured to inspire all that lived under his government. He obtained likewise several considerable privileges to the order from the popes Martin V, Eugenius IV, and John XXIII; as well as from Philip duke of Burgundy, the duke and duchess of Lorain, and other crowned heads, which the reader may see in the authors quoted in the margin.

He was succeeded, with the unanimous consent of the electors, by John de Lutic, grand master of Auvergne, during his residence in that priory; who no sooner received the news of his election, than he set out for the isle of Rhodos, where he was informed, by his predecessor’s spies, of the preparations that were making in Egypt against the order, with which Amurat III, the Turkish sultan, seemed well pleased, on account of the Christian league lately formed against himself. The better to penetrate into his designs, the new grand master sent the grand prior of Rhodos on an embassy to him, both to notify his election, and to renew the truce with him; but could draw nothing from that politic monarch but reciprocal compliments, in such general terms as plainly gave him reason to judge that a rupture was not far off. He dispatched at the same time his own nephew, William Lutic, with two gallies, to inform himself what was doing in Egypt and on the coasts of Barbary, who quickly returned with the disagreeable news, that they would instantly have the whole force of Egypt armed against them. The grand master thereupon lost no time to equip eight of their best galleys, and a proportionable number of transports and other vessels, well manned and armed, and to put that and the other islands under his government in the best state of defence he could.

On the other hand, Al Daker, with a fleet of 18 galleys, and a good number of other Al Daker de- veys, appeared on the coasts of a little island, or rather rock, belonging to the order, situated at about 100 miles easter of Rhodos, and about two or three from the Lycian coast.

The Rhodians had built a castle upon it, from which the island took the name Cagli Ruffo, or Red Caffo; this the Saracens took and demolished, without any opposition that we can learn; and, having made the inhabitants their prisoners, failed directly for that of Rhodos, where they appeared on September following. The grand master made no scruple to meet them at sea, and to offer them battle; but they, surprised to see so many ships about him, which they supposed to have been far enough off upon the cruise, instead of accepting the challenge, retired into a creek, and, facing about with their vessels, contested themselves with keeping them at a distance with the great fire of their artillery. They continued cannonading each other till night, when the Rhodians returned to their harbour, with a design to attack them on the next morning, but, to their surprise, found that they were failed away in the night. They appeared next before that of Langro, where the marechal, who was ready to receive them, failed directly against them; and, being posted under the cannon of the castle, made them a fresh offer of battle; to avoid which, the enemy tacked about, and made for an island belonging to the Turks, but which was almost abandoned.

and there fastening his ships to one another with their prows outwards, raised a strong battery upon them to repulse the Rhodian ships, if they offered to attack them; but as neither the superiority of their number, nor their strong situation, could deter the mareschal from it, he only took the precaution of planting his artillery upon such flat-bottoms as took in the leath water, and then fell upon them. The attack was very fierce on both sides, and did not end but with the day-light; by which time the enemy had loft above 700 men, and the Rhodians only about three-score; but the mareschal had received no less than five wounds in the action; notwithstanding which, he would have renewed the fight by the next break of day, had not a lowering storm, which seemed to threaten him, obliged him to fall back to Rhodes, which gave the enemy an opportunity of giving him the slip.

The foltan, provoked at his ill success, and forced to make new preparations, tried in b the mean time to amuse the grand master, who on his side loit no time to fill his magazines, fortify the island, and to inform all the knights of the order, that were able to bear arms, to its defence. He likewise sent ambassadors to most courts in Europe, as well as to that of Rome, to acquaint them, that he was on the eve of being besieged in his capital; and that, if they neglected to assist him at such a crisis, he and his knights would have no other recourse left, but to bury themselves under its ruins. But whether those princes suspected the truth, or that their zeal for crusades was quite extinguished, he could obtain little else from them but faint promises; so that all the fruit he reaped from so many embassies, was only a league offensive and defensive with the Greek emperor, John Palaeologus, which yet proved in the end of as little service as any of the rest, that prince's whole dominions being c by this time reduced to his bare metropolis, and that so closely blockaded on all sides by the Turks, that he had no succours that he could spare him a.

At length, after many negotiations and treaties, carried on merely to gain time, the Egyptian fleet appeared in full sight of the island, in the month of August, and fortieth landed 80,000 men, besides a large body of cavalry, which were the choicest forces of Egypt, who all marched directly to the capital, whist the fleet kept the haven blockaded up, to prevent its receiving any succours. All that the writers of this remarkable transaction have thought proper to transmit to us concerning it, or that could be found in the Rhodian chancery; amounts only to this; that the place was battered with a numerous artillery, and many fierce attacks made against it, in which the besiegers were always repulsed with great d loss; and that the Egyptian general, having pursued the siege till the greatest part of his army was destroyed, saw himself obliged to raise it, and reembark with the poor remains of his forces for Egypt, and to carry himself the news of his ill success to his matter.

This signal advantage over those infidels was no sooner spread in Europe by young Lustic, whom his uncle had sent to notify it to the pope, than it procured a fresh reinforcement of the bravest youths from France, Italy, Germany, &c. whom it had inspired with fresh zeal, and who came in good time to enter into the order, and share in the glory of defending it. But as this timely supply of young warriors must of course increase the expence to the convent, the grand master convoked a new chapter to meet at Rhodes, on the 25th of July next, in which, among other things, it was agreed; that the grand master might e negotiate a peace with Egypt, which was soon after set on foot by the means of a French merchant, named Jacques Courto, in English, James Heart, a man who carried on a most extensive commerce, and who, by his credit and address, soon brought it to a conclusion; but how, or upon what terms, we are left in the dark; only we are told, that the Rhodian commissiorners, upon their return from Egypt, brought away a considerable number of Christian slaves, who had been taken during the war; immediately after which, an order was sent to the grand prior of St. Giles, and to the grand receiver of Provence, for the reembursement of James Heart above mentioned, which bears date February 8, 1446, all the charges he had been at in that negociation f.

This joy was soon after disturbed by a severe letter which he received from pope Nicholas V, in which that pontif highly cenfured the arbitrary liberty he had taken in augmenting the refonions of the priories and commanderies of the order, and punifhing those who did not comply with his exactions, which had been represented to him as unjust, and contrary to the statutes of it. Lustic was no less nettled at the calamity, and easily cleared himself and his council, by sending him a fair account of the whole matter, signed by all the members of the chapter; and at the fame time to fet he was not to be frightened from his firm adherence to the statutes by such misrepresentations, earnestly begged of him holiness not to give fo much credit to his informants, feeing their living at such a distance from Rhodes (not only that they might indulge themselves in a shameful neglect of their discipline, but, which was still worse, to avoid the dangers to which the reft were obliged to expose themselves against such powerful enemies which they had to do with) made them

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*a Vide auct. sup. citat.  
*bosio, & al, sup. citat.  

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very unfit judges of the exigencies of the order to support such an expensive war: besides that their non-refrinenice gave an ill and dangerous example to a great number of others, and deprived the order of their service, and induced them to prefer an idle and effeminate life to the strict and religious discipline which was invariably kept up in the convent. The cause, in short, was so fairly stated before the pope, that he was forced to appear satisfied; at least outwardly, with it. But that did not hinder those tyrants, who had their powerful friends, not only in the college of cardinals, but even in the grand master's council, from continuing in an open defiance of their statutes, and fomenting a kind of anarchy among their brethren, not only at Rome, but in several other parts of Europe. To suppress so strange an abuse, the general council saw themselves obliged to have recourse to so strange an expedient. For a very one as would, upon any least emergency, have been thought not only inconvenient with, but dangerous to, such a republican government as theirs was, viz. to invest the grand master with a kind of dictatorial power, by putting the sovereign authority, and the disposition of the finances of the whole order, into his hands. The grand master offered the supreme powers.

Lusitania, however, did all that lay in his power to dissuade them from it, alleging sometimes its being contrary to their institution, and to others his extreme old age; and it was not without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to accept of it; and with this proviso, moreover, that this change should last no longer than three years, at the expiration of which the council should resume its pristine authority. This expedient soon produced a good effect through the order, and a prompt payment of all the arrears, a renewing of the ancient discipline, and many other wholesome regulations, which we have no time to enumerate.

After this, he sent an embassy to Amurat II. who, as we hinted a little higher, had refused to explain himself to his former ambassadors about renewing the truce; but being now threatened by the powerful league in which the king of Hungary, the emirs of Transylvania and Walachia, and, above all, the brave Scanderbeg, king of Albania, were strenuously united, he quite accepted the offer: and glad he well might be that the order did not join in that powerful league, seeing his ill success against it shortened his days so soon after. His successor Mohammed II. showed no less readiness to do the same; and, though with very different views, yet was glad to continue at peace with Rhodes, till he could bring his perilous projects to maturity, and gladly renewed the truce with Zizier, which was sent by the grand master to compliment him on his succession to the Ottoman throne. At the conquest of Constantinople, of which a full account has been formerly given, this proud conqueror became so elated, that, without any regard to his late engagements, he sent an ambassador to, and more properly a herald, to Rhodes, to demand of the grand master to acknowledge him as his sovereign, and to pay into his treasury the annual tribute of 2000 ducats, and, in case of refusal, to declare war against him in his name. His noble answer to this haughty demand, the no less brave than prudent Lusitania answered, that the order, at whose head he was, being a no less dangerous one, which acknowledged no superior but the pope of Rome, and the city and isle of Rhodes, in which he commanded, having purchased by his predecessors with valour, and the lives of so many noble knights, he was ready to sacrifice his life, rather than betray the privileges and independency of his order, with which he had been entrusted at his election. At the same time, as he rightly judged that his answer would be soon followed by a dangerous war, he had immediately recourse to the pope and European princes for a speedy assistance, and dispatched the commander Aubafon, a perfon every way qualified for such an important commissione, into France and Italy, to make the most pressing inferences for it.

Is the mean time the grand master, quite worn out with old age and fatigues, departed from this life on the 18th of May, in the 17th year of his government, and was succeeded by Gauthier, or James de Milly, on the 18th of June, whilst he was residing in his grand priory at Avignon; and who made such timely dispatch, that he arrived safely at Rhodes on the 25th of August following, though not before the order had felt the first effects of Mohammed's retirement, who, impatient to be avenged of an order which he detested above all his other enemies, had already sent a fleet of thirty galleys to ravage all their coasts. But whilst he was making the most effectual preparations to extirpate their very name, a powerful league was forming against him in Europe, of which Caliphus III. had declared himself the head, and had gradually brought into it the kings of Hungary and Arragon, the duke of Burgundy, the republics of Genoa and Venice, and some other princes of Italy, and, last of all, the new grand master of Rhodes; whilst Charles VII. of France, who was in no condition to join it, contented himself with transmitting considerable sums to Rhodes for the use of the order, by their ambassador de Aubafon. This grand confederacy quickly obliged the sultan to suspend his preparations against the Rhodians, and to turn his arms another way. We need not repeat here

* Bosio, Baudouin, Davy, Vertot, & al. 414
* Bosio, Baudouin, Vertot, & al. sup. cit.

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the mortifying repulse which he met with before Belgrade, from the renowned Hungarian king, since the reader may see a full account of it in a former volume; the result of which was, that, being more exasperated against them than ever, for having taken the advantage of his abstinence to ravage the coasts of his dominions, block up several of his sea-ports, and do him very considerable damages both by sea and land, he immediately equipped a powerful fleet, with about 18,000 land-forces on board, with orders to carry fire and sword into all the islands belonging to the order.

These made their first descent accordingly on the isle of Cos or Lango, and railed their strong batteries against its c行李e, where, having made what they thought a sufficient breach, they mounted it with their usual eagerness, not doubting of carrying the place with ease. They met, however, with such an unexpected opposition from the besieged, and were for a time terribly annoyed in the attack, from the huge stones, boiling oil, and melted lead, which came pouring upon them, as soon-forced them to abandon it; and, being closely pressed by a timely party, were glad to gain their ships with greater precipitation than they had landed out of them. Their next attempt was against that of Simia, formerly described, where they undermined the castle with a design to blow it up; but their project was discovered time enough to be prevented by a countermove from within, in which the Rhodians cut in pieces both the miners and all the forces that were ordered to support them. The rest, having recovered their ships, sailed directly for Rhodes, and there landed a few forces to reconnoitre the island. Thee, finding all things quiet, advanced to a populous town, but weakly guarded, named Arcangel, of which they gave notice to their admiral, who immediately put a sufficient number of his forces in flat-bottomed boats, who surprized the place, killed all that made head against them, and carried off the greatest part of the rest prisoners. In their retreat, they committed much the same ravages in those of Lerro, Calamo, Nissa, and Lango, where they likewise destroyed most of the vines and fruit-trees, made a great number of prisoners, and returned to Constan tinople. The worst of it was, that the Turkish sultan gave no other chance to those unhappy captives, but either to be butchered upon the spot, or to turn Mohammedans, the greatest part of whom, being bafe enough to chufe the latter, became in time the most pernicious guides to the Turkish corsairs.

This sad disaffair, which had in a great measure depopulated those islands, obliged those knights who were entrusted with the government, not only to have them better guarded for the future, but to admonish their fresh colonies to keep the fortifications in better repair, and to add new ones to them, particularly to the unhappy town of Arcangel, such precautions being come so much more necessary at this time, not only on account of their war with the Turkish sultan, but as they found themselves upon the eve of a new one with that of Egypt, an enemy no less powerful and irreconcilable to their order than the haughty Mohammed. Before they could be well prepared against those two powers, they saw themselves invaded by a third, on account of the protection which the grand master had given to the lawful queen of Cyprus against the bafard Lusignan, whom both Mohammed and the Egyptian sultan had set on the throne of another nation to all the Latins. The latter of these had moreover, contrary to the law of nations, arrested the Rhodian ambassador, and seiz'd all the vessels belonging to the order, on the very fame account, whilst Mohammed refudged all overtures of peace with Rhodes, from the same resentment.

In this difmal situation the grand master was, when the Venetians (who had obliged the bafard above-mentioned to marry one of the senator's daughters, and soon after, as is commonly suppos'd, cau'd him to be taken off, that they might govern the island in his widow's name) made a powerful descent into, and ravaged, the island of Rhodes, in a more dreadful manner than ever the Turks or Saracens had done; soon after which, they came with a fleet of forty galleys, and block'd up the port, and threatened the city with a siege. Their pretence, however, for this rupture, was in part given by the grand master, who, by way of reprisals for the retention of his ambassadour by the Saracens, had order'd two rich Venetian galleys, frigates with merchandizes for Egypt, to be seiz'd, the goods to be confiscate, the Saracens to be made slaves, and the Venetians that were in them to return home; so that this second fleet was sent to demand a restitution of all these, threatening, in cafe of refusal, to ravage all the islands belonging to the order. In this dilemma, some haughty spirits of the Rhodian council were for rejecting the Venetian demands with scorn; but the grand master, who foreknew the dreadful consequence of such a step, chose rather to submit to the restitution, than hazard the los of so many subject's at such a critical juncture; for, besides their having so many powerful enemies ready to fall upon them from without, their condition was not much more promising within. The partiality of so many French grand masters, who had lately succed'd one another, and bestowed the greatest priorities and commanderies on those of their own nation, to the prejudice of those of the other tongues, who claimed...
Chap. 7. The history of Maltah.

a claimed an equal right to them, had kindled a kind of civil war in their own council; informuch that they seldom met to deliberate on the most important exigences of the order, but their debates were immediately disturbed and furred with complaints. These malecontents, as the French writers file them," went so far, that the procurator for the tongue of Arragon threw down the act of appeal at the grand master's feet, and in an abrupt manner retired with the rest, not only out of the council, but out of the city. The grand master left no means or promises untried to allay the storm, and, by his lenity and address, brought the greater part into a better temper; which did not last long, as we shall soon see. He died soon after the gout, on the 17th of August, in the eighth year of his government; soon after which the same complaints were revived again.

b He was succeeded by Raymond Zacoafa, commonly called Magister, a native of Caffile and castellan of the impasts; soon after whose election the chapter fell upon an effectual Zacoafa, expedient to extinguish the flame, which began to blaze afresh by the creation of a new tongue in the order, in favour of the Caffilans and Portuguese, who became by it separated from the Catalan and Navarrese, from which time the order came to consist of eight tongues, and a more equal balance was established in it between those emulous nations. Matters were a truce without compromized at Rhodes, than the grand master was surprized with an overture of peace from the proud Mohammed, who had so scornfully rejected all the pacific offers of his predeccessors, upon any terms but those of his becoming his vassal and tributary. His suspicions of that treacherous monarch, one may easily believe, rather augmented his fears, than gave him any hopes of succeeding in that negotiation; yet, as he dared not openly refuse such an offer, he sent one of his chief commanders to Conflagintopolis, attended with two Greeks, natives of Rhodes, who found the Porte ready to agree to any amicable terms, without inflicting on its former irksome conditions; so that a truce was quickly concluded with it, though without their being able however to penetrate into the secret views of the sultan. They did not continue long a secret, before his conquest of Popelagonia and the empire of Trepozaund, of which we have formerly given an account, opened the eyes of all Christendom.

The grand master lusting not the advantage of this short truce, but caused a very stout castle to be built for the defence of the capital. The ground he chose to erect it upon was a solid rock, jetting out into the sea; no coil or labour was spared to make it strong and lasting; and, as the duke of Burgundy had contributed a considerable sum towards it, his arms were ordered to be fixed upon the walls, which, inclining a little chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, occasioned the fortres to be called by that name. All this while the truce did not hinder the Turkish corsairs from making frequent descents upon the islands, and seizing as prizes all the ships they met with belonging to the order. This obliged the grand master to fend his gallies out to make reprisals upon them, at which the proud sultan was so exasperated, that he from that hour resolved to drive them not out of that island only, but, if possible, out of Asia. He began with an attempt upon Lemnos, and other isles of the Archipelago, to prevent their receiving any succour from them; but the grand master took care beforehand to send a great number of knights into this island, which caused the siege to be more difficult and obstinate, and the effusion of blood greater than it might otherwise have been on both sides. We have already given an account of this siege, and of the sad catastrophe of the two Gattilugro's, who, tho' sufficiently acquainted with that monarch's perfidy, yet delivered up the place, on the promise of an equivalent from his no less faithles vizier, and became the unhappy victims of their fatal credulity. It fared still worse with the Rhodian knights, who surrendered on the same terms, whom the tyrant, contrary to all faith and humanity, caused to be fawn in two from head to foot, and their bodies to be thrown to the dogs, as a cruel earnest of what the rest of the order must expect from him.

The grand master failed not to interpret it in what sense; and, to ward against the effects of his fury betimes, convened a general council at Rhodes, ordering all the knights to be present at it, and the arraers of all the reprobations to be forthwith tranfinit to the treasury. But whilst he was taking these and other necessary precautions for their safety and honour, many of the priors and commanders in Italy and Arragon, to elude his just demands upon them, began to make loud complaints against him, some pretending that he exacted of them much more than he ought, others that his old age and pellitannity made him look upon every puff of wind that blew from the Turkish dominions as the most dreadful and destructive hurricanes. These complaints were at length laid before pope Paul II. with whom the grand king of Arragon found interfet enough to persuade him to summon the grand chapter to assemble at Rome, and Zacoafa to appear there, to answer to such accusations as should be brought against him.

1 See Verhot, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 25, & seq. 9 Ibid. 10 Bacuo, Baudouin, Verhot, &c.
preferred against him. The chief cause of grudge of the Aragonian monarch against him was, that he had, after his election, appropriated the grand castrametary of the impots, one of the richest polts in the whole order, next to the grand masterhip, to himself. Other princes had their own particular views for deferring that he should be ordered to appear at Rome, though it was in fact delivering up that worthy grand master to the hands of his most inverteate enemies, against which he might moreover have objected his extreme old age, and his obligation to defend the island of Rhodes in person. But that venerable old gentleman, who preferred the clearing of his own innocence to all other considerations, having obeyed the summons, so clearly retorted all those unjust allegations against the authors of them (by frowning, on the one hand, that the exactions charged upon him had no other foundation than the luxury and extravagance of those who urged them against him; and, on the other, that he had retained his castrametary not for his own benefit, but to defray the charges of building the fortresses of St. Nicholas, which he was ready now to surrender to the order) that all his adversaries were put to silence, and the pope himself was quite ashamed of having given so much credit to them. To make him the amplest amended he could, he not only frowed him the most singular marks of his esteem and entire satisfaction, but confirmed the several regulations which were made by that chapter, especially against all those refractory recusants who had caused him and them so much trouble and fatigue. Zacharia making himself ready for his return to his government, highly satisfied with the term which his obedience had taken in his favour, was blessed with a violent pleasure, which carried him off on the 21st of February, in the 6th year of his grand mastership. The pope, to shew his great regard for him to the last, ordered him to be interred in the Basilica of St. Peter, with the greatest solemnity; after which the chapter proceeded immediately upon a new election.

The choice fell, by the majority of one single vote, on John Baptist de Ursini, then grand prior of Rome, in preference to Raymond Riccard, of the tongue of Provence, and grand prior of St. Giles, and most probably by the influence of the pope over some of the electors, which might perhaps have been much less any where but at Rome. However that be, the new grand master, knowing how necessary the Turkish sultan’s progress made his presence at Rhodes, not only hastened thither himself, but ordered, by a particular summons, all the bravest knights of the order to repair thither, especially those of each tongue who were the most experienced in martial affairs. Upon his arrival, he gave the super-intendancy of all the fortifications to Peter d’Aubuison, one of the most experienced commanders, and the best skilled in military architecture of the whole order, who immediately set about surrounding the city with a larger and deeper ditch, and fortifying that part of it which lay towards the water-side with a stout wall, 100 fathoms long, fix in height, and one in thickness. These new fortifications, and those which had been made under the two last grand masters at the castles of Archangel, and St. Nicholas in the isle of Rhodes, together with those of Lindo, Seraigea, Villa Nova, Castana, Tiranda, and others, in the other islands, and situate at proper distances for the inhabitants to shelter themselves and their effects against the Turks, corsairs, and other invaders, proved of very singular use at this juncture, in which Mohammed, tho’ hindered by sickness, and the then raging plague, had equipped thirty stout galleys, filled with land forces, with orders to make defences upon those islands, where they found them easieth of access, and to put all to fire and sword; for by that means the inhabitants, sheltering themselves in those castles, gave the invaders an opportunity of landing their troops where-ever they found a convenient place, whilst the Rhodian cavalry, being advantageously disposed in distant bodies, fell upon them so suddenly, that few of them could regain their ships, and the rest were all put to the sword, or made prisoners.

These ill successes failed not to rule the sultan’s fury to a higher degree, who ordered immediately a powerful armament to be got ready, without giving the least hint where he designed it to fall. However, as it was easy to guess that he designed it either against the island of Euboe or Rhodes, the Venetians, who were masters of the former, lost no time to negotiate an alliance offensive and defensive against him. The grand master at first gladly accepted the offer; but, upon finding that they had gilded a clause into the preliminaries, importing that the order should submit themselves to their protection, and not have power to undertake anything for the future without their leave, some fay without their order, he rejected the proposal with indignation which such an enshrining league justly deserved; yet did not this mean piece of artifice prevent his sending them a speedy succour, when he heard that Euboe was really invaded by the sultan, and the capital of it besieged by him. This aid consisted of a number of galleys commanded by Cardano, an old experienced knight of the order, and the famed d’Aubuison, no less expert in whatever related to the attack or defence of a place.

3 Boiss, Baudoyn, Veinot, & al. sup. citat.
We shall not here repeat what has been said elsewhere concerning the success of the expedition, much less the treachery and cruelty which the tyrant exercised on all that fell into his hands; what most principally relates to our present history is, that Mohammed, having observed the gallantries of the order among those of the Venetians, dispatched immediately an herald to declare war against them, with the most dreadful imprecations on himself if he did not kill the grand master, and exterminate all the knights that fell into his hands. But neither did these threats deter the grand master from joining the Venetians in some expeditions against him, of which we have already given an account, particularly that against Attalia, formerly mentioned, nor of making prizes of all the Turkish corsairs that haunted the Rhodian coasts.

The Rhodian galleys were hardly returned from ravaging Attalia, when the grand master received a pompous embassy from Hassan Caffan, king of Persia, who was now entered into a new league with the Christian princes against Mohammed, as he had done before more than once. The Venetians, after the loss of Euboea, were the first projectors of it, and had engaged in it pope Paul II. the kings of Arragon and Naples, the republic of Genoa, and the knights of Rhodes, and, last of all, the Perisan monarch, whose ambassador was received with the utmost magnificence. The occasion of this embassy was, to notify his accession to the league against him, and at the same time to acquaint the grand master, as well as the other chiefs of it, that he had taken the important fortress of Toroto in Lesser Arminia from the Turks, and was fully determined to pursue the war against them. But that, tho' the Perisan troops were invincible, their cavalry the finest and best in all the world, and he neither wanted men or horses, lances, scymitars, or other missile weapons, yet the use of fire-arms being still unknown in his dominions, he made it his earnest request to all his new allies to assist him with some of their best foundlers, and expert cannoners against the common enemy. The grand master not only promised the ambassador to comply, on his part, with his master's desire, but gave him a sight of all his land and sea forces ranged in battle array, and performing all the various evolutions and movements which are used in a real fight; and assigned him a squadron of 12 of his galleys to conduct him to Venetia, where the league was to be, and was accordingly, concluded. At his return, that republic took care to have him furnished with a good number of the best foundlers, gunsmiths, armourers, and other workmen, by whom that kingdom was quickly after supplied with complete trains of artillery, and an infinite quantity of other arms.

This embassy, however, brought the whole weight of the war upon the Perisan monarch; and Mohammed, having tried in vain, by fair means and menaces, to make him renounce his alliance with the Christian powers, turned all his forces against him, at the same time that it gave the rest of the league leisure to breathe, and suspended the Turkish sultan's design against the isle of Rhodes, long enough to give the grand master opportunity to make all proper preparations against him. The first thing he did was, to order every place in it, and all the other islands, to be examined by proper persons, and to have every one put in the best state of defence. He next convened a general chapter, for the reviving of the aient discipline, summong the payment of arrears, and the absent knights to the convent. The great commander d'Aubillon, now become grand prior of Averigne, proposed sundry additional fortifications to the old ones; which were accordingly set about under his direction, particularly two towers on the sea shore towards Simonia, and a third towards the little town of St. Martin.

All this while the grand master had languished near a year under a severe disease, and other infirmities of old age, which ended at length in a violent dropsey, and carried him off on the 8th of June, in the ninth year of his grand mastership.

He was succeeded, with the unanimous votes of the chapter, by the grand prior of Averigne, the famed Peter d'Aubillon, so often mentioned in this section for his extraordinary d'Aubillon skill in military architecture, and the many fortifications which had been made in all the islands depending on the order; and whose election was celebrated with the greatest rejoicings, fire-works, &c. on account of his great merit and signal services. Soon after his being chosen to that dignity, he caused the mouth of the haven to be shut up by a strong chain against the roving pirates; augmented the number of towers in this and the other islands, to prevent their frequent descents; and put such numerous garrisons in them, that, if any ventured to land, they might meet with a fitable reception. With the same view the castle of St. Peter, formerly built by the grand master Naiilac, on the coast of Cartia, for the security of the island Lange, and its fortifications, were repaired and augmented, and the fosse around it made much wider and deeper, so that the galleys and other vessels could enter the harbour with ease, and be at safety against the corsairs.
WHilst he was thus usefully employed, an ambassador arrived from Venice, to reclaim, in the name of that republic, the person of Riccio Martini, a Cypriot of high rank, and a zealous partizan of Charlotte de Luhignan, who had taken refuge in that island. The ambassador demanded that faithful gentleman in very proud, and even threatening terms; such as the grand matter had been so little used to, that the council were for sending him away without any answer; but d'Anubson, who foresaw the danger of disobliging the Venetians at so critical a juncture, so moderated theirs as well as his own remonstrances, by the prudent answer he gave him, that he sent him away satisfied, without delivering up the person under their protection, or incurring the resentment of the republic.

He had scarcely dimissed that ambassador, before he received another from the sub-basha of Lyca, a Turkish province in the neighbourhood of Rhodes; the pretence of it was, to treat about the redemption of Christian slaves, which that officer had in his hands; but the real intent of it was, to gain the best intelligence he could about the condition the island and order were then in. This did not, however, prevent the generous d'Anubson from entering into a negotiation with him, and the hopes of freeing so many brave captives from their chains prevailed so far upon him, above all other considerations, that he spares no fumus nor presents out of his own private purse to satisfy his avarice, and bring so desirable a treaty to a conclusion; so that he had the inexpriable pleasure in a little time to see a good number of them at his feet, thanking him in the most pathetic terms and behaviour for his generosity to them, and filling him their father, favour, and deliverer. To these, after he had embraced them one after another, he addressed himself in the following words: My dear children, it is to religion and our order that you ought to pay the grateful acknowledgments, and I doubt not but you will discharge them with your wonted bravery, in our mutual defence against Mohammed, our common enemy, who is hourly threatening us with a siege.*

This was not said without good foundation; for he had been apprized by his spies, of which he kept a great number, that the Venetians were on the point of privately concluding a peace with the Porte; on the other hand, he was apprized, that Hasian Caffan, worn out with age and fatigue, kept himself on the defensive, without undertaking anything against the Turks, whilst the Christian powers were engaged in most bloody wars against each other; from which he clearly foreflew, that Mohammed would hardly fail of attacking the isle of Rhodes by the following year. To be therefore prepared against all events, he first of all convoked, as usual on such emergencies, a general chapter at Rhodes; and, finding the number of his forces insufficient to defend the island, dispatched at the same time a general summons, directed to all the grand priors of the order, enjoining the knights to repair thither, with the arms and equipage suitable to their rank. Boso, an author frequently quoted in this chapter, being the only one who has preferred to us a version in Italian, from the original Latin, still kept in the archives of Malta, of this singular piece of rhetoric, our readers will not perhaps be displeased if we give them to understand, that it was couched in such pathetic terms as could not but inspire, as it actually did, every worthy member of the order with an emulous zeal to hasten to the defence of an island which was become the seat and glory of the order, and the bulwark of Christendom; insomuch that many of themifold or pledged their plate, furniture, and other valourables, to procure the necessary arms and equipage with all possible diligence, in order to be present at the general assembly in due time. Whilist his summons were thus dispersed over all parts of Europe, he was taken up with viewing in person every isle and fortrees in it, and supplying them with whatever was wanting towards their making a stout defence. His next care was, to fill up his magazines, arsenals, and other repositories, with all warlike necessaries for a siege; whilist pope Sixtus VI. was furnishing him with the most likely means for purchasing them, by the help of a jubilee published on that occasion, which brought immense fums from all parts into the public treasury, by the help of which he was enabled to make some considerable additions to the castle and other fortifications of the city.

Mohammed, vexed at his heart to find, by these vast preparations, that d'Anubson had got such an insight into his hostile views, and afraid lest they should produce some powerful league in Europe against him, thought fit to try how far that might be prevented by a pacific negotiation; but as his pride could not have brooked a refusall, if the first propofals came from him, he committted the management of it to his fon Zem, or Zizim, and his nephew Keloby, whose governments lay most contiguous to Rhodes, who employed a Greek renegade to carry a letter to the grand master, fraught with expreffions of efteeem and value for him and the order, and in the end inviting him to strike a peace with the Sultams, for which they offered their mediation. The Greek carried the letter accordingly; and, upon

delivering it to d'Aubusson, confirmed all the contents of it from his own knowledge, assuring him, that the sultan would readily grant him a peace on so small a condition as the tribute, or, if that term seemed too harsh, a present of 2000 ducats per annum, a thing which the Fene-
tians had not scrupled to agree to, to obtain the same favour.

To this the grand master, who was thoroughly informed of the artifice, answered, but in out-
that, as their order was subject to the pope, and obliged in many respects to several European princes, he could conclude nothing without their concurrence; but promised to consult them and his order about it, not doubting but they would all easily agree to it, provided that condition of a yearly tribute or present were set aside, as being of such a nature, that his knights could never submit to it. In the meantime, added he, it would not be at all expedient to make a short truce with the Porte, whilst I fend notice of this negotiation to the European princes, which will the more easily obtain their consent to it, as it will be a proof to them of the sultan's pacific disposition. This last article he artfully insinuated to gain time for his knights to reach the island before they came to a rupture; and the Greek, who was sufficiently impowered for it, concluded a treaty with him for a suspension of arms and free commerce, whilst the negotiation was carried on, which was soon after confirmed by a fresh embassy sent from the Porte. In this last step the proud sultan was no less politic and artful, as such an ambaissy, when known by the Christian powers, would most probably cool their zeal, and the prospect of an approaching peace retard the succours which they designed to send to Rhodes, as well as the diligence of the knights to hasten thither.

In the mean time the sultan of Egypt, who dreaded nothing so much as Mohammed's making himself master of Rhodes, by which he would become a nearer and more formidable enemy, dispatched one of his favourite ministers on an embassy to Rhodes, to renew the last treaty of peace with the grand master, which was accordingly done to the satisfaction and security of both sides. Much such another treaty was concluded with the king of Tunis, with this addition, that the order should, in case of need, be furnished from thence with 30,000 sacks of corn, without paying any duty.

All this while the knights arrived from all parts in great numbers; but as the grand master was still in expectation of many more, he thought fit to put off the chapter till the October following, when he opened it with great solemnity, and a most pathetic address to them, the substanct of which was to this effect:

"My generous brethren, the time is come, at length, wherein you may display your zeal and courage against the enemies of our commonwealth. In a war so holy and just, as this, Christ himself will be your chief, and will never abandon those who fight for his religion and glory. In vain doth the proud and impious Mohammed, who owns no other deity than his own power, threaten you with the total extirpation of your order: if his forces be superior in number to ours, they confit chiefly of abject slaves, who are dragged by main force, and expose themselves to the danger of death, merely to avoid a more safe one with which they are threatened by their officers; whereas I behold none among you, but gentlemen of noble and illustrious extract, and fully determined either to conquer or die, and whose valor and piety are a sure earnt of victory."

His speech was a kind of declaration of war against the Turkefs sultan, and was answered, as it well deferred, with the most unanimous and repeated assurances that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their religion; after which, they set about the most effectual means to carry it on with success. One of them was universally agreed on as the most conducive to prevent all differences between the commanders, and all other delays in their councils and measures; viz. to invest the grand master with the sovereign power, and with the sole command of the forces both by sea and land, at least till the threatening storm was happily allayed; but it was not, however, without great difficulty, and after the most earnest intreaties, that he was prevailed upon to accept of so dangerous a dignity: after which, his first care was, to nominate the most proper officers to their several posts, to demolish all the villas and houses of pleasure, and even churches, in the neighbourhood of their capital, to have all the graves and standing corn mowed down throughout the island, and to appoint their several duties to the inhabitants both of the city and country during the siege, and to make all proper preparations for a vigorous defence.

Whilst he was thus usefully employed, he had the pleasure to see a fresh supply of knights of the most illustrious families arrive daily from France, and other countries, to fight under his banner, all expressing an impatient desire to signalize themselves on this occasion against the enemy. At length the siege of the place was determined, and the con-

1 Vide ante. 2 Vide ante. 3 Bosio, & al. sup. citat.
Mohammed, or Michael Paleologus, a renegade Greek, of the imperial family of that name, now raised to the dignity of grand vizier, and who, to give the stronger proofs of his zeal against the Christians, had solicited that siege with uncommon ardour, and had caused the plan of the island, and all its fortifications, to be taken by three famed renegades, whom he sent thither for that end. The first of these was a native of Rhodes, who had ruined himself by his extravagance, and was forced to abandon the place; the second was the Greek renegado, who had brought some time before a letter from the prince Zuzim to the grand master; and the third one Francis Frapan, a German engineer, who had travelled through all those Christian countries which Mohammed designed to attack, and brought him exact plans of them, and now lastly that of Rhodes; and from these three it was, but more especially from the plan of the German, that Mohammed formed his own for the attack of the place.

The grand vizier Paleologus was immediately dispatched in a small fleet, with his other three renegades, to reconnoitre the place before the arrival of the grand army. By the 4th of December, he appeared before Rhodes, and landed some of his phalangia over-against the castle of Faris, who met with such a warm reception, that they were glad to regain their ships, after having left a good number of their companions. His next design was on the island of Zile, belonging to the order, where he found the inhabitants all housed, with their effects, in the castle, which was a strong fortres, and defended by a stout garrison. This he cannonaded eight whole days, till, thinking the breach insufficient to begin the assault, he mounted it at the head of his troops, and maintained the attack with great firmness, till he had seen the best part of his men lie dead at the foot of the wall, and himself forced to found a retreat. This gave him such a taste of the Rhodian bravery, as made him judge he should never gain the place without attacking it in due form; but as he had not a sufficient force for such an enterprise, and the weather was altogether unfavourable to him, he was obliged, after some further lofs, to raife the siege, and fail away for Phibso in Lycia, where was to be the grand rendezvous of the Turkish armada. Here he was forced to wait for it till the end of the following April, when it entered the mouth of the river Lycia, in full sight of the isle of Rhodes, which is not above eighteen or twenty miles from it. The watch on the top of mount St. Stephen's gave the first signal of its appearance; upon which d'Aubigny, accompanied with all his principal officers, went thither to take a view of it. It consisted of 160 large vessels, besides the feluccas, galleons, flat-bottomed and other transport-ships, on which were reckoned no less than 100,000 land forces.

This vast force no sooner arrived on the coasts of the island, on the 23rd of May, than the sea seemed quite covered with their vesels, and the air with their hideous shouts, and the thunder of their artillery, which kept a constant firing whilst the infantry was making towards the land. The cannon of the city was no less constant and brisk against them, whilst the knights fell out sword in hand, and went into the sea up to their girdles to oppose their landing, till, after a vast deal of bloodshed on both sides, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retire. The Turks then landed in vast crowds, and divers places, and quickly gained the mount called St. Stephen's, where being strongly intrenched, they summoned the city to surrender. The haughty refusel of the besieged was soon followed by some bloody skirmishes, after which the German engineer lately mentioned (and now the only one that was left of the three who had been employed by the grand vizier to take the plan of the city, advised him to bend all his force against the tower or castle of St. Nicholas; affuring him, that, if it was once carried, the city would soon be forced to surrender. His advice was followed, and a battery of three large pieces planted, which made a continual fire against it. The grand master, on his side, caused another to be raised in a convenient quarter, which returned their fire with the same vigour; all which was but a prelude to what ensued soon after, when the vast number and variety of the artillery which the vizier had brought came to be played against the place. That general, according to the German traitor's advice, ceased not plying that strong tower with the largest artillery, till he saw that fire which looked towards the town, and by much the weakest, fall to the ground, after having received near 300 cannon-balls, upon which he sent a good number of his troops to scale the breach; but here they met with such a stout opposition from the Rhodian knights, and such a bloody conflict ensued on both sides, that the grand master, who knew the importance of that fortress towards saving the town, came himself to defend it in person, and took his station on the most dangerous part of the breach, telling his officers, in a resolute tone, that that was the point of honour which belonged to the grand master of the order.

* Vide Aub., sup. citat.
Our prescribed limits will not permit us to enter into a particular detail of that siege, which would require more room than we can afford to this whole chapter; those who desire a more full account, may find it in the authors quoted in the margin; we may only observe here in general, that the contest was carried on with the utmost fury and bravery on both sides; that neither the extraordinary courage of the Rhodian knights, nor the many bloody repulses which they gave the enemy, nor the vast numbers of them which were cut off at every attack, could discourage the grand vizier, who stood in greater dread of the Mubammet's resentment than of the Rhodian arms, from pursuing the siege with the utmost fury and obstinacy. The loss of the German renegade, who had conveyed himself into the city as a friend was detected, and executed by order of the grand master, the frequent discoveries he made, that the besieged received continually fresh intelligence of every step he took, raised in him such suspicion of his officers, that he knew not who to trust to. The vigilance and indefatigable bravery of the grand master, who was everywhere, animated every thing, guarded against every advantage he gained, and defeated every stratagem he formed against him, joined to the ill success he had in almost every step, had such an effect upon him, that he was three whole days, after a bloody repulse, in a manner feeble and inactive, and awakened out of his lethargy by his fear and despair, and the discouraging news which the defeter brought him from the city. One came and told him, that the grand master had put all the women, children, and useless hands, in such a place of safety, and out of the reach of his engines and artillery, that he only spent all his force against empty houses; another informed him of some new wall, or other work, reared in one night, with incredible diligence, to which persons of every rank and sex put a helping hand, the very nuns coming out of their monasteries to assist the workmen with variety of refreshments. Others affured him, that the place had been so well floored with all kinds of ammunition and provisions, that its numerous garrison was not likely to need any supplies in hafte; whilst the continual firing which the besieged made upon him gave him an ample assurance that powder and shot were the least of their wants. All these mortifying reports were interwoven with such encomiums on the grand master's bravery and vigilance, that, despairing to gain the city whilst he commanded it, he sent thither two renegades, in the disguise of defeters, to take him off by word, poison, or any other means, and should find most willing. They, by the vehemency of their intercourse, made him believe, that he had not one of them been happily discovered, who, being put to the torture, confessed the whole design, and informed against his accomplice; upon which, they were both condemned to a suitable death; but were torn to pieces by the people as they were led to execution. This hellish project having failed him, he had recourse to another; viz. to get letters thrown into several parts of the city, fraught with the most insolent bravadoes and threats, extolling the power and clemency of the Turkisj sultan, and what happiness it would be for them to exchange the tyranny of the Rhodian order for the mildness of the Otoman government, and denouncing the most dreadful rage of fire and sword against them, if they refused the terms he now so generously offered to them.

These letters having met with the contempt they deserved, his next stratagem was that of embassy to the grand master, much to the fame purport, and in the same haughty style. The grand master, who wanted time to repair the dilapidations which the Turkisj artillery had made, turned that embassy into a conference, which was held on the skirts of the city ditch between one of the chief officers of the Turkisj army and the castellan of Rhodos. In this interview, the Turk appearing wholly divested of that fierce and haughty air which is natural to that nation, contented himself with exhibiting the order to avoid the dreadful effects of a general assault, and not let their valour, which, at such a juncture as this, would be justly termed rashnes, expose them, and such a vast number of harmless inhabitants, to the horrid slaughter and defolation which are the usual consequences of an untimely and too obstinate resistance, as this would infallibly be deemed by the conqueror. Will it not be even interpreted the highest inhumanity, if, after your walls and bulwarks are destroyed, your towers are levelled with the ground, and your ditches are filled with their dilapidations, you still persist in the fruitless defence of a heap of rubbish, which will cost our grand vizier but two or three hours to be master of? He concluded with begging of him to lay these things before the grand master, and to persuade him, by a wise and timely capitulation, to prevent the massacre of so many noble knights and guileles inhabitants, the prostitution and slavery of so many virtuous and honourable women, and other terrible consequences that attend the taking of a place with sword in hand.


\[b\] Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.
The history of Malta.

The grand master’s answer.

To this artful speech the grand master, who, tho’ designedly sly, yet was within the hearing of it, sent an answer to this effect, by the castellan abominated, that “the grand vizer had certainly been misinformed by his spies, with it to the condition of the place; and that if he thought fit to try the fortune of an a, he should soon find their want of walls and bulwarks supplied with such barriers as were told, no less blood to gain; and that if he had no such desire to surmount, he would find the city still strong enough, as long as it was def by a lot of knights, who were all of one heart and soul, had no other aim than the religion, and the honour and interest of their order, and to whom a nobtrempt of death gives a strength much superior to that of walls. However, if Mold, or his vizer, are inclined to peace, let them first remove their forces far enough, we will readily negotiate with them on such terms as are consistent with our religion; but, if otherwise, tell them, that we are ready to answer them in their way.”

This answer soon broke up the conference, and the Turkish confir went away much abashed at it; but the grand master soon found that it had quite aent effect upon several of the order, who began to complain to one another of the need firnment as they filled it, of the grand master, and to declare for an honourable conclusion, rather than sacrifice the rest of the knights and garrison to his obstinacy. cabals, which daily increas, came at last to his ears; upon which he sent for them to parole, and, as if he had no longer looked upon them as members of the order, intreacte term Brethren, he addressed them with that of Sirs. “Sirs,” said he to them, “I know you do not think yourselves safe enough in this place, one part is not quite fo blocke upp, but I may find means to facilitate your escape out of it: but,” addas a higher and more determinate tone, “if you stay with us, let me never hear a snore of capitulating, on pain of immediate death.” At these words they were all feller-ak, that they knew not how to answer a word to him; but, soon recovering elaves, they expresed the utmost remorse at their pusillanimity, and gave him the fronsiriances, that they would fight under him in defence of the place, to the last drop their blood. They accordingly behaved upon all occasions afterwards with such intrepidity, and such an emulous ardour to encounter the greatest dangers, as if now their aim was to wipe off the ignoble stain they had brought upon themselves, by the most g behaviour, or by a glorious death.

All this while, the haughty vizer, exasperated to the highegree at the answer which the grand master had sent to him, and ashamed to have fiers so disdainfully rejected, denounced death and destruction against the whole order, ordered a vast number of sharp spikes to be fixed at the head of his camp, resolved rave all that fell alive into his hands. The fire of the artillery began afresh, and wither fury than ever, everything was prepared for a most obstinate assaill, which was angly given at several parts of the city, to oblige the knights to separate themselves, and arrive on with such intrepid fury, that, in spite of all efforts of the order, they planed standards on the ramparts. This produced a new kind of combat, and obliged sieged to mount the falcatade against them, with the grand master at their head, who mot the ladder foremost of them all, with his half-pike in his hand. They met with an oblopposition from the Turks, but at length flew such numbers of them, that they were 1 to retire. These were immediately succeded by a corps of resolute janissaries, sent th by the vizer, with the largest promises to any that should kill the grand master. They found him out by his gilt armour, and twelve of them forced themselves up to him, at spite of the knights that surrounded him, gave him five wounds in different parts of his; which, however, the heat with which he defended himself did not permit him to feel the knights, who ran to his rescue, and faw him covered with blood, apprised him and begged him to retire; but found him determined to die honourably on that spot. Inspired the knights with new life; they fell with reddoubled fury on the Turks, cut in all that made head against them, and struck such a panic into the rest, that neither tharts nor intraities of the vizer could stop them from a most shameful flight. The Rh purified them with eager halfe, and laid vaft numbers of them dead on the ground: all being perceived by him, he was obliged to give up all for lost, and to make the speed he could to regain his camp, and soon after his shipping.

The victory thus happily secured, the grand master was convoy his knights, all over covered as he was with his own and the enemy’s blood, teathedral, where a 1 Dupuy, ubi sop. Caourin, p. 65, & seq. Bosio, Baudoins, l. vi. c. 12. Vertot, t. iii. i. vii. p. 325. & seq. solemn
af solemn thanksgiving was celebrated, which was concluded with the usual rejoicings. The grand vizier did not leave the island, till he had left behind him the most dreadful marks of his resentment, and keen the rest of his army commit the greatest ravages in it. At length being informed of the arrival of some ships from Spain, and afraid of being surprized by them, he reimbarked, and set sail with all possible speed for Constantinople. The grand master being informed of the great losses which the inhabitants and peasants of the island had suffered from the Turkish forces, ordered a sufficient quantity of corn to be distributed amongst them, to last them till the next harvest, and remitted their taxes for some years to come; and, in the same generous manner, rewarded all his surviving knights, in proportion to their merit and valour, from the greatest officer to the meanest soldier; after which

b they set about repairing the fortifications of the place with the greatest diligence, not doubting but that they would soon hear again from the haughty Turkish fleet.

He was not mistaken; for Mohammed, after the first transports of fury at the ill success of his vizier, whom he deplored, and sent prisoner to Gallipoli, declared publicly, that, as his arms were never fortunate but when he was at the head of them, he was determined to command them himself, on the next year, against that proud and obstinate order; and forthwith gave directions for making all necessary preparations against that time.

In the beginning of this year happened a violent earthquake, attended with frequent shocks, which greatly endangered the city and island, and was felt in all those belonging to the order, and those of the Archipelago. At Rhodes the sea broke out with such force that it laid the city ten or twelve feet under water. The first shock was felt on the 15th of March, the second, much more dreadful, on the 3d of May, followed by a violent twelfth rain, which swelled the sea, and caused the inundation above-mentioned. Several others were felt successively in that month; but the most dreadful of all did not happen till the 10th of December following, in the dead of the night. In this the inhabitants, men, women, and children, run out of their houses half-naked, and took refuge in grottos and caverns; many, who ventured to stay at home, were buried under the ruins of their houses by the violence of the shocks. Some churches, the grand palace, and some other public edifices, were terribly shattered, and the ground heaved and undulated in such a dreadful manner, that the Rhodians, who have a tradition that their island sprang out of the sea, imagined that it was going to sink into it again. The grand master, taking the advantage of the general conformation, set about reforming several great enormities which were crept in, by some new statutes and severe penalties.

Whilst he was employed in this, and in repairing the damages and dilapidations which the earthquake and the Turkish forces had caused in the island, he received a missive from prince Zizim, one of the late Mohammed's sons, whom his other brother Bajazet had lately defeated, and forced to seek shelter and assistance out of the Turkish dominions. This missive was to implore the aid and protection of the order, and a safe conduct from the grand master, which was readily granted, and a squadron of Rhodian galleys, under the command of Don Alvaro de Luna, was dispatched to bring him to Rhodes, where he was received with all honor.

e the marks of honour due to his birth and rank. The grand master himself, with a numerous retinue, went to receive him at the port, and conduct him to the palace prepared for him, which was that of the French tongue. In their march, D'Arbouillet, with his usual politeness, gave the prince the right hand, which he offered to decline, alleging, that it did not become an exile and captive to take the upper hand of his patron and protector; to which he obligingly replied, that captives of high birth claim the first rank everywhere, and only with his power was as great at Constantinople as at Rhodes. The grand master took care, during his stay, to entertain and divert him in the grandest manner he could, tho' he had all the reason to apprehend his brother's resentment would terminate in an insolent demand to have him delivered up, or, if he refused, in a declaration of war.

f whilst he was in this perplexity, there arrived an envoy from the governor of Lycia, Bajazet's a province parted from Rhodes only by a narrow channel, who was sent to treat about a commercial truce, but in reality to inform himself of what passed between the exiled prince and the order; which obliged him to prolong the negotiation as much as he could, notwithstanding the readiness with which the grand master, who saw through the artifice, threw to agree to it, and get rid of such a privileged spy. He had fiercely dispatched him, when a new one arrived with a letter from Ahmed, Bajazet's favourite prime vizier and general, to propose, as from himself, a negotiation of peace with his master, and with offers of his mediation, if the grand master agreed to it, and thought fit to send an embassy to Constantinople.

* Baudoin, I. vii. c. i, & al.
It was easy to conclude, from all these artful proceedings, that the prince fought only to have his rival dispatched by poison or the sword, or by any other way; for which reason the grand master made all the haste he could to dismiss those authorized ambassadors, with this answer, that he was ready to accept of the offer, provided nothing was mentioned or insinuated on of vafflage or intrigue. In the mean time, to prevent all treacherous attempts against the prince Zizim, the council, after several deliberations, resolved to send him safe into France. The grand master communicated the matter to him in such manner as easily gained his consent. Before his departure, he left two instruments in his hands, the one to empower him to treat with Bajazet about an accommodation with him, and by the other obliged himself, if ever he recovered his dominions, to observe a constant peace with Rhodet, to open a free commerce to all their vessels, and to release 300 Christian slaves. Both these treaties, signed and sealed by him, and still preferred in the archives of the island, bear date the 5th of the month Regeb, in the year of the Hejra 887, answering to our 31st of August, 1482. Soon after which he embarked for France, under the conduct of M. De Blintfoort, the grand master’s nephew.

Immediately after his departure, the grand master, according to his promise, dispatched two of his principal knights ambassadors to Bajazet, who received them with great marks of honour, and appointed Achmed above-mentioned, and Michael Paleologus, now recalled from exile, to negotiate the peace with them. The former of these was like to have broke up at once the conference, by his insinuating on a tribute, and telling the Rhodians, on their rejecting the bare mention of it, that his master would go himself to raise it at the head of 100,000 men. Upon which Paleologus was obliged to remind him, in the Turkish tongue, that the sultan had charged them to conclude a peace at any rate with them. This not only obliged him to defer from it, but furnished the Rhodian embassadors, one of whom underfooted that tongue, with a handle to insinuate upon more advantageous terms than they would otherwise have done, and to which both ministers were glad, in spite of their native haughtiness, to consent.

By these articles the grand master obliged himself to keep the prince Zizim in his hands, and under a sufficient guard of his knights; and that he should not deliver him up to any other prince, whether Christian or infidel, who might thence take occasion to give the sultan any disturbance. In consideration of which the Porte should cause 35,000 ducats to be paid yearly into the Rhodian treasury for his expence, and, over and above that sum, that he should likewise pay another of 10,000 ducats per annum to the grand master, as a satisfaction for the damages which the Turkisb forces had caused in the Rhodian islands. This peace being signed by Bajazet, was immediately dispatched by one of his chief ministers to Rhodet, to be ratified by the grand master; and the proud Achmed, who had loudly inveighed against the conditions, as dishonourable to the Porte, was soon after disgraced and put to death.

Bajazet, highly pleased with the peace, was not only punctual, but even before-hand, in the payment of the sums above-mentioned; but the grand master reaped neither comfort nor honour by it. The unhappy Zizim made loud complaints against him, as having agreed to that peace in open violation of the safe-conduct which he had granted him; and was deaf to all the palliatives which the Rhodian knights, who guarded his person, offered to him. What was still worse, many of those, who were no friends to the order, took occasion to throw the severest reflections against him, as having sold the liberty of a prince who had put himself under his protection, and, for the sake of an inconsiderable tribute, had engaged to become his gaoler, in favour of a tyrant, an irreconcilable enemy of the Christians, and, by that means, giving up the most favourable opportunity that could have been wished for of kindling a war in his dominions, which might have proved of the greatest advantage to Christianity. There are indeed two contemporaries, who have endeavoured to palliate this step of the grand master; the one by representing the advantages gained from it to the Christian powers in Europe, by the detention of that unfortunate prince, in such a light as shows him to have been more careful to wipe off that stain from the order, than about his own character, as an impartial historian; so that, according to him, it was no more than a chafing the leffer of the two evils. The other, a favourite minister of the grand master, by flately denying that ever any such safe-conduct was granted by him; and pretending that Zizim was no other than a prisoner of war, who might be therefore dispofed of according to the discretion of the perfon into whose power he was fallen. The misfortune is, that we have no contemporaneous authors to direct us to which of those two we ought to give the preference. However that be, pope Innocent VIII. was so far from censoring...
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a this politic step of the grand master, that he made pressing overtures to him for his nuncio to take himself the custody of the unfortunate Zizim, in hopes, as he pretended, that, if he had him once in his power, he could easily put an end to the wars that raged between the Christian princes, by uniting them in a strong league against Bajazet. D'Aubusson made several very just and strong objections against his proposal; on which, however, that pontif proved so inflexible, that he was at length obliged to send two of the principal knights of the order, one of whom was the vice-chancellor Castrafius, frequently quoted in this section, to treat with his holiness about delivering him up to him upon the most advantageous terms to himself and his order.

These two political knights, finding the pontif no less ready to grant, than they were to accept, so he obtained their consent, complied with him upon the following terms: That his holiness should not thenceforth take upon him to betow any commanderies to the prejudices of the tongues, or the seniory of the members. 2. That the goods and revenues of the order should no longer be included amongst the benefices which the popes had relieved in their own gift. 3. That in case Bajazet should withdraw the payment of the yearly sum stipulated for Zizim's maintenance, on account of this new treaty, the pope should supply that deficiency to the Rhobians, by suppressing the two orders of St. Lazarus and St. Sepulchre, and bestowing their revenue upon it, to prevent, says the pontif in his bull, that order, so useful and necessary to all Christendom, from sinking under the power of the infidels. Neither was the interest of the grand master forgot in this treaty, who, upon c the delivery of the prince by his two plenipotentiaries, was to be created cardinal, and his holiness's nuncio in the East, as he accordingly was by another bull, dated March 9th, 1488, or, according to others, 1489; a dignity little suiting that of a secular sovereign, much less that of the chief of a military order. Thus was that unfortunate prince bought and sold to the highest bidder by those religious brokers, from whom he hoped for protection; yet was all this vastly short of the treacherous and inhuman treatment which he met with from that pontif's immediate successor Alexander VI, who, a few years after, caused him to be closely confined in the castle of St. Angelo, and, for the sum of 300,000 ducats, which Bajazet engaged to pay him, ordered him to be privately poisioned, as we have shewn more at large in a former part.

d The grand master, at the news of that horrid treachery, flewed the most tender concern. D'Aubusson, for the unfortunate prince, though he dared not express his abhorrence against his murderers, who, instead of excusing the fact, sent his nuncio to require him to lend immediate word to Bajazet of the preparations which Charles VIII. of France was making against him. On the other hand, Charles sent him a letter, to invite him to come over, and consult with him about his designed expedition against the sultan; but he, who clearly forewove that the French monarch would soon have other work upon his hands, both in Italy and his own dominions, as it actually proved, neither regarded the invitation of the one, nor the orders of the other; for which that pontif gave him soon after such an earnest of his resentment, as made him and the whole order apprehend some farther attempts from him upon their privileges. For, about this time, the commandery of Novelles, and the rich priory of the pope in Catalonia, happening to be vacant, Alexander, by his own authority, as sole disposer, as he used the filled himself, of all such preferments, bestowed them on his worthless nephew Louis Borgia, right of the order. Hence they said, the adjustment of the order, was quickly prevaild upon, by their complaints, to interpose his authority in their behalf; which he did in so effectual a manner, that the pope was forced to submit, and forego his pretended right over their ecclesiastical preferences.

By this time the pope made so odious a figure in the world, and had raised to many enemies against him, that he thought it high time by some way to wipe off, or at least to take off the eyes of the world from the scandalous states which he had brought on his pontifical character. To this end, he ordered his nuncios to invite the Christian princes into a powerful league against the Turks, of which he designed to declare himself the chief. The grand master was not forgot in it, whom he promised to appoint generalissimo of this new crusade. The grand master, who had too much reason to suspect the pontif's sincerity, was much inclined to refuse the offer; but the council representing to him the discredite the declining such an invitation would be to the order, whose profession it was to embrace all opportunities of warring against the enemies of Christianity, joined to an obliging letter which he received from Louis XII, in which he acquainted him, that he had sent a small fleet to the Mediterranean, under the command of Philip of Cleves, who was expressly

ordered to obey and be directed by him in all things, did at length determine him to accept of that high post. He ordered accordingly a suitable number of large ships, galleys, and other vessels, to be equipped, and waited only for the arrival of those of the pope and French admiral. But this left, instead of following his instructions, sailed directly to the island of Metelin, and besieged the capital of it; but was soon obliged to raise the siege, after having sustained a considerable loss, both of his ships and troops, and forced to a shameful retreat into his own country.

Soon after this the grand master received the disagreeable news of it from Venice, and that he must no longer depend on the galleys which the pope had engaged to furnish, for that he had no more than two at sea, and they otherwise employed; so that he saw himself under the necessity either to carry on the whole war without any assistance but that of his order, or to let the league, which still subsisted, come to nothing. He chose the former, as the more honourable of the two; his fleet took the island of St. Mauro, whilst himself was using all his efforts in vain to spirit up the allied powers. The treacherous pontiff, thinking he had done enough to save his character, was now wholly taken up with enriching his nephew; whilst the other princes, after his example, were minding their own private interests. So that all the fruit that was reaped from this extraordinary league, besides the taking of the small island above-mentioned, was a considerable prize which Villagarat, who commanded the Rhodian squadron, made of some Turkish merchant-ships bound for Constantinople, richly laden, and which, after having defeated and dispersed their force, he brought safe to the haven of Rhodes.

To alleviate the grief which the ill success of this league, the treachery of the pope, and unfaithfulness of the allied Christian princes, gave him, which was still aggravated by other no less poignant cares, among which the scandalous encroachments which the ravenous pontiff made on the privileges of the order on one hand, and the luxury and effeminacy which reigned among the greater part of the Rhodian knights, were not the least, he spent the short remnant of his life in applying the most effectual means to work a thorough reformation, by reviving the ancient discipline. He began with an edict for banishing all the Jews from the Rhodian dominions, not only as enemies to the name of Christ, but as brokers and panders to the debauchery and luxury which he fret about to reform. The next was a kind of sumptuary law, by which he expressly forbid the use of gold, silver, and other tawdry ornaments, in the apparel, equipage, and furniture, of the order, under the severest penalties, in which he had the singular satisfaction to see such a general deference paid to his authority, that they seemed to be quite banished out of the island in a very little time. But this was greatly overbalanced by the mortification he received to see all the just complaints he sent to that voracious pontiff not only prove ineffectual, but even productive of fresh oppressions and encroachments; so that, oppressed with grief and cares, as well as old age, being now turned of fourscore, he fell into a deep melancholy, which carried him off on the 9th of July, in the 27th year of his grand mastership.

The chapter, to retrieve as much as possible the loss of so illustrious a chief, chose in his room Emeric d'Amboise, a person of no less noble a family, then grand prior of France, and residing in his priory, but who left it soon after to attend on the more pressing duties of his new dignity. Upon his arrival at Rhodes, his first care, to inform himself of the true state of the order, was to convocate a general council, to regulate the finances, and put the islands and fleet into a condition of opposing the common enemies, Bajazet and the sultan of Egypt, who had privately entered into an alliance against them. The former, who could never forgive the Rhodians the reception they gave to his brother, nor the great power they had at that time at sea, by which they daily enriched themselves at the expense of the Turkish and Egyptian commerce, which was in some measure ruined by their galleys, no sooner saw himself out of danger from that formidable rival, than he ordered his corsairs to make frequent descents upon all the islands belonging to the order, and commit any other hostilities against them. As for the Egyptian prince, he was not only a great loser by them in the article of commerce, but was no less annoyed by the proverbs which the Portuguese had made on the coasts of the Red Sea, and in many other parts of the east; but as his country afforded no timber for building a sufficient number of ships to make head against two such naval powers, he was obliged to have recourse to Bajazet, who by this treaty allowed him the liberty of buying merchant and other vessels at Constantinople, and of cutting trees in the forest near mount Negro, along the bay of Anzoz, for the construction of others. In consideration of which, he obliged himself to furnish the Turkish sultan with a powerful fleet for the besieging of Rhodes.

WHilst these preparations were carrying on, Bajazet sent out a numerous fleet, consisting of a great variety of galleys, and other vessels, commanded by the famed corsair Gamall,
Chapter 7. The History of Maltah.

a. with orders to fail to the islands belonging to the order, and to put all to fire and sword. But the grand master, who had his spies even in the heart of the feraglio itself, having had time sufficient to repair every fortification, and to put into every place a sufficient number of forces, commanded by some of the bravest knights of the order, those invaders met with such a hot reception where-ever they landed, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces, without being able to succeed in any of them. The grand master, at length, having gathered up the shattered remains of his forces, made his last attempt upon the island, or rather barren rock, of Lindo, guarded only by a castle and a small garrison, which he laid siege to. The governor, an old officer, being then confined to his bed, committed the defence of it to a young Piedmontese knight, named Simonis, scarcely 18 years old, who, after

b. returning their brilk fire for some time, observing that their cannon had beat down some part of the wall, immediately ordered all the inhabitants of the island, who had retired thither, both men and women, to appear upon the breach with the white crosses of the order upon their breast, and their weapons in their hands, whom Gamali and his men took for so many Rhodians that had landed there in the night to the assistance of the garrison; so that fear of being surrounded by the Rhodian galleys made them raise the siege with the utmost precipitation, and betake themselves to their ships, and to a shameful flight.

Presently after this, the foltan of Egypt having, pursuant to his treaty, sent out seven armed galleys to make a descent on the island of Lango, the two first who were sent to reconnoitre it were discovered from the castle; upon which the governor dispatched two
galleys out of the haven, which, fetching a compass about, came so suddenly upon them, that they had no other way to escape than by landing on the coaft, and hiding themselves in the island; upon which the Rhodian galleys towed the two galleys along, and, having put some of their own soldiers and sailors in them, under two knights of the order, followed the same route with the other five, and fell upon them as soon as they had joined them. Their surprize was increased, when they beheld from behind a creek the two Rhodian galleys ready to surround them. They defended themselves briskly for some time, but being forced to surrender, were immediately put in irons, and carried prisoners to Rhodes. These two

A rich carack

taken by the Rhodians.
dafratagem were followed some time after by a more considerable one, against a monstrous large carack that failed yearly from Alexandria to Constandina, laden with the richest silks, spices, and other valuable merchandise, which the grand signor's subjects brought from the Red Sea. This vessel was of such height, that the main-mast of a Rhodian galley hardly reached its prow. It was seven stories high, and its mast so thick, that three men could scarcely embrace it. It carried, besides its freight, merchants, and other necessary sailors, between 900 and 1000 soldiers for its defence; and was called, on account of its vaft bulk and rich lading, the queen of the sea. It had been attempted more than once by the Rhodian galleys in the late grand master's time, without success. This did not discourage the present one from trying his fortune against it, as soon as he was apprized of its being at sea. He committed the expedition to an expert and brave knight, named Gafineau, who commanded the first man of war belonging to the order, and was directed
e to attempt it rather by fratagem than force, but to avoid the burning or sinking of it.

Gastineau, according to his instructions, sailed directly towards the island of Candia in quest of it, and soon after came in sight of her. The Saracen, who commanded the carack, made not one single motion to shun him, but seemed rather insulting to come full in his way. As soon as they were got near enough to one another, the Rhodian sent one of his officers in his long-boat to sumon him to surrender; to which the Saracen haughtily answered, that the vessel belonged to the fultan his master; that he had had it several years under his command, and had never before met with, in any of those seas, an enemy bold enough to send him such a challenge; that he had on board a vaft multitude of brave Moftems, who would hazard their lives in defence of it. Gafineau, having received

this answer, dispatched the officer back with this reply; that he was likewise commanded by his grand master to come thither and attack him at all hazards, and he was obliged in honour to obey; and that if he did not immediately surrender, he would either burn or sink him without any further ceremony; but that if he yielded, he would give them quarter. The Saracen, affronted at this second message, bid him go back; and threatened him, that if he came again on that errand, he would order him to be thrown into the sea.

The Rhodian commander, by all these intermeffages, only meant to amuse him till he had got him within cannon-shot, by which time he gave the carack a broadside with his cartridge guns, which, among other mischief, killed the Saracen commander; at which the merchants, officers, and all that were upon deck, were so dismayed, that they made a signal to surrender, before he could think about to give them a second. The Rhodian knight ordered the most
considerable of them to come into his galley, whilst he sent a sufficient number of his soldiers and mariners into the carack to take care of her. When they came to examine her cargo, they found it immensely rich; for, besides the merchandise she was freighted with, she carried a large quantity of money, gold, silver, jewels, &c. to redeem which, as well as his own subjects, the sultan sent an equivalent in spices, rich stuffs, and other valuable commodities. Not long after this the Rhodian galleys made a considerable new prize, near the isle of Cyprus, of three Saracen merchant-men, which were sent with their lading into Francia, and there exchanged for cannon, arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores.

All this while the subjects of Gauri Compton, sultan of Egypt, had been cutting down timber in the woods adjacent to the bay of Zjazzar, in order to build therewith a new fleet of ships, as we lately hinted. As soon, therefore, as he was informed of their being ready for his purpose, he sent out a fleet, consisting of twenty-five vessels of different bulks, to fetch them away. The grand master was soon informed of their arrival in that bay; and, with the advice of his council, dispatched the great carack, attended by four galleys, to go and attack them; and as the designed Egyptian armament was partly intended against the king of Portugal, the Rhodian galleys were put under the command of a knight of that nation, named Andrew Amoral, a gentleman bold and brave indeed, but proud and confident. The rest of the vessels were committed to the care of Villiers de l'Isle Adam, since grand master, a knight not inferior to him in courage, but more cool and circumspect. But when both were joined at the place of rendezvous, at the cape of St. Andrew, on the east coast of Cyprus, the Portuguese admiral was for going to attack the enemy in the very bottom of the bay, and the other for staying till their vessels were laden, and got in full sail. The contest would have riven to a dangerous height, if the latter had not yielded to the former, and set sail with him to the gulf. The Saracen commander no sooner espied them entering, than he cau'ed all the men that were on shore to come on board, and sailed away to meet them; but the Rhodians, having got much better pilots with them, had gained the wind of the enemy before the onset began. It proved a very fierce one on both sides, during the space of three whole hours, till the Rhodians, vexed at the obstinate opposition of the enemy, as well as the loss of so many of their own ships, and men, agreed to board them at once; which was done with such vigour and bravery, that the Saracens, no way equal to them in this close way of fighting, abandoned their vessels, by throwing themselves, some into their long-boats, and others into the sea, and happy were they that could gain the shore, where they sought for shelter in the woods. The admiral was the only one that dared to flound his ground, and preferred dying sword in hand to a shameful flight. The refit was, that the Rhodians took 11 sail, and four galleys, and sunk all the rest. They next landed some forces to pursue the fugitives, many of whom they killed and took prisoners; after which, they fell to ravaging the country about, from whence they brought home considerable plunder before they left the bay. With all these prizes they set sail for Rhodes, and entered the harbour with the usual signals of joy, and a booty which sufficiently repaid all the expense of that expedition. The grand master ordered great rejoicings to be made both in the city and islands, and dispatched the news of it to the several courts of Europe, and all the priories of the order, intreating the one, and enjoining the other, to send him fresh supplies of men, money, and arms, with all speed, there being so much cause to suppose that the sultan would not let such an affront go long unrevenge.

The grand master employed the short remainder of his life in repairing the fortifications under his government, and died on the 13th of November, in the 78th year of his age, and the 8th of his grand mastership. He was succeeded by Gey de Blanche-Court, nephew to the late Peter d'Aubjou, grand prior of Aversy, to whose custody the unfortunate Zizim had been committed upon his going to France. Whilst the news of his election were hastening thither to him, the chapter received a bull from pope Julius II. now in the chair, and a peron of most ambitious views, inviting them to assift at the council of Lateran, the guard of which he designd to commit to them. But they, being well apprised how little religion was concerned in the measures of that pontiff, excused themselves from complying during the absence of the grand master, and only ordered their admiral Caretti, then residing at the court of Rome, to convokc as many knights as he could in Italy to perform that office under his command. Neither was this a proper time for the head of the order to be attending the pope and council, when they were threatened with a powerful invasion from the Porte; so that Caretti, instead of staying to attend the council, obtained leave of the pope to repair with his knights to Rhodes with all possible speed, carrying thither two vessels laden with corn.

The grand master, on his part, being likewise apprised of Bajazet's vast armament, made all the haste he could to reach the island, though at that time dangerously ill, inomuch
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that the knights, who embarked with him at Nice, finding him to grow still worse, would have perfused him to land in Sicily, and stay there till he was recovered: which he utterly refused, and expired by that time they were come to the height of the ille of Zanzib. When he found his last moments approaching, his first care was to have a caravel to row to Rhodes with all possible fees, to carry the news of his death, before the court of Rome could have notice of it, lest the pope should take upon him to appoint him a successor. He the grand master died on the 24th of November, and the vessel arrived at Rhodes on the 13th of December, for his res in his way to Rhodes, and on the very next day the chapter proceeded to a new election, in which the choice fell unanimously on Fabricius Caretti, lately mentioned, a gentleman who had greatly signified himself in the last siege of Rhodes, and to whom the great d'Ahlfsen had in some measure foretold his advancement to that dignity.

His first care, after his election, was to assemble a general chapter in the island, in order to make all possible preparations for the approaching siege; soon after which, he caucused Philip Villers de l'isle Adam, as his lieutenant and victor in that kingdom. The war with which they were threatened was however suspended for some time, through the diffusions which happened among Bejuzet's sons, of which we have given a full account elsewhere. Selim, his youngest, having got the power into his hands by the murder of his two brothers, carried his arms into Pesia with such successes and valour, that the sophi was obliged to make an alliance with several other powers, and in particular with the grand master and the folan of Egypt, to both of whom Selim was become equally formidable. The conjunction of which league was, that Selim, after several vain attempts to bring the latter off, bent his whole force against Egypt, and in less than four years made himself master of Syria, Palmyra, part of Arabia, and the whole kingdom of Egypt, by which a final end was put to the Mamluc dynasty.

The grand master soon received intelligence of the naval preparations which Selim was making, and rightly judged that they were directed against Rhodes, they consisting of battle against no less than two hundred galleys, which he ordered to be equipped with all expedition. As he had, at his election, accepted of the sole management of the treasury, he spared no cost to put himself in the best posture of defence. He added some new fortifications to the city and haven, filled his arsenals and magazines, and took all other proper precautions against the enemy. But whilst he was thus employed, a Jew, whom Selim had hired for his purpose, and who, to put himself in a more effectual condition to serve him, had turned Christian, and been baptized at Rhodes, was sending him the news of every thing that was done there, and of all the weak places in the island, which, by his insinuation with the most considerate perfons of the city, he had frequent opportunities to examine.

In the mean time Selim died, and was succeeded by his only son Seliman II. then scarcely 20 years of age, which gave an encouragement to Gazella, governor of Syria, to revolt from him. As he was in great want of some artillery, he had recourse to the grand master for a supply; to which Caretti readily consented, and sent him a great quantity of powder, ball, and other ammunition, together with some of his expert engineers, of all which he made singular good use at the head of his Mamlus, till, being at last overpowered by numbers, he loit at once the battle and his life. Seliman's ministers, after this victory, failed not to exasperate him against the Rhodians, who, they told him, had affluated that rebel with artillery and ammunition, were sworn enemies to the Porte, and held a vast number of his bravest partizans in chains. But what chiefly determined that prince to Seliman declare war against Rhodes, was, the informations which his father had left him in writing; among which was found an exact account of the state of the island, as it had been communicated to him by the Jewish spy lately mentioned.

Whilst, therefore, he was making all these vast preparations against the grand master, the latter was no less diligent in providing all things for a vigorous defence; and, as he had taken care betimes to secure the assistance of the pope, and some other Christian powers, he gladley law arrive at his port three galleys well armed from the pontif, nine from France, together with four brigantines, and as many armed barks, under the command of the baron Blauward, which failed away, however, homeward, soon after, upon the news that Seliman was going to besiege Belgrade. We have elsewhere spoken of that siege, and the loss of that important place; which, whilst it was carrying on with the utmost fury, Caretti was attended with the death of the grand master, who, worn out with age and fatigues, and now with concern and grief, departed this life on the 10th of February, in the beginning of the 8th year of his government. The present state of affairs obliging the order to proceed with all diligence to the election of a successor, to which there appeared a greater number of competitors than usual, the choice would in all likelihood have fallen on Andrea d'Amaral, grand chancellor of the order, and prior of Càfete, a perfon in all other respects.


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Book XXII.

refrains well qualified for that dignity, had not his assuming behaviour on that occasion quite disgusted the electors, and induced them to give the preference to Philip Villiers de Fife Adam, a person of great merit, and at that time absent from Rhodes. The application which the rest of the order gave to his election threw the haughty Amarald into such excesses of resentment and perfidy, that he could not forbear telling a Spanish knight, his intimate, that "Philip Adam would be the last grand master of Rhodes," as he really proved, through the vindictive perfidy and bafeness of that exasperated Spaniard. The method that traitor took to pervert his most hellish design, as Boso informs us, was as follows:

Having secured a young Turkish slave to his interest under the hopes of regaining his liberty, he sent him privately to Constantinople, with a letter to the grand signor, in which he gave him the most minute account of the condition of Rhodes, with respect to its fortifications, arms, garrison, provisons, &c. to all which he added, that the order was just then going to pull down the bastion of Avorgne, in order to have it rebuilt upon a former foundation; so that now was his time for executing his design upon that city, seeing he would find it quite uncovered and defenceless on that side. The sultan was still in Hungary, so that the young Turk was obliged to deliver his packet to the prime minister, who caused it to be dispatched to his master. Soliman, beyond measure pleased to find so powerful a privileged slave offering him his services, sent back his slave with the highest promises of gratitude. His treacherous master, to avoid all suspicion, gave out, that he was come back with the price of his ransom, and cared for him after such a strange manner, as gave great uneasiness to some of his order, who yet dared not let it break out for fear of his resentment, especially as the grand master was not yet arrived from France, where he had been procuring all the succours he could get against the approaching war.

He went at length on board the great carack of the order, which waited for him at Marsilles, when, through the carelessness of some of his servants, the vessel took fire soon after, and burnt with such vehemence, that the sails, cordage, &c. were all consumed, and nothing was talked of but abandoning it, and getting into some of the other vessels of his retinue. This was however forbidden under pain of death, and his orders so strictly obeyed, that the fire was soon after quite extinguished, and the ship preferred by those who were for abandoning it. This disaster was quickly followed by a more dreadful and irresistible one, viz. a flash of lightning which fell into the stern room, killed nine of his men, and shattered his sword in pieces without hurting the scabbard; which, by those of the meaner sort, was interpreted as a very threatening omen to the order, and obliged him to stay at Scutari till his carack was refitted. In the mean time news were brought to him there, that the famous Carigli, a famous corafl of the grand signor, lay in wait for him at the head of a powerful squadron. Great endeavours were used to dissuade the grand master from encountering so powerful and successful an enemy; he proved deaf to all their entreaties, and ordered his small fleet to make all the sail they could. They saw the enemy waiting for them at Cape St. Angelo, and passed by them in the dead of the night, and arrived safely at Rhodes, where his presence gave a kind of new life to the order.

Soliman, having by this time made himself master of Belgrade, and being resolved to follow his father's scheme of making his next attack on Rhodes, in order to put an end to their continual ravages at sea, and to all their future attempts on the Holy Land, had made all the necessary preparations for the siege, and appointed the several officers who were to command in it, when his ambassador arrived at Rhodes to congratulate the new grand master, and brought the following letter to him:

"SOLITAN Soliman, by the grace of God, king of kings, &c. To Philip Villiers de Fife Adam, grand master of Rhodes, greeting:

"We congratulate thee on thy new dignity, and safe arrival in thy dominions. I wish thou mayest reign in them even with more glory than thy predecessors. Thou hast in thy power to share in our good-will, and to enjoy the effects of our friendship. As a friend, therefore, to us, be not one of the last in congratulating us upon our conquests in Hungary, and particularly on our reduction of the important city of Belgrade, where we have caused all our opposers to be put to the sword. Adieu."

"From our camp," &c.

This letter having been read in council, the grand master returned an answer to it, to this effect:

"Philip Villiers de Fife Adam grand master of Rhodes,
"To Soliman, sultan of the Turks:

"I thoroughly comprehend the meaning of the letter which thy ambassadour hath brought to me. Thy proposals of a peace between us are as welcome to me as they will"
This letter was sent, not by an ambassador, or person of rank, who might have been detained prisoner at the Porte, the Turks not being very scrupulous observers of the laws of nations, but by a private inhabitant of Rhodes. This sufficed, however, to let the sultan know what a brave and resolute order he had to do with; but as it did not answer his purpose, Pyrrus, an old experienced basha, advised the council to send the grand master word, that they had not dared to shew his letter to Seliman, on account of the meanness of the person that brought it; but that, if he was inclined to listen to his peaceful proposals, it might be speedily brought to a conclusion, if he sent some proper person of the order ambassador to him. The view of that artful minister was in all likelihood to have extorted by that means a more perfect knowledge of the state and strength of that city from him; for which reason that proposal was rejected.

It was not long before another messenger arrived at Rhodes, with a new letter from that monarch, but in a very different style, and little short of a declaration of war; it was to this effect:

"I am well assured that the letter which your highness sent to thee came into thy hands, His second and second; and that it hath given thee more uneasiness than pleasure; assure thyself, that I am far threatening from fitting still with the reduction of Belgrade, and that I have another in view no less letter to thee; considerable and important, of which thou wilt be apprized in a little while, thou and thy knights being feld out of my thoughts."

To this the grand master answered in words to this effect:

"I am not at all displeased that thou bearest me and my order in thy mind. Thou tellest His brave me of thy conquest in Hungary, and of another which thou designest to make elsewhere, answer to it.

in which thou promisest thyself an equal success; but consider seriously, that of all the projects which men are apt to form, none are more uncertain than those which depend on the fortune of war. Adieu."

To this he added a private one to Pyrrus, assuring him, that if his master entertained any pacific views, he would not delay sending one of the order on an embassy to the Porte, as soon as he was provided from thence with proper hostages, or a safe conduct signed with the imperial seal: but the next news he heard from thence was, that they had seized a brigantine belonging to the order, which he looked upon as a sufficient declaration of war, and that about making the most proper preparations against it, by furnishing the city with all kinds of necessaries, particularly by laying up vast quantities of wheat, wine, and oil, from Naples and Sicily, and causing all the grain and forage to be gathered in, that the enemy might have nothing to subsist on but what they brought.

Here again the treacherous chancellor betrayed his perfidy, by opposing all these wife D'Amiral's precautions, under divers pretences, such as parfimony, and the danger of exhausting the treachery, public treasure, by buying up such quantities of stores before they were sure of their being wanted; and by endeavouring to persuade the council, that Seliman would never have sent such a threatening letter, if his vaft armament had been really designed against Rhodes; though the letters which they had from their spies at the Porte assured them, that the siege of that capital was the only object of it. And happy it was that the grand master carried his point against him, or else they must have been reduced to the want of the most essential necessaries, by the vile means which this false brother took to elude all his precautions. Wine, in particular, for proper in a siege, was what D'Amiral took upon himself to provide, in such quantity as was agreed upon by the council; yet he was bafe enough to reject the offers of some merchants who engaged to bring him that supply in good time at a reasonable rate; and was still complaining, that the vain apprehensions which they frequently entertained of imaginary invasions from the Turks had proved more chargeable, and done more real damage to the order, than all their arms could have done; which obliged the grand master to send Bofio (a serving brother, and uncle to the knight of that name, who often quoted in this chapter) into Candia for it, who returned accordingly soon after which a considerable
supply. He was at the same time ordered to raise what recruits he could in that island; but on finding that the governor had, out of fear of disobligeing the grand signor, forbidden, by found of the trumpet, any Cannibals lifting in the Rbidden service, he was obliged to act more cautiously in it; yet, either with his connivance, or in spite of his vigilance, he not only got 500 into his galleys, under the diligence of merchants and sailors, but prevailed upon one Gabriel Martinengo, an excellent engineer, whom the senate of Brescia had lent thither to take care of the fortifications, to go with him to Rodies, and share in the glory of defending that place against the enemies of Christianity; and who proved afterwards, by his valour and skill, of excellent service to the order during the whole siege, as we shall see in the sequel.

Upon his arrival, the grand master, and the rest of the knights, being told by Bepo what readiness he accepted of their invitation, and what dangers they had undergone in their flight from Candia, loaded him with cares; and he soon after became so enamoured with their order, that he begged to be admitted, and was gladly received, into it. Immediately after this he had the superintendency of all the fortifications committed to him; and it was by his advice, as well as by his direction, that the ramparts were raised to a more convenient height, the gates defended by ravelins, new cafemans built in the lanes of the bastions, and the countercaur of the ditch, and other improvements were added, of a most exquisite contrivance to keep off an enemy, or crush him on his too near approach, which we have not room to enumerate.

Whilest these measures were carrying on, a new defection was hatched among the knights of the Italian tongue, whose preferments the pope (Adrian VI.) bestowed upon his favourites at Rome, whilst they were taken up in the defence of the island, on which account they begged leave to go into Italy, and lay their complaints before the pontiff. As their request was altogether unfeasable at such a juncture, the treacherous d'Amalfi, who had perhaps the greatest hand in it, failed not to interpret the grand master's refusal as arbitrary and unjust, and as a mark of his disfavour for the Italians, which deferved to be equally disfavourd by them, especially as there was such probability that he raised these rumours of an approaching siege, merely that he might be at liberty to squander the public treure as he thought fit among his French favourites. The poison worked just as he wished; and, without asking any further leave, they all withdrew to the isle of Candia, where they had d soon after the mortification to hear that the grand master had got them to be publicly condemned as rebels and defectors, and to be degraded and cast out of the order. But as the defection of so many, otherwise wise, knights, could not but be a sufficient loss to it, some others were forthwith dispatched thither, to try all proper means to reduce them; and to let them know, that as their city would infallibly undergo a dreadful siege in a short time, all their other pretences would never prevent their flight being interpreted as a mark of cowardice. This quickly brought them back to the feet of the grand master, who, upon their submission, readily embraced and restored them to their dignity and respective posts.

Their return, and the defile they expressed to wipe off the stain of their defection by their future conduct, were the more acceptable to him and the whole order, as all his amities to the European powers for assistance had proved abortive; and they plainly perceived that Rhodos was not likely to have any other defenders than those of the order. This induced them to make a general review of all his forces, which were found to consist of no more than 500 knights and about 4,500 troops, besides a few companies of the Rhodian citizens, and the peafants of the island, who were appointed to serve as pioneers. As for the slaves, those who belonged to private persons were to be employed in the fortifications, whilst the Rhodian cruisers, who were all ordered home, were directed to flout themselves in the port, and to take the guard of it upon them. Besides these, the port was defended by a double chain, one of which went across the mouth of it, and the other extended itself from the tower of fort St. Nicholas to that of the Mills; and, in order to prevent the enemy's attempting the mole, as they had done in a former siege, a number of old vessels were sunk, laden with stones, at the mouth of the Mandrake. The battions, walls, and ramparts, were likewise filled with artillery, fire-balls, large stones, and other warlike necessaries, among which the provident master did not forget a miraculous statue of the Virgin Mary, which had been brought in a former siege from the chapel where it formerly stood, and placed upon the ramparts, and which he caused now to be fetched in solemn procession, and deposited in the church of St. Mark. We have dwelt the longer on these preparations, to which we might have added many other particulars of less moment, which the writers of that siege have thought worth recording, to shew, that nothing was neglected by the grand master to put that capital in the best condition of defence against so powerful an enemy.
We come now to the fatal siege, in which Solomon spared neither stratagems nor forces; for, being full doubtful about the intelligence which d'Amiral and the Jacobi physician had given him, one of his first cares was, to be more effectually informed of the state of the city; and, whilst the grand master was taken up in assigning to his knights their proper posts, the Turks were making frequent signals by their fires at night on the Lycian coasts; over-against Rhodes; to reconnoitre which, a Rhodian, named Jaci, who understood the Turkish tongue, was dispatched in a small gale, who, coming to them under pretence of inquiring after some merchant-men, was to get the best information he could concerning the enemy's fleet. Jaci refusing to go on shore to them, unless they sent a proper hostage for his own security, a man richly dressed was forthwith sent into his ship; but no sooner

b was he got to land, but they bound him hand and foot, and sent him with all expedition to Constantinople, where, after having foul against the vaft promisés of the sultan, he was put to the rack several days successively, till he expired under it, tho' not before they had extorted from him a full account of the strength and condition of the city, and particularly that the Rhodian forces consisted of no more than about 6000 men.

As soon as Solomon had received the particulars of his deposition, he sent orders to have every thing ready for siege; but, according to the rule which he had preordered to himself, sent the grand master and knights of the order a declaration of war, in words to this effect: "The continual ravages which you commit against our faithful subjects, and the injury and affront which your forces thereby offer to our imperial majesty, oblige us to send you our express commands to deliver the island and fortresses of Rhodos to us; which, if you readily consent to, I swear by the great Maker of heaven and earth, by the twenty-five thousand prophets, the four mulaphi fallen down from heaven, and by our great prophet Mohammed, that you shall be permitted to quit the island, and the inhabitants to continue in it, without the least injury to either; but if you delay your orders, my orders, you will all be put to the sword by my invincible forces; and all the barracks, towers, and edifices, levelled with the grafs that grows at the foot of your fortifications."

This chartel was followed soon after by the whole fleet, consisting of 400 sail, whilst the army is laid to have amounted to 140,000 men, exclusive of 60,000 pioneers, brough
d from the mines on the frontiers of Hungary, Servia, &c. to serve at the siege. The council at first proposed the attack of the other islands before they came to that of Rhodos; but Pyrrhus, alias Peri, the bafhiri, who was the son of an expert renegade, and burnt with impatience to signalize himself on this occasion, resolved to lose no time about those islands, which would soon be reduced of course after the main one; and therefore proposed beginning immediately with the siege of the capital, which was unanimously agreed to.

As soon as the grand master was assured of their defign, he forthwith drew the greatest part of his forces out of those islands, to come and defend the city; and, that he might be more ready at hand to give his directions, he left his palace in the upper town, and came to reside near the church of Our Lady's Victory. The trenches were accordingly opened, e and a stout battery raised against the place, which was soon after dismounted by the cannon of the besieged; and this was presently followed by frequent sallies, in which they killed great numbers of the enemy, and filled up their trenches again. The same efforts and opposition were daily repeated, in which the very janizaries themselves found such a superiority of skill and extraordinary bravery in the Rhodian knights, beyond what they expected or had ever tried, that they began to draw a bad omen from these unsuccessful beginnings, and to complain that they were brought thither to a slaughter-house instead of a regular siege, and where they had no other chance but that of death or slavery, instead of plunder and conquest. This was soon followed by a general mutiny, in which they infomuch that he saw himself forced to apprize the sultan of it, and to assure him, that on nothing but his immediate presence could prevent a general defection.

Such disagreeable news soon determined the sultan to go and command the siege in person, in spite of all the remonstrances of his other baffins; but whilst he was making all the haste imaginable to his army, a woman slave had formed such a hellish plot against the place, as might have proved more destructive to it than the united force of 100,000 slaves' horrid conspiracy.

A female in Solomon's household, who was, to engage the slaves, who were in great number in the city, to set fire to it in several parts at once; she had moreover found means to acquaint the Turkish generals with her design, and the day and hour in which it was to be put in execution; but, by good providence, the plot was discovered, when some of the principal slaves con-

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cerned in it, being put to the torture, disclosed all the particulars of that horrid treason. 

The woman who had been the contriver of it was the only one who bore the most exquisite torture, without making the least discovery. She was, however, condemned and hanged, upon the evidence of the rest, and the others drawn and quartered, and their limbs exposed, in terrorem, in different parts of the city. By this time Soliman, having reached his camp, at the head of 15,000 of his best troops, which had accompanied him from Ly西亚, ordered the whole army to appear before him without arms or accoutrements, and caused them to be surrounded by those 15,000 men, whilst himself, on foot, mounted on his imperial throne, elevated high enough to be seen and heard by them all. Then looking about on all sides, with eyes and a countenance full of indignation, after a considerable silence, made them a long and reproachful speech, the substance of which was to this effect: "I could never have thought that those from whom I expected the greatest services, could have betrayed their want of duty on an occasion which they well knew I had much at heart. It is now near two hundred years since a familiar handful of knights, driven out of their homes, have perched themselves in this island, and have subsisted there chiefly by the rapine which they committed upon my subjects, through the neglect and indolence of my predece tors; and even now that the Christian powers in Europe seek my friendship and protection, and dread the power of my arms, this one single city, situate in the heart of my empire, hath the boldness to defy me, to stop the progress of my victories, to interrupt my commerce, intercept my messengers, rob me of my tribute, and receive into her havens all the enemies of our faith, and all the apostates from it. Even now, when I fend you my ungrateful subjects and slaves, who have reaped so many advantages, so much glory and rich plunder, under my government, to rid me of those miscreants, you dare not look them in the face; but because they have surfeited the pioneers who opened the trenches before you, both janissaries and Ishbaids, bred up under my standards, are afraid of returning the affront, to the shame and disgrace of my empire. What can I say to such base cowards, and betrayers of my glory? or what can you expect from me but the most dreadful strokes of my indignation and contempt?"

"HAD I been now to address myself to soldiers, I should have ordered you to appear armed before me; but since I am to speak to base degenerate poltroons, unable to bear even the mere shouts of an enemy, how can I suffer my arms to be dishonoured by you? I would gladly know whether, when you were sent against this island, you hoped to find those Rhodian knights still more pusillanimous than you, and that the dread of your arms would make them lay their own at your feet, and offer their hands and feet to the fettlers you designed for them? Ignorant wretches! not to know that you were to encounter the choicest forces of Christendom, men naturally brave, and brought up from their tender years to the trade of arms; cruel and rapacious lions, thirsting for nothing so much as for the blood of the Mohammedans, and scorning to yield their haunt to any but a superior force. It was their valour which hath excited mine, and made me look upon them as a conquest worthy of my arms. But how can I expect it from such effeminate fugitives as you, who could flee even before you saw the enemy; and would ere now have turned defectors, had you not been hindered from it by the fear that surrounds you? But, to avoid such a shameful disgrace, I will now make such a severe example of those wretched cowards, as shall be a sufficient deterrent to the rest to follow their steps."

This dreadful speech was scarcely ended, before the 15,000 armed men had a signal to draw their scimitars, as if it had been to massacre the rest; upon which they all fell on their faces, crying out for mercy in the most doleful tone; whereupon Peri, or Pyrrhus, and the other generals, approached the throne with the deepest respect, and interceded for them, as having till this time behaved with a laudable loyalty and bravery. After which, the sultan, who only fought to reduce them to their duty, was graciously pleased to tell that general, that at his request he would suspend their punishment, till they had earned their pardon by seeking it in the battlements and bulwarks of their enemies. This stratagem, and seeming severity, mixed with so much clemency, had such an effect upon them, that their greatest strife was, who should soonest be dispatched upon the most dangerous attempts; so that we may from that time more properly reckon the siege of Rhodes to have been begun than renewed.

It was accordingly carried on with such diligence and zeal, by the frequent relieving of the sordidiery, that the tresses were brought quite close to the counterfarp, and a stout battery railed against the town, which made a constant fire against it, and yet did but as it were..."
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were graze, rather than damage, the battlements of the walls, of which Soliman failed not to be informed by his spy the Feildey physician. This traitor farther acquainted him, that the besiegers could see all that was done in his camp from the top of the treetop of St. John, from whence he was in danger of receiving some fatal shot, as he rode about to give his orders, if he did not forthwith plant a battery, and bring it down; which was done accordingly with success. Soliman, however, finding the whole place in some measure covered with stout fortifications, of such height as to command all his batteries, ordered immediately an immense quantity of stones and earth to be brought in, in which so great a number of hands were employed night and day by turns, that they quickly raised a couple of hillocks, high enough to overtop the city-walls. They pried them accordingly with such a continual fire, that the grand master was obliged to cause them to be strongly propped within with earth and timber. All this while the besieged, who, from the top of the grand master's palace, could discover how their batteries were planted, demolished them with their cannon almost as fast as they raised them.

Here they thought proper to alter their measures, and to plant a strong one against the tower of St. Nicholas, which, as we observed in speaking of the former siege, had resisted all the efforts of the then grand vizier. This the bastia of Romania caused to be battered with twelve large pieces of brafs cannon, but had the mortification to see them all dismounted by those of the tower; to prevent which, he ordered them to be fired only in the night, and in the day they had covered with gabions and earth. This had such success, that, after some 500 cannot shot, the wall began to shake, and tumble into the ditch; but he was surprised to find another wall behind it, well terraced, and bordered with artillery, and himself obliged either to begin afresh, or give up that enterprise; and yet this last was what Soliman preferred, when he was told of its being built on a hard rock, incapable of being tapped, and how firmly it had held out against all the efforts of the vizier Paleologus. The next attack was therefore ordered by him to be made against the bastions of the town, and that with a vast number of the largest artillery, which continued firing during a whole month, so that the new wall of the bastion of England was quite demolished, though the old one found proof against all their shot. That of Italy, which was battered by seventeen large pieces of cannon, was still worse damaged; upon which Martinengo advised the grand master, who was always at hand where the greatest danger was, to cause a fiery to be made on the trenches of the enemy, out of the breach, whilist he was making fresh entrenchments behind it. His advice succeeded; and the 200 men, that fell out sword in hand, having surpris the Turks in the trench, cut most of them in pieces. At the same time a new detachment, which was sent to repulse them, being obliged, as that engineer rightly judged, to pass by a spot which lay open to their artillery, were likewise mostly destroyed by the continual fire that came from it, whilist the auxiliants were employed in filling up several fathoms of the trench before they retired. By that time the breach had been repaired with such new works, that all the efforts to mount it by assault proved equally ineffectual and destructive.

Unfortunately for the besiegers, the continual fire they had made caused such a consummation of their powder, that they began to feel the want of it; the peridious d'Amaral, went powder, whose province it had been to visit the magazines of it, having amused the council with a false report, that there was more than sufficient to maintain the siege, though it should last a whole twelvemonth. But here the grand master found means to supply in some measure that unexpected defect, by the cautious provision he had made of a large quantity of saltpetre, which was immediately ground, and made into gunpowder, though he was at the same time obliged to order the engineers to be more sparing of it for the future, and to make use of it only in the defence of such breaches as the enemy should make. In the mean time the breach being informed that the peasants were employed by Martinengo in repairing those that were made on the ramparts, raised some cavaliers against them, on which he planted a great number of able marksmen, to shoot them with their arquebuses, against whom that engineer soon raised batteries of small cannon on the battlements of the houves, which made a much greater havoc among them; but this did not recompense the loss of so many useful hands, the enemy being better able to bear the loss of fifty such than they that of one; so that they now began to fear they should not be able to hold out much longer, unless they received some considerable succours from Europe, or the hardnefs of the approaching winter obliged the enemy to retire from the island.

All this while the Turks had not gained an inch of ground; and the breaches they had made were so suddenly either repaired or defended by new entrenchments, that the very rubbish of them must be mounted by assault. Soliman, therefore, thought it now advi-

- Busso, & al. sup. citat. Bouson Siege de Rhodes, p. 25, & seq.
able to set his numerous pioneers at work, in five different parts, in digging of mines, each of which led to the bastion opposite to it; some of these were countermined by a new-invented method of Martinesco, who, by the help of braced skins, or drums, could discover where the miners were at work. Some of these he perceived, which he caused to be opened, and the miners to be driven out by hand grenades; others to be smothered or burned by setting fire to gunpowder; yet did not this hinder two considerable ones to be sprung, and doing a vast deal of damage to the bastion of England, by throwing down above fix fathoms of the wall, and filling up the ditch with its rubbish; upon which the Turks immediately climbed up sword in hand to the top of it, and planted seven of their standards upon the parapet; but, being flopped by a traverse, the knights, recovered from their surprize, fell upon them with such fury, that they were obliged to abandon it with great loss. The grand master, who was then at church, quickly came to the place with his short pike in his hand, and attended by his knights, encouraging all he met with, burghers, folder, and others, to fight bravely in defence of their religion and country, and arrived time enough to assist in the taking down their standards, and driving down the enemy by the way they came up. In vain did the vizier Mustapha endeavouër to prevent their flight by killing some of the foremost with his sword, and driving the rest back; they were obliged to abandon the bastion, and, which was still worse, met with that death in their flight, which they had frowne to shun, from the fire-arms which were discharg'd upon them from the ramparts. Three favagias lost their lives in this attack, besides some thousands of the Turks; the grand master, on his side, lost some of his bravest knights, particularly his standard-bearer.

Several mines were again sprung at other bastions, which we have not room to mention, especially as the enemy reaped but little benefit by them. The attacks were almost daily renewed with the same ill success and loss of men, every general striving to signalize himself in the fight of their emperor. At length the old general Peri, or Pyrus, having harried the troops which guarded the bastion of Italy for several days successively, without intermission, caused a strong detachment, which he had kept concealed behind a cavalier, to mount the place by break of day, on the 13th of September, where, finding them overcome with sleep and fatigue, they cut the throats of the sentinel, and, filling through the breach, were just going to fall upon them. The Italian, however, quickly recovered themselves and their arms, and gave them an obstinate repulse. The contest was fierce and bloody on both sides; and the bastia, still supplying his own with new reinforcements, would hardly have failed of overpowering the other, had not the grand master, whom the alarm had quickly reached, timely intervened, and, by his presence, as well as example, revived his redians, and thrown a sudden panic among the enemy. Pyrus, desirous to do something to wipe off the disgrace of this repulse, tried his fortune next on an adjoining work, lately raised by the grand master Caretis, where his soldiery met with a still worse treatment, being almost overwhelmed with the hand-grenades, melted pitch, and boiling oil, which came pouring upon them, whilst the forces which were on the adjacent flanks made as great a slaughter of those that fled; insomuch that the janizaries began to refuse their old murmuring tone, and cry out, that they were brought thither only to be slaughtered.

The grand vizier Mustapha, afraid lest their complaints should reach his master, agreed at length, as the last resort, to make a fresh attempt on the bastion of England, whilst, to cause a diversion, the bastia Achmed sprung some fresh mines at an opposite part of the city. This was accordingly executed on the 17th of September, when the former, at the head of five battalions, resolutely mounted, or rather crept up, the breach, and, in spite of the fire of the English, advanced so far as to pitch some standards on the top; when, on a sudden, a crowd of English knights, commanded by one Bank, or Burk, fell out of their entrenchments, and, aslifted by some other officers of distinction, obliged them to retire, though in good order. Mustapha, provoked at it, led them back, and killed several knights with his own hand; and had his men supported him as they ought, the place must have been yielded to him; but the fire which was made from the adjacent batteries and musquettry disconcerted them to such a degree, that neither threats nor intertreaties could prevent their abandoning the enterprise, and dragging him away with them by main force. The Redians lost in that action several brave knights, both English and German, and, in particular, John Burk, their valiant commander; but the Turks lost above 3000 men, besides a good number of officers of distinction. Much the same ill success having attended Achmed with his mines, one of which had been opened, and the other only bringing some fathoms of the wall down, he was also obliged to retreat, his troops, of the very best, being forced to dis-perse themselves, after having borne the fire and fury of the Spanish and Auvergnian knights as long as they were able.

Three
Three days after this fresh advantage over the Turks, the Jewish traitor, formerly mentioned, being caught shooting an arrow from the ramparts, with a letter of intelligence, over to the enemy, was seized; and, upon being put to the torture, confessed that he had been hired by the late sultan Solim to seduce at Rhodes as his spy, and that this was the fifth letter he had sent over by the same way. He was immediately condemned to be broke upon the wheel, and died penitent, and in appearance a Christian, though probably with no other view than to save his life, or procure a milder sentence.

By this time the sultan, ashamed and exasperated at his ill success, called a general council, in which he made some stinging reflections on his vizier, for having represented the reduction of Rhodes as a very easy enterprise; to avoid the effects of whole relentment, the subtle Myshapha declared, that hitherto they had fought the enemy as it were upon equal terms, as if they had been afraid of taking an ungenerous advantage of their superiority, by which, said he, we have given them an opportunity of opposing us with their united force where-ever we attacked them. But let us now resolve upon a general assault on several sides of the town, and see what a poor defence their strength, thus divided, will be able to make against our united one. The advice was immediately approved by all, and the time appointed for the execution of it was on the 24th of that month, and every thing was ordered to be got ready against that day. The town was actually assaulted accordingly at four different parts, after having suffered a continual fire for some time from their artillery, in order to widen the breaches; by which the grand master easily understood their design, and that the bastions of England and Spain, the port of Provence, and terrace of Italy, were pitched upon for the assault, and took his precautions accordingly.

The morning was no sooner come, than each party mounted their respective breach of Rhodes attacked in four places.

The bafion of England proves the scene of the greatest slaughter and bloodshed, and the grand master makes that his post of honour, and, by his presence and example, inspires his men with fresh vigour and bravery, whilst the continual thunder of his artillery makes such horrid work among the affilants, as chills all their courage, and forces them to give way; the lieutenant-general, who commands the attack, leads them back with fresh vigour, mounts the breach at the head of all; immediately after comes a cannon ball from the Spaniush bafion, which overturns him dead into the ditch. This disaster, instead of fear and dread, fills them with a furious desire of revenging his death; but all their obstinacy cannot make the Rhodians go one step back, whilist the priests, monks, young men and old, and even women, of every rank and age (V), afflit them with an uncommon ardour and firmness, some in overwhelming the enemy with stones, others in destroying them with melted lead, fulphur, and other combustibles, and a third fort in supplying the combatants with bread, wine, and other refreshments.

The assault was no less desperate and bloody on the bastion of Spain, where the knights, who guarded it, not expecting to be so soon attacked, and ashamed to stand idle, were assailing the bastion of Italy, which gave the Turks an opportunity to mount the breach, and penetrate as far as their intrenchments, where they planted no less than thirty of their standards on them. The grand master was quickly apprized of it, and ordered the bastion


\[\text{(V) The historian of this siege give us several instan-}\]
\[\text{ces of this female courage and zeal; we shall only men-}\]
\[\text{tion one, which happened upon this very bastion, where a}\]
\[\text{Grecian woman of singular beauty afflicted, with other women, the knights that defended it, till}\]
\[\text{the had forced her lover falling to the feet of the flame,}\]
\[\text{after a most gallant defence; the sight of which so}\]
\[\text{affected her, that she went to her two children she had}\]
\[\text{with these pathetic words: It is better for you, my dear}\]
\[\text{children, to die by my hands, than by those of xerath-}\]
\[\text{fish.}\]


\[\text{ubi sup.}\]

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of Avorgene to play against them; which was done with such diligence, and such continual fire, whilst the Rhodians enter the bastion by the help of their comrades, and, sword in hand, fall upon them with equal fury; so that the Turks, alike before by the fire of the artillery, and the arms of the Rhodian knights, were forced to abandon the place with a considerable loss. The aga with great bravery rallies them afresh, and brings them back, by which time the grand master likewise appeared. The fight was renewed with greater fierceness; and such slaughter was made on both sides, that the grand master was obliged to draw 200 men out of St. Nicholas tower to his assistance: these were commanded by some Rhodian knights, who led them on with such speed and bravery, that their very appearance on the bastion made the janissaries draw back, which Soliman observing from his eminence, caus’d a retreat to be founded, to conceal the disgrace of their flight. In these attacks there fell about 15,000 of his best troops, besides several officers of distinction. The loss of the beleaguered was no less considerable, if we judge from the small number of their forces; but the greatest of all to them was that of some of their bravest and most distinguished knights and commanders, many of whom were killed, and scarce any escaped unwounded. But the most dreadful fate of all had like to have fallen on the favourite visier Mustapha, who had proposed this general assault; the ill success of which had enrag’d the proud sultan, that he condemned him to be shot with arrows at the head of his army; which dreadful sentence was just ready to be executed, when the old baha, by his intercessions, obtained a suspension of it, in hopes that, when his fury was abated, he should likewise obtain his pardon.

* * *

Soliman, however, was so discouraged by this ill success, that he was on the point of raising the siege; and would have actually done so, had he not been diverted from it by the advice which he received from an Albanian defector, some day by a letter from the traitor d’Amaralld, that the far greater part of the knights were either killed or wounded, and those that remained altogether incapable of sustaining a fresh assault. This having determined him to try his fortune once more, the command of his forces was turned over to the bafîs Ahmet; and, to show that he designed not to stir till he was master of the place, he ordered a house to be built on the adjacent mount Philerma, for his winter quarters. Ahmet marched directly against the bastion of Spain, which had suffered the most, where, before he could open the trenches, his men fell thick and threefold by the constant fire both of small and great guns from the bastion of Avorgene. He lost still a much greater number in rearing a rampart of earth to cover the attack, and give him an opportunity of fapping the wall; and, as soon as he saw a large piece fall, ordered his men to mount the breach. They were no sooner come to the top but they found a new work, and entrenchments which Martinengo had reared; and there they were welcomed with such a brisk fire from the artillery, that they were glad to recover their trenches with the utmost precipitation, and after having lost the much greater part of their men. The attack was renewed, and a reciprocal fire continued with great obstinacy, till a musquet-shot deprived that indistinguishable engineer of one of his eyes, and the order of his affidious services for some time. The grand master, having ordered him to be carried to his palace, took his place, and kept it till he was quite cured, which was not till thirty-four days after, and continued all the time in the intrenchments with his handful of knights, scarcely allowing himself rest night or day, and ever ready to expose himself to the greatest dangers, with an ardour more becoming a junior officer than an old worn-out sovereign, which made his knights more lavish of their own lives than their prudence and present circumstances could well admit of.

This bastion being almost ruined and lost, Ahmet pursued his attacks on those of England, France, and Italy, with equal vigour and loss, meeting everywhere with the same obstinate opposition from the few surviving knights, who now sought for a glorious death, being quite exhausted with fatigue, and too much overpowered by numbers to hope to drive the enemy away; yet were they, even in this very extremity, timely succoured by the grand prior of Nevarre, who with his troop renewed the combat, and forced once more the Turks to retire with considerable loss. These continual repulses would most probably have discouraged the proud sultan from going farther, had he not received contemptuous advices from the traitor d’Amarald, of the dreadful condition to which the place and garrison were reduced, without being so much as suspected of so horrid a treason. But about this time a servant and confident of his, being observed to shoot an arrow with a billet over to the enemy, was forthwith seized and brought before the council, where his illogical and contradictory answers having increased their suspicion, he was immediately applied to the torture, where he confessed that he had sent frequent advices to the enemy, by the same way, of the weakest and most proper places for them to attack; and added, that he acquainted them, in his last letter, of the small number of knights that were left, and that they began to be...
Chap. 7.

The history of Maltha.

a In want of powder, ball, and other warlike stores, as well as of all kinds of provisions for the mouth; notwithstanding which, the sultan must not expect the grand master to surrender the place till he was reduced to it by force of arms. D'Auverard was forthwith seized, and confined to the tower of St. Nicholas, where his servant's deposition was read to him; and soon after at his public trial, where he was charged with the whole treason by him, and accused as the person by whose order and direction he had acted what he did. Several other corroborating evidences also appeared against him, which confirmed the servant's deposition, and, among other things, his formerly saying, that *the Adam would be the last grand master of Rhodes.* All this he eluded with the utmost confidence; and, when he was himself put to the torture, endured it with the most surprising constancy, and without torture.

b out owning any part of the accusation, except what he had said at the election of the grand master, which he pretended was spoken partly out of resentment at seeing him preferred to himself, and partly out of diffidence of his competitor's martial capacity. This did not hinder his and his servant's being adjudged guilty, and condemned to death, him to be degraded, and stripped of the habit of the order, and his servant to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

The sentence was accordingly executed, first on the domestick, and on the day following on the matter, who was carried in a chair, on the 3d of November, to the place of execution, and beheld the whole apparatus of his death with surprising unconcern, and a contumacy which made many people believe him innocent; and yet Fontanus, an author often quoted in this section, who was not only contemporaneous and an eye-witness, but one of the judges, plainly intimates that he was guilty (W); in which he perfectly agrees with other writers of that time, particularly with Peter Gemellino del Campo, the commander Bourbon, and others, who were then at Rhodes. But whatever some people may have inferred from his contumacy, it is plain that he shewed in these last moments as little sign of devotion or religion as he did of repentance, and died more like an abandoned traitor than a suffering innocent.

By this time Rhodes was reduced to the last extremity; the pope, emperor, and other crowned heads, had been long and often importuned by the grand master for speedy affittance without success; and, as an addition to all the other disasters, those succours which were sent to him from France and England perished at sea. The new supply which he had sent for of provisions from Candia had the same ill fate; so that the winds, seas, and every thing, seemed combined to bring on the destruction of that city and order. The only resource which could be thought on, under so dismal a situation, was, to send for the few remaining knights and forces which were left to guard the other islands, to come to the defence of their capital, in hopes that, if they could save this, the others might in time be recovered, in case the Turks should seize upon them. On the other hand, Soliman, grown impatient at the small ground his general had gained, gave him express orders to renew the general attack with all imaginable speed and vigour, before the succours, which he apprehended were coming from Europe, obliged him to raise the siege. Ahmed infantly obeyed, and raised a battery of seventeen large cannon against the bafton of Italy, and quickly after made himself master of it, and obliged the garrison to retire farther into the city. Here the grand master was forced to demolish two of the churches, to prevent the enemy's seizing on them, and, with their materials, caused some new works and entrenchments to be made, to hinder their proceeding farther.

The Turks, however, gained ground every day, though they still lost vast numbers of their men: at length the 30th of November came, when the grand master, and both he besiegers and besieged, thought the last assault to be given. The bafton Pyrus, who commanded it, led his men directly to the intrenchments, upon which the bells of all the churches founded the alarm. The grand master, and his few knights, troops, and citizens, ran in crowds, and in a confused disorderly manner, to the intrenchments, each fighting in his own way, or rather as his fear directed him. This attack would have proved one of the most desperate that had yet been felt, had not a most vehement rain intervened, which carried away all the earth which the enemy had reared to serve them as a rampart against the artillery of the bafton of Averogue; so that being now quite exposed to the Turks, their continual fire, they fell in such great numbers, that the bafton could no longer make power with them stand their ground, but all precipitately fled towards their camp. This last repulse threw the proud sultan into such a fury, that none of his officers dared to come near him.


(W) We say intimates, because, in the account which he gives of his trial and execution, he only says, without naming him, that God had referred the last portion of the triumvirate for a more blameless deed, and such as he had richly deserved; alluding, doubtless, to his having been one of the three knights who were appointed to see the magazines well stored for the siege; which truth, as we have elsewhere shown, he had most thankfully betrayed, both with regard to the warlike provisions and those for the mouth (23).

(25) Fontan. ubi s. F. Gemell. del Campo, Bourbon, Baudun, & al.

and
The history of Maltha.  

**Book XXII.**

and the shame of his having now spent near six whole months with such a numerous army before the place, and having lost such myriads of his brave troops with fo little advantage, had made him quite desperate, and they all dreaded the confusions of his retreatment.

**Pyrrhus** at length, having given it time to cool, ventured to approach him, and propose a new project to him, which, approved, could hardly fail of success; which was, to offer the town a generous capitulation; adding, that in case the stubborn knights should reject it, yet being now reduced to so small a number, as well as their forces and fortifications almost destroyed, the citizens, who were most of them Greeks, and less ambitious of glory than licentious for their own preservation, would undoubtedly accept of any composition that should secure to them their lives and effects.

This proposal being relished by the sultan, letters were immediately dispersed about the city in his name, exhorting them to submit to his government; and threatening them at the same time with the most dreadful effects of his retreatment, if they perfilled in their obstinacy. **Pyrrhus** likewise dispatched a Genoese to approach as near as he could to the battlement of Argentor, and to intreat the knights to take pity of so many of their Christian brethren, and not expose them to the dreadful effects which must follow their refusal of a capitulation, so generously offered them at their last extremity. Other agents were likewise employed in other places, to all of whom the grand master ordered some of his men to return for answer. That his order never treated with infidels but with sword in hand. An **Albanian** was sent next with a letter from the sultan to him, who met with the same repulse; after which, he ordered his men to fire upon any that should present themselves upon the same pretence, which was actually done. But this did not prevent the **Rhodians** from listening to the terms offered by the Turks, and holding frequent cabals upon that subject, in which the general massacre of a town taken by assault, the dreadful flattery of those that escaped, the rape of their wives and daughters, the destruction of their churches, the profanation of their holy relics and sacred utensils, and other dire confusions of an obstinate refusal, being duly weighed against the sultan’s offers, quickly determined them which party to take. The grand master, however, proving inexorable to all their entreaties, they applied to their Greek metropolitan, who readily went and represented all these things to him in the most pathetic terms, yet met with no better reception; but was told, that he and his knights were determined to be buried under the ruins of the city, if their swords could no longer defend it, and he hoped their example would not permit them to shew less courage on that occasion. This answer produced a quite contrary effect; and, as the citizens thought delays dangerous at such a juncture, they came in a body to him by the very next morning, and plainly told him, that, if he paid no greater regard to their preservation, they would not fail of taking the most proper measures to preserve the lives and chastity of their wives and children.

This resolution could not but greatly alarm the grand master; who thereupon called a council of all the knights, and informed them himself of the condition of the place; who all agreed, particularly the engineer Martinengo, that it was no longer defensible, and no other resource left but to accept the sultan’s offers; to which all the rest unanimously agreed; adding at the same time, that though they were all ready, according to the obligations of their order, to fight to the last drop of their blood, yet it was no less their duty to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, who, not being bound by the same obligations, ought not to be made a sacrifice to their glory. It was therefore agreed, with the grand master’s consent, to accept of the next offers the sultan should make. He did not let them wait long; for the fear he was in of a fresh succour from Europe, the intrepidity of the knights, and the shame of being forced to raise the siege, prevailed upon him to hang out his pacific flag, which was quickly answered by another on the **Rhodian** side; upon which the Turks, coming out of their trenches, delivered up the sultan’s letter for the grand master, to the grand prior of St. Giles, and the engineer Martinengo. The terms offered in it by **Soliman** appeared so advantageous, that they immediately exchanged hostages, and the knights that were sent to him had the honour to be introduced to him, and to hear them confirmed by his own mouth, tho’ not without threats of putting all to fire and sword in case of refusal, or even delay. Two ambassadors were forthwith sent to him, to demand a truce of three days, to settle the capitulation, and interests of the inhabitants, who were part Greeks, and part Latins; but this was absolutely refused by the impatient monarch, out of a suspicion of the rumoured succour being near, and that the truce was only to gain time till it was come.

He therefore ordered the hostilities to be renewed with fresh fury, in which the **Rhodians** made a most noble defence, considering their small number, and that they had now only the barbican, or false bray of the battalion of Spain, left to defend themselves in, and once

* Dacio, Fontan, Boucic, Baudoin, Vertot, & al. ubi sup.
a more repulsed the enemy; at which the sultan was so enraged, that he resolved to overpower them by numbers on the next day; which was, after a stout defense, so effectually done, that they were forced to abandon that outwork, and retire into the city. In the mean while the burghers, who had but a day or two before raised a fresh uproar against the grand master, under pretense that he was going to give them up a prey to an infidel who regarded neither oaths nor solemn treaties, perceiving their own danger, came now to desire him to renew the negotiations, and only begged the liberty of sending one of their deputies along with his, to secure their interests in the capitulation. He readily consented to it; but gave them a charge to shew the baisha Achmed the treaty formerly concluded between Bejazet and his predecessor d'Aubrun, in which the former had entailed a dreadful curse on any of his successors that should infringe it. This was done, in hopes that the shewing it to his master, who valued himself so much upon his strict observance of his law, might produce some qualm in him which might lengthen the agreement, for they were still as much in hopes of a succour from Europe as he was in fear of it; but, to their great surprize, Achmed had no sooner perused than he tore it all in pieces, trampled it under his feet, and in a rage ordered them to be gone. The grand master found no other resource than to send them back to him the next day; when that minifter, who knew his master's impatience to have the affair concluded, quickly agreed with them upon the terms, which were in substance as follows:

1. That the churches should not be profaned.
2. That the inhabitants should not be forced to part with their children, to be made articles of capitulation.

3. That they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion.
4. That they should be free from taxes during five years.
5. That those who had a mind to leave the island, should have free leave to do so.
6. That if the grand master and his knights had not a sufficient number of vessels to transport themselves and their effects into Candia, the sultan should supply that defect.
7. That they should have twelve days allowed them, from the signing of the articles, to send all their effects on board.
8. That they should have the liberty of carrying away their relics, chalices, and other sacred utensils, belonging to the great church of St. John, together with all their ornaments, and other effects.
9. That they should likewise carry with them all the artillery with which they were wont to arm the galleys of the order.
10. That all the islands belonging to it, together with the castle of St. Peter, should be delivered up to the Turks.
11. That, for the more easy execution of these articles, the Turkish army should be removed at some miles distance from the capital.
12. That the aga of the janizaries, at the head of 4000 of his men, should be allowed to go and take possession of the place.

These articles were hardly signed and sealed by both sides, before a numerous fleet was perceived making all the sail they could towards the island, and was immediately suppoded by both parties to be that which had been so long expected from Europe; but, upon their nearer approach, they proved to be a Turkish armament, with a fresh reinforcement of troops, which the sultan had purposely lent for from Persia to relieve those who were quite spent with the fatigues of so long and bloody a siege. Had those arrived a few days sooner, the sultan would not in all probability have granted the besiegers such a favourable capitulation. These articles, however, did not prevent the rapacious janizaries from entering and plundering the churches, and even the tombs of the grand masters, and committing many other outrages against them, particularly in the noble infirmary, where they turned out all the sick and wounded, and seized upon all the place, which, as was formerly hinted, the patients used to be served in; but upon the grand master's complaining of it to Achmed, he sent the aga word, that his head should answer for the breach of the capitulation, if every thing was not punctually restored.

In another conference which that baisha had with him, he signified to him, that his young master had an extreme desire to see him, and that it would be looked upon as an high affront if he left the island without paying his respects to him. The grand master easily foreflew the danger either of complying with or declining the invitation; yet, rather than give him a pretence for retracting any of his concessions, he chose to run the hazard of waiting upon him; but such was the barbarous affectation of Turkish grandeur, that they kept that venerable old sovereign and his attendants at the tent-door, without any refreshment, during a whole snowy and frosty day, before he was admitted into his presence. At length, towards the evening, both he and his knights were presented with rich veils, and...
other garments, fit to appear in before him. Upon their admission, Solliman was struck with the magnificent appearance of so old a gentleman; and, to comfort him under his present misfortune, ordered his interpreter to tell him, that the conquests and losses of empire were a mere common game of fortune: “You see, said he to him, how all your hopes in your Christian friends and allies have been frustrated, but, could you be once prevailed upon to exchange your religion for ours, there is no honour or preferment that I would not gladly bestow upon you.” To this he answered with his usual piety and politeness. Such an apostasy would rather render him most unworthy of his least regard; forasmuch as it would be the highest dishonour to so great a prince, to be served by such a traitor and renegade; and that all the favour he had to request of him, was, that his retreat and embarkation might not be molested by any of his men. To which request he condescended to give him his royal word, and his hand to kifs, assuring him, moreover, that if the term granted him proved too short, he would readily grant him a longer. Some days after, when he came to take a view of his new conquest, in which he was received at the grand master’s palace with all the honours due to so great a conqueror, he gave him several fresh marks of his affection; and, upon his going out of his palace, he bid his interpreter tell him, that it was not without some reluctance that he obliged to brave a Christian at his years to abandon his habitation.

Solliman resoluing to depart for his capital two days after, the grand master, fearing he might not meet with the fame generous usage from his ministers, being determined not to tarry behind, gave orders for their embarkation; which was done in the night-time, and not without great clutter and confusion, considering that, besides those of his order, he was followed by above 4000 inhabitants, whom he saw safely on board; and was the last of the whole company that left the shore (X), after having taken his last farewell of the sultan. They set sail soon after for the island of Candia, leaving him in possession of that, and of all the other islands which had belonged to the order, as well as of the castle of St. Peter, or Bidone, on the coasts of Caria; to the governors of which he sent express orders, by a felucca, to abandon the place, and to embark with the whole garrison, and sail after him for Candia. After having suffered the shock of a most violent storm, he at length came in sight of the island: he did not however immediately make for the haven, but sailed riding in the road in his great carack, waiting for the rest of the vessels, which, having been d separated by the tempest, came gradually one after another to join him.

As soon as they were all landed, he took a melancholy review of them: some of the vessels, having been overladen, he was informed, were sunk; the rest that came safe on shore amounted to about 4000 souls, most of them in such a forrowful and languishing condition, as drew tears from his eyes. His first care was, to send for provisions for them, cloaths, linen, and other necessaries, at his own charge, from the neighbouring countries, and he strove to comfort them all by his pious discourses and example. By this time the governor of the island, and other principal officers, attended, and gave him a grand reception, which, though not other than was due to his character and dignity, was however received with no small reluctance; nor could he forbear expressing his resentment against the ungenerous policy of the Genoese, who, though they had above sixty galleys riding in the harbours of that island, yet could suffer that of Rubos to be surrendered to the Turks, without lending him the least assistance; neither would he stay longer there, notwithstanding the governor’s earnest invitation to him to wait at least till the winter was over; but, as soon as he had got his fleet refitted, resolved to fail for Italy, in order to consult the pope about a new settlement. In the mean time, the Latin metropolitan of Rubos arrived there with all his clergy, whom Solliman had been obliged to fend away, out of complaisance to the Greeks among the ruins of the houses which the cannon had overturned, and wait for some favourable opportunity of gaining the sea-side, where a vessel or two were waiting to convey him away. But Solliman, who highly valued himself upon the character of a just prince, being unwilling to put him to death without some plausible pretence, asked him what religion he was of? To which he readily answered, that he was a Christian; upon which he condescended him and his two sons to be put to death for apostasy; and, to prevent any impostor being trumped up in their name, caused them to be strangled at the head of his army, and the daughters to be sent to Constaninople, and that up in the foraglio (31).

(31) Dufos, Baudin, lib. x. c. 2. Fontan. & al. Vid. & Vertet. tvm. iii. li. ix. p. 323, &c.; and
Chap. 7.  The history of Maltha.

The fleet was no sooner refitted than they set sail for Italy, about the beginning of March, said for Italy, after having discharged some other vessels to carry the melancholy news of the loss of Rhodes to the pope, and other European powers. He had indeed no great hopes of that pontif's assistance, who had always acted as the same servile creature to the emperor as he had been before his election to the pontificate, yet, without a particular bull from him to confirm all the antient privileges and institutes of the order, and re forth the antient discipline, he easily foresaw it would be next to impossible to reunite them into one body or settlement; and this was what he sent a previous ambassage to him to solicit at the court of Rome, and what that pontif readily complied with. His next care was, to apply to the Christian powers for some proper sea-port where to reunite the members, and enable them to resume their pritive discipline and employment; without which, he reflected, they would quickly be disperred, beyond the possibility of their being rejoined again; for if, whilst they reigned absolute sovereigns in Rhodes, he and his predecessors found it so difficult a task to keep them up to their respective duties, and to a due regard to their authority, as we have had frequent occasion to observe through this fiction, how much more unlikely was it that they should do so under his present circumstances? The pope had indeed granted him the desired bull, by which he obliged all the knights of the order to continue still under the authority of their exiled chief, under the severest penalties; and his ambassador had already sent it to Melfina, to be delivered to him at his arrival, that being the place where he had appointed his fleet to land; but there being no Christian power to apply to for a fixed settlement, after they had so unanimously abandoned him in his greatest extremity, was a consideration that ought to have inspired him with a more hopeful prospect; yet did not this hinder him from taking with him all his Rhodians, who, being most fit and languishing, were all shipped on board a number of proper vessels, which he himself vouchsafed to accompany in a galley belonging to the order; and, for their better convenience, he chose to sail from coast to coast, rather than to venture them on the wide sea; and this, joined to some bad weather they met with, so much retarded his arrival at Melfina, that the caraccas and other galleys of the order, which had taken the shorter route, had reached that port long before him. Their apprehensions and vaft concern for him were such as may be better imagined than expressed, not only from the violent storms which they themselves had experienced in their passage, and might, they justly feared, have proved more fatal to him nearer the land, but likewise from the multitude of Turks and other corsairs which swarmed along those coasts.

At length, after a long and impatient expectation, during which that considerate old gentleman had safely landed his Rhodians at Orranto on the Adriatic gulf, they had the inexplicable satisfaction to see him safely arrive at that of Melfina with his small fleet, not now with the usual flag of the order, but with one that bore the image of the blessed Virgin, with her divine Son in her arms, and with this motto under her, Affidetis Ipsa mea rebus. He was immediately surrounded with all the nobility and principal officers of the city, attending the Sicilian viceroy, who came to receive him on his landing, and whose eyes were all intently fixed on his venerable person, now no lefs to be admired for his firmness under his present misfortune, than for the glory which he had gained by the noble defence of the city of Rhodes. The viceroy, Count Monte Leone, immediately after the first compliments, offered him that port, in the emperor Charles V.'s name, to serve for a retreat and settlement to him and the knights of the order. The archbishop, and the rest of the nobility, expressed an uncommon satisfaction at the proposal, though it was answered only by a compliment of thanks on his part; after which they accompanied him to the palace in a silent and mournful procession, suitable to so great and so irretrievable a loss.

They regret of having been forced to deliver up so considerable an island into the hands of the enemies of Christianity, in which his predecessors had reigned with so much glory, as we have seen, during the space of near two years, displayed itself plainly in all his words and actions, as well as in his looks; but, to prevent its occasioning the least diminution of his authority, his first care, after providing all proper accommodations for the sick and wounded, was, to call all the priests and commanders, who had been tardy in their duty, to a severe account. The first of those that were summoned before his council were the priors for neg-
grand priors of St. Stephen and Barletta, who, in their own justification, produced a vast quantity of corn, arms, and other provisions, besides a great number of volunteers, which they had got ready to fail to Rhodes, but which had been unhappily kept back by violent storms and contrary winds during the last two months. Infomuch that none of the captains or commanders had the courage to venture out, except the English chevalier Newport, who, being resolved at all hazards to convey a supply to the place, was driven back by the tempest against a rock, where his ship and whole cargo were sunk and lost. Several others from Spain, Portugal, Catalonia, France, and England, made it likewise appear, that the succours which they had severally got ready were retarded by the same unavoidable causes: all which was so fully proved, that the grand master entirely acquiesced, and could only utter these words, Blessed be God, who, in the midst of all our disasters, hath given me this satisfaction, even that they were not owing to the neglect of my religious brethren; after which, having tenderly embraced them, he added, It was highly necessary, for the honour of our order and your own, that such a strict examination should be made of your conduct, which would now subject all the European powers, as well as to politery, to the false force of our order, we should not now bewail that bulwark of Christendom being in the hands of infidels. But neither this, nor his other pious exhortations, could have prevented the greatest part of them from deserting themselves, if he had not cauffed the pope's bull, which expressly forbade it, to be read before them, and mixed with his gentle threats some comfortable assurances of speedily obtaining perhaps a more safe and convenient place than that which they had lost. 

In the interim a pestilence, which began to rage in Messina, soon spread itself among his maln Rhodian fleet, and obliged him, with the governor's leave, to remove them to Bari, where, by his care to have their camp well interlaid against the infirmities of the corsairs, as well as supplied with proper medicines, and other necessaries, together with the change of air, they gradually recovered; so that, after a month's stay in it, he found them all fit to reembark, and sailed with them for Civita Vecchia, where they safely arrived soon after; and he took the direct road to Rome, impatient to consult the pontiff about a new settlement for his order. This being just about the time that Adrian VI. was going to sign a shameful league with the emperor, the king of England, and the duke of Milan; against France, the pontiff was obliged to put off giving him audience till that ceremony was concluded, being ashamed to have it performed in his presence; but received him afterwards with all the pomp and marks of esteem due to his merit and dignity. Having given him all the just praises that were due to his conduct and bravery, he assured him, that he would do all that lay in his power to preserve an order in every respect so useful and advantageous to Christendom; and, at his parting from him, honoured him with the title of the great defender of the Christian faith, and other such pompous epithets, which he could more readily spare than the succours which he had so often begged of him in vain. The pope dying soon after of a violent fever, the guard of the conclave, which proceeded to a new election, was committed to him, and the knights that were then with him.

Adrian was succeeded by Julius de Medicis, a knight of their order, and the very first one that was ever elected to that dignity, to no small joy of the grand master and the whole order, who might now more safely depend upon his affability and friendship, than on all the fair promises of his predecessor, for their happy re-establishment. They were not disappointed; for never did a pontiff before Clement VII. which was the name he took, express more zeal or esteem for the order than he did; to which the account which was given him in a full consistory, by the grand master and chancellor, of the siege and defence of Rhodes, by 600 knights against 200,000 Turks, did not a little contribute. It was immediately agreed, that the order should at Viterbo till a more convenient place could be thought upon, while the galleys were continued at Civita Vecchia. To all these favours the new pontiff was pleased to add another, that the grand master should hold the first place on the right of the throne in the papal chapel, and march alone before his holiness in all future cavalcades.

From this time the pontiff and he held frequent conferences about the most proper place for the order to be settled in. Several of them were proposed, against which some material objections were started by one side or other; and, in the conclusion, the island of Malta was agreed on as the strongest by nature, most conveniently situated, and having the most convenient ports; to which that of Gozo, contiguous to it, was to be joined, as a bulwark to the greater. We have described them both at the beginning of this chapter, and hinted, that they both belonged to the emperor Charles V. as king of Sicily; who had expressed a great readiness to grant it to them, on condition they should engage them-
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a selves in the care and defence of the city of Tripoli, which he had lately made himself master of, as we have seen in a another place, but which being so unhappily surrounded on all sides by infidels and barbarians, would have cost more to keep it than it could be worth to them. There was still another no less considerable danger to be apprehended, viz. left that politic monarch should take occasion, from his grant to the order, to bring it into some kind of subjection to him. The pope, therefore, having cautioned the grand master to be careful not to give him any handle for it in their subsequent negotiation, three of their ablest knights of the order were sent on an embassy, to treat with that prince about a grant; these were the grand prior of Cafales, the famed engineer Martineu, so often mentioned in this transaction, and the commander Bofio, the best and most exact author of the history of that order, of which he was then chaplain.

b These three, being arrived at Madrid, where the emperor then was, requested him, in the name of the whole order, to make them a grant of those two islands, free from all manner of subjection to any but to their grand master and sovereign. This they did likewise without making the least mention of Tripoli: and only represented to him, that such a generous grant would make him esteemed as the second founder of an order which had proved, during several centuries, the most effectual bulwark of Christendom; and that the knights would be thereby put in a condition to suppress the swarms of Mohammedan corsairs, and secure his dominions, the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, the kingdom of Naples, and coasts of Italy, from their outrageous incursions. But to these proposals the crafty emperor refused to assent, unless Tripoli was included in the treaty; and infested moreover, that the whole order should acknowledge him, and take the oaths to him as their lawful sovereign, without at the same time engaging himself to furnish them with any corn from his Italian dominions, which was in fact the most effectual means of starving them into his subjection, seeing they could not possibly subsist without such a supply.

c These hard terms, which the ambassadors well knew never would be accepted, obliged them to dispatch the commander Bofio to Viterbo, for new instructions, whilst the other two continued at the imperial court. By that time he was arrived at Viterbo, the grand master received a proposal much more glorious and advantageous, made to him, of recovering the island of Rhodes, and which could not but make that of the emperor still more dishonorable. The proposal was sent to him by that very bakhsh Achned who had had the greatest hand in the conquest of that island from them; but who, being now in open rebellion against fultan Soliman, offered to assist him in the recovery of it. However, as it would have been dangerous in his dominions, which he perhaps would have been glad of any pretence to have seized to his own use, the grand master thought it more politic to defer giving a positive answer, till he had made a proper inquiry into Achned's proposal; but, to amuse the emperor whilst that was doing, he begged leave to send a number of commissioners to go and take an exact view of the two islands of Malta and Gozf, and city of Tripoli, that, upon the report they made of them, he might take his measures how far he could comply with his terms. But whilst he was negotiating in this procrastinating manner with the court of Madrid, an accident happened, which determined him to prefer the attempt to regain their ancient seat to the emperor's harsh conditions.

d One of the knights of the order had met a Rhodian ship at sea, whose company made grievous complaints against the tyranny they were under, and expressed an ardent desire to free themselves again under the milder and happier government of their ancient masters; affurring him at the same time, that the regaining of the island would not prove a difficult task at this time, when the fortifications continued still for the most part un repaired, the garrison weak, and the aga, who commanded under the foltan, a renegade, who would be glad to efface his crime, by his timely affiance in an enterprize so advantageous to Christi nity. These men, being some of the richest merchant and citizens of that island, were gladly prevailed upon to go and pay their respects to the grand master; and the knight accordingly brought them to him, where they confirmed to him all they had said before. The grand master dismissed them with all the careness and encouragement they could wish; and, having acquainted the pope with the matter, they agreed that the commander Bofio should be dispatched thither with all possible haste and secrecy, who arrived there safely in the disguise of a merchant, and had by that means all the opportunity he wanted to inquire into the condition of the city, and how far the renegade aga might be brought upon to assist in the affair. At the first opening of the matter to him, he seemed quite confounded; but, having recovered himself, gave Bofio the most satisfactory tokens of his

 Vide aut. sup. citat.
remorse, and redainefs upon any terms to be reconciled to the church, and expiate his apostasy by his future services to the order. He engaged to admit the grand master's forces into every place under his command, provided they were able to maintain themselves in them; and a sufficient quantity of arms and provisions was fent, to put the Rhodians in a condition to join with them. All this hopeful prospect was, however, unexpectedly quaffed by the death of Achmed, whose head was sent to Constantinople by bafia Ibraim, as we have formerly shewn; at the news of which the aga was greatly alarmed, as well as the commander Bofio, who with great difficulty and danger got away from that island, and brought an account of his ill success, through the defeat of Achmed, and the discovery of his project against Rhodes, which had by that time hung too long in suspense, and been intrusted to too many persons to continue longer a secret 3: fo that Soliman had notice of it timely enough to take all proper precautions to render it abortive.

But whilst Bofio continued at Rhodes, another proposal had been made to him by two other renegades, who had in a great measure the chief command of the maritime totresses of Modon in Morea, taken from the Venetians by Bajazet, anno 1498. These two men engaged to surrender the place to the order, out of a deep remorse for their apostasy, and represented that enterprise as much easier than that against Rhodes; and Bofio, upon a nearer inquiry into it, found many other conveniences in it, which we pass over, because the project was over-ruled, and came to nothing, notwithstanding the many arguments which that commander offered in favour of it 4.

For this time, the commissaries, sent to take a survey of the islands of Malthea and Cephala, and city of Tripoli, being returned, gave such an advantageous account of those two islands, the city, towns, havens, &c. as well as their strong sitiation by nature, command of those seas, and due distance from the Turks, as quite determined the pope and the order to prefer them to all others, in case the emperor could be prevailed upon to part with them upon more moderate terms; to obtain which, the pontif could readily offer his interposition. We shall refer our readers, for the fuller account of those two islands, to the description we have given of them at the beginning of this chapter, but the report which they gave concerning the city and castle of Tripoli was vastly different. Its distance of 80 leagues from Malthea, the town being almost without fortifications, and situate on a sandy ground, on which no new ones could be reared; the castle quite out of repair, and commanded behind by a high hill; the whole place surrounded by the king of Tunis's dominions, who would never suffer it to continue long in the hands of the Christians; the baronets of the soil round it, which produced nothing but dates; the danger of its being invested and famished: these, and such like discouragements, did no lefs deter the council from taking the care of it upon them. And here the pope was likewise defir'd to interpose his good offices, to obtain a release from it 5; but the pontif had but little sway with that monarch at this time, forasmuch as he was then negotiating a league with England and Venice, to maintain the liberty of Italy, after the famous battle of Pavia, and the imprisonment of Francis of France. We have elsewhere observed to what a degree of jealousy the grand master's voyage to Marselles, to confer with the queen regent at that pontif's request, had raised at the imperial court, which at once seizes on all the revenues of the order in Italy. On the other hand, his affected delays of coming to a resolution about accepting the emperor's offers of Malthea and Tripoli, had so far raised the resentment of Charles, that he sent a haughty embassy to the order at Viterbo, requiring a speedy compliance with his propofals, and threatening those that should oppose it with the highest marks of his displeasure. This high tone did not fail of alarming the council, especially those of it that were his subjects; yet did not this produce any other effect than a fresh representation to him of the importance of the matter in question, and of the necessity of proceeding in it with the utmost caution, especially as the grand master was then abient, without whose consent, and the participation of the pope, they could come to no resolution. They concluded with affurimg him, that they would forthwith dispatch express to them both; adding, that they were informed, that the former was actually gone to the imperial court, in hopes of obtaining some abatement to the conditions inflected upon by it, particularly with respect to that of wearing fealty to the imperial crown 6. They accordingly sent the commander Bofio to the grand master, who, being apprised by him of the suspension above-mentioned, delayed sending an answer to them, and ordered him to follow him to the imperial court.

Upon his arrival, as he had brought with him the princes d'Alençon, according to the queen regent's desire, and had by that means saved the emperor a great deal of ceremonial, he was readily admitted to treat with him about the two islands in question. The extreme

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\(^{3}\) Vide sup. supra citat.

\(^{4}\) Lib. iii. c. 5. 6.

\(^{5}\) Bosio, tom. iii. l. ii. p. 32.

\(^{6}\) Vide sup. citat.
Chap. 7. The history of Maltah. 447

a politefls and addres with which he complained of the sequestration in Italy, quickly obtained a reversion of it; and the arguments he used to convince that monarch of the impossibility of the knights of such an order as his, which is compos'd of the subjects of several princes and states, owning subjection and fealty to any other than their own, failed not to make a due impression upon him. But, left that should prove too short-lived, he artfully interlarded the proposal that had been made to him of recovering the isle of Rhodes, the strong party he had in its capital, whose inhabitants would be glad and ready to receive him again, as soon as they could be supplied with a sufficient number of arms in lieu of those the Turks had taken from him; and, with his majesty's leave, ordered the commander Bofo to come in, who confirmed the whole affair, as being the principal person employed in negociating it. They farther assured him, that the sum of 50,000 or 60,000 crowns was all they wanted, to hire about 4000 men, and furnish the inhabitants with arms; upon which the emperor, who seemed to relish the enterprise, told them, that in case the duke of Alba new degte

upon Rhodes, thought it practicable, he would readily contribute 25,000 crowns towards it. Before his departure, he obtained leave to pay a visit to king Francis, and was conducted thither by one of the emperor's guards to his narrow prizon, where he assured that prince of his best endeavours and good offices towards obtaining his liberty, and mediating a peace between them; and he applied himself to those two grand points with great affinity and success. He was no less mindful of those to relate to his order, in favour of which he got a clause inserted in the treaty between those two monarchs, by which they both engaged to solicit the pope for a new crusade against the infidels. Before he left Spain, he not only obtained a redress from the king of Portugal for some infringements made on the privileges of his order, with regard to the bestowing of some priories, together with a promise not to interfere any more in such matters, but likewise a sum of 15,000 cruftadoes towards the holy war against the Turks.

His ambassadors to Henry VIII. had not so good success on the like complaint. Tho' backed by a preffing recommendation from the French king, they could obtain no redress from him, for the much more considerable sequestrations he ordered on the lands and revenues of the order; so far from that, he absolutely forbade any money or effects belonging to it to be carried out of England. This measure being apprehended to proceed from a resentment of the English monarch, on account of the grand master's not having paid him the ceremony of a visit, as he had to the of France and Spain, he resolved to pass over into England, and sent the commander Bofo thither before him. He accordingly went into that kingdom, and met with a noble reception from that monarch, through the interest of his favourite minister the cardinal Wolsey. All that we need repeat here is, that king Henry highly applauded his design of reconquering the island of Rhodes, and promised to contribute 20,000 crowns towards it, the value of which he actually paid afterwards in cannon, and other fire-arms. Many other civilities passed between them before the grand master left England; and he was on his journey to Italy highly satisfied with his successes, when he heard the mortifying news of the civil war raised by the emperor's partisans the Colone, in the heart of the pope's dominions, in revenge of the league which that pontiff had made against him; which war soon after spread itself over the greatest part of Italy, and not only reduced Clement VII. to the greatest difficulties, dangers, and indignities, but obliged him to submit to the most shameful conditions.

The grand master spared no pains, after his return to Viterbo, to mediate a peace between the emperor and the pontiff, as the only means to renew either his attempt on the isles of Rhodes, or his negociations about those of Malta and Goja. The former was earnestly pressed by the Greek patriarch Eutymius, who having deeply embarked in that project, and in continual apprehensions of its being discovered, was most earnest with him for the speedy execution of it. On the other hand, as the necessary supplies for it were slow in coming, and the grand master not yet determined which of the two to fix on, the commander Bofo was dispatched thither a second time, to inquire into the state of the island, the people's dispositions, and to keep up the hearts of the inhabitants; whilst he assembled a grand council of the order at Viterbo, to consult about that important alternative. But as he had entrusted his design upon Rhodes but to very few, the majority quickly declared for Malta, provided it could be obtained without the irksome clog of subjection and fealty. Upon which new ambassadors were dispatched to Madrid, to treat about it; but these, to their great surprize, found the emperor as cold as he had been hot before for their settlement in these islands. New jealousies were started in his mind at this juncture, left the grand master, who was a Frenchman, might pay too great a regard to the king his master; and the major-
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Book XXII.

rity of the order, who were attached to the pope, should shew the like partiality for him. a This made him prolong the negotiation with them, and still insist upon the former terms; whilst the grand master, keeping his views intensely towards Rhodes, was in as little haste to come to a determination about the one, till he had tried what could be done to obtain the other, which could hardly be done before a peace was effectually concluded between the contending powers.

The dismal and melancholy condition Italy was in at this time, the close imprisonment the pope was kept in by the emperor, and the motives which at length induced that monarch to offer him his liberty, though on such hard terms as forced the pontiff upon the stratagem he made use of to escape out of his confinement, all these gave the grand master but a hopeless prospect of an accommodation between them; and, what was still worse, his project upon Rhodes had by this time been wholly disconcerted; the sultan, to whom the secret had been betrayed, had now changed the garrison and its officers, and put to death all those who were suspected to have been concerned in the treason, both Christians and Turks. There was therefore no other way to obtain a speedy establishment, than the enterprise which Bofo had proposed against the city of Modon, or accepting of the islands of Maltha and Goja, upon the harsh conditions inflicted upon the emperor. Bofo was still very pressing for the former; but the grand master was more inclined to the latter, provided that monarch could be prevailed upon to recede from some of his demands. All this time the peace was still negotiating between him and the pope, and was at length concluded the 29th of June, upon which Bofo was despatched to beg the pope's interposition in favour of the order, who readily engaged to obtain a free grant of the two islands from the emperor, at their next interview at Bononia, where he was to give him the investiture of Naples. He did so accordingly; and with such a true zeal and affection for the order, of which, as we observed before, he was a member, that the emperor, who at such a juncture proved more pliable than he would yet have been at any other time, granted him whatever he asked; and the treaty was signed at Caesal France, on the 24th of March, to the great joy of the grand master and of the whole order, to whom Bofo was ordered to bring it immediately after its being signed.

Their joy, however, was not a little alloyed, by finding the city of Tripoli still tacked to the grant, which they were in hopes the pope's interest would have got off; but that d which most sensibly affected them was the unfortunate loss of their brave and worthy ambassador Bofo, of which they were informed by the very person who brought the grant to them, who acquainted them at the same time with the double disaster that occasioned it, in his return from the emperor. The impatience he was in, he told them, to deposit that so long-deferred instrument in the hands of the grand master, made him drive with such speed, that his coach was overturned, by which accident he was dangerously hurt; an unskilful surgeon, being brought to let him blood, chance to wound the artery, upon which his arm immediately swelled, and the gangrene followed, which put an end to his life. He had, however, time and presence of mind enough, before he expired, to intrust all his papers into the hands of a faithful Rhodian, named Staticogulo, and to convey them to Viterbo. He likewise charged him to communicate his dying request to the grand master, and to pref at once to keep up an intelligence with his private friends at Modon, from which he was fully perfused the order would in time reap some considerable advantages. The Rhodian gentleman faithfully executed his commissio, and was sent by him with some considerable presents to the two renegades, whom he found still firm in their first resolution, and ready to undertake any thing for the service of the religion or the order. The next thing the grand master had to do, was to send some of the principal knights on an embassy of thanks to the emperor; and another of them to Sicily, to take the usual oaths to him before his viceroy, in his and the order's name; after which, he sent others, as his commissaries, to take possession of Maltha and Goja, and to secure the liberties and privileges of the inhabitants in his name, and in the usual form. He likewise despatched some of his galleys, with a number of knights, on the same errand, to Tripoli, together with the commander Sanguefs, whom he appointed governor of that city. With these he sent a great number of workmen, and materials for the repairing of the castle of St. Angelo, which was almost gone to ruin, together with a fresh supply of arms and ammunition; all which being gone before, he was preparing to set out himself with all the knights of the order, to take possession of his new dominions, after having been obliged to wander several years both by sea and land, without any settlement, and often in danger of seeing his flocks dispersed through the world, and his order entirely ruined, and in continual fear left his old age and fatigues should carry him off before he could have the pleasure of fecing them possessed of a settlement.

There
There were, however, two unforeseen difficulties started, which obliged him to delay his voyage; the one was, that when he came to ship away the corn that was bought in Sicily, the viceroy insisted upon its paying the usual duty which other vessels did; the other was about the privilege of coinage money in his new government, which it was pretended the emperor would never allow, unless it were with his own stamp, and by his own officers. These unexpected proceedings not only caused a great surprize, but was likely to have occasioned a general murmuring through the whole order, some of the warmest among which immediately proposed to the council to fend back the deed of gift to the emperor, as being granted to them with no other view than to involve them into a downright subjection to him, and, instead of those islands, to turn all their efforts against Modon, where the order would be out of all danger from the ill designs of an ambitious and equivocating monarch, who, under the clearest and plainest expressions, was known still to reserve some latent ill meaning, ready to break out upon the first occasion. Their resentment gradually arose to such a height, that the far greater part declared themselves against having anything to do with those two barren islands, or rather rocks, where they must at his pleasure either be starved or enslaved, and which consequently were not worth the parchment which the grant was wrote upon. Thus vehemently did the major part of the knights then present inveigh against that hypocritical monarch, and his enflaming treaty; and insinued upon its being openly broke, and his grant rejected.

But here the grand master interposed, with his usual calmness and prudence; and though he could not directly confute what was objected against both, yet greatly blamed their imprudent warmth, and represented to them the danger of such an open and violent rupture, at least till they were well assured that the proceedings of the viceroy were directed and coun-
tenanced by the emperor. To know which with greater certainty, he thought fit to send a fresh embassy, to represent to him the unreasonableness of that minister's demand, seeing both the Maltsebe and Tripolitans could not be looked upon in any other light than as reg-
nicolas, and ought of course to be as exempt from paying any duty on the corn that was sent thither for their subsistence, as they had been hitherto, since neither of their territories are capable of producing any, either for the garrisons or natives; the former of which spent, communibus annuis, above 340,000 livres in that one article. And as to the privilege of coinage, it was no less unreasonable to deny it to a free republic, as they had been hitherto, and as they thought his imperial majesty had continued them. But when the ambassadors came to represent these things to him, they not only found that his viceroy had done nothing but by his orders, but that he was fully determined to refuse them these two privileges, in spite of all their remonstrances; and, with respect to the last, he haughtily told them, that he would never content to have money coined in Malthe, nor any but his own to go current in it.

This inflexible denial must have infallibly been followed by the total breach of the treaty, if the ambassadors had kept close to their instructions; but they rather chose to send an express to acquaint the grand master with it. The whole council was more than ever inflamed at that monarch's behaviour, it being now visible that he had no other design than that of enflaving them to his own will. The grand master had much ado to pacify them; yet at length his advice so far prevailed, that they agreed to wait till the pope had made a further trial of his interest with him, on condition that, if he did not succeed, the grant should be immediately sent back, and the order should seek for another settlement either at Modon, or at any other place, rather than where Charles V. had any title or pretence. The pope, having readily agreed to try once more his good offices on that important point, immediately sent orders to his nephew Salvaiati, who then reigned at the emperor's court, as ambassador from the grand master, and the whole order, to use his utmost efforts in his name, and as chief protector of it; and that minister executed his commission with such zeal and address, that he at length obtained a fresh treaty from him, in which those two privileges were included. All difficulties being now happily removed, the grand master ordered his two large caracks, the gallies of the order, and a good number of other transports, laden with great quantities of arms, ammunition, and troops, to be got ready to sail for Malthe; he and his knights embarked in the former, with all the effects, records, and treasures, belonging to the order; and the rest in the latter. In their passage they suffered very much by a violent storm, in which one of their gallies split against a rock, and one of the caracks was run aground by the violence of the waves, after having broke her three anchors; and found sa faict, that they expected every moment to see it split in pieces, when by good Providence, contrary wind disengaged her, without any farther damage, which was universally looked upon as a lucky omen, after which they all arrived safe at that island on the 26th of October. The grand master and principal officers landed at the chief port, which we have already described; and went thence directly to the church of St. Lawrence,
to return thanks for their new settlement and happy arrival; then they proceeded to the
poor town or borough, which is situate at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo. Here they
were forced to take their first lodgings in poor fisherman’s huts. The grand master went
and made his residence in the castle, with the principal knights, where he found the accom-
modations were somewhat better, tho’ very mean, and out of repair. Three days after
which he went to take possession of the city, which, from the beginning, bore the name of
the island, but was since called the Notable City, which the reader will find described at the
beginning of this chapter, and, after that, of the whole island, from which the order
thenceforth assumed a new name, and the knights have ever since filled themselves, and
been known by the name of, knights of Malta.

**SECTION IV.**

The history of the order of Maltaha, from their first settlement in that island.

The grand master provides better lodging for the order.

Their first care, after having settled their authority through the two islands, was to b
provide some better accommodations for the present, and to chuse a proper place
where to fix their habitation. But as the island had no other defence than the old castle of
St. Angelo, and lay so open on all sides that it would have required greater sums than their
exhausted treasure would at present allow of to put it in a thorough state of defence, he
was obliged to content himself with surrounding that borough above-mentioned, wherein
he had ordered new buildings to be reared for the present habitation of his knights, with a
fountain, to prevent its being surprized by the Turkish and Barbary corsairs. His design,
indeed, was not at this time to have fixed the abode of the order in that bare and defenceless
island, but to have followed the brave Bofa’s last advice, which was to stay only in it till
he had got a sufficient force to attempt the conquest of Modon, which was not only a populous
and opulent place, but did moreover lie more convenient for a future attempt, whenever fortune threw an opportunity in their hands, to recover the island of Rhodes, their
antient seat, from the Turks, which the barrenness and naked condition of this, together
with the rudeness of the inhabitants, made him and the whole order cherish a constant desire
after. However, this did not hinder his taking all the proper measures for securing of this
as well as that of Gorgia, and laying out a proper plan for securing them from attacks, in case
their design against Modon should fail.

In the mean while, as the superlition of those times reigned equally among those of the order, the grand master, among other precious relics which they had brought away from Rhodes into this island, caused the arm of St. Catherine, a
favourite saint of the Italian tongue, to be carried in a grand procession to the cathedral church,
it being then her festival day. Whilst they were on their march, one of the centinels gave
them notice that a large Turkish merchantman was wrecked on that coast. The grand master
immediately dispatched some of his knights and other followers thither, who, among the rest
of the passengers that had gained the shore, took particular cognizance of two, viz. Isaac the
patron of the ship, who was a native of Modon, and of one Maurithsda Necker, an excellent
engineer, whom the grand master retained in his service, and whom he immediately employed in the new fortifications of the place, in which he shewed a more than common
skill and diligence, all which was looked upon as a good omen of their future establishment.

About the same time, Mr. Sangefe, the knight who had been sent governor of Tripoli, c
having received some fresh reinforcements from Malta, was making frequent incursions on
the territories of the adjacent cities of Germus and Tarsus, which had lately revolted from the
king of Tunis, from whence he brought both plunder and slaves, in such quantity as obliged the inhabitants of the first of those cities to sell their peace from him, with the
great master’s consent, by a small tribute, which they engaged to pay yearly to him; whilst that of the latter, scorning to be tributary to the order, continued making reprisals on
the Tripolitans, which ended in a bloody war between the states of Barbary, and the Chris-
tian powers, and in which the knights of Malta signalized themselves no less than they had
hitherto done against the Asiatic Turks, as we have formerly seen in the several histories of
Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and as we shall have occasion farther to shew in the sequel of
this chapter.

The grand master was hardly well settled in Malta, before the emperor and other Euro-
pean princes endeavoured to engage him in a war against these Barbary infidels, and to
enlarge his dominions there, especially as the city of Tripoli could hardly subsist long in

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*a* Bosio, tom. iii. l. iv. & seq. **Baudoine**, l. x. c. i, & z. Vertot, tom. iv. l. x. p. 2, & seq. **Ba-
*poix**, ubi supra.  
*Bo* sio, i. iii. c. 5. **Baudoine**, Vertot, ubi supra.

their
their hands within the narrow territory to which it was confined. But the enterprise on Modon at this time appearing to him more considerable, his first care was to furnish himself with a sufficient number of troops and shipping; the command of which, as it was not expedient for him to leave the island, he gave to two of the bravest and most expert commanders; a considerable number of other knights embarked with them for that expedition, and the whole fleet set sail for Modon on the 27th of August 1531. We shall not enlarge on the particulars of that unsuccessful enterprise, which ended solittle to the honour of the order; but only observe upon the whole, that tho' every thing seemed to promise a more happy event, the two renegades not only continuing true to their promise, but even impatient to signalize themselves by their zeal and bravery, yet the attempt was carried through the baflethes and avarice of the Malebese forces, which were privately conveyed thither in the night, and who, instead of waiting for any farther orders, disperled themselves through the town, and began to pillage it, and commit the most cruel outrages, which drove the greatest part of the inhabitants into the castle, where the governor refixed, with a small garrison. As soon as he was informed of the matter, he forthwith caused arms to be distributed amongst them, and marching at their head with some of his regular troops, fell upon these fraggles, before they could re-unite, and made a bloody slaughter amongst them, though they quickly rallied, and made an obstinate defence against him.

In the mean time, the signal which had been given to the galleys, that stood off the small island of Sapienza, to approach, which was by the firing of a cannon, not being perceived by them, the sound being carried off by a contrary wind, they did not move towards the city till they were fetched by a shallop, which was sent to them by young Salgaro, the son of one of the two renegades; so that they did not approach the place till about noon; by which time the governor had ordered matters so well, and received such a strong reinforcement from a neighbouring camp, designed for the war in Hungary, that they saw themselves obliged to abandon the enterprise, after having lost some of their bravest knights, and a good number of their troops. The worst of all was, that the grand prior of Rome, who commanded in chief, having blocked up the gates of the castle into which the governor had been obliged to retire, did not cause the retreat to be sounded till he had seen his Malebese troops glutted with the richest plunder, in which the knights and chief officers of the order carried off the most considerable share, and, among other spoils, above 800 women and virgins captives into their vessels; all which failed back to Malethe without opposition or diffter.
left no stone unturned that could induce him to desist from his nomination of that cardinal. 

Clement not only inflected upon his having the right to it, to his death, but even in his last moments charged the cardinal Caraffa to press his successor, whoever he was, to follow the same interesting tract, and inflict upon the validity of Ginevra's right to that see. But as he died soon after, his successor Paul III. who had other interests in view, was easily prevailed upon to yield to the emperor, and the matter was easily compromised in favour of Bafio.

About this time it was also that Diego de Toledo, grand prior of Caffita, obtained a division of that rich priory in favour of his two nephews; from which time they were called the grand priors of Caffita and Leon.

The Maltese fleet joins that of the emperor.

All this while the emperor and new pope were making great preparations against the Turks, according to the league which the former had made with the predecessor of the latter. The grand matter failed not to be earnestly invited by both to join his forces to theirs, which his obligations to them made him readily comply with. He accordingly equips the great carack of the order, to which he joined as large a number of his gallies and other vessels as he could spare; on board of which he sent some of the best commanders and bravest knights of the order. These quickly joined the confederate fleet, commanded by the famed admiral Doria, on the 8th of August 1532. The event of which was, that the expedition of this united fleet was successful, and would, in all likelihood, have been attended with the conquest of Modon, if the sallies, discouraged by the ill success of the last attempt against it, had not openly murmured, and obliged the admiral to turn his forces against Coron. The Maltese commanders would indeed have been much better pleased to have displayed their valour against the other; but the disappointment did not hinder them from acting with their usual zeal and bravery. Never did men mount to the assault with greater courage, and maintain their posts with more intrepidity, against the fire, darts, melted lead, and other destructive efforts of the besieged, or more quickly fill up the places of those that were killed, till they had the very first of all planted the standard of the order on the walls: a circumstance which had such an effect both on the besiegers and besieged, that, whilst the former were inspired with fresh courage by their example, the others were so disheartened, that they immediately displayed the white flag, and hastened to capitulate. Before the winter came on, the Maltese fleet failed along the same coast, where they made themselves masters of the castle of Ardenel, and some other fortresses situated upon it, whilst Doria did the fame by the city of Patras; by which time the weather obliged them to separate, and each to return to their respective homes.

The place capitulated.

They were all obliged again, in the next year, to appear before Coron, which had been invested by the Turks by sea and land. The Maltese Caracciolo was placed in the front of the confederate fleet, and by its height made a dreadful havoc amongst the Turks, whilst Doria was endeavouring, under the covert of the fire and smoke on both sides, to convey some vessels through those of the enemy, with fresh troops into the place; but the attempt was so ill-managed, that a great number of them were lost; yet the Maltese gallies coming in time to their assistance, gave a sudden turn to the engagement, and the Turks, who had boarded some of their vessels sword in hand, and thought themselves masters of them, had the mortification to see themselves loaded with those chains which they had despaired against the order, and to be carried away prisoners to Malta; for their fleet was quickly recalled by the grand master to the defence of the island, which was now threatened with an invasion by the famed Turkish corsair Barbarossa, who ranged those seas at the head of above fourscore galleys. At their arrival, the council were of opinion, that, as the island had hardly any other fortifications than the castle of St. Angelo, the grand master should transport himself from thence into Sicily, with all the relics, church-ornaments, and treasures of the order. But the brave old gentleman rejected the proposal with a becoming firmness; telling them, at the same time, that as he had never yet fled from the enemies of Christianity, so neither would he now consent to give such an ill example to the order, merely to preserve the least remains of a weak and worn-out life. This said, he immediately ordered the fortifications to be forthwith carried on with all possible speed, both in the borough and city, and all the inhabitants of the island, and a new chapter of the order, to be summoned from all parts of Europe, into which the major part of them were dispersed.

The grand master's noble resolution.

This last step was the more necessary at this time, though the Turkish corsair had taken a different route, in order to call in all the responphons, arrears, and other revenues of the order, to supply the expense of these fortifications, maintain their army and fleet, and such-like exigencies, but likewise to rectify a number of other abuses which were crept in during the eight years of their wandering without a settlement. Thus far had all things been carried on to the satisfaction of the grand master, and the more sober and zealous part of the order; when, on a sudden, a fracas happening between a young Florence secular, belong-
a ing to the grand prior of Rome, and a young French knight, in which the latter was run through, had like to have proved of the most dangerous consequence, and hastened the grand master's death. For the commander Servier, of the Provencal tongue, suspecting that the Florentine had killed his nephew by some foul stratagem, fought him out with a full design of revenging his death; and having found him, accompanied with some of his young countrymen, attacked and wounded some, and put the rest to flight; the quarrel soon became universal, in which some knights declared for the one, and others for the other side. The whole order and city was up in arms, and such a dreadful uproar ensued as had never been known since the foundation of the order.

b The grand master, respecting as he was by them all, in vain interposed his authority to oblige them to retire; his commands were now disregarded, and each party listened only to the dictates of their fury. The intervening night rather increased than allayed the tumult and mutual hostilities; insomuch that the council were obliged to oppose the grand master's coming out to them, lest he should meet with some random shot in the dark; in whose stead they sent one of their number, named Mansie, a person highly reverenced for his years and merit, who, by his address and persuasions, prevailed upon both sides to lay down their arms, and retire to their respective quarters, where they had time to cool, and reflect on the fatal effects of their contentious madness. The refult was, that the grand master Offenders found himself obliged to make a severe example of a few of the most desperate offenders, exiled; some of whom, refusing to acknowledge their crime, were ordered to be thrown into the sea, and about a dozen of the rest to be publicly degraded, and stripped of the cross and ornaments of the order. This diorama, joined to the mortifying news he received at that time, of what our king Henry VIII. was doing in England, threw the old gentleman, already worn out with age and fatigues, into a violent fever, of which he languished till the 21st of August 1554, on which he expired, to the great loss and regret of the whole order, by whom he was so justly and universally beloved and respected. He died in the 70th year of his age, and 14th of his grand mastership. In justice to his great merit, the following epitaph was ordered to be engraved over his tomb: Here rests Virtus victorious over Fortuna. Before he died, he caused a noble palace to be built in the castle of S. Angelo, for himself and successors, and another in the old city of Malta, besides other edifices for the order, and several necessary fortifications both in this island and that of Gozo. He likewise obtained several very considerable grants and privileges, both before and after the loss of Rhodes from the popes, the emperor, the kings of France and Spain, in favour of the order, which we have not room to repeat.

c He was succeeded by Peter, al. Perino de Ponte, a native of A& in Italy, and uncle to 43. Perino de pope Julius III. on the 26th of the same month, being then absent in his bailiwick of Ponte. St. Euphemia in Calabria. He received the news of his election from T. Bofa, the new bishop of Malta, with the greatest regret; but upon his receiving another express from thence, with the news of the wars that reigned in Tunis, and the danger Tripoli and Malta were in from the formidable and successful Barbarossa, who was by this time become master of Algiers and Tunis, he made all the haste he could to his new government, where he arrived on the 14th of November following. His first care, after having dispatched a strong reinforcement into Tripoli, was to send an ambassa 4d to the emperor, to desist him to equip a powerful fleet against that corsair, without which it was impossible for that city, even with a much stronger force and garrison, to make any long opposition against him. Charles V. received about the same time another ambassa from Muley Haffan, the deprived king of Tunis, much to the same effect; and both these took care to represent to him the danger which his dominions in Naples and Sicily would be in, if he did not quickly send a superior force to suppress theof the Turkish corsairs, in possession of Tunis. The emperor was, upon these motives, as well as to suppresse the corsairs, which f quite interrupted the commerce of those seas, easily prevailed upon to carry his arms into Africa, especially as soon as he found that his double artifice against the corsair had been discovered, and his private ambassador put to death by him.

d As soon as the grand master and order were affrighted of that monarch's designs and preparations for a war in Africa, they ordered four of their cheapest galleys to be equipped, together with their large carack, which of itself is almost equivalent to a squadron, which were attended by eighteen brigantines of different sizes and ufs. A considerable number of the bravest knights went on board this fleet, which was commanded by the brave Aurelio Basigell, an old experienced officer, whist the knight De Gross made captain of the great carack, and the whole furnished with a proportionate number of troops, and with all necessary provision for such an expedition, fit to join the emperor's armament, which consisted of 300 sail, 25,000 foot, 2000 horse, and a very great number of volunteers of the

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The history of Maltba.

Book XXII.

bfest families in Europe: all which that monarch resolved to command in person. We shall not here repeat what hath been related at full length in another place, of this long expedition: but as our present subject is confined to the history of Maltba, we shall only observe, in justice to the valorous knights, such instances in which they signalized themselves most by their bravery and services.

The first was at the siege of Goletta, which was the first place the imperial fleet attacked with success. In this one of the knights of the order, named Couverja, an excellent engineer, found out a stratagem to come almost close to the main tower, by means of a Baraclonga, armed with long cannon, and filled with musketees, and which, by its continual plying it with broadsides, kept battering with strange success, whilst the small-arms destroyed by the same constant fire, all the Turks that appeared on the breach, and prevented their defending or repairing it, till it was become wide enough for the assault, which it quickly was, by the large artillery which cannonaded it, not only from that but from the rest of the vessels, and more particularly from the great carrack, which was situated behind all the rest, and, by its advantageous height, could fire over all others, and made a most dreadful execution against the place. The breach was hardly made wide enough to be scaled, before the knights of Maltba jumped out of their gallies into the long-boats, and thence into the sea, with their swords in their hands, and waded through the water above their girdles, it being too shallow for boats to approach the shore. The standard-bearer of the order was the first that jumped into the water, and led the rest to the attack, they claiming everywhere, as has been often hinted, the post of honour, and, through volleys of terrible firing and missile weapons, gained the shore, and quickly after the top of the breach, where they planted their great standard. A great number lost their lives, and scarcely one of them came off unwounded; and the emperor did them that justice to own, upon his being congratulated on the taking that important place, that it was chiefly owing to the valour of the Maltba knights. He made the same acknowledgment to the grand master, who, upon his return, sent him a congratulatory ambassage on his great success in Africa. The city of Tunis soon followed the fortresses of Goletta; after the surrender of which, the emperor, designating to return into Europe, took his last dinner on board the great carrack, where he was magnificently entertained, and gave the surviving knights the greatest encomiums, and marks of his esteem and gratitude to the order. These he accompanied with considerable presents, and with two new grants; by one of which they were permitted to lend for what corn or other provisions they wanted from Sicily, without duty or demurr: and by the other he engaged that none of the order should be permitted to enjoy any of the estates or revenues of the order, throughout all his dominions, unless they were lawfully authorized thereto by the grand master and his council, or till the originals had been examined and registered by himself, or such ministers as he should appoint for that purpose. The fleet failed for Maltba, where, at their arrival, they received the melancholy news of the grand master’s death, on the 17th of November, before he had enjoyed that dignity a whole year.

He was succeeded by Didier de Tolone de St. Jalle, in Latin, Difiderius de Tolone de Sancta Jalla, a native of Provence, and then grand prior of Thessalouf, where he resided at the time of his election. The noble conduct and bravery which he had formerly shewn in defence of Rhodes, had gained him long ago the esteem, and now the majority of votes, of the order. The present juncture required a person of his experience and merit at this time, in which the Turkish corsairs, quite tired with the dreadful hacock which Batigella, grand prior of Pisa, who seldom quitted the sea, and never failed out without finding or making some considerable prizes on them, had agreed to enter into a strong confederacy, either to surprize the city of Tripoli, where his retreat was, or, if that failed, to lay close siege to it by sea and land; in either of which they were sure of all the assistance of Barbarossa, and Hayradin, the then lord of Tagiora. This last had undertaken the command and conduct of the whole enterprise, but had not carried it on so secretly, but the governor had timely notice enough of it to be able to give him a warm reception. Hayradin accordingly came thither in the dead of the night with his whole force, and began to scale the walls, where he imagined them to be most defenceless. They no sooner appeared at the foot of them, but the garrison, which had been kept up in arms, poured down such streams of wild-fire, boiling oil, melted lead, and such volleys of stones, whistl the small and great guns annoyed those that food farthest off, as quickly gave them to understand how they were ready prepared for them. Yet did not this discourage them from following the attack with great fury and vigour, till Hayradin, who was foremost in one of the sallades, was knocked down by a musket-shot from the top of his ladder. He fell down into the ditch below, and was taken up breathless by his troops, which threw him into such a panic and confusion, that they immediately dispersed themselves, leaving a vast number of their slain at the foot of the walls.

The governor, however, rightly judged that this would not be the last visit that Hayradin Tripoli newly Fortified would pay him; and as the walls of the city were quite out of repair, and defended by no bulwarks, whilst that Turkish corsair held the strong tower of Alcaid on that coast, whence he could at any time make some fresh attempt upon it, he immediately sent an express to Malta, to propose to the council the fortifying of the one, and the demolishing of the other. His advice being approved of, the commander Butigella, now general of the galleys, was forthwith dispatched thither with a sufficient force, who, having landed his men at Tripoli, immediately marched with his troops, and a body of horse of hired Arabs, towards the tower above-mentioned, and, without staying to open the trenches, or any other covering than his gabions, levelled his artillery against it. Hayradin, being informed of it, came at the head of his Turks to its defence; but was intercepted by a stout detachment of Maltese knights, at the head of the hired Arabs, and repulsed with loss; so that all he could do was to convey about 50 or 60 Turks into the place, and to annoy the Christians with some flight skirmishes. Butigella, perceiving that his cannon did not make to quick a dispatch as he wished, sent for some of his galleys, under the shelter of which he quickly sprung a mine, which brought part of the wall down, and buried the greater part of the coiffars under it; whilst the rest, hardly recovered from their fright, seeing the Maltese mount the breach with sword in hand, laid down their arms. The tower was forthwith razed to the ground; after which Butigella, at the head of his little army, marched towards the town of Adabus, whence he drove Hayradin, who had intrenched himself in it, and gave the plunder of the place to the Arabs.

In his return to Malta, he attacked a large galley coming from Egypt, richly laden, Tacks a rich and commanded by a brave Turk, named Arzor, who gave him a very warm reception; notwithstanding which galleys which his made their way up to him through all his fire, and boarded it sword in hand. This prize was reckoned worth £600,000 crowns, besides 200 Turkish prisoners, with which he entered the harbour, and was received with the loud acclamations of the whole order, who came to meet him on his landing, and to congratulate his success. Their public rejoicings were greatly damped, not only by two till unheard-of crimes, committed by two young persons belonging to the order (B), but, what was still more afflicting, by the news which was soon after brought of the death of the new grand master, who fell ill on his way to Malta, and died at Montpelier on the 26th of September, about ten months after his election. 1536.

This chapter soon proceeded to a new election, which the generality hoped would fall either on the brave and hitherto successful Butigella, or on Colle bailiff of Lange, both Homedes.

to intitling to it, not only by seniority, but much more by their singular merit, and the important services they had done to the order; when, to their great surprise and mortification, the electing members, by the artifice and cabals of Garcia Cortez, of the tongue of Aragon, gave their votes in favour of John d'Omedes, or de Homedes, of the same tongue, and bailiff of Cape, who had formerly signalled himself likewise, and had lost an eye in the defence of Rhodes. Butigella, in spite of his high merit, not only lost the election, but quickly after the command of the Maltese galleys, that post being bestowed upon a younger knight, named Leo de Srozzini, then grand prior of Capua, who had received that dignity, together with the habit of the order, from his uncle pope Clement VII. some time before. This young admiral, though as yet neither soldier nor sailor, quickly signalled himself at the head of his four galleys, in the first expedition he made under the famed Andrew Doria, against a dozen of stout Turkish ships, commanded by the warlike Ali Zolfi, at the head of a number of as desperate janissaries as perhaps ever appeared on these seas.

Doria, who had no less than 34 galleys, besides the four Maltese commanded by Srozzini, Srozzini signet the Turks in the channel of Corfu, with a kind of confidence of obtaining an easy victory, but met with a most obstinate repulse, vast numbers falling on both sides; and the Turks attacked the Maltese, their ancient enemies, with such fury, that the knight Oporto, who commanded the Capitana, was killed in defending it. They were just ready to board it sword in hand, when Srozzini ordered a culverine to be levelled against them, which had the good-fortune to sink both them and their galley. The Maltese, thus happily disengaged, bent their whole force against the Capitana of the Turks, where a more bloody battle began, wherein the Turks could not prevent the knights from boarding it,

(B) The fifth of these crimes was the stripping of the image of the Virgin Mary of Petriana, brought away from the island of Rhodes, of every thing which the devotion of those times had enriched it with, and were esteemed of immense value; which theft was committed by a young novice, named Dioco, who was a candidate for a chaplainship of the order.

The other murder was committed by one of the knights, a native of England, upon a Maltese woman, with whom he was desperately in love, and upon a flight from the country, in a mad fit of jealousy, he had stabbed her to death with his own hand.

They were both apprehended, and, by order of the grand master's lieutenant, turned over to the secular court, where they were both condemned, and soon after executed, about a mile from the haven, to which place they were conveyed, fewed each in a sack, and swung alive into the sea*.

* Defo, old, fop. t. iv. x. p. 150, & seq.

although
although they defended it as long as there was a man left alive in it; so that Strozzi made himself master of it without taking one single prisoner. This made the victory incline towards the Christians, though it proved a dear one both to the imperial and Maltbe’s squadrons, by the losse of some of the best officers.

His reception at Maltha.

Doria, resolv[ing] soon after to attack the squadron which was conducting the French ambassado[r] to the Porte, Strozzi withdrew with his Maltbe’s. In his way, he had the good-fortune to chase and take two large corsairs, and a small galley, in which were about 400 Christian slaves, on the coast of Calabria, from whence he brought them all safe to Maltbe, where he met with the congratulations of the whole order, on his having so gloriously concluded his first expedition, and on the great hopes which this happy beginning gave them of his future services to the order. They had indeed no small reason to commend his singular bravery, of which he gave in the sequel so many signal instances; the misfortune was, that being quickly after apprized of his father’s being taken prisoner in a battle against Cofino de Medicis, and on the point of being tried and condemned as a rebel, he was obliged to quit the island, and pass into Italy, by which the order lost one of the bravest and best commanders of the age.

The grand mst. ter fez out for Maltha.

WHILST these things were transacting, tidings were brought to the new grand master of his election; at which the French court was so little pleased, that the king could not forbear asking the commander Trevoux, what could induce the order to make such a choice? to which he could not think of a better answer than saying, that there had been always a strict friendship between him and the late worthy fle Adam. Upon which that prince readily ordered his safe-conduct to be sent him, together with a permission to take with him what affiancé he thought necessary for the service of the order out of his dominions. However, he was obliged to embark for Maltbe without the great carack, and usual escorte of Maltbe’s galleys, which were commonly sent to fetch his absent predecessors; which, whether done out of disrepect, as was pretended, because they could not at that juncture be spared without imminent danger to the island, he was glad to dispence with. Certain it is, Soltan Soliman was then equipping a fleet of 300 sail with all expedition, which made the council think it unsafe to venture them out, when they did not know how soon they might be attacked by the Turks.

An embassy from Tunis.

About the same time arrived an ambassado[r] from the king of Tunis, whom the Turkish, since the departure of Charles V. who had, as we have elsewhere seen, restored to him his dominions, hadripp’d of several towns and forresses along the coasts, and scarcely left him any other port but that of Tunis. The ambassado[rs] further complained, that Barbaroja had put a strong garrisson in Tacora, under command of his best captains, who was expected with a powerful fleet upon some design against Tripoli, or his own capital, neither of which would be able to oppose him, unless a speedy succours was sent to both. To all this he added, that the sea-port town of Sufa, which had lately revolted from him, would not fall joining forces with the Turkish admiral. Sufa being then a very strong fortress, about eight or nine leagues from Tunis, the council thought proper to dispatch Paul Simeoni, who had now succeed’d the brave Strozzi as admiral of the Maltbe’s galleys, and had signalized himself at the taking of Tunis, to join the marquis de Terra Nova, sent thither from Sicily, and assist the Tunisian monarch to cover that important place, whilist they sent to the empe[r]or for some succours to secure these coasts against the Turks.

These two accordingly laid close siege to the place, the marquis by land, and the Maltbe’s by sea; but the former, being unhappily betrayed by a renegade, who, under pretense of having deferted the Turks out of a fierce remonstrance, gave him a quite contrary account of the fortifications to what he afterwards found them, spent his forces and ammunition against the strongest part of it, till they were both exhausted. A great number of knights, who mounted the breach against the incessant fire of the place, not without a considerable losse, were strangely surpriz’d, when they had gain’d the top, to discover new bulwarks and fortifications behind, which would require a still greater force to reduce; they therefore made the best retreat they could. The marquis found his mistake when it was too late, and was forced to raise the siege for want of men and ammunition; and the Maltbe’s, after having lost a great number of their bravest knights and best forces, retired to their own island, not a little dissatisfied with the emperor for committing the management of that siege to such an unexperienced general.

The same time arrived the brave Batigella from his government of Tripoli, in which he had been succeed’d by two experienced commanders, and represented with no less warmth the injustice which that monarch did to the order in committing the care of that place to them, without giving himself any trouble about repairing the fortifications, or about the maintenance of a sufficient garrisson; whilist the Moris, out of enmity to the Christians, joined all their forces to make themselves masters of all places they held along that coast.
From all which miscarriages he plainly told the council, that it would be impossible for them to keep Tripoli much longer in their hands against such united force, unless speedy care be taken by the emperor to put the place into a better condition, which had already cost them so much to preserve. The council, before they would apply to that monarch, resolved to have those matters examined by some of their most expert officers and engineers, suspecting perhaps the account which Bagiella gave of them to be exaggerated, out of dislike to the grand master; but as soon as they found it verified by such able judges, they instantly dispatched the commander Gro fos to the imperial court, with orders, if possible, to persuade that monarch to demolish the city, and blow up its castle, as coasting more to keep than it was worth; and, if not, to have the fortifications repaired with all possible speed, and the place supplied with all necessaries for a siege. The former of these expedients the emperor would by no means listen to, but promised to send express orders to the governor of Sicily to set about the second with all possible diligence; declaring, at the same time, his resolution to drive all the Turkiff corsairs out of Africa; and that he should be much obliged to the order, if they would let their galleys act jointly with the fleet he was equipping for the Mediterranean.

We have formerly seen that he made a powerful alliance with the pope, the king of France, and some other Christian powers, against Scliman. The galleys of the order, commanded by the knight Simone, had been ordered to convey that pontiff to Nice, where these two monarchs met and concluded it with him. The grand master, in consequence of it, ordered four of his galleys to join the confederate fleet at Maffina, which was wholly to be commanded as before by Andrew Doria, whom the emperor soon after found means to engage entirely in his own service, to the great regret of the French monarch. We shall not repeat here the result of that expedition, of which the reader will find a full account in a former part; nor was there any occasion for the Maltese to signalize themselves in a war in which the two admirals Doria and Barbarossa played so artful a game between them. The emperor had no better successes in his Hungarian operations; the care of which he turned over to his brother, in order to pursue the project he had so long formed against the corsairs of Africa, in which he at this time hoped to meet with better success, whilst Barbarossa was absent, confining measures with Scliman at Constan tinople. But tho' the juncture was so favourable to him in that respect, yet the feaon of the year was too far advanced for any considerable enterprise. Yet that did not discourage the Maltese knights, whom he had earnestly invited to his affianctee, from offering themselves in such vast numbers, that the grand master was forced to quell their untimely zeal, and reduce them to 400, who accordingly set sail in four of their galleys to join him at the head of his fleet. The emperor, too much flattered with hopes at the sight of so powerful a force under his command, to listen to the wholesome advice of Doria, the only one who dared to represent to him the danger of those boisterous seas at that time of the year, resolved upon the siege of Algiers, in spite of the entreaties, and even tears, of that old experienced admiral; and Simone, who commanded the Maltese galleys, tho' no less sensible of the danger, yet made no demur to follow him thither.

The ill successes of that expedition need not be repeated here, nor the extreme danger that the monarch was in both by sea and land, from the half of which it is much questioned whether he could have escaped, had not the Maltese knights repulsed the Turks, who had dared to attack even the imperial quarters, with an incredible fury, and pursued them to the very gates of the city, in hopes of entering the place after those fugitives. They were, however, disappointed, by the governor's ordering them to be shut up, even before the Turks were all got in; at which the standard-bearer of the order, who was one of the foremost in the pursuit, was so exasperated, that he left his dagger closely stuck into the gate, and retired with the rest in good order.

His danger was still greater, as we have elsewhere seen, upon his re-embarkation, by the furious storm which shattered most of the fleet, and the strenuous efforts of the Moors, Turks, and Arabs, made to take or sink as many of their vessels as they could. Here again the Maltese knights proved of special use in repulsing them, as they were better acquainted with those seas, and more frequently employed in these kinds of exercises. On both occasions they behaved with such courage and intrepidity, that the rest of the allies could not sufficiently admire or commend them. The misfortune was, that the loss they suffered both of men and ships, and especially of some of their belt commanders, more than equalled the glory they gained. The emperor, before they parted from him, gave them the most ample testimony of his satisfaction and gratitude, as far as words and encomiums could go; and with these the Maltese commander set sail with the small remains of his order in three shattered vessels, and arrived safely at the port of Malta, about the end of November 1548.

Whilst the Maltese were employed in that unfortunate expedition, the island was so terribly annoyed with the Turkiff and other corsairs, that the port was in some measure blocked up by them, whilst the coasts both here and of Gofo lay exposed to the frequent insults and depredations.

6 A  

mod. hist. vol. vii.
predations, and often to the loss of their inhabitants. This obliged the great daily Simeoni, at his return from Algiers, to cause his shattered galleys to be refitted with all possible speed, in order to clear the channel of that pernicious vermin; which he did with such surprising success, that he took several of them, and their Rais, or captains, and brought them home in chains. This quickly spread the terror of his arms all over those seas, so that scarce any of them dared to shew themselves in the channel. Being obliged by the weather to put in at Tripoli, the governor informed him, that he had just received an express from the king of Tunis, to acquaint him that Barbaroja was making the most pressing complaints to the Porte against the Maltbeho knights, whilst his lieutenant Morat Hoga was making great preparations at Tucbora for the siege of Tripoli, which he doubted not would be soon followed by that of Tunis, where Haffan was become odious to the Turks and Moors, on account of his alliance with the emperor, after whose late defeat a great number of towns in that kingdom had revolted from him, and a much greater number of his subjects had put themselves under the protection of the Algerine monarch, who was expected shortly from Constantiopole at the head of a powerful fleet, whose arrival would be quickly followed by the sieges of Tripoli and Tunis.

The admiral loit no time to bring thes unwelcome news to the grand master; for though the emperor had promised him so solemnly that he would order the fortifications of Tripoli to be repaired and enlarged, yet nothing had been done to it since; so that it was impossible for it, in the condition it was in, to hold out any time against such powerful force. The council being assembled upon it, agreed that a fresh embassy should be sent to the imperial court, to renew their instances for a speedy execution of its engagements; but which succeeded no better than the former. That polite monarch gave them many fair promises of a powerful succour, in case the place was besieged; but neither sent them any supply of men or money, which he pretended he had too great an occasion for in Sicily and other parts of his empire. The admiral was feebly affected with the ill succours of the embassy, as well as the rest of the order; but as he was likewise grand bailiff of Germany, he thought himself obliged to do what he could for the preservation of that place, and caused the crew and flames of his galleys to dig a pretty large fosse round it, and added some few other repairs and outworks, which, tho' done in haste, could not but be better than none, and faved, in some measure, the credit of the order. On the other hand, that he might not seem too pressing with the emperor, he prevailed upon the king of Tunis to take a second voyage into Italy, and solicit for fresh succours from him, which, if he obtained for himself, would be likewise of service to Tripoli. Haffan accordingly disposed all things for his departure with a grand retinue, and with considerable presents for the vicerey of Sicily, and the imperial court; and, being safely arrived at Naples, dispatched some couriers after the emperor, who was gone to quell some troubles in Germany, to beg the favour of an interview with him. We have seen elsewhere the ill fate of that expedition, which cost that unfortunate prince his eyes and his kingdom, through the treachery of his son Hamida.

This revolution, which so greatly endangered the city of Tripoli, at the same time that it increased the power of the Turks, especially of Barbaroja, with whom that treacherous prince made a speedy alliance, in order to preserve himself on his throne, failed not to put the order into the utmost confusion. Tripoli, at a great distance from Maltbeho, surrounded on all sides by enemies, and in so bad a condition of defence, especially as it was commanded all around by high hills, gave its governor such apprehensions of its approaching siege, that he ceased not soliciting the grand master for his discharges till he had obtained it, and another was sent in his stead. This was soon after exchanged for a new one, and the commander John de Valetta, of the tongue of Provence, a man of great experience, conduct, and intrepidity, who had already signalized himself by a long course of naval expeditions, especially against the corsairs, and a great variety of successes, sometimes conquerors, and at other times conquered, and even laden with chains, and condemned to a severe slavery, or cruel imprisonment; but no sooner redeemed and at liberty, than at sea again in search of new adventures. Such was the character of John de Valetta, whom the grand master pitched upon to go and defend that place. He was perhaps the only one that would accept of that commission under such disadvantageous circumstances, wherein so little, if any, honour could be gained.

His first care, upon his arrival at his new government, was to take a review of all his Moors and Arabs, as well as Christians, and to introduce a strict discipline among them, officers as well as soldiers. Next to that, he applied his time, and the small quantity of money which the grand master had intrusted him with, in repairing the old and adding some new fortifications to the place; and more than these he would have caused to be made, had not the famous Dragut, a mortal enemy to all Christians, and especially to the Maltbeho, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in some foregoing chapters, seized, some time before, upon one of their galleys, which a storm had separated from the squadron, in which was the
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A sum of 60,000 crowns, designed for the service of the place. The late precaution the new governor took was to send all unclefs mouths out of it; after which he ordered a plan of all the coasts of Barkary to be taken, which, with that of the city, and the account of its present condition, he sent to the emperor with all possible expedition.

By this time Dragut, who had obtained from Selim the government of the Turkifh fleet Dragut, was in the room of Barbarossa, lately dead at Conflantinopole, through his excelle debaucheries, seeds Barba had made himself master of the sea-port of Africa, al. Melita, on those coasts, by the vilest of treacheries, designing to make it his place of arms and rendezvous. This routed at once the emperor's attention to that side. He engaged the pope and the grand master to assist him to wrench that place out of his hands, without which no part of Italy, Sicily, or other adja- cent islands, could be safe from his bloody incursions. The grand master, no less interested in that expedition, readily furnished his usual squadron of four galleys, under the command of the baily De Sanglie, since then grand master of the order, who had under him 140 knights, and a battalion of 400 men in the Malitbe pay. Young Doria, the nephew of the admiral of that name, who commanded the emperor's fleet, sailed straightway to Cape Bone, where he landed his forces, and made himself master of the fortresses of Calabria, suppos'd to be the Clypea of the Romans, from which he advanced towards Monacifer, both which had submitted to Dragut. At their approach to the place, the Turks and Moors made a large sally, not so much to engage as to reconnoitre them; but the Malitbe knights, who marched in the front, and were supported by a third part of the Spanifh forces, rushed out upon them with such speed and fury, that they killed a great number of them, and followed the rest with f Crom in hand into the town. This was soon abandoned by the inhabitants, most of whom retired with the governor into the castle. This, refusing to surrender upon the first summons, was immediately cannondomed with such force, that a breach was quickly made, tho' scarcely wide enough for an affault. But our young admiral, above minding such a circumstance, ordered his forces forthwith to mount, which occasioned the attack to be more fierce and bloody, and, which was still worse, the loss of the greatest part of the Malitbe, who had the post of honour. The inhabitants would have been glad to have capitulated; but the governor, an old experienced corfuir, rejected the proposal, and held his post on the top of the breach, till a musket-ball put an end to his fighting and life. The reef, quite discouraged by his death, surrendered at discretion, and were made prisoners of war.

After this successful expedition, Doria, having been promis'd a vaft reinforcement from Naples and Sicily, resolved to make his next attempt on Africa, whilst Dragut was out at sea with his squadron; and, to prevent his throwing any forces into the place whilst the succours Doria blocks were coming from Italy, went and poifed his fleet at the Conigliari or Comiliary Islands, almost up Africa, over-again it, and by that means kept the place in some measure block'd up. About that time he received advice from the viceroy of Naples, importing, that the succours defignd for him were not quite ready, and desiring him to come to him at Trepolo in Sicily, the place of their rendezvous. This request (which could not be complied with without giving Dragut an opportunity, which he was not likely to neglect, of throwing some fresh succour into Africa), highly disconcerted the young admiral; but, as he had been charg'd not to undertake any thing without the advice of Don Juan de Vefa, an old experienced general, he was oblig'd to go and consult him at Palermo, from which he fellaw away to Trepolo, where the Neapolitan and Malitbe fleets were already arrived. Unfortunately the former was commanded by young Don Garcia, the viceroy's son, who, from thence, claim'd a privilege of the fole direction of the siege, to the great mortification of young Doria, who expected to have had the fole glory of it. The contest lasted some time, and was likely to have been attended with some ill consequence, when the Malitbe admiral De Sanglie undertook to interpose, and, by his ad- dress and superior sagacity, after several conferences with the two contenders, brought the matter to a compromise, in which it was agreed, that, when they were at sea, Garcia should pay a due regard to the imperial admiral; and, at land, they should each command their own troops, and the council of war direct the attacks, and other meafures relating to the siege, in the name of the emperor, as if he was really there prezent.

There was now nothing more to do, but to fail away for Africa, and to form the siege of Africa-ble; but Dragut had taken fuch care, during Doria's abfence, to fupply the place with brave fiefed; and expert officers, freh troops, and other ammunition, that he fhoald have nothing to do but to fcur the sea with his squadron, and intercept all the provifions that were fent to the befiegers. On the other hand, the grand master, fensible of the flos of fo many of his knights at the fale siege, took care to fend a freh supply of them; whilst the emperor, on his part, fent orders to the governor of Coletta, an old experienced commander, to come and aflift g at the siege. We have given, in a former chapter, a full account of the moft material

Vide ast. sup. citat. 1 Id. ibid.
The history of Maltha.

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of it; to which we shall only add here, as more nearly relating to the history of Malta we are upon, that the admiral of it, De Saule, mindful of the religious as well as moral duties of his order, caused an hospital and infirmary to be erected in his camp, under a sufficient number of tents, in which the sick and wounded of the imperial army were taken all due care of, and were served by the knights under his command by turns; a conduct which made their charity no less conspicuous and admired than their valour, especially as the number of the unhappy objects were so considerable, and their condition for the most part deplorable and desperate without such a timely and extraordinary assistance. But their intrepid bravery displayed itself more eminently upon the signal being given for the general assault, at which, as usual, they claimed the privilege in being foremost in mounting the breach. Finding the water too shallow to bring them close to the shore, they waded through the sea up above their middle, with their swords drawn, and through the continual volleys of small shot, arrows, and other missile weapons, as well as through fire from melted lead, boiling oil, flint-pots, &c. till they gained the top of it, and planted the standard of the order on the wall, with such surprising speed and undaunted courage, as quite astonished the besieged. The standard-bearer, named Gaon, was instantly killed by a musket-shot; but the standard was as quickly seized by the commander Copier, who, in spite of all the fire and smoke from within, kept it still displayed, without losing an inch of his ground, during the whole time of the attack, though he saw a vast number of knights, and other brave volunteers, that fought under it, fall down dead on each side, by the continual fire of the artillery, without being able to make the Turks give way. At length the commander Guimeraes, who continued still at the head of the rest, looking about on all sides, and perceiving something like a narrow path leading into the place, thought it was the fragments of a gallery which had been demolished by the cannon of the besiegers, opened himself a way, and led the rest through all the rubbish into the heart of the place, where they made such a terrible havoc of all that opposed them, that happy were they who could get farthest from them, and gain the adjacent plains with what they could save out of their houses; so that it was entirely owing to the intrepid bravery of the order, that this important place was carried, in spite of all the force, art, and stratagems, of Dragut, to prevent it.

The plunder of the place was immense; Dragut kept all his treasure in it, as one of the strongest fortresses in all Africa, and a great number of corsairs and merchants, Turks, Moors, and others, made choice of it as the surest repository of all their wealth; to pay nothing of the opulence of the inhabitants, who were mostly become very rich by the vast piratical commerce which was carried on, as well as by the great concourse of piratical crews, who made it their principal mart. The young Don Garcia vainly strove to attribute the whole glory to himself, while the rest of the officers more justly gave the palm to the Maltese. Dragut, in particular, shewed his resentment against them in the most public manner, by the complaints and misrepresentations he lent against them to Soliman immediately after taking of the place. His well-instructed agent easily convinced both him and the divan of the danger of suffering them to continue longer in their new settlement, from which they had not only supprest the naval commerce of his subjects, but had afflicted the emperor in making such conquests on the Barbary shore as must one day endanger his dominions in Egypt and Palestine; for the re-conquering of which laft, they need but apply to their sure friend the Roman pontiff for a new crusade, to engage all Christendom to assist them with men and money, and whatever else they wanted for such an enterprise. He moreover represented to that sultan how vain and fruitless it would be for him to attempt the retaking of Africa, Manœver, Tripoli, and other places along that coast, so long as that order was continually ready to traverse and obstruct every such attempt by their desperate courses from Malta and Tripoli, in which, tho' few in number, they still multiply to such a degree, that nothing can succeed that is undertaken against the Christians, until those knights are totally exterminated by fire and sword.

Soliman was easily convinced by these arguments, as well as his divan by Dragut's presents, of the necessity of entering into a war against the Maltese; and ordered that corsair, whom he had honoured with the title of general, to give him the greater credit, to gather up all the corsairs he could meet with in the Levant under his standard against the Maltese, whilst he ordered a most powerful fleet to be equipped for the same service. The news of this armament quickly alarmed the whole order, as well as the imperial court; and as Dragut was justly suspected to be the first mover of it, the emperor ordered Doria to sail with his fleet in search of him, and to try all possible means to rid him of so dangerous an enemy. The grand master was earnestly desirous to join his gallies of the order to the fleet, which he readily complied with, though against all politics, and the opinion of the council, who loudly declared how imprudent and dangerous it was to send their ships abroad, at a time when the island was threatened.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\text{Verot, ubi sup. p. 182, \& seq.} \text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{Vide ubi cit. sup. citat.}\]
Chap. 7.

The history of Maltba.

threatened with a powerful invasion. But the grand master, who, as a Spaniard, was a mere creature of Charles V. stopped their mouths, by pretending, that he was sufficiently informed that the Turkish armament was designed against France against the emperor; but, to amuse the most discontented, he gave express orders to the admirals, in case he found that the Turks should take their route towards Maltba or Tripoli, to separate immediately, and fall back to Maltba with all speed.

He was hardly failed away for the rendezvous at Maffina, before news was brought by the chevalier De St. John, who had been scouring the coasts of Morea, that the armament was universally reported to be designed either against Tripoli or Maltba. Presently after came a letter from the commander Villeegagon, lately arrived from France at Maffina, to acquaint b the grand master and the rest of the order, that the armament in question was solely intended against them. This gentleman, who was in the highest esteem both at the court of France and among the Maltbeita, had no sooner received sufficient information about what he wrote, than he earnestly begged leave to carry the news to Maltba; and only stopped in Sicily to acquaint the viceroy with it; and to represent to him the defenceless state of that island, as well as of the town of Tripoli, in order to obtain some speedy succour for both; during which time he dispatched the above information to the order, that they might take all proper precautions against the threatening danger. At his arrival at Maltba, being asked by the council from whom he had his information, he readily told them, that the confidant Montmorency, out of his singular regard to the order, had afflued him of it, when he took his leave of him; and that Soliman was so exasperated at the part which the Maltbeita had acted at the taking of Africa, that they must expect to see speedily his whole force turned against them. This greatly alarmed the major part of the council; but D'Omades, having diffused him with cold thanks D'Omedae's for his zeal, and the French prime minister for his care, told some of the principal members extreme of it with a scornful simile, as soon as he was gone. Either this Frenchman is the high confidant's scourge, &c. dupe, or he wants us to be his; after which, assuming a more ferocious tone, he said, it was absurd to suppose that a great armament could be designed against such barren rocks as Maltba and Gofa, or even Tripoli, which, put together, could never answer the tenth part of the cost. But that they were sure enough designed to affright the French against the emperor, the former of whom was politic and rich enough to compensate all that expense by some new conquest in Italy; so that, upon the whole, he did not think it proper to put the order to such extraordinary charges, till he received more positive news about it. In consequence of this parfimony, he obtained from the Sicilian viceroy about 200 Calabrians for the defence of Tripoli, most of them raw and undisciplined, but which the grand master palliated with saying, that they would soon be made fit for business when they were once come to that garrison. The difficulty was to make them embark, the greatest part of them having concealed themselves, and the rest complaining that he sent them thither only to spare his own knights; whereupon he was obliged to put about 25 of them at their head, who were of the younger fort, and, having been confined some time for misbehaviour, could easily be spared.

This was all they had been able to persuade him to do for the preservation of Tripoli; and The Turkish the islands of Maltba and Gofa, when news was brought that the Turkish fleet had appeared. 1551 along the coasts of Sicily on the 13th of July, and was supposed to be in full sail for Maltba, without raising the least apprehension in him, till he beheld it from his own window making towards it with a favourable wind. Simon, the head commander of this armament, was ordered by the sultan to attempt the islands of Maltba and Gofa, if he found it practicable; if not, to fall directly to Tripoli, and lay siege to that place. He was moreover enjoined to confute Dragut in every thing, who was best acquainted with the sea-coasts, and all their fortresses. According to which order, the Ottoman fleet came directly before the bay called Mafet, which is divided from the great bay only by a long and narrow slip of land, or rather solid rock, named Scerberas. It is easy to imagine the dread and consternation which the sight of such a powerful fleet caused, both among the order, and much more among the poor inhabitants. The knights, however, having soon recovered their usual presence of mind, agreed to divide themselves into two different bands according to their present exigence; and whilst one body was employed in securing the women and children in the borough and the town of Maltba, or notable city, and others in arming the men, and placing them in different posts, others were taken up in running along the coasts, to defray the extent of the enemy's fleet. Among these the Spanish commander Guimerano, with 100 other knights on foot, and 300 musketeers, gained the top of the rock Scerberas above-mentioned, where they lay concealed with their belles close to the ground, whilst Upton, an English commander, and one of the bravest, at the head of 30 more of the order, and 400 of the inhabitants, stood boldly on the


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Book XXII.

Sinan, for the port.

guimerano, quickly perceived the Turkish admiral in his capitana, making up towards the great port, attended with a small number of gallyes, to look out for a proper place to make a descent. The capitana was no sooner got within gun-shot of the Sceorbasa, than he was saluted with such a brisk discharge, as threw the whole crew into the utmost confusion, and made them abandon their oars; which so exasperated the proud Turk, that he swore he would destroy them all, for daring, such a handful of men as they were, to make their first fire on his ship. He accordingly dispoised all things for landing; but Guimerano, contented with the affront he had given him, got all his men on board their vessels, and quickly gained the borough without the loss of one man. Sinan fought for them a while, wondering how they had escaped him; at length, getting up to the top of Sceorbasa, whence he could despy the castle of St. Angelo, and observing its situation and bulwarks, he cast an angry look at Dragut, is that, said he to him, the castle which thou didst represent to the sultan as a place so easy to be reduced? Surely no eagle could have chosen a more craggy and difficult place to make her nest in. Do not thou see that men must have wings like them to get up to it, and that all the artillery and forces of the universe would not be able to take it by force? To all this an old Taboran officer added, whether to curry favour with the general, or out of hatred to Dragut.

"See that thou bullwark which juts out into the sea, and on which the Maltbeo have planted the great standard of their order? I can assure thee, that, whilst I was a prisoner with them, I have helped to carry part of the huge stones of which it is built on my shoulders; and am pretty sure, that, before thou canst make thyself master of it, thou wilt be overtaken by the winter-season, and probably likewise prevented, by some powerful succour from Europe, from going any farther." These words threw the old corsair, who never thought any place too dangerous or difficult, into a violent passion. He endeavoured in vain to convince Sinan how easy it would be, after demolishing the castle with his artillery, to spread as it were his net over the borough, and take the grand master and his knights prisoners, seeing the place where they had imprudently shut themselves in had no other defence than that of the old castle. Sinan, more diffident and cautious, called a general council, in which he represented the siege of the borough and castle as a long-winded work, which would prevent their passing over into Africa, where he would much better answer the intentions and orders of Selim; for here, said he, when we have destroyed all these fortifications, our work is hardly done, we have still a vast number of desperate knights to encounter, who must be all destroyed to a man before we can enter either of them.

His opinion was at first approved of by the majority of the council; but Dragut, whom the loss of Africa, his treasure, and numberless slaves, still fired with an intractable desire of revenge, proposed, that before they left the place, they should at least lay siege to the capital of the island, where all the inhabitants had shut themselves up with all their wealth, and which they would find without any fortifications, or any other garrison than a parcel of armed peasants, ready to abandon it upon the very first appearance of the Turkish standards; after which they might safely plunder both that and the rest of the island, and carry away a vast number of prisoners. Sinan, not daring to oppose too far Dragut's advice, which the sultan had enjoined him to follow, consented to the siege; immediately after which, the forces were ordered to land, and the artillery to move towards the place. This last they found a most difficult task; the carriages falling in pieces as they went over these hard rocks, obliged them to stay whilst new and stronger were made, which met with the same miscarriage as they moved farther on; so that they were forced to halt at least to draw them by chains, which took up some days before they could raise their batteries against the town. Whilst these preparations were making, the Turks, who had dispersed themselves over the whole island, put all in their way to fire and sword, and covered with fire and flambeau not only the houses, but also the trees, hedges, and fields, from one end to the other. After having destroyed all the corn, fruits, and every kind of sufficient, they repaired to the siege of the place. Malta had then above 13,000 persons of both sexes in it, and but few soldiers to defend it, except the peasants whom the governor had armed for that purpose, but who now murmured against him, and were ready to abandon the place; so that it was with the greatest difficulty that they confined to stay, and submitted to be distributed into companies, and taught how to handle their weapons.

In the mean time the brave daily Adorno, who commanded in the place, found means to dispath an express, in the dead of the night, to acquaint the grand master with the dangerous condition it was in, and to desire him to send some regular troops to him, and as many knights as he could spare, more especially the commander Villegagnon, an old experienced officer, to assist and direct him. But how great was his surprize, when the messenger came back without being able to obtain any supply from him, except the brave commander above.

named, whom D’Omedes permitted to go thither, for no other motive than to be rid of a person who had the interest and honour of the order too sincerely at heart to forbear making frequent and pressing complaints to the council against his strange proceedings. Before he dismissed him, however, he told him, that, having the highest idea of his conduct and bravery, he was now sending him to the defence of their capital, which he looked upon as sufficiently guarded by the number of citizens and peacocks that were in it, who knew they were capable of being made good soldiers, provided they were commanded by an experienced officer, who might supply the governor’s absence where-ever his duty would not admit of his being present.

Here Villegagnon, with his usual modesty, replied, that he was willing to obey, pursuant to the strict obligations to which the profession of his order bound him; but begged of him to consider, that the defence of the city did not depend upon a multitude of undisciplined citizens and peacocks, whom the first appearance of danger would put to flight, but upon such brave and intrepid leaders, who, from a principle of honour and religion, may infirmit and encourage, and, by their example, inspire them to that bravery with which they are naturally strangers; so that, if he really designed to have the town preferred against so powerful an enemy, he could send no less than an hundred knights to assist them in defending it. To this he was coldly answered, that it had been decreed by the council, that the knights should be referred for the defence of the castle; but that, rather than see him go alone, he would obtain leave to send six more to accompany him; but, upon his offering to represent the small service which that number would be of in such an emergency, D’Omedes told him, in a higher tone, that he expected in those of the order less reasoning and greater compliance; and that if he was afraid of the danger of obeying, he would soon find a number of others that would be proud of exposing themselves to it. “Sir,” replied the commander, “I will quickly con- vince you, that fear never made me shun any danger”; so saying, he immediately took the road to the capital with the six other knights; and, upon their giving the signal, they were drawn up with cordon into the place, without being perceived by the enemy. Their arrival was welcomed with the universal shouts of the people, and a discharge of all their musketry; which gave the besiegers room to conclude, that some considerable reinforcement had been conveyed into the place in the dead of the night. Villegagnon made the inhabitants believe, that they were the forerunners of a much more considerable body of forces which were in full march to their relief; but privately acquainted the governor with the grand master’s inflexible behaviour, that they had nothing to depend upon but their own bravery, and must resolve to make such a defence as might procure them the greatest glory, and the enemy the greatest loss. Accordingly, the walls of the city being found too weak to stand long against the besiegers artillery, they agreed to make as many intrenchments within-side as might oblige them to fight inch by inch, and in this men, women, and all hands, fell to work, under the direction of Villegagnon.

Whilst this was done within the walls, a lucky stratagem was contrived without by the receiver general of the order, which had all the success that could be wished: it was a letter written by himself, and directed to the grand master, from Messina, informing him of a powerful armament ready to fail with the first fair wind, out of that port, for Malta, under the command of the famed admiral Doria, the terror of the Othman forces, who had been dispatched from Spain to raise the siege of Malta, or give the enemy battle. The letter farther added, that he had detached that bark to bring timely advice to the order, that they might be ready to act in concert with him at his arrival. The project succeeded to admiration; the vessel was seized by some of the Turkish ships, and the letter conveyed to the camp. This fiction, which was chiefly designed to intimidate and create uneasiness in the Turkish army, wrought much more powerfully on the mind of the admiral than was expected. He cauited it to be read before a council of war; and, as he had undertaken the siege merely in compliance with Dragut’s advice, he now expatiated much on the danger of pursuing it, without hazarding either his fleet or army, and, if it was not speedily raised, all the artillery he had with so much labour brought before the place. To all which he added, that September would soon be at hand, and if he did not sail thence, he must be allowed to say it was the interest of his own countrymen that he did not attempt so grand an enterprise. The governor answered, that he had no thought of raising the siege; that he had some important despatch on Tripoli, all which was received and applauded by the grand master; and the queen and the other officers, and the raising of the siege readily agreed to.

However, to satisfy the inexpressible grief and anger of the Turks after plunder, and thereby prevent any complaint being made to the Forte against him, he abandoned the island of Gafa to their mercy, which, being in a much worse condition of defence, met with a severer fate. They immediately crossed the narrow channel which divides it from Malta, ravaging it all the way. The inhabitants were retired into the castle with their families; and told the governor, that, Gafa’s capture and the raising of the siege agreed to.

If he would stand by them, they would defend it to the last; but he no sooner saw the enemy pretend themselves before it, than he retired into the inn of his apartments, and kept himself shut up for some time. This was the young knight, on whose bravery the grand master
pretended to put so much confidence, that he rejected the proposal of blowing up the carle a with great indignation: his name was Galatian de Sessa, a young swaggering beauitiful blade, without courage or thought; and his flambeau conduct on this occasion did not a little dis- courage the small garrison, as well as inhabitants. They were however kept in heart for a while by a brave Englishman, who, pointing a piece of cannon (the only one in the place, and which had been with much difficulty brought thither since the siege of Malta) against the enemy, killed several Turks, and kept the rest from approaching the walls; but, he being soon after killed by a shot from the enemy’s battery, none of the rest had the courage to take his place.

Galatian, afraid of exasperating the Turkibd general, continued inactive all the while, but sent a monk to him, with offers to surrender the place, on condition that the lives, liberties, and effects, of the inhabitants, were granted to them. Sinan sent him for an answer, that, if he did not immediately abandon the place to him, he would cause him to be hanged at the gates of it. The monk returned quickly to him, with a new promise of delivering it up, provided the governor, with 200 of the chief inhabitants, such as he pitched upon, were allowed to go off unmolested; but Sinan refused to grant him above 40, and told the monk, that, if he dared come a third time, he would cause him to be flayed alive. This answer so terrified the cowardly governor, that he ordered the gates to be forthwith opened, and the Turks made no less speed to take possession of the carle. His apartment was the first that fell a prey to them, who to their contempt of him in the most mortifying manner, obliged him to carry some of the lumber of it on his shoulders quite into their ships. Sinan, instead of giving him leave to chuse the number of inhabitants agreed on, pitched upon 40 of the oldest, whom he immediately discharged, telling the governor, with a contemptuous smile, that the most aged ought to be accounted the chiefest. All the rest, to the amount of 6,900 of every age and sex, were ordered to be loaded with irons, and himself at their head, and to be conveyed on ship-board, and carried into a miserable slaverie.* (F)

This dreadful catastrophe of the Gofans produced the loudest murmurs and complaints against the grand master, especially among those of the French tongue, who inferred, that his cowardly governor should be forthwith tried, and sentence passed upon him; but this D’Omedes evaded, with his usual coldness, under pretense that the accused was not now in his hands, but in those of the Turks; and that he could not lawfully condemn him, till he had heard his defence; so that, to prevent the dishonour of so shameful an action affecting the whole order, they all, except the grand master’s creatures, unanimously agreed to fend an account of it through all Europe; but he took what care he could to be beforehand with them, differing a very different one in his favour, in which it was pretended, that he fought with incredible fury at the head of the Gofans, till he was shot by a cannon-ball; upon which theft, being quite disheartened at the los of their brave commander, and desirous to save the honour of their wives and daughters from the known brutality of the Turks, agreed to an honourable capitulation; but which the treacherous Sinan made so scruple to violate, as soon as the place was delivered up into his hands.*

These opposite reports met with different credit in Europe, according as people were biased either for one or the other nation; but the animosity which reigned at this time in Malta between the French and Spaniards, will hardly give us room to doubt that they had been greatly exaggerated on both sides. We shall meet with other instances of it during the grand mastership of this Spaniard, which will hardly fail of convincing our readers of the more than probability of our conjecture. However, that part of it which related to the young governor’s being killed, passed current for some years, that is, till he had, by dint of money, gained his liberty, and had the imprudence to appear again at Malta, where he was immediately seized, and put in arrest. His trial came on soon after, where, whether by the intrigues of his friends, or remittances of his procutors, he was acquitted of the crime of cowardice, and restored to his dignity, and had several considerable commanderies bestowed upon him.


(F) We are told, that a wealthy Sicilian, who had been settled some time with his family in this island, seeing it reduced to so dreadful a state, and preferring death to so dishonourable a slavery, in a fit of jealousy and despair, flung his wife and two daughters to death, then, rushing armed among the thickest of the enemy, killed and wounded some of them, expiring soon after of the wounds which he received from them (8).

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a Sinan had no sooner left the island of Goza, in the miserable condition we have related, than the council agreed to send a new governor thither, with some few troops, to repair the breaches of the castle, together with some other commanders, to avert the lands of those who were either killed or carried away captives, either to them or their relations, in order to have it the foemen colonized and manured. All this while the grand master could not be persuaded that the Turkish armament was intended for any other design than to affright France against the emperor; and his surprize, as well as mortification, was inexplicable, when the news came, that, instead of Toulon or Marselles, Sinan had failed directly to Tripoli, with Sinan fails for full design to lay siege to it both by sea and land. About the same time arrived at Malta Tripoli. the French ambassador d’Aramont, in his way to Constantinople, whether he was now sent the

b second time by the court. In his audience with d’Omedes, whom he was ordered to allure of his master’s invincible friendship for him and the whole order, he expressed a more than ordinary concern that he had not come a little sooner, and prevented, by his mediation and good offices, the hostilities which Sinan had committed in these two islands. To this d’Omedes answered, that he was arrived time enough, if the commission with which he was charged by his court could but permit him to take Tripoli in his way, and make use of his and his master’s interest to dissuade the Turkish bahra from besieging Tripoli: “and this, added he, “is what I conjure you, for God’s sake, and the honour of your royal matter, to do; and, if you cannot prevail with him, that you will use your utmost efforts to prevail on Soliman to countermand it.”

c D’Aramont faithfully promised him all the good offices that were in his power; and, leaving two large vessels in the port, embarked in a brigantine belonging to the order, and failed away for Tripoli with such expedition, that he arrived before Sinan had opened the trenches before the place. As he had formerly contracted an acquaintance with the Turkish Bahra during his residence at the Porte, he met with a most obliging reception from him, especially as he had taken care to have him visit preceded with some considerable presents; after which, he communicated to him the occasion of his coming; and used all the prefiling arguments he was master of to prevail upon him to desist from his enterprise against an order so highly and justly respected by the king his master, and by the powers of Europe. The answer which Sinan gave him was, that he had received express orders from Soliman his master
d to wret that place out of their hands, and that he could not act contrary to them without endangering his head; upon which the ambassador offered to take his leave of him, with a design to try what he could do with his matter. But Sinan, who quickly perceived his drift, which, if he succeeded in it, would deprive him of the glory of reducing the place, plainly told him, that he could not suffer him to go till the conclusion of the siege; and accordingly caused the Maltebe brigantine, and his own two galleys, which had joined him by that time, to be secured, and, without any regard to the law of nations, detained him and all his retinue, though in other respects he caused him to be used with all the honour due to his character, and immediately ordered the trenches to be opened.

e We shall repeat here the particulars of that famous and obstinate siege, whereof we have given a full account in a former chapter, as far as relates to the surrender of the place to the Turks, and the dreadful disgrace it brought upon the governor, the brave commander Gaspard de Valier, of the tongue of Auvergne, then grand marshal of the order; and a person of such known experience and valour, that he was marked by the major part of the order as a fit person to succeed old d’Omedes in the grand mastership. Whether this very confederation, it being common for persons in such high rank to look upon their presumptive successors with an envious eye, or any other pique, whether national or personal, was the cause of the extreme ill-will which d’Omedes bore to him, is not easy to know with any tolerable certainty, from the various accounts we meet with in the writers upon this siege, every one being apt to lean to the fide of his own nation; though they seem all to agree in one main point, that the misunderstanding that reigned between those two great men, the one a stiff old Spaniard, and the other a highly distinguished Frenchman, was the chief cause of the former’s so obstinately refusing to take the proper precautions to have that important place put in a due state of defence, and consequently of all the disorder, murmurs, and cabals, that happened during the siege of it, and hastened its being surrendered, in the manner we have formerly described.

f We come now, according to our promise, to relate what happened at Malta upon the return of the governor and garrison to that island. It is not to be doubted that the jilt complaints, which even the most impartial and bravest officers of it made against the grand master, and his unaccountable behaviour towards them during the whole time of the siege, had as highly exasperated him, as the consciousness of his own negligence and misconduct had affrighted him. The dread he had caufe to be in of the emperor’s resentment made him industrious to hear every report that was made both for and against him, in order to take his measures ac-

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Accordingly. Among other things that were reported by some of his servile creatures, one was, that the French ambassador would not have shewn such diligence to fail to Malta, if he had not had some private design or instructions to confer with the Turkifh Balha about some other affair, very different from that he pretended; and that his real errand there was, to halter, instead of preventing, the siege, that the Turkifh fleet might have time enough, after its surrender, to go and afflict the king of France against the emperor; and consequently that the governor was inexculpable for having ventured to capitulate without the grand master's leave. Whether or no these reports were not hatched by him or his eminaries, we will not pretend to say; however that be, he relished them so well, that he built his plan upon them of ruining him, and of having him publicly tried for it, as soon as d'Aramont was failed away, who might otherwise have proved too powerful an evidence in his favour. In the mean time, to let the order fee that he suspected those flying reports to have some foundation, the ambassador making towards the port with his two galleys some time after sun-set, instead of giving him admittance, he refused to have the chain taken down, caufed the guard of the castle to be doubled, and took the same precautions as if the Turkifh fleet had come back to make a fecond attempt upon the ifland; and on the next day he caufed the report to be spread abroad by his private agents, that Tripoli had not fallen so easily into the hands of the Turks, if there had not been a private intelligence between the batha and the ambassador, and if the governor had not been weak enough to follow the perfidious council of that Frenchman. He went still farther, and caufed the same reports to be spread through all parts of Europe by the knights of his cabinet, who, in the letters to their acquaintance, added, that the castle of Saint Angelo would have undergone the same fate with Tripoli, had it not been for the wise precautions which the grand master had taken to prevent it.

D'Aramont was soon apprized of these flying rumours, who immediately demanded an audience, which being granted to him in full council, instead of taking notice of, or going about to confute them, he addressed himself to d'Onedes, at whose right hand he sat, and reminded him that he did not fall into Africa till earnestly intreated to it by him; and assured him, that, after his arrival, he had not ceased his good offices, and was fully resolved upon going to try the effects of them at the Porte, when he found them ineffectual at the camp; after which he acquainted the council how he had been detained by the batha till the conclusion of the siege; in which, he added, he had been so happy, however, as to become securry for so many brave knights, whom he had brought away in his galleys, in consideration of an equal number of Turkifh slaves, which he had engaged to carry back in exchange, and which he hoped should now be delivered into his hands, in order to discharge himself of that engagement, to which he pledged his word and honour to the batha. To this d'Onedes coldly answered in a few words, that he was obliged to him for his care and kind offices; but, as to the slaves he spoke of, they were the property of those knights that had taken them, and that he had no power to dispose of them; that he must apply to them, and, if they refused to surrender them, the governor Valier must be answerable for them to the batha. D'Aramont might have juttly told him, that he had still a more expeditious way of doing it, by delivering up the Spanifh knights into his hands, who were the chief cause of the capitulation and surrender of the place; but, being above such low recriminations, he chose rather to leave the island, and fall away for Constantinople, which he did a few days after.

D'Onedes, now at full liberty to pursue his design againft Valier, called a new council, in which he declared how inconsistent it would be with his and the order's honour to forgo the loss of so important a place, without obliging the governor, and fuch of the knights as bad the greatest hand in that capitulation, to give an account of the motives that induced them to it, in order, as he artfully worded it, to clear the innocent and punish the guilty, if any should be unhappily found to be fuch. The motion being readily agreed to, three knights of three different tongues were immediately appointed to draw up the indictment against them, all of them being in the grand master's interest. But as the crime, if proved, was of a capital nature, and consequently out of their cognizance as a religious order, they appointed, at the same time, a secular affessor, who should be authorized to pronounce sentence against the guilty, according to the nature of their crime. The governor was accordingly clapt into a dark and dismal dungeon, and an express prohibition was published against any of the order's interceding in his favour. To this was added, an order to the commiaries to reject every objection which the accused should offer against any of the witnesses; and to hear every deponent that offered himself, without the usual formality of confronting, cross-examining, &c. This was looked upon as a strange way of proceeding; but the grand master's party was by that time grown too powerful to be withstood, and the judges so much his creatures, that they admitted men of the most scandalous characters, renegades, fellows forsworn on record, deferter, and others of the like stamp, to be the chief evidence against the accused, that is, against the
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a Governor and three other knights, named Seusa, Herrera, and Fyßer, who had the greatest hand in negotiating the capitulation.

This did not, however, prevent the French tongue from making loud complaints against these proceedings; amongst them, Villegagnon, whom we have already mentioned on some other occasions, made no scruple to say, that the place having been lost through the negligence and avarice of those whose duty and business it was to have fortified it both with proper outworks and a sufficient garrison, it was highly strange and unjust to call the governor to an account for other people's crimes; he had moreover above 60 unexceptionable witnesses ready to produce against those who had deplored against him; when the grand master brought himself of a new stratagem to destroy their credit abroad, by cauising letters to be sent, as before, giving an account, that the French knights, apprehensive that his conviction would cast an infamy upon their tongue, had taken arms, and actually kept the grand master prisoner in the cuffle of St. Angelo. Whilist this news flew abroad, he was privately hastening the trial of the four knights, which concluded, at length, in this sentence, which was pronounced in full council, by the grand provost, to this effect:

"That, in the loss of Tripoli, there had happened nothing that could be deemed treasonable; that the whole disaster was owing to the cowardice of the mutinous Calabrians; and that though there were no imperial laws or constitutions that ordained any punishment in such a case, either against a governor or his officers, nevertheless, as it was enacted by the statutes of the order, that any governor, who should abandon a place that had been committed to his care, should be expelled; they, pursuant to that statute, had condemned the said governor, and the three knights, Seusa, Herrera, and Fyßer, to be deprived of the habit and crosses of the order, as accomplices in the loss of the city of Tripoli."

This sentence was so far from satisfying the grand master, that it disconcerted all his measures, it being his chief design to have the governor alone punished, and not the other three, two of whom were Spaniards, whom he had cauised to be joined with him in the accusation, merely to avoid the jubilation of national partiality against the French. He therefore declared the sentence to be too precipitate; and that, in condemning them all alike, they had not duly weighed the difference there was between the guilt of the three knights and that of the governor; and that, though they ought to stand to the sentence adjudged against the latter, yet that against the former might be justly suspended, in order to their being each separately tried, according to the nature of their respective crimes. The judge, or provost, finding that he had disobliged the grand master, was frameless enough to own his pretended error, and to offer to retract it, by substituting a milder punishment for them; but the council crying out flame on him, and some of them protesting that they should fare all alike, d'Omedes defied to be heard, and then insifted upon the great guilt incurred by Fyßer and Fyßer, and allo upon that of the two Spaniab knights, alleging, that the former being of a capital nature, the council ought to refer it to the secular judge, who had already given such proof of his impartiality; but the council crying out against him, he thought proper to put off the matter to another time, and so dismissed the assembly.

e In the mean time the king of France, having been informed of the calumny that had been raised against his ambassador, sent a gentleman, named Béléy, who was of his privy chamber, to Maltba, with a letter to the grand master, in which he defined him to lend him a faithful account of the cafe, that he might punifh d'Aramont if he was guilty; but, if innocent, that he would justify him to the world by an authentic testimony under his own hand. D'Omedes was not a little embarrased at this letter; however, he took the safest measure, and shewed it to the council, who unanimously agreed, that he ought to thank the French monarch for the good offices of his ambassador; and to affrme him, that they were so far from having the least cause of complaint against him, that they should always gratefully acknowledge the services he had done to the order; and ordered their secretary to write a letter according to that tenor, and to bring it forthwith to be signed by the grand master. D'Omedes, vexed at the heart that he had flown them the letter, took the secretary aside, and told him, that the matter was of too nice a nature to be dispatched in such haste, and that he would take time to consider on the properer manner of wording it; bidding him, in the mean time, keep himself out of the way of Béléy and Villegagnon. Some weeks were already passed before the secretary put pen to paper; during which time d'Omedes had, partly by threats, and partly by new artifices, induced the secular judge lately mentioned to engage, under the forfeiture of 500 ducats, to resume the trial of the governor; and, upon his denying the accusation, to have him put to the torture, in order to extort a confession from him against himself; which confession was to be sent to the French king, instead of the answer which the council had ordered to be drawn.

The French king complains of the French Tongue, that it disconcerted all his measures, it being his chief design to have the governor alone punished, and not the other three, two of whom were Spaniards, whom he had cauised to be joined with him in the accusation, merely to avoid the jubilation of national partiality against the French. He therefore declared the sentence to be too precipitate; and that, in condemning them all alike, they had not duly weighed the difference there was between the guilt of the three knights and that of the governor; and that, though they ought to stand to the sentence adjudged against the latter, yet that against the former might be justly suspended, in order to their being each separately tried, according to the nature of their respective crimes. The judge, or provost, finding that he had disobliged the grand master, was frameless enough to own his pretended error, and to offer to retract it, by substituting a milder punishment for them; but the council crying out flame on him, and some of them protesting that they should fare all alike, d'Omedes defied to be heard, and then insifted upon the great guilt incurred by Fyßer and Fyßer, and allo upon that of the two Spaniab knights, alleging, that the former being of a capital nature, the council ought to refer it to the secular judge, who had already given such proof of his impartiality; but the council crying out against him, he thought proper to put off the matter to another time, and so dismissed the assembly.

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Book XXII.

Discovered by VILLEGAGNON having, by some means, got information of this hellish plot, boldly challenged the grand master, in full council, either to deliver the answer in question to the envoy, or, if the assembly had changed their minds in that respect, to give him, instead of it, an authentic copy of the judge’s processes against the accused knights, in which he expressly declares, that the loss of Tripoli was not owing to any treasonable prattle or intelligence with the enemy, but to the cowardice of the Calabrians, which would equally satisfy the king his master. To this none of the members, a creature of d’Omedes, replied, that the king’s enquiry being only about his ambassador’s conduct in Africa, they ought to confine their answer to that. Soon after this, d’Omedes asked Villegagnon, in a haughty tone, where he had learnt that the order was to give an account to the secular powers of the proceses they carried on against any of their members? To which he gave the following answer: “That such a thought had never come into his head; but that he imagined, nevertheless, that such an account would equally serve to satisfy the French king, it might be properly enough communicated to him, since he, d’Omedes, had so long delayed sending him the answer which the council had agreed on. However,” added he, “seeing you seem so defirous to know my motives for prefixing this affair as I have done, I will freely acquaint you with them. There goes a rumour, not much to your honour, that you have engaged the judge to renew the prosecution against the governor, and to torture him into a confession of such crimes as he never was guilty of; after which, having condemned and put him to death, this extorted confession is to be sent to the French court, instead of the answer which you was to send back by its envoy.”

One may easily imagine the confusion and astonishment the grand master was in; he asked him, in an angry tone, where he had heard those scandalous reports? To which the French knight calmly answered, that was out of the question at present; which is only, whether the reports were true or false? False as hell, replied he. Then all I beg, said Villegagnon, is, that you will publicly discharge your judge of the sum of 500 ducats, which he hath engaged to pay you, in case he did not condemn the governor to death. He would stay no longer in the council, but withdrew, and left the assembly in the deepest amazement, who immediately nominated another judge, and ordered the secretary to postpone all other matters, and write an answer to the French king, according to the tenor prescribed to him, and, under the severest penalties, to deliver it, signed by the grand master, on that very day, either to the French envoy or to Monseigneur Villegagnon. He did so; but when he showed it to d’Omedes to sign it, he was ordered by him to alter that clause, which was designed to justify the French ambassador, and, instead of it, to write, that the council had not as yet been able to make any discovery upon which they might form an accusation against him. The letter being delivered to Villegagnon, he easily law through the artifice, and complained of it to the council, who forthwith dictated a new one, and, having obliged d’Omedes to sign it before them, ordered it to be delivered into the hands of the French envoy Belloy. Thamus, who had no hopes of it, tells us, that the French court caused it soon after to be published through most courts of Europe; but as it contains nothing but grateful thanks to his most Christian majesty for his singular regard to the order, and a full vindication of his ambassador d’Armont’s conduct, we shall refer our readers for the contents of it to the author last quoted, and to the memoirs which Villegagnon published not long after concerning that whole transaction, wherein we shall not enter any farther into the merits of the cause between the French and Spaniards, but conclude this subject with observing, that, notwithstanding the many foul artifices laid to the grand master’s charge, he still maintained his credit, so far as to get the other three knights pardoned and discharged, and the governor Valier to be continued in a cruel confinement, from which he was not freed till several years after, as we shall see in the sequel.

The war still continuing between France and the emperor, Villegagnon, who had obtained leave to accompany Belloy into France, was taken with him, in their passage to Marselles, by the imperial squadron, and thence conveyed to Genoa, where he wrote the memoirs above-mentioned in Latin, and sent them to the emperor; soon after which he caused them to be printed at Lyons, with a dedication to that monarch. Some other knights in the French service had been likewise taken by the imperialists, whose liberty the grand master obtained of the emperor, upon his representation of the danger Malta was in of a speedy visit from the Turks. Among these knights was the famous Pid de Fer, or Iron Foot, who brought with him a large company of Spaniards into the island.

Much about the same time the brave Strozzi, grand prior of Capua, of whom we have had occasion to speak, having been obliged to quit the French service, and to save himself in his galley, accompanied with that of his brother, by getting over the chain that locked the port, by dint of rowing, failed directly for Malta, where he was not only forbid to land by...

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a the grand master, but even threatened to be fired upon, if he did not sail away. This harsh treatment was highly reprobated by the majority of the order, especially at such a time, when the island wanted such brave commanders. One of the knights, however, found means to fend him, unknown to D'Omedes, a fresh supply of biscuit, of which he was in great want; after which he sailed towards the Levant, in danger of being taken either by Doria's squadron, or by the Turkish corsairs, and defecture of a Christian port where he might retire, or bring any prize into. However, his valour and conduct were so well known in Europe by this time, that the emperor spared no promises or stratagems to draw him into his service. Among other favours, he sent him a safe-conduct, by which he was permitted to come into any sea-port belonging to his dominions; but Strozzi, still unwilling to engage against France, delayed his answer, under pretence that he could not come to any resolution till he had consulted the grand master.

Strozzi, by this time, had been so successful in his cruising, that he sent to the image of our lady of Pibrermo at Maltha, a magnificent present of a church-ornament, on which he exacted these words to be embroidered, He came to his own, and his own received him not, John i. 11. The officer, who carried it thither, was ordered at the same time to acquaint his friends there with his good fortune, and to inform himself how the rest fared affected towards him. As soon as the grand master was apprised of his design, he declared once more, that, if he offered to return, he should be sure to meet with the same reception he had found before; his main view in it being to oblige him the more readily to engage in the emperor's service, which he knew would be laying a great obligation on that monarch, by whole directions he regulated all his measures. Some of his friends, however, took care to inform him, that, if he thought fit to come, he would find a party strong enough in the council against the grand master: upon which he immediately failed for the haven, and, landing from his long-boat, marched directly to the palace, attended by a great number of the most considerable knights of the order. D'Omedes was not a little surprised at his unexpected appearance, and much more at his being accosted by him in words to this effect: 14 Sir, being informed by very good hands, that the Turks threaten our island with a second invasion, "and are making vast preparations for it, I am now come, according to my duty, to offer "my services, and to join with the rest of my brethren." For, besides that it disconcerted all his views of obliging the emperor, he had great reason to fear lest the residence of a man of his credit and character among them, should contribute still more to the misunder-standing which his avarice and arbitrary proceedings had occasioned between the council and him. However, having recovered himself a little, he not only gave him an obliging reception, but begged of him, that, as soon as he had restored himself a while from his fatigue, he would take a turn round the island, and make his observations of every thing that was wanting to put it in a state of defence.

He quickly acquired himself of his commissiorn, and laid before the council a plan, which, if it could have been executed, would have rendered it almost impregnable; but as the treasury of the order was found by far too much exhausted to supply so vast an expense, they contented themselves with adding some new fortifications in several parts, particularly a new castle on the extremity of the mount Scebroas, some bastions and out-works to the borough on that side which was opposite to the castle, where it lay most exposed, and a new fort on mount St. Julian, together with some other necessary outworks. Workmen and materials were sent for from Sicily with all expedition; and Strozzi, who presided over the building of the new castle, since called Fort St. Elmo, in memory of that of Rhodes, used such diligence in it, that it was finished in less than six months. That on mount St. Julian, since called Fort St. Michael, was completed in much the same time by the commander Luffic, since then grand master of the order; and the outworks of the borough by the grand bailiff of Germany. Such life did that noble knight give to every man, and every thing, which, in all probability, would have been faginated or overlooked without him, through the avarice and indolence of the grand master, that every one helped the work forward, not only with their affinities, but with their private purses, the knights selling even their plate and rich furniture, and those who had nothing else, part ed even with their gold chains, the only ornament they have to distinguish themselves in time of war, to contribute what they could to the public safety. This warm zeal communicated itself even among the inhabitants of the island, who readily joined in those efforts with the majority of the order; so that Maltha wanted now nothing more for its safety than to see Strozzi grand master of it.

One may easily imagine how mortifying these things were to D'Omedes, who left no means untried to persuade this new rival to engage himself in the emperor's service; but finding him

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8 Memoires de Brantome, tom. ii. Baudoin, ubi supra. Vertot, ubi sup. p. 296, & seq. 1 Baudoin, l. iv. c. 5. Vertot, ubi sup. p. 309, & seq. MOD. HIST. VOL. VII. 6 D more
more and more averse and determined against it, he thought it high time to contrive some stratagem to remove him out of the island, with his own content. He accordingly communicated to him a project, which he had long ago premeditated, of feizing the fortresses of Zoara, on the coast of Barbary, and in the province of Tripoli; the commodiousness of which port drew such a concourse of merchant-men, as it was become exceedingly rich; and, being but poorly fortified, he told him, might be easily surprized, by the help of a forest of palm-trees, which extended themselves almost to the very walls. Strozzi readily came into the project, and offered himself to conduct the whole enterprise. A small squadron of galleys, and other vessels, was forthwith equipped, and about 1200 soldiers put on board; amongst whom were near 300 of the bravest knights of the order, all emulous to signalize themselves under such an expert commander.

The fleet set sail on the 6th of August; but, through the mistake of the pilot, landed much higher than they desired, and were thereby obliged to march several leagues through sandy grounds and groves of palm-trees, during the dead of the night. They were divided into three bodies, each commanded by some of the most experienced officers of the order. In their way they observed some fires at a distance, which they supposed to be some hords of wandering Arabs, who were now taking their rest; but forbore attacking them, for fear of alarming the town they were going to surprize. Upon their arrival at Zoara they found all things in a profound quiet, and the gates open and without guard; and penetrated, as Strozzi ordered them, into the very center of the town, without the least opposition, and there collected themselves into one body, and set themselves in battle-array. Their drums and clattering noise soon awoke the inhabitants, whilst the greedy soldiers broke into their houses, seized on what plunder came first to hand, and brought away men, women, and children, bound, to the place of arms, to the number of about 1500; when the commander de la Valletta, who had the charge of conducting them on shipboard, was accosted by a Moor, who had formerly served under him, "Do you know," said he softly to him, "that you are going to be surrounded, and cut in pieces, by those whom you took to be wandering Arabs? They are a body of four thousand Turks, all expert marksmen, whom Morat, the Aga, governor of Tripoli, was sending to the island of Gela, but whom the night had obliged to encamp where you saw them; but being now informed by some of the fugitives of your having surprized the city, are in full march against you?"

The commander having rewarded the faithful Moor, went immediately to inform Strozzi with the news, who caused a retreat to be forthcoming, but which could not be heard through the reigning noise and confusion by the straggling soldiers. Morat, who rightly judged that this would be their cafechaft, hastened his army to the place, and fell upon them before they were half rallied, with incredible fury. The contest was most bloody and obstinate on both sides, but especially on that of the Maltese, who were indifferently dispersed in platoons in several parts of the town, where chance had thrown them; and fought without any order, for want of proper commanders. Many of the knights defended themselves to the last, and died with their swords in their hands; whilst others, being quite exhausted with fighting, fell down among the dead, and were made prisoners. Strozzi being informed that his young nephew was slain, returned, at the head of a numerous troop whom he was leading to the sea-side, and renewed the fight with greater fury, and forced the Turkish horse to retreat; but they, returning in good order, made a furious discharge of their small-arms among them, which killed a great number of his men, wounded him in the thigh, and would have quickly dispatched him, had not his knights surrounded him on all sides, and stood like a rampart about him, till a tall stout Majorcan had taken him in his arms, and carried him from the field into the center of his battalion, and from thence, through vellies of the enemy's fire, and through mud and water up to the girdle, from the sea-side into his ship.

Their next care was how to save their grand standard, in which they shewed no less valour and intrepidity. The knights formed themselves into a fresh rampart about its bearer, and kept still moving on in spite of the enemy's fire, till they reached a hard rock on the seaside, where was a defile, whence they could see the small vessels that waited for them, but, by reason of the low water, could come no nearer to them. Here they stood some time to breathe, and consult how to gain their ships with the least danger. They agreed to stand firm, and defend the pass, till all the soldiers, especially the wounded, were got into the long-boats. The Turkish aga, in a rage to see so many captives escape them, tried in vain to dislodge them from their post, one while by making his horse dismount, and with their cymbals attempt to cut down the pikes which the knights pointed towards them; another time by making them remount, and annoy them with their small arms. At length the commander Caffiere, who had the care of the standard of the order, moved forwards into the sea, followed by the rest of the knights, wading through it with the water up to their middle, and, in spite of the fire of the Turkish musketry, gained the long-boats, and were safely received into
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a into their galleys, with joyful acclamations, whist some of their brethren, who had stood firm to facilitate the standard-bearer's retreat, were destroyed by the enemy's continual fire.

Thus ended that unfortunate enterprise, in which the order lost a great number of their best commanders, and a much greater of their forces. On their arrival at Maltha, their brave commander Strozzi was forced to be carried on a plank from his vessel to his palace, attended by the shattered remains of his knights, the greatest part of whom were in almost as bad a condition as he, though all their mouths were full of encomiums on his extraordinary bravery, conduct, and intrepidity. D'Omedes was perhaps the only one in the whole island who secretly rejoiced at his late disaster, and thought him worthy of much better success; and b it is not improbable that his strange behaviour towards him on this occasion, was one of the chief motives that induced him to put again to sea before his wounds were half healed, and to spend the remainder of the summer in cruising along the Mediterranean, as far as the mouth of the Nile, in which expedition he succeeded so well, that he not only became the terror of the Turkish and Barbary corsairs, but likewise of the merchantmen, whose fleets of which he took upon those seas, and brought them to Maltha, with all their rich cargoes; with which, as well as the number of slaves he made out of both, he reftored plenty and opulence to the whole island.

Mirex about the same time the news came of the succession of Queen Mary to the English throne, accompanied with loud encomiums on her for her extraordinary zeal against the protestant religion, and her noble resolution to restore to the church all the lands which her father had taken from it; which filled the whole order with an univerfal joy. D'Omedes lived only to share in the first rejoicings that were made on that occasion, and died in the beginning of September following, in the 80th year of his age, and the 5th of his grand mastership. The great care he shewed during the whole time to enrich his own family, to the prejudice of the public treasury, together with the disposition he made of his own effects, so incensed the greatest part of the council, that some of them proposed turning over the expenses of his funeral obsequies to his executors; which, however, was rejected, as a disgrace to the order, and he was accordingly interred, with the usual solemnity, at the public charge.

d When the chapter was convened for the choice of a successor, Strozzi, who had so well preferred the order, had the good wishes of the greatest part of the council, and afterwards did not succeed of the electors; till Gagnon, the great conservator of the order, and one of the elective num. him. ber, came to give his opinion; who told the rest, that "the interest of the order, at this present time, did not so much require a person of known bravery and conduct, such as the grand prior of Capua undoubtedly was, as one who was absolutely free from the spirit of party, which they all too well knew he was not. You are all sensible how far his zeal for the liberty of Florence carries him against the house of Medicis; should he once be chosen head of this order, and have our galleys and naval force at his disposal, what security can you have that he will not, on some pretence or other, turn his arms against that family, and bring us under the resentment of the emperor, who is the protector and founder of that house? Will not Cofimo himself, who is at the head of it, try to raise all the enemies he can, both among the Christians, and even among the Turks? and if we should be besieged by the latter, what succours could we hope for from the emperor, or any of the powers of Italy?" This speech was thought so just and disinterested by the rest of the electors, that thofe, who had already declared for Strozzi, readily gave up the point; and the choice was quickly after declared in favour of Claudius de la Sengle, of the French tongue, then grand hospitalier of the order, and their ambassador at the court of Rome, where his de la Sengle election was, by the pope's express order to the governor of the castle of St. Angelo, published by the fire of its whole artillery. Upon his waiting upon the pontiff to pay him the usual homages, he had the honour to dine with him, and was dismißed with all the marks of his eftem. The viceroy of Sicily, having sometime after invited him to Mefina, where the Maltese galleys, under the command of the grand prior Strozzi, were to convey him to Maltha, sent an express to the emperor, to know in what manner he should receive him; and was answered, that he should not require too much honour to the head of an order which was the bulwark of his Italian dominions.

He was accordingly received with all the marks of eftem by the viceroy, and by the emperor's envoy Angea, who was sent thither by that politic monarch, under pretence, indeed, of congratulating him on his election, but in reality to treat with him on a more important subject, which plainly shewed, however, that the great respect which was paid to him was rather political than sincere. Accordingly, at the audience he had, he proposed to

a Baudon, Vertot, & al. ubi sup.

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The grand matter, in the emperor’s name, the removal of the order to the city of Africa, lately taken by his forces, which would recompense the loss of Tripoli. In consideration of which, added the envoy, and of the expense that such a removal must be attended with, his imperial majesty, who makes no difference between the interest of the order and his own, will engage to pay a perpetual pension of 72,000 livres par annum, out of his Sicilian revenues. The grand matter easily saw through the drift of that proposal; nevertheless, after the usual formality of thanks, he excused himself from engaging further in it without the participation of the council; adding, that if he pleased to accompany him to Malabia, he should be admitted to all the consultations held about it, and be able to judge of the sincere desire he had of obliterating the emperor. The envoy readily accepted the invitation, and embarked with him in the Malabia squadron, which arrived safe at the island the first day of the new year.

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The ceremonies of his installation were no sooner over, than a general council was called, in which Acugna was seated next to the grand master, who, after the first compliments were over, desired him to open the contents of his commission; which he readily did. Upon which it was unanimously resolved, that eight of their antient commanders should be sent to take a full survey of the strength and situation of the place.

These, upon their return, made a favourable report of it, so far as related to the condition and fortifications of the city; but objected, that “being built upon a peninsula, jetting out into the sea, it had no convenient haven to shelter the ships; and that the spacious champaign that surrounded it on the other three sides, being inhabited by Moors and Arabs, who would not brook to have the order fixed in their neighbourhood, it would cost immense sums yearly to maintain a sufficient force to oppose the continual inroads those infidels would make to its very gates.” To all this they added, that “in cafe it should at any time be besieged, its great distance from Europe would prevent its receiving any succours speedily enough from thence; and that, in such cafe, they must be obliged to abandon their sea-exploits, and the defence of Christiam commerce, to the prejudice of Christendom, and carry their arms into remote parts of Terra Firma, in order to keep their neighbours within their boundaries, contrary to the spirit of their order, and the known practice of all their predecessors, even when they were much more powerful and opulent than they now were.”

The council determined to fly at Malabia.

A report like this, made by eight of the most experienced commanders, easily determined the council to fly in the old settlement. Upon which they sent two of their chief members on an ambastry of thanks to the emperor, and to apprise him of the motives which obliged them to decline his kind proposal. At the same time, to appease the viceroy of Sicily’s resentment, who threatened to withdraw his usual supply of corn from them, being informed that the Turkish corsairs swarmed upon his coasts, and had appeared before Palermo; they dispatched five of their galleys, under the command of Strozzi, against them. Strozzi made the greater speed to go in quest of them, not only as the sea was become, in some measure, his element, but because he perceived himself to be suficient to have had a hand in the death of the grand conservator Gagnon, and two other knights of distinction, who had been poisoned by his chief servants and confidants, soon after they had opposed his election. Upon his arrival at Palermo, he received a letter from his elder brother, Peter Strozzi, acquainting him, that the French king had given him the command of his land-forces in Italy, and invited him to take that of his galleys, and to act in concert with him. Whatever his resentment might be against the French monarch, his affairs at this time easily determined him to sacrifice it to his inveterate enmity against the house of Medici. The difficulty was in the withdrawing himself and fleet out of Palermo, without giving some umbrage to the viceroy, who had been ordered by the emperor to keep a watchful eye over him, and, upon the least appearance of his holding a correspondence with his brother, to cauie him to be arrested.

To remove as much as possible all suspicion from the viceroy, he entertained him with a long detail of the ill returns he had received from the French court, and of some projects which he had formed to be revenge on that ungrateful and peridious nation; and acted his part so well, that the viceroy, who wanted to engage him in the emperor’s service, instead of suspetting, began to think himself sure of him. They were at dinner together, when a gentleman of Strozzi’s retinue came and told him, that he had been just taking an airing at sea, and had observed three Turkish corsairs in a neighbouring creek, which might be easily surprized, with a little good dispatch. Strozzi immediately rose up, and, with a pleasing smile, told the viceroy, that “he would bring a good account of them to him before he was risen from table,” and, making all the speed he could, soon gained his galleys, which were all armed, and ready for sailing, according to the directions he had before given to the gentleman.

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The history of Maltha.

A gentleman above-mentioned (for this was a concerted stratagem): so that he immediately failed away unsuspected; and when he was gone far enough out of sight, he made directly for the island of Maltha. At his arrival, he reneged his command, which he was succeeded by the commander De la Valette; but inflicted, that two vessels, being his own property, and a third his brother's, he would go a cruising on his own bottom; in which he was accompanied by a great number of young volunteers. We shall follow him no farther in his other expeditions, having no more relation to the Maltese order; but only observe to our curious readers, that being failed for Tuscany, and going to reconnoitre the place which he designed to lay siege to, he was known by a peasant who lay hid amongst the reeds, and who immediately shot him in the side, whence he was carried to his galley, and died of the wound on the next day.

This was the said catastrophe of that brave commander, who might have been an honour and pillar to the order, had not his inveracity against the house of Medici misled him into unjustifiable measures.

La Valetta, his successor in the command of the galleys, proved no less diligent and successful against the Turks, whom he quite drove from the coasts of Naples and Sicily, and La Valetta. Whole example induced several of the wealthiest commanders to equip vessels at their own charge, by which they kept their seas almost clear of that destructive vermin. Their number and success quickly alarmed the states of Barbary, who, as we have formerly seen, lived chiefly by the piratical trade.

These, and the merchants who traded towards Constantinople, and other parts of the Turkish empire, and often fell likewise into the hands of the Maltese, went and made such loud complaints at the Porte against them, that the sultan promised to drive them out of that island, as he had already done out of Rhodes; but the' he was at this time so taken up elsewhere, that the order was in no present danger from this quarter, yet that did not hinder the new grand master's making all proper preparations against him, by adding new fortifications, and filling his magazines with corn and other provisions, and the arsenals with all warlike stores, against a siege; whilst his admiral, and other commanders, were still bringing in variety of prizes. We are even told, that the former ventured as far as the mouth of the river Nile, whence he brought three large vessels laden with corn for Constantinople.

Thus far every thing went successfully on, when this tranquillity was all at once disturbed. A dreadful and unexpected calamity overtook them. This was a sudden hurricane, which happened on the 23d of September, in the afternoon, which blew with such fury, that in the space of one half-hour it lifted, it threw the sea into such convulsions, that it shattered most of the ships in pieces against another, overthrown four of their galleys, with all their crews, and left them with their keels upwards, by which most of the officers, sailors, and slaves, were drowned, or crushed to death. The houfes on the haven were all blown down, and the castle of St. Angelo very much damaged by the violence of the different whirlwinds, which seemed engaged against one another; inasmuch that the tree, on which the standard of the order was fixed, was lifted up and carried away near a mile from its place. The vault dwelling of the sea, joined to the rains that poured down in constant streams, seemed to threaten the whole island with utter destruction, and even would most certainly have been attended with great disasters, had it continued much longer.

The calm that succeeded within half an hour after was hardly less terrible to the sight, by the number of shipwrecks and fragments, and dead bodies, that covered the surface of the waves, and the number of houfes that were laid in ruins in that short time, and much more so by the night which intervened, and prevented, in a great measure, that speedy succour which might otherwise have been given to those who were still exposed to the greatest danger, both on the water and on the land, and more particularly to those who were in the four overturned galleys above-mentioned; so that the grand master, and the other members of the convenant, who were come to give the bell orders they could to the affiants, were obliged to stay till the next daylight before they could set them afloat. A soon as that appeared, they made towards them, and caused some of the planks to be pulled up; upon which a monkey started out. They took up as many of the men as they could come at; among whom was the famous Ramagas, a knight of the tongue of Provence, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel, and some others, who had remained all night with the water up to their chins. The same assistance was given to the other galleys, some of which were, after great labour and difficulty, set on float, and others, particularly the carack, were quite shattered, and rendered uninfit for further service. Some of the men were taken up half-dead, and many more really drowned or lifted for want of air. The loss of both men and vessels was very considerable. The grand master, to shew a good example, caulked a new galley to be built at Meffina, which the pope was so generous as to furnish with a proper number of his
own slaves, which were fetched out of several of his gaols, to row it to Malta. The rest of his wealthiest commanders did the same at their own expenses, as did also some European princes; so that this great loss was repaired in a very little time.

But in the mean while Dragut, their implacable enemy, having been informed of this great disaster, had gathered up what corsairs he could, and took that opportunity of making a descent upon the island with seven galleys. He ravaged the whole country, and made a great number of the inhabitants prisoners; but before he could regain his ships, he was fiercely attacked by the commander Lafic, grand marshal of the order, at the head of 300 knights, that he was obliged to retreat with the utmost speed, with the loss of a great number of his men, and of all his plunder. The grand prior of France failed immediately in pursuit of him, and, not being able to overtake him, went and wreaked his resentment on the coasts of Barbary, and returned with several considerable prizes from thence; so that the order, in a little time, recovered its pristine superiority at sea, by the successes and valour of its commanders. On the other hand, Dragut, and the rest of the Barbary corsairs, were not wanting in their revenges; and they flung meeting the Malta's galleys at open sea, yet they would now-and-then come and burn some of them in the dead of night in their very harbours 1.

New trouble.

Soon after they had recovered their loss by the hurricane lately mentioned, another disaster happened, which caused no small uneasiness and animosity in the convent, besides exposing the order to the resentment of the most powerful princes in Europe. We have already hinted, that Strozzi, after he had laid down his commission of admiral of the galleys, had obtained some of them as belonging to him and his brother; and that this last accordingly challenged and kept them as his own, after his brother's death, tho' one only belonged to him. These he was obliged to join with some French ones, then riding at Civita Vecchia; whereas, being commander of the French forces in Italy, he could not take the care of them. The ships were then under the command of Sforza, grand prior of Lombardy, brother to the cardinal of that name, grand Camerlingo to the holy see. Sforza, soon after quitting the service of France for that of Spain, in concert with his brother, carried off two of the French galleys, whilst a Piedmontese, named Moreto, did the same by two of Strozzi's, which he carried to the port of Villa Franca, belonging to the duke of Savoy. This treachery occasioned a furious contest between the pope, the emperor, the French king, and the duke of Savoy; which, being foreign to this part of our history, we shall refer our readers to the account which will be given of it in the succeeding part of this work. The grand master was not only blamed for the share he had in it, by each of the powers concerned in the affair, according to the several views and interests they had in it, but likewise by the members of the convent, in which each tongue took the part of its own nation with such warmth, as must have proved of dangerous consequence, had not the matter been timely compromised.

But tho' the whole matter had been determined with the greatest prudence and equity, it by no means allayed the diffusions and heart-burnings between the different tongues. The bitter reflections which they continually threw out against each other, and, in many cafes, glanced upon the grand master himself, if not chiefly aimed at him, sensibly affected him.

The ill offices and exactions of the viceroy of Sicily on the corn which was brought from that island, contrary to the old treaty with the emperor, were interpreted as the effects of that monarch's resentment against him. These and other grating things which occurred, made so deep an impression on his mind, that he might be more properly said to have languished out, than lived, the shorter remainder of his days. He died on the 10th of August 1557, in the 4th year of his grand mastership, leaving behind him, besides the considerable sums he had spent in the fortifications of the island, above 60,000 crowns in his own coffers, to the public treasury of the order. In gratitude for which generosity, the chapter, which had given him leave to frequent it at his discretion, ordered 12,000 livres out of it to be presented to his niece, as an addition to her dowry, and another sum was ordered to be laid out in some splendid ornaments for the church, on which his name and coat of arms were richly embroidered.

Before his death, he cau'd a farther inquiry to be made into the procès intended against the commander Valier, late governor of Tripoli, who had been till then detained in prison, and ordered him to be set at liberty; but whether his fear of discrediting the party of the late D'Omedes, who had prosecuted him with so much rancour, or any other private motive, intimidated him, he did not venture to extend his generosity farther than that; so that this brave officer, who would have been in all probability raised to the grand mastership, had he commanded anywhere but in Tripoli, was still forced, after a cruel imprisonment of some years, to live a poor obscure life, suitable to his disgrace, and was not restored to his pristine dignities till the beginning of his successor's government.

1 Aud. sup. citat. 2 Baudin, I. 15. Venet, LIV, L XI. p. 579, & seq.
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a He was succeeded by the famed commander 'John de la Valetta, surnamed Parijot, of the Provençal tongue of Provençal, a person of great valour and experience, who had regularly passed thro' the provinces of Spain and Italy, and held other dignities of the order, and who, soon after his election, recovered a great number of republi-ns and other revenues, which had been degenerated or suppressed, both in Germany and Venice. The former had been alienated during the troubles which the Hottest had called in most of the northern countries; and the latter, under pretence that most of theirs were employed in defence of Christianity against the Turks. His next care was, after a fresh examination of Valletta's case, to do justice to his innocence and merit, by declaring all his former accusations false and unjust, and befriending upon him the rich bailiwick of Largo. By this time the new vicerey of Sicily, defierous of signaling his government by some remarkable fer-

b vice, had laid a project for wrenching the city of Tripoli out of Dragut's hands, who com-
manded in chief, and had cau ed the fortifications both of the city and castle to be aug-
mented with fresh out-works, in order not only to make it his place of arms, from whence he 
fell his corsairs on the usual excursions against Malta, Naples, and Sicily, but also a safe 
repository for all the piratical crews of Algiers, Tunis, & c. The grand master was easily in-
duced to join in the enterprise, which no less concerned the island of Malta than it did the 
Spanish dominions in Italy; for, he was at the same time apprized from several hands, par-
ticularly by the commander Roumages, of the vast preparations that were making at the Porte to 
make a fresh descent upon the island; but as he knew also that they would take some time 
longer before they could be ready to fall, he rightly enough judged, that, if the expedition 
against Tripoli was carried on with due diligence, the place might be carried before the Turkish 
fleet could come to its assistance; after which the imperial forces might afford him in the de-

cence of Malta, in case it should be attacked by the Turks. With this view he sent the com-
mander Guarinos into Sicily, to hasten the armament, which was ordered to rendezvous at 
Malta, under the command of John de Lascema, duke of Medina-Celi, the then vicerey of 
that island, and the admiral Doria, in conjunction with him. 

The misfortune was, that the two former proved fo dilatory in their preparations, that 
the grand master began to think the season too far advanced for such an expedition, and advised 
them by his letters to put it off till the next spring; but the young vicerey, afraid of the Philip II. 
who was no great warrior, should alter his mind, and deprive him of the glory he promised 
himself by it, would listen to no delay, and, in spite of the rigor of the season, failed for 
Malta, and arrived there about the middle of December 1559. He was highly pleased at 
the honours with which the whole order received him, and much more so at the vast prepara-
tions of the grand master, and the numerous appearance of so many brave knights that were to 
accompany him, and who were all men of valour and intrepidity, and not a few of them old 
experienced commanders; but the expressly ordered by the king his master to be directed 
wholly by la Valetta, yet he could not be brought to consent to any farther delay than the 
coming of the remainder of the armament from Naples and Milan, which being at length 
arrived about the beginning of February, they immediately set about a plan for the operations of 
the campaign. The grand master, who was perfectly well acquainted with all the fortifi-
cations which Dragut had caused to be made to the place, and the numerous garrison and plenty 
of ammunition he had put into it, thought himself obli ged to lay an account of all before the 
council of war, who appeared not a little surprized at it, it being what till then they hardly 
dreamed of. The young Lascema, a better courtier than warrior, appeared so disconcerted at 
that, to avoid exposing himself to so dangerous an enterprise, he immediately proposed 
making their first descent on the small island of Gerba, which had had no other fortifications but 
an old castle, and was defended only by a few Arabs. This the grand master rejected, upon 
several accounts; and finding him still deaf to all his reasonings, whilst the rest of the council 
seemed inclined to his opinion, he plainly told him, that he might go and employ his forces 
where he pleased; but that since Tripoli was the place to which his master had sent him, he 
would not suffer one of his Maltese galleys to accompany him on any other expedition but that. 
This he spoke in so steady a tone, that Lascema found himself obliged to yield; and, 
after having given him the most solemn assurances that he would not go upon any other attempt 
but that, and having received from him an addition of 200 pioneers, to assist him at the siege, 
the fleet set sail directly towards Tripoli on the 10th of February. How the vicerey performed 
his promise, the ill success, losses, and disgrace, he met with in his attempt on the island of 
Gerba, which put an end to this expedition, we have else-where seen, and need not be re-
peated here; only, with respect to the order, we must observe, that being obliged, by their 
political honour, to be always foremost in every attack, and the left in giving way, their loss 
was the most considerable, through the cowardice of the Sicilian general, by whom they were 
grotishly abandoned more than once in the greatest danger.
It was much about the same time, that Cosimo, duke of Tuscany, instituted his new military order of knights of St. Stephen, after the model of that of Malta, excepting that he exempted his own from the vows of celibacy, poverty, &c. and obliged them in all other things to conform to those of Malta; and, whenever they met with any of their gallies at sea, to join themselves to them, and act in concert with them. Four gallies of this new order, commanded by Baccio Martelli, having met with seven Maltese ones near the Cape de Lupo, commanded by Gonzago, admiral of Malta, gave them the first salute, and put themselves under the admiral's command. These eleven gallies began to scour the sea with such success, that they took a vast number of Barbary and other Turkish corsairs, recovered several Christian vessels that had been taken by them, and, at the end of their cruise, before they parted, those of St. Stephen went and paid their respects to the grand master, from whom they met with a gracious reception. The joint successes they had, within the space of about two months, soon induced Valetta to cause two larger gallies more to be built at his own charge; and his example was quickly followed by several wealthy commanders; by which means the order, in a little time, made up the great loss they had sustained at the battle of Gera, and became more powerful at sea than it had ever been since its foundation, not only by the number of their ships, but much more by the valour and experience of their commanders, most of whom were fit to command a whole fleet.

We have had occasion to mention the famed Romegas, a perfom of a stern and undaunted disposition, who spent the greatest part of his life at sea, and suffered neither officers nor soldiers to belong to him, but such who were of the fame martial and intrepid courage with himself. This commander meeting on the coasts of Sicily a galley belonging to a Calabrian renegado, named Isuph Concini, who was known to be one of the bloodiest tyrants of the Christian slaves, attacked him with such fury, that though he met with a desperate defence, yet he boarded him with some of his bravest knights, sword in hand, two of whom were killed at his side by that renegado, who had then in his vessel 240 soldiers, besides 200 Christian slaves at the oar. But these last, seeing Romegas master of the ship, one of them gave him a stroke over the head, which threw him down. The rest immediately fell upon him with the fury of bull-dogs, and tore his flesh with their teeth, from one bench to another; so that he had hardly any left by that time he was got to the last. Romegas gave them their liberty, and clapped the Turkish prisoners to the oar, and brought the galley in triumph to Malta. Many such noble exploits did this brave commander perform, which we have no room to infer, by which he became the terror of all the Turkish corsairs.

Nor long after this, the pope having summoned the council of Trent, the grand master was invited to be present at it; but he contented himself with sending two ambassadors thither; viz. the famed Villegagnon, formerly mentioned, and Royal de Portal Rouge. The former of these being prevented by sickness and old age from afflicting at it, the latter only repaired to that assembly, but met with some difficulty about settling the place and rank he was to hold in it; some of the members objecting against an ambassador from the head of a lay-fraternity taking place of bishops amongst the ambassadors of crowned heads. The contest was, however, compromised, to the satisfaction of all parties; after which, he addressed himself to the assembly in words to this effect: "That if the grand master was not there present, or had not "sent him sooner as his ambassador to them, it was owing to the vast number of corsairs which "infested the Maltese channel, and to an apprehension the order was in of being quickly "visited by the Turkish fleet, which had been long equipping for conquering that island: "That if the order was not now in a condition to make head against so powerful a force, or "to perform such glorious exploits against the enemies of Christendom, as they had formerly "done" (some of the most confidential of which he enumerated), "it was owing to their "being deprived of many of their best priories and revenues, not only by those princes who "had embraced the reformation, but likewise by others who still adhered to the church, who "had, in this respect, openly invaded the rights and privileges of it." He concluded with "praying the holy synod to consider the vast and constant services they had done to Christia- "nity ever since their foundation, and to put them once more in a condition of still doing to, "by decreeing a retribution of their ancient rights and revenues, and by procuring a confir- "mation of their decree from every catholic crowned head.

The president having, in the name of the assembly, given him a general promise, answerable to his request, he prehended each of the members with a memorial, in which were mentioned the several privileges of the order with relation to the priories and commanderies belonging to it, and in it a further petition, that "their decree might exclude all perfons of "whatever quality from enjoying them, who had not taken upon them the three vows of "the order." But this was too delicate a point for the pope's creatures to meddle with.
out his participation; and it is more than probable that some of them apprized him of it time enough for him to put a stop to it; for he let them know soon after, that the matter of the ambassador’s request belonged solely to him, and that he would himself take proper care of the rights and privileges of that order. This prevented the council’s farther proceedings about it; and Pius IV. we are told, soon forgot his promise, and the services which they had done to religion, particularly to Italy, Sicily, and other parts, in freeing them from the incursions and ravages of the Turkis and Barbary corsairs. This did not hinder other European powers from granting several considerable privileges to the order, particularly Charles IX. king of France, duke of Savoy, &c.

b de Velez, situated on the Barbary coast, and not above forty leagues distant from that of Spagna, Spain, resolved to make a fresh one on the next, in which they invited the grand master, among other Christian powers, to assist them, which was readily complied with by La Valetta, who furnished them with some of his best galleys and commanders, as well as with a considerable number of knights, who greatly assisted Don Garcia, who commanded in that expedition, in the taking both that town and Pennon de Velez; the latter of which proved a place of great importance to the Spaniards for some considerable time, as we have elsewhere shewn. The loss of which place, which used to be a sure refuge to all the Barbary corsairs, who were here secure by pursuit of the cannon of the fortrefs, greatly alarmed the whole pirate crew. Droguet, their old and steadfast friend, soon ordered his agent to represent their case to the Perso, in such pathetic terms, that Selim gave him an absolute promise of such powerful assistance against the Spaniards and Malthe, that they would have no caufe to be longer afraid of either. Malthe was pitched upon to be the first scene of war, against which he caused a powerful fleet to be equipped, and all the other military preparations to be privately made against it; but that which determined that monarch to declare his intentions more publicly, and to haften his armaments, was, a prize which even Malthe galleys had made of two of his largest and richest galleons, which were laden with some of the richest merchandizes of the coast.

Five of the Malthe galleys which belonged to the order were commanded by the admiral A rich galleon Giot, and the other two belonging to the grand master by Romegas, when they met with the taken. sultan’s galleon between the isles of Zante and Cephalonia. This last carried 20 large cannon, besides a great number of small ones, and was commanded by Beiran Ougly, a brave old captain, who had some of the best officers, and about 200 janissaries, all excellent marksmen, on board. Most of the famous galleas, and other great ladies in the feraglio, had a share in the lading of it: the vellah belonged to one of the chief eunuchs of it, who was the master of that monarch’s pleasures. Giot fired a gun to bring her to; but was answered by a loaden one from Ougly, who immediately hoisted up the flag of defiance. The two Malthe governors had wisely agreed to attack him by turns, so as to keep a constant fire against him; but Giot, willing to carry off the greatest share of the glory, was rash enough to push his galley quite under the stern of the Turk, whence he saw himself immediately surrounded with wild-fire, and his men overwhelmed with volleys of large stones, which obliged him to draw off with speed, and with the loss of a great number of his men. Romegas advanced next with his two galleys, and with his usual intrepidity, but received a shot which overthrew his sail, and killed 20 of his men. A second, which immediately followed it, threw another score of them into the sea, and obliged him likewise to withdraw, to avoid being sunk by the fire of a large cannon which he saw levelled against him betwixt wind and water. They then agreed to attack the Turk in flank, by two on each side, and made such a terrible fire upon it as killed and disabled a great number of the janissaries, yet without any other advantage; so that they found themselves obliged to call in the rest of their galleys to their assistance. The onet was then renewed with most obstinate fury on both sides, and had lasted near five hours; and the Malthe might in all likelihood have been obliged to fall away with a considerable loss, had the Turks been able to play all their artillery against them; but the greatest part of it was unfortunately hemmed in by the quantity of bales which the merchants had crowded about it, so that a great part became uselesse through their greediness. By this misfortune the fire of the Malthe being much superior, they quickly became masters of the rich vellah, not without vast losse on both sides. The Christians had above sixscore men killed, among whom were a good number of their bravest knights. The Turks lost above eighty of their janissaries, some of their best officers, and, in particular, a most expert engineer at pointing their artillery, besides a much greater number of wounded.

The news of this capture failed not of making great noise both at Constantinople, and much more in the feraglio; and though Selim, who looked upon it as the highest affront against his household, wanted no spur to his resentment, yet was he surrounded not only by those who

* Vertot, ubi supra, p. 425. 1 De his vide Naberat. Summar. Privileg. in La Valette.

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had a share in the loss, but by crowds of his own officers. Even the mufi and his tribe came and complained, that the Maltebe galleys greatly obstructed the devotions of the faithful, and their pilgrimages to the prophet's tomb; and that their island swarmed with Turkish slaves, who groaned under a most cruel and shameful servitude. Even the head imam, or chief preacher, took the liberty to represent to him his sermon, what a disgrace it was to so pious and valiant a prince as he to suffer so many myriads of his faithful subjects to groan under the chains of those sworn enemies of their prophet and his religion. This last scene was doubtless directed under-handy by the chief eunuch above-mentioned, who furnished the preacher with a particular list of all the prizes, which he gave him then a full, and perhaps a much exaggerated, account of, towards the close of his sermon, which he concluded with words to this effect: "All these vessels, with their rich lading, their soldiers, and sailors, have been feigned by those merciless corsairs. Thy invisible sword alone can break the chains of these unhappy wretches; the son demands his father, the wife her husband and children, of thee; and all of them expect from thy justice and powerful arm a speedy vengeance upon these most cruel enemies." Salima was not a little moved at the boldness of the preacher, and much more at the universal murmur which it raised among the audience, so contrary to the behaviour of the Turks in their mosques; and, to prevent its rising to a greater height, solemnly promised them, by his grand vizier, that they should all be revenged and satisfied in a little time; and retired, fully resolved, as soon as he was rid of his war in Hungary, to turn his whole force against the Maltebe.

He accordingly held a general council in a neighbouring plain, where all his great officers affixed on horseback, and in which the reduction of that island was unanimously agreed on, contrary to the advice of Hali, one of Dragut's most experienced captains, who was sent thither for that purpose, and who gave that monarch the most solid arguments against that enterprise; but which were all overruled by the rest of the diwan, and perhaps by the sultan's own ambition and resentment against the whole order. One of his first cares, therefore, was, to send some spies, in the disguise of fishermen, to take a full view of the island, who found means to bring him back an exact plan of it, with all its fortifications, havens, strength, and the number of its inhabitants, \\etc. while he was hastening his armaments against it. By this time, as there was hardly any reason to doubt of its being defended against this island, the viceroy of Sicily, Don Garcia, was ordered by his master to take it in his way to the castle of Galeta, in order to consult with the grand master about the proper and safest means of providing against the threatening storm; so that, whether it should fall on Malteba, or on the Pwyon de Velez, on the coasts of Barbaria, or on any of the Spanih dominions in Italy, they might be enabled to assist each other. The grand master acquainting him, that in case his island should be attacked, he should want both men and corn, Garcia engaged to supply him with both upon his return to Sicily; in pledge of which he left one of his sons with him, who was afterwards admitted into the order. He was no sooner departed, than the grand master summoned all the knights of the order, differenced through several parts of Europa, to repair to him. Those that were in Italy raised a body of 20,000 foot, to which the viceroy of Sicily added two companies of Spanish forces. All the garrisons of the order were employed in transporting these troops, together with all manner of provisions and ammunition, into the island; and the knights that were in it, in distributing, disciplining, and exercising, their new levies, as well as the Maltebe militia, against the siege.

The grand master saw himself by this time strengthened by the arrival of the above 600 knights; all of whom brought with them retinues of good stout servitors, fit to assist in the defence of the island; while those, who, by reason of age, sickness, or other impediments, could not repair to him, divested themselves of their most precious effects, to assist him with their purses. The pope, on his part, contented himself with sending a good round sum of 10,000 crowns; and the king of Spain ordered his viceroy Don Garcia to raise an army of 20,000 men, to be ready to fall thither as soon as called for. The grand master, like a most experienced commander, employed the remainder of his time and care in visiting all the forts, magazines, arsenal, \\etc. and assailing to each tongue their several posts, and making all proper preparations for an obstinate defence, till the Ottoman fleet appeared in sight of the island, on the 18th day of May 1565.

It consisted of 159 large galleys and galleons, carrying on board 30,000 forces, janissaries and ipalhis, besides the slaves at the ear, accompanied by a considerable number of other vessels, laden with artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries for a siege. The whole armament was commanded by Mufajba bafa, an old experienced officer, aged about 85 years, and an old favourite and confident of the sultan, of an haughty cruel temper, who made it a merit to violate his word; and to use all manner of cruelties against the Cretians, but more es-

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\* BAUDIN, L. xii. c. 3. 4. 5. VERTOR, II. xii. p. 429. \\& seq. \\& 436. \\& seq.
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a pecially against the Maltese. The fleet cast anchor towards the evening in the bay of Mugiaro, alias Porto del Mugiaro ; at the fight of which, the marshal Copel, at the head of 200 knights and 1000 men, marched with speed to oppose their landing. The bahia, by the help of a dark night, ordered 35 of his rear galleys, with 3000 men, to tack about, and land at the ladder-port, otherwise called the castle of St. Thomas; which they did without opposition. Thefe, lying concealed among the rocks, had an opportunity of falling upon the paroling detachments of the Maltese, as they actually did upon two of them, the one commanded by a Portugues knight, who was killed on the spot by a shot from the enemy, and the other commanded by the brave chevalier La Rivière, who was taken prisoner as he flew to the other’s assistance.

b Riviere was immediately brought to the haughty bahia, who questioned him concerning the number of their forces, the strength of their island, and the disposition of the grand master and his knights. To which he bravely answered, that there was not one of them who would not fight to the last drop of his blood in defence of his religion, and of an island which they esteemed as their own country: that the island was furnished with every thing necessary to sustain a siege, and would soon be as gallantly defended from without by a powerful fleet from Europe, as from within by the intrepid valour of his order and the forces they had to engage under them. The bahia, looking upon his answer as a mere bravado, ordered him to be put to the torture; which he endured for a while with a surpising constancy; but at length, as if he had been overcome by the violence of it, he told him, in a different tone, that he would find the island impregnable on every side but that of the borough and post of Cliffs, which he said was indeed the least fortified of all; upon which Mâphafa, who doubted not of the truth of it, resolved to make his attack on that side. In the mean time, the wind having veered that very night, the fleet removed to the bay of Merafo Sireaco, where they were to have landed at first, had the wind permitted them to do it. Here Mâphafa caused two towers to be erected, one at each end of the entrance, to secure the artillery and ammunition they had landed, as well as the fleet from being surprized either by the Maltese, or by the European ships which they were told were in full sail for that island. The bahia, however, still deficient, and resolved to take a view of the place himself, caused Riviere to be conducted after him in chains to an eminence called Monte Calcura, whence he had a full view of the island and all its fortifications, and bid him shew him the Cliffs post which he had represented to him as the weakest; and finding it fortified with stout walls, bastions, and other bulwarks, the bahia, in a passion, gave him such a blow with his cane as laid him quite flat on the ground, and ordered his respite to dispatch him.

All this while the Turks who landed were spread over the island, and committed the most cruel ravages; whilst the Maltese, on their side, kept paroling about, and had several bloody encounters with them. Thé day the grand master was obliged to suppress, because the loss of one man was greater to him than that of 100 to the enemy. At the same time, Mâphafa having called a council of war, the admiral Phiali informed upon waiting for the arrival of Dragut, before they undertook any thing, according to the sultan’s express orders; but Mâphafa, still fearing left the European fleet, which Riviere had informed him of, should come and invest theirs in the Merafo Sireaco, resolved upon the immediate opening of the trenches Fort St. Elmo before the fort of St. Elmo, which he supposed might be carried in two days: a conquest that befell them would facilitate the taking of that of Merafo Mileto, in whose more capacious and safe haven they might secure their whole fleet; after which they could pursue the siege of the other places with more safety. He had the greater reason to fear the surprize of his fleet in the Merafo Sireaco, as Don Garcia, viceroy of Sicily, had caused a rumour to be spread in the Turkish camp, that he would soon be there and attack them at the head of the king his master’s fleet.

The difficulty was, in opening the trenches before the fort, which was built partly on the solid rock, and partly on a ground almost as hard; but the bahia, who neither wanted pioneers, nor was sparing of their lives, quickly overcame it in part, and, where that could not be done, covered his men with an artificial rampart made of wood, gabions, and the like; so that he was able to raise a battery of 10 cannon that carried 80 lb. besides two culverins of 60, and a bastifl of a monforter fize, which threw stones of 160 lb. weight, and began to fire against the place by the 24th day of the month. Thése made such terrible havoc in the place, that the commander was obliged to lend for some farther assistance, whose messenger, named Lacerta, magnified the danger the fort was in, in such dismal terms, that the grand master thought himself obliged to give him a very severe reprimand: You represent, said he to him, the call to the grand master before all these commanders, as a body quite enraged and exasperated for want of strong master’s inter-
The history of Maltha.

BOOK XXII.

discouraged, because the safety of the whole island depended upon the lengthening of the siege, to give Don Garcia time to send the promised assistance. Having therefore drawn up a sufficient reinforcement, he put himself at their head, resolving, as he said, to defend the place, or be buried under the ruins of it; but he was quickly surrounded with such a number of knights, who offered themselves to go in his stead, that he had nothing left to do but to make choice of such as he thought most proper for that arduous commission.

They marched accordingly to the place with an undaunted bravery, and most of them left their lives with the same intrepidity, and were still supplied with fresh ones, who came in droves from England, Germany, France, and other parts of Europe, with the most surprising diligence, to share in the same danger; many of whom, instead of waiting for the Sicilian fleet to convey them thither, ventured themselves in light barks, or what other vessels they could get, whose entrance into the port Muzetto the grand master facilitated by the constant fire he made upon the enemy. One of his ships having accidentally fallen upon one of the floures that covered their trenches, a splinter gave the Turkish admiral Phialo to deprive a wound, that he was taken up for dead; the news of which spread an universal dread through the army, and especially through the fleet. The grand master took advantage of their confusion to dispatch his nephew, with another commander, into Sicily, in order to hasten that armament, and settle a proper signal for their reception. He received soon after an express, with a promisse from the viceroy, that the slipulated ficoour would be with him at farthest by the middle of June; so that he was forced to throw fresh troops into the castle, in order to spin out the time.

In the mean while the commander Medran, who had conducted the last reinforcement, made a lucky fall on the Turks, when they were least aware of him, under the continuall fire of the artillery from the fort, which threw them into such confusion, that he cut a good number of them in pieces before they could rally themselves. This occasioned a bloody and obstinate contest on both sides: unfortunately for the besieged, the wind blew so full against them, that they were quite suffocated with the smoke of the enemy's fire, which forced them to retreat. The Turks, taking the advantage of it, pursu'd them through it unperceived, and by that means, placing themselves on their counter-scarp, made a safe lodgment upon it, with their gabbions, woolfacks, and timber, and quickly reared a battery, and fixed their standard upon it. They had such an advantage from thence over the besieged, that scarce any of them dared to raise his head above the ramparts, but he was immediately shot by the janissaries musquetery. Their situation was become at length so desperate, that the pusillanimous Laceria, who had once before been so severely rebuked by the grand master, was now proposing the undermining and blowing up this new battery; which advice, however, was unanimously rejected with scorn, as proceeding rather from cowardice and despair than from any desire of saving the place.

Whilst this bloody contest was carrying on between the castle and the battery, the famous corsair Uluckiali arrived with six galleys and nine hundred men from Alexandria, and landed at the Turkish camp; and some days after the famed Dragut, with 13 galleys and 1600 more. This left was received with shouts, and the fire of the whole Turkish artillery. Upon his landing, he went to take a survey of the camp, and the principal fortresses of the island, and seemed surprized that Myshapa should have begun with the siege of that fort, instead of the castle of Gofa, and the Notable City, which would at once have cut off all supplies of provisions, and their receiving any reinforcements from abroad. Myshapa, who was ordered by the sultan to pay the greatest regard to his advice, having given him the reasons which determined him to do it, readily offered to raise the siege, and to attack the castle of Gofa and the Notable City; but Dragut, fearing lest such a step should insiprit the besieged and discourage the Turks, agreed to go on with it; and as he was an old experienced perfon in all such matters, ordered a new battery to be reared on the 1st of June, to keep a more constant fire against an outwork which covered the fort. He raised another over-against fort Muzetto, of four cannon, to batter it on that side, and a third of two guns on the counter-scarp, to destroy the caffemates on the entrance of fort Muzetto, which hath been named ever since the cape of point Dragut, and where he caused four culverins to be planted to batter the ravelin. The Turkish engineers, by the assistance of the constant fire of their musquetery, having taken a survey of that outwork, without being perceived, and observing the Maltese folders all buried in profound sleep, immediately ordered a number of their men to scale the place with their ladders; who quickly gained the top, and cut in pieces most of the Christians. The tumult which ensued having alarmed the rest, a fresh supply of forces, headed by some of the knights, soon came and opposed their progress; upon which an obstinate fight began, and a battery of two cannon, playing briskly against the enemy, made them give way for some time; but, as they were continually reinforced by fresh recruits, they at last got the better of the Maltese, and not only lodged themselves in the ravelin, but, with an incredible fury, pursu'd
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a. purgled the knights in their retreat through the ditch, until they were stopped by the artillery and wild-fire of the fort. Some authors tell us, that they rallied soon after, and came with fresh force and fury to scale the place; and, in all likelihood, have carried it, had not their ladders proved too short, which obliged them to retire with great loss. The order, besides the loss of the ravelin, had no less than 20 knights and 100 soliers killed, and a great many others wounded, and, among them, the baily of Negropont and the cavalier de Guardampa (M). It was by those wounded men, who were carefully conveyed into the city to be taken care of, that the grand master was informed of the loss of the ravelin, which obliged him to continue sending supplies of fresh men to the fort, great numbers of whom were almost as soon cut off by the constant fire of the enemy. This forced him to send a second message to the viceroy of Sicily, in which, after some warm expostulations at his strange delay, he told him, that he would engage to oblige the enemy to raise the siege, if he could but obtain a speedy succour of 3000 men from him. But great was his surprise, when, instead of it, he received only two Maltebse knights, who, with much difficulty and danger, had passed through the enemy, to come and acquaint him, that Don Garcia, instead of sending back the two Maltebse ships which were to have conveyed him thither, demanded five more of him, before he could set out; by which he plainly understood, that he only sought for a pretence to evade the engaging of the Turkish fleet. In this distress Salvago, one of those knights, was sent back to him with fresh instances; whilst the other, named Lamiranda, begged to be sent to take the command of the fort, which was readily granted: upon which he quickly found how to convey himself, at the head of a new reinforcement, together with a fresh supply of wine, and other provisions, into the place, which gave a new life to those that were in it.

In the mean time Draguts proposed the flapping the communication between the fort and the borough, from which it received all its supplies, by planting a new battery at the point of the grand port: but that being thought at too great a distance from the camp, and consequently liable to be seized by the besieged, unless it were defended by a greater number of troops than they could spare, Malpeba advised the suspending of it till the arrival of the bay of Algiers, who was daily expected, and would be highly pleased to be complimented with that office: the rest of the council acquiesced in the proposal. Then the baiha ordered the ravelin to be raised, by the help of fascines, woolpacks, and other materials, to a height above the parapet of the place, and a new battery to be planted upon it. By this means they not only gained a full view of the fort, but could prevent, by their fire, any of the Maltebse soldiers from coming near the parapet. This obliged them to throw up a deep intrenchment within it, to secure their approach; but this also was quickly after destroyed by the help of a bridge, which Malpeba ordered to be thrown between the new battery and the parapet, large enough for six men to go over abreaf; the planks of which he ordered to be covered with earth to a certain depth, to prevent their burning it. This new bridge opened a way for them quite to the parapet: but Lamiranda did not let them enjoy long the fruit of it, for, by the artifice of a feigned fall, he got it burned and demolished by some of his stoutest men on that very night. The Turks, however, finished a new one by the next day, and at night got down into the ditch, where they reared up their ladders, as if they had designed to scale the ramparts, which quickly obliged the besieged to appear on the breach in crowds. This was what the Turkish general wanted, who immediately caused a most dreadful discharge of his artillery to be made upon them, which killed a much greater number of them than had been done since the beginning of the siege. The surviving knights, seeing the desperate condition the fort was reduced to, sent the commander Madran to acquaint the grand master with it, who immediately communicated it to the council. The majority agreed upon abandoning the place, which could be no longer kept but by the destruction of those remaining forces which were reserved, and would hardly prove sufficient to defend the other fortresses of the island; so that the more forces they sent into it, the greater service they did the enemy, by rendering the rest of the island still more defenceless. One might have expected that a per-
fon of the grand master’s experience and sagacity would have readily yielded to such pressing motives; nevertheless, though he acknowledged them all to be just, and that he could not but bewail the fate of those who were obliged to maintain so dangerous and destructive a post, yet he still affered, that, upon such an exigence as this, it was better to hazard the loss of some of the members, than that of the whole body, affered as he was, that if the castle of St. Elmo was once yielded to the Turks, they must give up all hopes of receiving any farther affissance from Sicily, the viceroy of which had solemnly declared, that he would never hazard his master’s fleet and forces in defence of the rest of the island, if that fort was once yielded to the enemy; so that the safety of the former wholly depended upon prolonging the siege of the latter, colt what it would to the order. The council having rightly approved the grand master’s advice, Madras was ordered to go back and acquaint them with their resolution, and their motives for it, and to exhort them, according to the duty of their profession, to defend the place to the very last. This answer was relied only by a small number of the oldest knights, who, to encourage the rest, publicly vowed to do so, or bury themselves under the ruins of it; but the far greater part of them put a much harsher construction upon the grand master’s resolution, which they said was only agreed to by those, who, having no Share in the danger, were the less concerned how lavishly they were of other men’s lives.

What still incresced the general discontent was, a mine which the Turks were pushing forward under the first parapet; upon which they dispatched a letter to the grand master, signed by no less than three hundred and fifty of the order, in which they boldly declared, that if he did not send them that very night a sufficient number of barges to convey them out of the fort, in which they were sure to be all butchered, they would unanimously rally out by the next morning on the enemy, and sacrifice their lives with their swords in their hands, as the most easy as well as honourable death. The grand master, though greatly surpriz’d at the desperation of such a resolution, yet still aiming at gaining time, ordered forthwith three commissaries to pass over into the castle, under pretence of examining the condition it was in, and how long it might hold out, but in reality to expostulate with, and reduce them to their duty.

Two of these, being men of sagacity and temper, endeavoured to dipel their fears, by representing the place in a condition to hold out some days longer; but the third, named Cafrisi, said he would be defended from the famed Cafrisi, better known by the name of Scanderbeg, a man full of martial zeal, instead of soothing advice, began to rate them for their pusillanimity, alleging, that there were still several means to be used to shelter them some time longer from the enemy’s artillery, and ridiculed their fears of a mine in a place that was built upon a hard rock. This language, which aff a most affronting reflection on their want of skill and courage, so exasperated them, that they proposed the retaining him against his will, to display his superior parts, and to put his own lefions in practice in defence of the place. Some of them went so far as to secure the castle gates, to prevent his going away; which raised such a tumult in the garrison as might have been of the worst consequence, had not the commander Lamiranda cau’d the drums to beat to arms, and dispersed them to their respective posts.

At their return, the other two commissaries gave it as their opinion, that the place could not hold out another assault; but Cafrisi, perceiving still in his own, offered to go himself with a few recruits, and defend it till the succours arrived from Sicily, which the grand master readily agreed to, and the bishop of Malta furnished him with a sufficient sum to raise his recruits upon the island; not perhaps that they depended altogether upon his superior valor or conduct, but as they saw no other way left but that of prolonging the siege. However that be, the recruits were raised instantly, and many volunteers came and offered themselves to be inlisted, not only from the country, but even some of the principal citizens expressed a more than ordinary desire to follow him. The grand master, having bestowed the highest encomiums on them, and especially on their valiant leader, sent them into the castle, and withal gave him a letter to the officers of the garrison, written in harsher terms, ordering them to resign their posts to the new-comers, and to repair out of hand to the convent, where they would be in less danger of their lives, and himself in least fear about the place. Nothing could have been thought of more mortifying than this language, nor more expressive of the greatest contempt, than the ordering them to resign the defence of such an important place to a handful of new-raised recruits. They quickly felt such pungent tokens of shame and remorse, as made them resolve to sacrifice their lives, rather than abandon their posts; and instantly went and intreated the governor to intercede with the grand master to recall his orders and his new troops, and to assure him, that they would maintain their posts to the last drop of their blood, and endeavour, by the most intrepid bravery, to blot out the disgrace of their former behaviour. The governor was easily persuaded to dispatch an account of this to the grand master by an able diver, for it was not possible for boats to pass from one to the other without the utmost danger. The grand master made a shew of rejecting their
The history of Malthe.

Chap. 7.

Their petition once and again with more than common scorn; but was at length prevailed
upon to recall his recruits, and to entrust once more the defence of the place to them.

All this while the commander, who, as we hinted above, had been dispatched to hasten
the succours from Sicily, finding the viceroy still tardy, had ordered the grand master’s ne-
phew, together with the commander St. Aubyn, who had been sent thither on the same
errand, and had each a galley under their command, to gather up what troops they could,
and to sail with all speed for Malthe. They did so; but, upon their arrival, found the coasts
so strongly guarded all round by Dragut’s galleys, that they were forced to return to Sicily,
after having tried all means in vain to get to land either at the island of Gafa, or in some ob-
scure creek of Malthe. They were fiercely arrived at Saragossa, before they received fresh
letters from the grand master, full of the most flattering reproaches to his nephew for his neglect
and disobedience; and an intimation, that a man was unworthy of the order, unless he dared
more than a common commander. Silvago was no less pressed in other letters, by the desperate
condition of fort St. Elmo, to hasten the Sicilian succours; but had obtained hitherto nothing.

The viceroy, from the viceroy but pompous promises, and, when he now thought he had prevailed upon
him to dispatch at least two of his galleys, with a regiment of soldiers, along with the other
two which were waiting for them at Saragossa, he was again mortified by him through
some new and shameful delays: so that every thing seemed to conspire against the relief of
the place.

Whilest the grand master and the rest of the order were waiting with the utmost impa-
tience for the long promised succours, they employed their thoughts and time in supplying
the garrison of St. Elmo with all necessaries for sustaining the general assault they were in daily
expectation of, and in inventing new means and stratagems to annoy the enemy. It was upon
this occasion that some of their engineers found out a new kind of missile weapon, till then
unknown, called fire-hoops or circles (N), which made the most dreadful havoc among
them. On the other hand, the besiegers were not idle in their camp, but continued battering
and cannonading the fort from the 17th of June to the 14th of July, almost without inter-
mission; every day produced some fresh attempt for assaulting the place, whilist every thing
was preparing for a general attack; to facilitate which, the 15th day was taken up in battering
the wall quite down to the very rock on which it stood.

The 16th was no sooner come, than the Turkish galleys came and ranged themselves before
the castle, and fell to battering it with their whole artillery; whilist the batteries on the land side
offault given.

did the fame with theirs, which consisted of thirty-six large pieces of cannon. The Turkish
forces entered the ditch at the found of their martial intrumens, and, upon the signal given,
mounted the breach with undaunted fury, whilist 4000 of their infantry kept firing against
the place, to keep the besieged off the breach. This did not prevent their appearing upon
it with their arms, and, with an intrepidity more threatening than a bulwark, both sides came
to a close engagement; in which the assailants, being annoyed by the lighted hoops described
in the left note, and great numbers set fire on fire by them, sent out such dismal cries as drowned
the noise of all the large and small fire-arms both of the besiegers and besieged. Whilist this
dreadful onset lasted, the captains of the Turkish galleys, observing that the main force of
the garrison was run to the defence of the breach, endeavoured to assault it on another side.
This being perceived by the grand master, a couple of large pieces were instantaneously pointed against
them, which, at the first fire, destroyed twenty of them, and put the rest to flight. The Turks re-
Turks who had mounted the assault had not better succoured, the boldness of their janitaries being bucked with
forced to abandon their posts at the fight of the fiery hoops that were continually thrown
among them; so that, after a most obstinate contest, which had lasted near six hours, the
balista was obliged to found a retreat, after having loft near 2000 of his bent forces. The
besieged, on their side, lost seventeen of their knights, among whom were some of the
highest rank and merit, besides about three hundred of their soldiers either killed or
wounded.

By this time Mafapha plainly perceived that all his efforts would prove abortive, unless he
could wholly cut off the communication between the castle and borough, and thereby pre-

(N) These hoops, which were of a sufficient circumference to incluse two or three men, were made of wood, dipped first in spirits of wine, then floaked in oil or melted tallow; around which was fastened a quantity of hemp, wood, tow, or other fine light stuff, deeply impregnated with pitch, tar, brimstone, saltpetre, and other such combustible matter.

These, being thoroughly set on fire, were then cast

vent the former from receiving any succour from the latter. We observed before, that this talk had been reserved for the bey of Algiers and his troops; but, as they heard nothing about his coming, he was obliged to think of some other way. Whilst he was deliberating about it behind the trench, with his chief engineer and the famed Dragut, the latter marched out with his usual intrepidity to reconnoitre the ground. They had not followed him far before the engineer had his head shot off by a cannon-ball from the castle of St. Angelo, which, hitting afterwards against a stone, threw a piece of it against Dragut's right ear with such violence, that it threw him down flat and senseless on the ground, and let his nose, eyes, and ears, a streaming with blood. The basha, apprehensive left his troops should be disheartened by the loss of this old and experienced commander, ordered a covering to be thrown over him, and had him conveyed into his tent; after which he came out unconcerned, as if nothing had happened, and stood on the very spot where Dragut had fallen, till he had deferred a proper place where to fix a battery fit for his purpose.

The fort being thus invested on all sides, and no possibility left to supply it with fresh troops, the grand master, who easily forewove it could not hold out much longer, unless the Sicilian succours came time enough to force the enemy to raise the siege, had recourse again to the commander Longone, his resident in Sicily, who pressed the vicerey so close, not only by laying before him the desperate fate St. Elmo was reduced to, and by reminding him of his frequent repeated affiuctures, but, what was still more cogent, informing him of the express orders he had received from the king his master to send all proper assistance to that island, he at length obtained the two long promised galleys, which had been detained till then upon several frivolous pretences, but which he now gave leave to fail with the other two, commanded by St. Aubin and the grand master's nephew, directly for Malta. But the politic Garcia had taken care beforehand to give the command of them to one of his creatures, named Cardona, with express orders, that if St. Elmo was taken by the Turks, he should instantly fall homeward, without landing any forces on the island; so that this last succour proved of no use to the order, through the obsequiousness of its commander, who, under some pretence or other, only flewed himself at a distance, waiting till the loss of the fort should authorize his return to Sicily. In the mean while the grand master attempted more than once or twice to throw some fresh reinforcement into the place, there being still a great number of knights who expressed the most fervent desire to signalize themselves in its defence, or lose their lives in so glorious an attempt; but the avenues on all sides were so strongly guarded by the enemy, that all his efforts proved abortive; whilst the garrison, in it, feigning nothing but death and destruction now before their eyes, unanimously agreed to fill their lives as dear as possible, and to maintain their ground to their very last breath.

This resolution they kept with the most surprising bravery. The basha, taking the advantage of their diftrict, ordered the general attack to be renewed, which continued, after the greatest obstinacy and reftistance, till night put an end to it, the Turkis general being no less prodigious of his men's lives than the knights now were of their own; and a dreadful slaughter was made on both sides, without losing or gaining any ground. The besieged, who expected that it would be renewed the next morning, employed that short respite in dresting those that were wounded, and enabling all that could make their appearance either with sword, musket, or pike, to come the next morning on the breach, those that could not walk being carried to the place, and all resolutely bent to lose their lives upon it. We omit mentioning their other preparations of a religious nature, such as confession, receiving the sacrament, embracing, forgiving and praying for one another; all which were performed with that ferioufness and solemnity suitable to their condition.

On the next morning accordingly, being the 23d of July, the assault was renewed with fresh vigour, and a certainty of victory. The Turks found the sorrowful remains of the garrison ready to receive them with their usual obstinacy: the fire and attack lasted four hours, by which time the assailants, having gained the top of the cavalier, and other eminences that commanded the breach, could take their aim at pleasure, and chafe whom they had a mind to kill; by which means the garrison, now dwindled to about three scores, and part of them disabled, was soon reduced to nothing by their continual fire; so that the contest may justly be said to have ended with the death of the last surviving knight. The basha then entered the fort in a kind of triumph; but when he had viewed it, and came to consider the losses which so small a place had cost him, he could not forbear crying out, What my father cost us, seeing this little fort of his has destroyed us so many thousands of lives? And well might he, when, according to most writers, above 8000 of his best Janizaries and faphis had perished before it; the thought of which railed his brutish fury to such a height, that he eauted the breasts of several Christians that were expiring with their wounds to be ripped open, their hearts to be plucked out, and to be flot into the borough, whence the grand master could behold
The history of Malta.

a behold all this horrid scene of inhumanity; he likewise caused their bodies to be split crosswise, on their backs and bellies, in dition to Christianity: some of these he caused to be hung up by their necks, hands, and feet, on the ramparts; others to be tied to planks covered with their under-garment, on which the cross of the order was fixed, and to be flung into the sea, in hopes that the tide would throw them against the foot of the castle of St. Angelo. In revenge of which barbarity, the grand master caused all the Turkish captives to be butchered, and their heads to be flot recking hot from his artillery into the fort. All this time the Turkish fleet was falling into the Morza Mucetto in triumph, at the sound of their cannon, trumpets, and other martial instruments. Some of the officers went into Dragut's tent, to inform him of the taking of the fort, but found him quite speechless; yet not far gone, but he gave some tokens of satisfaction, and expired immediately after. The order loist in this siege, which lasted just a month, about 1200 men, among which were 130 knights, and some of them of the highest rank and character. Among these were the noble commander Lamiranda, who offered himself a volunteer when the fort was reduced to great straits; the brave high bailly of Negropont, who, old, lame, and decrepit as he was, caught an old halberd in his hand, and, mixing himself among the thickest of the janitors, killed several of them, and fought till his head was struck off by one of their officer's sabres, who instantly caused it to be stuck on the head of a lance, and planted in full sight of the boor, where the grand master and the chief of the order stood on an eminence, and, with the utmost grief and conformation, beheld the horrid havoc which the enemy made among them.

As soon as they were retired, the grand master called a council; in which having displayed some part of his eloquence in the elogy he made upon those noble champions, his next talk was to spend the remainder in exhoring the survivors to imitate their courage and intrepidity in their respective posts. He next ordered them not to make any more prisoners; but, after they had got wnat intelligence they could of the enemy's measures and dispositions, to massacre them instantly, to let the enemy as well as their own troops see that they must neither expect nor give quarter. Pursuant to this order, he refused to admit an officer of the bastia, who came with the white flag displayed to treat about a capitulation, though he suffered an old Christian flave, who came with him as his interpreter, to be brought into his presence; and having caused him to pass through whole files of folders, and to be shewn the fortifications of the place, brought him to the ditch of the countercarp, and dismissed him with these words: Go, and tell the bastia, that this is the only spot we design to yield to him, and which we purposely reserve for a burying-place for him and his janitors. This message soon determined Mustapha to alter his measures, and, instead of negotiation, to open the trenches before the castle of St. Angelo, the borou and the peninsula of Michael, since called Cita de la Sangle, where the hard rock would not permit them to raise a wall or intrenchment of dry stone. Whilst this was doing, his flaves were employed in dragging seventy pieces of his largest artillery, which he caused to be planted upon nine batteries, which were reared in so many different places. All this while Cardona, who commanded the four galleys from Sicily, had been fauntering out at sea, waiting only, as we lately hinted, for the taking of the fort, in order to return with them homewards. Happily for the besieged, the two gentlemen, who had been sent to enquire about it, officiously concealed the loss of it from him; but told him withal, that it would be quickly surrendered, if some speedy succour was not sent to prevent it. Cardona still hesitating, and willing to delay, the knights and secular gentlemens that were in his galley threatened him so hard, that he was obliged to land them at the bay of the Black Stone, which done, he instantly bailed back for Sicily. The grand master, apprized of their landing, sent them some guides, who conducted them privately to the Cala de la Scala, whence, by the help of a thick fog, they safely arrived at the borou, and were joyfully received by the grand master. This timely reinforcement consisted of about six hundred men, forty-seven of whom were knights of the order, nineteen were Spanish officers of experienced valour and conduct, twelve were Italians, three Germans, and two Englishmen, who were all dispersed, at their own desire, into the most dangerous posts, together with the troops they had brought with them.

The bastia had, by this time, taken such care to hem them in, that they had now no communication left but by the mouth of the grand port, which could not be flopped by any means but by his making himself master of the cape or point of land of the peninsula. This was at first deemed impracticable by the council, till the admiral proposed an expedient, which was immediately approved of, but which was found as one of none of the besieged were aware of,  


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or could have dreamed of, and would have been infallibly executed, had it not been provi-
dentially discovered to the grand master by one of the Turkish council, who, from a motive
of religion, as well as a singular esteem for the order, hazarded his life to come and commu-
nicate it to him. This gentleman was named Lascaris, and had been taken prisoner by the
Turks at the siege of Patras, and educated in the Turkish religion; and though born a
Christian, had suffered his ambition to efface all the traces of his education till that very time.
He had by degrees raised himself so high by his merit as to be one of the head officers of
the sultane, and a member of the council of war; but the conduct and intrepid valor with which
the Malebexe knights had defended the fort of St. Elmo, having inspired him with an uncom-
mon regard for that order, he could not hear such a destructive project agreed upon without
feeling the most pungent sentiments of pity and concern for it.

Accordingly, as soon as the council was broke up, he made the bent of his way towards
the sea, over-against St. Michael’s point, whence he made signs with his turban for a boat to
bring him over. He was, however, discovered by some rambling Turks, who, guessing at
his intentions, made all the haste they could to seize upon him. This obliged him, though a
novice at it, to save his life by swimming; which being perceived by the Christians on the
other side, they dispatched immediately four or five of their best swimmers to fetch him
over, who came just time enough to save him from sinking. As soon as he was recovered, he
desired to be conducted to the grand master, where he made a full discovery of the batha’s
and admiral’s design, in order to deprive them of all further succours from abroad. We need
c not tell our readers how thankful a such an important advice was received by the grand
master and council. He had a considerable penion immediately setted upon him, which,
with all the other favours and marks of eftem and confidence, he was no less zealous to de-
serve, by the continual services he did to the order *

The grand master was not a little surprized at this signal generosity; for which he made
him ample returns: but was much more so at the deep-laid project of the admiral, which, if
not speedily prevented, would infallibly occasion the loss of the island. But his diligence was
equal to the danger; and he made such speed to have not only that point of land, but several
others of the like importance, defended by proper wood-works, towers, &c. that the batha
was in the utmost surprize to see, as he expressed it, so many flacadaos sprung suddenly out of
the earth, and which totally defeated the admiral’s project. He tried at first to have them
cut down by his Turks, whom he dispatched thiser with axes in their girdles; but they had
scarcely begun their work before they were surrounded with a shoal of Malebexe, who swam
erover to them naked with their swords in their mouths, and killed a good number of them, and
put the rest to flight. They resumed the work on the next day, with the same ill succeds and
loss: so that the batha, finding it impracticable, ordered his artillery to begin their fire against
the place, from all his batteries, on the 25th of July.

The castle of St. Angelo, in particular, was annoyed by the batteries which they had raised
on the fort of St. Elmo; the borough and fort St. Michael were battered by those of mounts
Coradin, Sciveras, Calcaria, and other eminences; and the fire was so fierce on both sides,
that the island appeared like a dreadful volcano. The besiegers had already demolished several
of their outworks, and carried their trenches as far as the ditch of the castle and borough of
St. Michael, which having no communication either with the great borough or castle of
St. Angelo but by an unwieldy ferry-boat, could not, without the greatest difficulty and
danger, receive succours from either, and, being the weakest part, was the most fiercely at-
tacked. This obliged the besieged, by the advice of the young chevalier Bofio, brother to
the historian often quoted in this chapter, to build a wooden bridge, supported by barrels and
tuns duly poised between them, which proved of singular ufe in the sequel. The batha had
likewise made two considerable breaches in the great borough; but was willing to put off the
assault till the arrival of Hassaf from Algiers, whom he expected with a large reinforcement
of his choice troops. He arrived accordingly a few days after, at the head of 2,500 stout
veterans; and though but a young soldier in comparison of Maffatha, was vain enough to tell
him, that if he had been there sooner, the small fort of St. Elmo had never held out half so
long; and begged of him to have the honour of attacking that of St. Michael, which
the old batha readily agreed to; and, giving him 6,000 of his men, promised to assist him
by land.

Hassaf under-
takes the siege
of St. Michael.

Hassaf being resolved to attack the peninsula La Sangle both by sea and land, dispatched
an old Greek renegade, named Candolifka, who had served his piratic apprenticeship under Bar-
barossa, with a good number of his gallies, and half of his Algerine forces and slaves, to

break their way through the Scerberas and Port Mazzetto into the grand port, in order to make himself master of the flacado, which the Turks had attempted in vain, and to break the chain and pallizado of the port, in order to convey his men by land to that peninsula. The brave Guimerano, often mentioned, who commanded that point of land, and had raised a battery of fix guns upon it, let their vessels approach till they were within shot, and made so good a fire with his cannon and muleyetry, that he sunk several of them, and killed about 400 of his Turks with that single discharge. Candelafla, not at all dismayed, landed at the head of his men, and had gained the shore, when a second shot of two guns, loaded with cartridge, and kept in reserve for him, were discharged, destroyed a good number of them, and put the rest to flight; whilst he, to prevent their getting to sea again, made a signal to his barks to remove farther off: so that now they were obliged to fight or die. The Algerine troops returned to the attack, which proved an obstinate one of five hours; at the end of which they gained the poet, and planted leven of their standards upon it. They did not keep it long before the few Maltbehe that were left came back, with admiral Monzi at their head, and renewed the fight with fresh fury, and, being presently after reinforced by a fresh detachment sent by the grand master, drove them away with great loss, Candelafla being one of the foremost and twillest in the fight. The Algerines, however, notwithstanding their leader’s cowardice, maintained their ground, and retired fighting till they got to their vessels, though many were slain in the retreat. They fared still worse at sea, where their vessels were overwhelmed, and a great number of them sunk, by the fire of the adjacent batteries; whilst those that firove to swim to the shore begged for quarter in the most supplicant posture, and were instantly cut in pieces, without any other answer than that it was St. Elmo’s pay. The port was soon after seen covered with dead bodies, some whole, others mangled, heads, arms, legs, &c. swimming amongst them: so that of 4000 men which fell out on that expedition, scarcely 500 got off safe. The Christians likewise lost, besides a great number of their men, above 100 knights, gentlemen volunteers, and other perons of distinction, and amongst them the young chevalier de Toledo, son to the viceroey of Sicily. What was still worse, those that were wounded were obliged to stay and be dressed in their pofts, there being no possibility to get them conveyed to the infirmary, without running a greater danger from the enemy.

Hassan, on the other hand, had battered the castle and borough of St. Michael with such Hassan effect of success, whilst his Algerines advanced their trenches almost close to the foite, that some of his standards soon appeared upon several parts of the parapet. These, however, met with such a hot reception from the batteries of the besieged, loaded with cartridge, and fired through the thickset of them, as cut vast numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to file off by the parapet to another breach which they thought least defended. Here they met at first with better success, through some accident that happened within the retrenchment, which caused the loss of some brave knights who defended it: but these being immediately succeeded by a fresh supply, the contest was renewed with great vigour, till Hassan, unable to stand it out longer, was obliged to found a retreat. They were no sooner retired, than Muxafana, who depaired of succeeding by any other means than by tiring out the besieged, immediately supplied their place with some of his best forces; so that the knights, fatigued as they were already both with fighting and the heat of the dog-days, were forced to return to their arms before they had had leisure to refresh themselves; notwithstanding which, they had no sooner exchanged fire with the janifaries, than they attacked them sword in hand. The fury and slaughter was equal on both sides for a long while, till the soldiers, seeing some of their best commanders fall, gathered up multitudes of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to their assistance, who plied them with such volleys of stones and fiery hoops, as obliged them to retreat, in spite of all the baths could do to prevent it. The Maltbehe, however, loft above 200 of their soldiers, and 40 of their knights and best commanders. That of the Turks was still vastly more considerable, as those were some of their best troops, and such as were reserved for the most arduous and dangerous enterpizes.

This disaster obliged him to cause such another wooden bridge to be reared as he had done at St. Elmo, which the grand matter, who knew the consequence of it, was not less solicitous to have destroyed; and, as he found it impracticable in the night, by reason of the strong guard fet over it, he resolved to do it by day-light, and appointed his own nephew to conduct that dangerous enterpize. He accordingly went at head of a strong detachment, and tried in vain, by the help of cable and other ropes, to have pulled away the supporters from under it; but found himself at once overwhelmed with volleys of small-shot from the enemy, which killed a great part of his men, and put the rest to flight, leaving him and another knight, named Polafbon, exposed to the fire, which quickly dispatched them both. Young Valetta.

The Turks immediately advanced to carry their heads to the baths, who had fixed a reward for the head of every knight’s head that was brought to him; but their men, ashamed to have thus foolishly
bafely abandoned them, came back with double fury, and, after a fierce and bloody struggle, a carried off their bodies unaimed. The grand matter bore the death of his young nephew with a peculiar unconcern, telling those who consoled him upon it, that every knight was as dear to him as he was; and adding, that, unless some speedy succour arrived from Sicily, they had no other refuge left than that of burying themselves, every one like him, under the ruins of the place. Being still resolved to demolish the bridge by any means, he caused a hole to be dug through the wall, on the same level with it; and having planted a large cannon in it, the first shot was lucky enough to shake the whole fabric, and a few more brought it nearer to the ground, when they set it on fire the following night, and reduced it to ashes.

The bafha, impatient and fearful of the sultan’s anger at his ill success, called a council of war, in which it was resolved, that he and the Algerine bey should pursue the siege as usual, whilst the admiral Phiali, with his marines, began that of the great borough and of the castle of St. Angelo, and Candellija scoured the sea with eighty stout galleys. Both the bafha and admiral pilled all their batteries with such fury, that the borough and castle of St. Michael were almost destroyed, and the great one had received some considerable breaches, especially at the quarters of Coffsie and Arvergine. They continued demolishing the fortifications with their constant fire, and harassing the besieged with their daily assaults and skirmishes. Numbers of them were killed every day by those uninterrupted hostilities, and the garrisons became daily weaker and thinner.

The bafha, encouraged by their visible decay, ventured to make a fresh and furious assault on the fort and town of St. Michael, on the 2d of August, in which the Turks and Algerines, animated with the hopes of a rich plunder, mounted the breaches like desperadoes, and flung the fire and missile weapons of the Christians with such unhaknoff obliquity, as gave the Maltseffes knights an opportunity of making a dreadful havoc of them during the space of six hours, till Mustapha thought fit to found a retreat, to save the rest. He did not renew it till five days after, when he ordered it to be made in several places, in order to oblige the Christians to divide their forces, whilst himself attacked the fort of St. Michael with force, and, if possible, with redoubled fury, and a greater number of his best troops. The janizaries, who marched at the head of them, were almost all cut off by the besiegers before they reached the ditch; so that the rest were obliged to trample over their bodies to gain the breach, where they met with such fierce opposition, that the place became one continued scene of blood and slaughter during the space of four hours more, the Turks obstinately striving to maintain their posts, and the knights as furiously employed in dislodging them.

In this obstinate contest the Maltseffes had the advantage to see themselves assailed by their very women and children, who came with an intrepid bravery to supply them, some with arms and ammunition, others with wine, fruits, and other refreshments; whilst others, more robust, kept pelting the enemy with stones, fire-works, melted pitch, and other destructive missiles. The Turks made no difference between them and the soldiers, but massacred as many of those viragoes as they could come at. The dismal atrocities of the wounded of both sides and sexes, of the pursuers and fugitives, and especially their reciprocal fire, made the place appear a scene of most dreadful horror; whilst the bafha fought at the foot of the breach with his sword drawn, ready to cleave into two all that gave way. The grand matter and his officers beheld all this from an eminence, and expected every moment to hear the enemy’s shouts of victory, when, to their great surpise, they heard their drums beat a retreat, by the order of the bafha.

This sudden turn was, it seems, owing to a detachment of horse, which was sent from the Notable City by the commander Mouqita, the governor of it, to St. Michael’s fort. They were commanded by two brave cavaliers of the order, and each trooper carried a foot-soldier behind him. They met on their way a Turkish lodgment, where the bafha had sent all his wounded, which were in great number, but whose guard was scattered about. He ordered their men to dismount, and cut in pieces all the sick and wounded; whole grievous outcries soon reached the Turkish camp, where the fugitives brought the alarming news, that the Sicilian forces were landed, with a full resolution to engage the besiegers, and oblige them to raise the siege. The panic spread itself quite to the scene of action, and caused such a confusion among the combatants, that the bafha was once more obliged to found a retreat. He was soon after apprised of the occasion of this fall report; at which he was so amazed, that he would have renewed the attack with greater fury, but not his officers put him in mind of the approaching night, which, we may well imagine, proved a very uncanny one to him.

Among other destructive ways that were used in a siege, Mustapha had not forgot that which makes the most dreadful havoc. His mines had been carried on with such success, in spite of all the grand master’s vigilance to discover them, that the besieged looked upon themselves
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The grand master, under all these difficulties, had once more recourse to the viceroy of Sicily, and gave his minifter such a lively representation of the diftricts and danger they were reduced to, that he obliged him at length to fend him a powerful succour, as we shall see in its proper place.

In the mean time Mufkoph and Phiali, afhamed of fo many repulses from fo small a force, unanimously resolved either to make themselves masters of the place, or to bury themselves in the trenches; and renewed the attack on the 18th of August, beginning it juft in the heat of the day, when the befieged were, as they fuppofed, taking home refreshment. Accordingly, about twelve of the clock, the former began with fuch a furious difcharge on his fide, b as almost ruined the remainder of the fortifications of St. Michael, and, with his beef troops, newly animated with threats and promifes, mounted the affault. The flaughter was terrible on both fides; a good number of knights loft their lives, but were quickly succeeded by freth ones: fo that, after an obfinate conflict of fix hours, the enemy was at length fo powerfully repulfed, that the bafta was again confrained to fend a retreat, and leave a vault number of his men, either dead or wounded, on the field of battle.

The admiral Phiali, on the other hand, did not appear on his attack till that on St. Michael was at the height, in hopes that the grand master would fend a good part of his forces to its relief; after which he began his part with fpringing a mine where the befieged leaff expected it, and which occafioned fuch havoc and confusion, that he muft of courfe have carried the place, had the knights been lefs watchful and intrepid than they were. But as the grand master had taken care to leave no place unguarded, there appeared, immediately after blowing of the mine, a fufficient number to oppofe themselves to the affailants, who, on their part, used fuch surprifing diligence, that they had already planted severall of their enigns on the parapet. The grand master, appriffed of the bloody conflit that ensued, instead of fending them a freth fupply, as they had defired from him, faid only to clap an old helmet on his head, and, taking a pike in his hand, ran at the head of his freth detachment, and expofed himself foremost in the fight. He was immediately surrounded by a number of his knights, who begged him, in the most moving terms, not to hazard with his life the los of the ifland, and of all its inhabitants. But he, with his usual sternness, refused to listen to their intreaties.

How can I, faid he, fpare idle here, and fee fo many of thofe Turkish f tandards difplayed upon the ramparts? Or where can I, at the age of above forty, die more honourably than upon this spot, and among my brethren? These words had fuch an effect upon them, that they all ran eagerly towards the enemy, and left not off fighting till they had got every fandard down, and repulfed the enemy to their trenches.

This did not hinder the affault being renewed the very next morning; in which the Turks did not a little depend upon a new deftructive machine, invented by one of his engineers. It was a barrel, of more than common fize and length, strongly braced with iron hoops, and filled with gunpowder, shot, chains, nails, and other iron fragments, which was to be thrown with a lighted match amongft the thickeft of the knights who defended a ravelin, and which they threw amongft them; but thofe intrepid warriors ran to it at all adventures time enough to tumble it back upon them before it had taken fire. It sprang up accordingly, with a furprifing explosion, among thofe that were mounting the breach in thick crowds. Immediately after which a vault number of heads, arms, legs, whole and half bodies, were blown up into the air; which fo terrified the reft, that they betook themselves to flight in the utmost hurry and confusion: of which the Melbafe taking the advantage, they purfued them to their very trenches, and made a terrible flaughter among thofe fugitives.

The admiral Phiali, on his part, attacked the bulwark of Captile with equal fury, and with no lefs stout reffistance. The grand master was there, affifting and encouraging his forces, till he received a wound in his leg, by the burfting of a hand-grenado, which he took care to conceal whilst the heat of the onfet lafted, that is, till his men, who, animated by his prefence, fought with the utmost bravery, had regained the parapet, and drove the Turks away with great los. We fhould become quite tedious to our readers, were we to go on with a journal of the fiege, during which every day would only entertain them with new affaults and new loffes on both fides. At length the Chriftians were terribly weakened, and the fortifications of the town and castle of St. Michael fo utterly destroyed, that the commanding officers thought fit to propofe the blowing them up, after they had removed all their sick and wounded, together with the arms, ammunition, &c. into the great borough and the castle of St. Angelo; but this the grand master rejected with the utmost scorn, al- leging, that the abandoning of the one could not be otherwise followed but by the los of the other. His intrepidity was fuch that he would not fo much as listen to a freth propofal they made to him, viz., to remove at leaft all the plate and facred utensils belonging to the church.

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as well as his own person, into the castle of St. Angelo, left that should encourage the enemy, and disspirit his own men. This, said he in a resolute tone, this is the spot, my dear brethren, where we must either all die, or bravely repel the enemy. And to shew how much he was in earnest, he only left as many of the garrison in that castle as were necessary to attend the artillery, and differed the rest into other posts that wanted to be reinforced. There was flili one thing which gave him some uneasiness, viz. the cavalier which Piali had reared against the wall of the boroug, on which that admiral had left a small garrison; but, on that very night, a hole was made, with as little noise as possible, through the wall, at which some Spanish knights lallying out, easily gained the height of the work, whence, with their noise and weapons, they easily drove the guard; upon which they immediately raised a parapet, and mounted some cannon upon it, and plied it against the enemy.

MUSTAPHA, by this time, rightly concluded, that nothing less than famine could ever reduce those intrepid warriors; but whilst he was deliberating about the means of doing it, he had the mortification to find that he was in much greater danger of it than they; his own provisions being nearly exhausted, and a vessel which was bringing him a fresh supply of corn having been taken by some Sicilian galleys. This obliged him to alter his measures, and to try his fortune against the Notable City, which, being situated nearer to the center of the island, he was told was neither well fortified nor strongly garrisoned: so that if he could but once make himself master of it, he flattered himself he should find in it not only plenty of provisions, but an immense plunder, and make such a vast number of slaves as should at least help to conceal the disgrace of his ill success, and the loss of so considerable a part of his army. Filled with this expectation, he began his march thitherward on the first day of September, at the head of 4000 of his belt janifaries and sapsis. By this time the governor Melquita was so well prepared, that, upon the arrival of the Turkijj engineers, who were sent to reconnoit the place, they found the ramparts, bastions, and other works around it, covered with cannon, musquettes, pikes, standard, and a numerous garrison in arms; not only the citizens and countrymen, but even the women themselves, appearing armed cap à pie in soldiers cloaths. This gallant show was accompanied with a fierce discharge of the artillery, which so terrified the engineers, that they went and represented the attacking of the place as impracticable by any other method than by a regular siege. The bafta, who hoped to have carried it by escalade, without dreaming of a siege, for which he had not a sufficient force left, and was in continual dread of being surprized by the forces that were expected from Sicily, was glad to return to his camp, though without knowing which way to turn himself in this dangerous situation. His last refuge was in a wooden tower, which his engineers contrived, of sufficient height to overlook the whole place. This being wheeled close to the wall, by a well-contrived mechanism within, could, after every discharge, sink itself below the parapet of the wall, and be covered by it from the fire of the besieged. The machine had already done some dreadful execution, and was likely to have done a great deal more, when an expert engineer of the island bethought himself of making an embrasure through the wall; by the help of which he took advantage, when it was raised to its height, to fire a cannon into the heart of it, which broke it all in pieces, and crufted the soldiers that were in it under its ruins. This last resource having failed him, he had once more recourse to his old way of mining; but met with no better success, from the indefatigable industry of the Maltheos, who did not suffer one of them to take effect; the disappointment of which reduced him to the utmost despair.

By this time the grand master received the agreeable news, that the Sicilian fleet had set sail on the first of September, commanded by the viceroy, in which were a great number of the knights of the order, and other volunteers, who had waited impatiently at Messina a considerable time for this opportunity of embarking for the defence of the island. He had besides about 8000 brave veteran troops with him, with which he gave out that he designed to attack the Turkijj fleet. They set sail accordingly from Syracusa, with the discharge of the whole artillery, and the shotts of the fleet; but being parted by a storm, were not rejoined till the fourth day, on which they weighed anchor again from the island of Lefna. Here Don Garcia received a fresh letter from the grand master, acquainting him, that if he made towards the coast of Magiara, on the flats of Maltesa, he would find a mere and safe landing; instead of which he sailed directly for the island of Goja, though without entering into the chanel, which made every one suspect that his design was not to land, but to shew himself at a distance to the enemy, till he could find some pretence of returning back into Sicily, as he accordingly did, upon his vanguard being parted soon after by a storm.

The indignation and resentment of the fleet is hardly to be expressed; it was attended with such bitter reflections, and even with such curses, that he was obliged to call a fresh council of war, to advise whether they should attempt the succouring of Malta. One may easily imagine what answer the knights and brave volunteers gave to the question; but they were
Chap. 7.  The history of Maltha.

were agreeably surprised with the loud murmurs of the army and soldiery against him. What was still worse, his shameful return had caused such a defection by that time, that the army was reduced from 8000 to 6000 men; all which obliged him to fail again: so that, the wind favouring, they arrived about evening in the chanel of Gojfa, where they cast anchor for that night, the viceroy not permitting them to land till the next morning, when himself came on shore, and took a review of them. They immediately took the road towards the Notable City, whilst he reimbarked for Sicily, though not without a previous promise of bringing 4000 men more, which he expected from Italy.

This reinforcement, which, as we hinted above, confessed, besides the 6000 veterans and above 100 knights of the order, of a very great number of volunteers, of the greatest families in France, Italy, Spain, and other parts of Europe, all burning with impatience of signalizing themselves in defence of an order, which had been, for above three centuries, the great bulwark of Christendom, met with less obstruction in their march towards the besieged, as Mustapha had all along expected that the viceroy defigned to engage him at sea, in order to convey the more easily his succours to them, and had bent all his thoughts in securing the entrance of the great port by a strong chain and stout barricade, and had kept, for several days, his whole fleet at anchor at the mouth of the port; so that the news of their landing at an opposite part of the island so disconcerted him, that, without staying to inform himself about their number or strength, he forthwith raised the siege, withdrew his garrison out of fort St. Elms, and embarked with such precipitation as came little short of a downright flight. He left the greatest part of his large artillery behind, that they might the sooner get to their vessells, where he was scarcely arrived, when a defector came and informed him, that this new succour, which had put an army of 20,000 men into such a confirmation, consisted of more than 8000 men, half naked, harried with the sea, and without a commander. This advice, however, came too late for them to go back and recover their trenches and posts, which the grand master had taken care to have destroyed as soon as they had left the island.

Mustapha, covered with shame, and in the greatest dread of the sultan's resentment, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to return into Malta, and attack this new succour before they had time to refresh, and dispoze themselves in a posture of defence; whilist the bey of Algiers, with his gallies, and 1600 of his men, secured their retreat in the Ula or bay of St. Paul. The greatest difficulty was to prevail upon the soldiers to land, who loudly complained of his cruelty, that, after the fatigues and dangers they had undergone, they should now again be led like so many sheep to the slaughter. On the other hand, there was no lea a struggle among the commanders of the newly-arrived succours how to act against them. Afsam, their field-marshal, who had caused them to intrench themselves on an eminence, proposed waiting for the enemy on that spot: but the commander Alvarez de Sando, a person of great experience and sway, boldly declared, that they were not come thereto be inactive, and hazard nothing, but to go and resolutely meet the enemy, and by that means prevent the disgrace of seeing them masters of some of the places they had abandoned by a fresh and desperate attack. His advice was approved of, if not as the safest, yet as the bravest and most glorious; and the far greater part declared, that, rather than stay in their intrenchments, they would, at all hazards, break their way even through the enemy's army, and throw themselves into any place they should chance to besiege.

According to this resolution they marched down the hill, with de Sando at their head, attacked the enemy in front, whilist Vitelli did the same in flank; but the Turks, who were brought back by main force, whether out of resentment, or on account of the excessive heat, could hardly be prevailed upon to stand in their own defence, and, after the first firing, betook themselves to flight. Mustapha, now in the greatest danger of being taken by the f Maltbese, made such haste after those fugitives, that his horse stumbled under him more than once or twice, and he must needs have fallen into the hands of his pursuers, had not some of his bravest officers saved him, at the hazard of their own lives. The Christians all this while were so eager in their pursuit after them, that they even threw away their armour, and exposed themselves to the most imminent danger of being cut off by the fire of the Algerine bey, who lay concealed behind a high rock, to secure the Turks retreat; insomuch that some of them lost their lives, and among them several of their chief commanders. The slaughter might have proved still greater, had not the brave de Sando come to their assistance with some fresh battalions, repelled the Algerines, and recovered the prisoners they had made: and now it was that a new and strange fight began. The Turkish fugitives, g without offering to make any defence against their pursuers, thought of nothing but gaining their ships, under the fire of Valetta and Hafian kept up against the Christians. This did not hinder their pursuing them with sword and musket in the water, above their girdles, to their
very boats, and killing vast numbers of them before they could gain their ships. The number of men which the bataha left, from the beginning of the siege to this last embarkation, is said to have amounted to 50,000; the rest, with the greatest difficulty and danger, got into their vessels; after which the fleet sailed away for the Levant. We are told, that the victory of Sicily saw them in full sail from the top of the castle of Syracusa, by which he concluded, without any farther intelligence, that the siege was raised. We shall follow them no farther, nor enter into a detail of the reception they met with at the Porte. What concerns our Malta history is, that the sultan, having trampled under his feet the letter which brought him the first news of his ill success, cried out in a fury, that nothing proved successful to him, unless where he was present; and that he was resolved the next year to command his armament in person, and to destroy and exterminate the whole order of Malta out of that island.

Thus happily ended this so celebrated though bloody siege, of which we have ventured no farther than to give our readers some of the most material and interesting transactions; though it might have required as many pages as we have given it lines to have gone through all the remarkable occurrences that accompanied it from the beginning to the end: it would take up a whole volume barely to do justice to the merit of the grand master, and those brave commanders who signalized themselves in it, either by the williwom of their councils, their extraordinary conduct, or intrepid bravery, upon the most desperate enterprises, and in the face of death, armed with all its mortal terrors; we hope the account we have given of their gallant and resolute behaviour at the castle of St. Elmo will suffice.

As soon as the enemy was failed out of sight, one of the principal cares of the grand master was, to pay his respects and sincere congratulations and acknowledgments to those noble commanders and captains who had so generously interested and hazarded themselves in the defence of the island, and to distribute some large fees among the inferior officers and soldiers. Several days were spent in feasting them, and in other kind of rejoicings suitable to the occasion; which were, however, very much damped at the sight of the dreadful dilapidations that everywhere presented themselves before their eyes; together with the rueful and dismal aspect, and neglected drears, not only of the inhabitants and soldiers, but even of the highest officers of the order, through such a long series of dangers and uninterrupted alarms and fatigues, but still more so upon the retrospect of the many lives that had been lost during that time. The order had no less than 260 of their knights slain at different assauts, and they reckoned above 8000 more among the inhabitants and soldiers who had undergone the same fate; infomuch that there were fearfully 6000 left alive in the great borough and castle of St. Angelo when the Turks failed away, and a good part of them wounded, maimed, or worn out with hard service, who all became the objects of the grand master's tenderness and care. But his generosity displayed itself most in the valuable presents which he made to those brave officers, and graces to their soldiers, upon their return into Sicily, notwithstanding the public treasury's being so greatly exhausted.

The encomiums and congratulations he received from most princes of Europe, on his excellent conduct and intrepid valor in defence of the island, were no small addition to his glory. Among the rest, Philip II. king of Spain sent him a sword, with a handle of maatvive gold, enriched with various diamonds, and accompanied with a compliment, that he looked upon him as the greatest captain of the age, and desired him to make use of that weapon in defence of Christiante. Pope Pius IV. did no less signalize himself in the extraordinary honours he paid to him upon this occasion, not only in ordering the news of Malta's deliverance to be published in his capital, by the discharge of its artillery, but, what was still more extraordinary, by presenting him with a cardinal's hat, which however, whether out of modesty, or a right notion that his dignity, as sovereign, could receive no addition from that, he civilly declined.

But neither these extraordinary honours and commendations, nor the valet rejoicings which were made in most Christian courts, could allay his regret for the irreparable los of so many brave and generous lives, and the miserable state the island and order were reduced to, the greatest part of its fortifications destroyed, and the houses not only in the city and towns, but also the villages, mostly levelled to the ground; the inhabitants dwindled to a small number, and those reduced to extreme poverty and misery; a great part of the artillery either burnt or spoiled, and unfit for use; the provisions almost consumed, and the treasury nearly exhausted, to say nothing of his just apprehensions of the enemy's returning with a larger force, before half of these disaters could be repaired. He was actually informed by his spies, that Soluman II. kept a prodigious number of hands continually at work in his arsenal.
The history of Malta.

a. arfen, in order to fit out a fleet; to put himself at the head of, against that island. It wasGet the Sel.
this gave him the greatest unani, from which he found no relief, till he got it set on fire, and burnt to the ground, in consequence of which that monarch saw himself obliged to put off his enterprise for another year; so that having now nothing to fear from that prince for a while, he set himself about repairing the devastations which the siege had occasioned, and, by the affluence of the European princes, not only restored the island to its pristine strength and splendor, but raised it to a much greater degree of them than ever.

One of his first cares, after the works were repaired, was, to enlarge the fort of St. Elmo, which was as it were the chief key of the great and little ports, and to add some new works to it. But his greatest design was that of building a city on the inside of the same peninsula, and to fortify it on all sides with all the works that the military art could suggest; and afterwards to remove the convent, or grand residence of the order, thither, as being a spot much safer than the great borough, which is commanded by rocks and eminences almost on every side. This was a noble design, and worthy of so great a personage; but, in the condition the order was in, it required the affluence of all the Christian princes, which his great merit and address easily obtained; and, as soon as he had secured that main point, he immediately set about procuring the best engineers, workmen, and all proper materials, from Italy; all which was done with such diligence, that he was enabled to lay the first stone of this new city on the title.

b. A new city
29th day of the month of March of the year following.

This ceremony, which was performed with great solemnity, was no sooner over, than all hands were heartily employed in the work, according to their stations and capacities; knights, commanders, officers, soldiers, citizens, and country-people, all afflicted in their turns, according to their respective provinces; whilst their gallies were employed; some in fetching all necessary materials and provisions, and others in cruising and getting rich prizes, which proved a kind of constant fund towards defraying the expenses of the work. The grand master himself, attended with his engineers, fiercely maffed a day of visiting and directing the works and workmen; and, when the great number of them had so far exhausted the common purse, that he found it difficult to pay them with the usual regularity, he cau ed a new copper coin, of different weight and value, to be flamed, with this legend, Non as, sed fiatis, Not the intrinsic value of the metal, but the honour of the sovereign; which money passed current through the island, and was recalled as often as the remittances came from abroad, by which means the workmen never went unpaid, nor the work intermitted.

c. Whilst he was thus equally employed, a double disaster happened in the island, and even some Flo.

under his nofe, which gave him a sensible displeasure. The one was caused by some young libertines conS
Sapinofb libertines, knights of the order, who, in the midst of their jollity and carousings, indulged themselves with singing such songs as highly reflected not only upon some of the principal persons of the order, but upon some of the best ladies of the island. These songs or libels became in a little time too public, that a complaint was made to him of it, who immediately cau ed the offenders to be seized, and tried before the council, in which he himself presided. But whilst the high chancellor was writing down the sentence pronounced against them, these hot-headed youths broke into the assembly, snatched the pen out of his hand, threw the flandish out of the window, and, by the affluence of their friends and accomplices, made their escape in some light vessels, and landed in Sicily. The grand master, justly incensed at such unprecedented insolence, tried all means in his power to have them apprehended, in vain; however, he condemned them to be degraded from the order, and imprisoned for life, whenever they should be caught; but they took care to keep themselves out of his reach as long as he lived, in hopes that his successor would prove less severe and tenacious of the ancient discipline.

d. The other was equally shocking and disrespectful to him; it was no less than the murder of a god-daughter of his, a young Redian gentlewoman, who, after the loss of that island, had attached herself to the family of the late Villegegonn. She had been since married to a Florentine, named Benacofb, then settled at Malta, who, in a fit of rage and jealousy, plunged his dagger into her heart, and, by the affluence of his countrymen, some of whom were knights of the order, made his escape into Italy, where he was out of danger of being prosecuted for his crime. These two indignities offered to his authority, so derogatory to the honour of the order, and opposite to its ancient discipline, failed not to affect him in the most sensible manner, and to make him apprehend, that they would quickly terminate, after his death, in a total neglect and contempt of it. This made him look out betimes for a fit successor, whose courage and zeal might put an effectual stop to the licentiousness which had gradually crept into the order since the defeat of the Turks, and whom he might recommend to the electors before his death, which he was sensible could not be very far off.

But what most deeply affected him, and contributed most to the shortening of his small life, was, the mortifying usage which he and his ambassador Cambiabri received.

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about this time from pope Pius V. who had lately succeeded Pius IV. That new pontiff having, after the example of his predecessor, and other European princes, sent him a con- 
gratulatory brief on his success against the infidels, and in it expressed a desire to gratify his 
extraordinary merit by some signal favours, La Valetta, after his usual thanks, only begged of 
his holiness that he would restore to the order their ancient privilege of nomination to the 
grand priory of Rome, which some of his predecessors had assumed to themselves, in open 
violation of their right: a demand so just in itself, and so disinterested with regard to his own 
part, he flattered himself would hardly be denied him, especially at this juncture. The pope 
accordingly sent him a new brief, in which he assured him, that, after the demise of the pre-
fent incumbent, that privilege should be fully restored to the order; notwithstanding which 
solemn promise, the incumbent was no sooner dead, than he bestowed the priory upon his 
nephew, cardinal Alexandria, and even without subjecting him, as the other priors had been 
before, to pay the proper retrenchments and arrears into the treasury of the order. 
The grand master was soon apprised of this double injustice by his ambassador, by whom 
he sent a letter to the pontiff, full of the warmest expostulations and complaints; and in 
which he plainly told his holiness, that if the cardinals of every nation should once seize upon 
the most considerable preferments that belonged to the order, there would soon be an end of 
their funds, and consequently of all their future efforts to defend the Italian coasts, and carry 
on the war against the infidels. The pope, who could not but feel the strength of his argu-
ments, appeared, however, no less displeased at some pretended disrespectful explications in 
the file. Cambiani, on the other hand, not being able to obtain any redress, took the liberty 
to disperse some copies of the grand master’s letter; which so affronted the pontiff, that he sent 
to forbid him to come any more into his presence; upon which, being apprehensive of the 
displeasure of the grand master, he returned no more to Malta, but retired to his own patri-
mony in Piedmont. 
From this time La Valetta fell into a deep melancholy; to divert which, he was advised to 
be often on horseback, and to divert himself with shooting. He rode accordingly on July 19, 
to a plain near the Cales of St. Paul, to shoot some partridges, attended with his usual retinue, 
when he found himself on a sudden so affected with the heat of the sun, that he was brought 
back in a violent fever, which obliged him to take to his bed. During his sickness he received 
an express, sent on purpose from the viceroy of Sicily, to advise him to be upon his guard 
against a fresh attempt from the Turks; the surprize of which feigned so much upon his 
spirits, that, being no longer able to attend upon public affairs, he was obliged to commit 
the care of them to the lords of the council. After this, he minded little else except preparing 
himself for another life, saying that he earnestly recommended the grand prior of 
Cefalù, Andrew de Toledo, to the council of electors, as a most fit person to succeed him: he 
likewise begged leave to dispose of 50 slaves, which were his own property, and of 12,000 
livres out of his private purse; part of which sum he bestowed upon the endowing of a chapel 
which he had caused to be built in his new city of La Valetta, in which he designed to be in-
terred, and the rest he distributed among his domestics. He died on the 21st of August, 
and was deposited in the church of Our Lady of Piblermo, till the chapel above-mentioned, which 
is that of Our Lady of Victória, in the new city, could be ready to receive his remains, wher-
ther they were soon after conveyed with great pomp and ceremony. 
On the next day the electors met to make choice of a successor. Among the several can-
didates that laid claim to the dignity, it was supposed that the earnest recommendation of the 
late grand master would have secured it to the grand prior of Cefalù, lately mentioned; but his 
high descent from the house of Alba, which it was thought would give a sanction to his 
known rigid adherence to the strict discipline of the order, proved at this juncture a powerful 
obstacle to his election, which fell upon Peter de Monte, grand prior of Cefalù, by the cabals 
and interefect of the two knights of Maldonat and La Motta. His surname was Guidatoi, but, 
being grand nephew by the female side of pope Julius III. who was of the family of de 
Monte, he took it upon him as the most honourable of the two, after having given it a new 
lustre by his gallant behaviour in defence of the castle of St. Michael, at the late siege of 
Malta.

His first care, after his election, was, to order the funeral obsequies of his predecessor to 
be performed, with a solemnity and magnificence answerable to his great character and merit; 
which having something singular in them, beyond what was usually practised on such occasions 
before, we shall close this section with an account of what was most remarkable in that mourn-
ful ceremony. We have already observed, that his remains were deposited in the great church 
of Piblermo, till the chapel which he had caused to be built at his own charge, viz. that of 
Our Lady of Victória, was finished; at which time his coffin, with all its proper insignia, was 
embarked in the great caracca, in order to be conveyed thither. The ship was without masts 
or rigging, and covered over with black cloth, which came down on all sides to the water,
The history of Maltha.

and was adorned with coats of arms and trophies, and with the standard which had been taken from the Turks. Instead of sails or rowers, it was towed by two other galleys adorned in the same manner, and was followed by two others which had belonged to him, and covered likewise with the same funeral ornaments. In these two lefthanded the new grand master, the lords of the council, and the chief knights and commanders of the order, all in the deepest mourning, and followed by a number of other smaller vessels.

In this mournful and solemn pomp they proceeded from the grand port to that of Muzetta, where all the deceased's household, his officers and domestics, in the same grand mourning, landed first, some bearing the standards and trophies above-mentioned, and others lighted wax tapers in their hands, and singing the funeral office before the corpse, which lefth was borne under a flayed canopy, with its proper bearers and funeral embellishments. The grand master and the rest of their order followed the corpse, and the procession was closed with a long train of officers both civil and military, and crowds of other people, who wore their mourning in their looks and hearts, and in their sighs and tears expressed their sincere mourning for the loss of so tender a father and protector. The masts, and other rites of his interment, were performed in the same solemn manner, till his body was deposited in the above-mentioned chapel; the rest of the funeral pomp was concluded with all the usual honours to persons of his rank and merit.

b Act. sup. citat.

S E C T. V.

The sequel of the history of Maltha, from the death of the grand master John de la Valette, anno 1568, to the fifth year of Antonio Manuel de Villhon, anno 1725.

c In this last section of the Maltese history, we shall be obliged to alter our method, and to be much more succinct than we have been, for want of proper materials upon which to form a regular series of historical events. It hath indeed been justly wondered at, that all the authors who have hitherto undertaken to give the world the history of that order, whether in Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch, have agreed to clothe it with the memorable transaction with which we have concluded our last section; viz. the raising of the siege of Maltha, the building of the new city, and the death of its illustrious founder the late grand master De la Valette, as if there had been nothing passed in that island worthy to be recorded. And indeed, when the reader looks back to the reigns of Solomon II. and his son Selim, in the Turkish history, he will find, that their forces were so far exhausted by this time, partly by the great loss sustained at the siege last-mentioned, and partly by their other wars, that they were in no condition to make any farther attempt against that island, though they wanted neither will nor powerful motives to have crushed an order that was so great a thorn in their sides, and disgrace to their boasted power and greatness.

The grand master, therefore, having little to fear from that side, at least for some time, having paid the last obsequies to his worthy predecessor, in the grand and solemn manner above-mentioned, made it his first care to complete the fortifications, and the rest of the new city, which he had left unfinished, and repair and enlarge his navy, in order to suppress the Algerines, and other corsairs of Barbary, which were now the only enemies he had to encounter; in all which he used such diligence, that he quickly regained the command of those seas, and increased the plenty and wealth of the island, by the continual prizes which his galleys made on that piratical tribe, of which we have given several signal instances in the histories of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. These frequent and almost constant excursions, joined to the assistance which they were always ready to give to the Christian powers against the Turks, and other enemies of Christianity, are the two main points in which the sequel of the history of the order consists, and will be the subject of this last section; but as these transactions, which particularly relate to the Maltese history, under both heads, and have been referred to this chapter, are of too great a distance from each other, in point of time, to be continued in the method of a regular history, we shall resume our own affairs, as some other late authors have done, with giving them in an annalistical order, as they have been taken from the records of that island.

Peter du Mont, alias de Monte, grand prior of Capua, is chosen grand master instead of the late John de la Valette, on the 23rd of August 1569, by the general chapter of the order.

The lady Hieronyma de Oliva, grand prioress of the royal monastery of Sicena, of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, situate in the kingdom of Arragon, is, by the consent of the

* Vertot, ubi sup. lib. xiv. p. 141, & seq.

5 whole
whole community, restored to the order, and put under the discipline thereof, after having been some considerable time alienated from it, under pretence that it was dependent on the popes. Selim II. undertakes the conquest of the island of Cyprus, which gives the grand master time to finish the repairs of the old, and to go on with the new, fortifications of Malbha, and to complete the building of the new city, with the convent and palaces of the order.

In 1570 three Malbeche commanders, viz. St. Aubyn, Ferrand de Coira, and Rouquelarme, cruized on the coasts of Egypt, as far as the mouth of the Nile, where they take several considerable Turkish prizes, and, amongst them, one large rich one, in which was the treasurer general of Egypt, with his family, who was going to make up his accounts at the Porte, and in which were various kinds of presents for the grand signor and the seraglio. On the other hand, a famed Turkish corsair, named Luckiali, at the head of a powerful squadron, surprised three Malbeche galleys, commanded by the chevalier St. Clement, among which was the great capitana, which, after a stout refitance, ran itself aground against the foot of the tower of Monte Chiaro in Sicily. The commander de St. Clement, conscious of his ill conduct and guilt on this occasion, disguised himself in the habit of a Franciscan monk, went to Rome, to beg of the Spanish ambassador to intercede with the pope, that the pontiff might use his influence with the grand master in his behalf. Thise having given him some assurances that no notice should be taken of his misconduct, he was imprudent enough to embark for Malta, where he was feared to arrive before the whole irritated populace came in flocks, and would have sunk him into the sea with volleys of stones, if he had not drawn back from them. He tried then in vain to have failed back, but could not for the wind, which still blew him back, and, whilist the people continued their pelting and outcries against him. At length the grand master’s order was sent at the head of a good number of knights, and the secular pofts, who rescued him out of their hands, and conducted him by water to the foot of the castle of St. Angelo, whence he was drawn up by pulleys into it tied fast to a chair, and taken up through a window or embrasure, and closely confined. He was quickly after tried, and condemned to death, and delivered over to the secular power, which caufed him to be strangled, and his body to be thrown into the sea in a sack loaded with large stones. This execution appeased the populace, but did not allay the grief and mourning which so general a loss had caufed thro’ the island, much less the indignation which the whole order had conceived at the cowardice and disgrace of their commander, and the loss of their galleys, especially the noble capitana, though, contrary to the Turkish custom, that corsair treated the knights with great humanity, and showed himself harsh and cruel to those who had behaved themselves cowardly. Upon the whole, this loss and disgrace to the order was esteemed too great to be in any case compensated by the rich prizes of St. Aubyn and his two confederates above-mentioned, which turned only to the advantage of the captors, and of some few other private members of the order.

In the year 1571, the Malbeche knights signalized themselves at the famed battle of Le panto, in which the Turks loft 30,000 men, their general was slain, and two of his sons, together with 5000 officers and soldiers, who were made prisoners, and 20,000 Christian captives recovered their liberty.

In the same year, the grand master having completed the building of the new city called La Valetta, begun by his predecessor of that name, the order removes into the great convent erected in it for their public residence; he made his public entry into it on the 18th of March, at the head of all the order, with great pomp; soon after which, being discontented at the little regard that was paid to him on account of his old age and uneven temper, he begged leave of the pope Pius V. to resign and retire; but died before he had obtained it, on the 27th of January following, in the fourth year of his grand mastership, and the 76th of his age.

On the very next day, in 1572, the grand chapter met, and chose John L’Evêque de la Caffiere, in his room. He was of the tongue of Arvergne, and at that time grand marshal of the order, and on the same day was installed sovereign of Malta and Gozja. Among other promotions that were made in the order after his election, which it was superfluous to mention, Hieronymo de Gueta, grand conservator of it, was appointed his ambassadoer to the pope, Gregory III. who had succeeded Pius V. to take the usual oaths of obedience and submission to the holy see in his name. He caufed the great church of St. John the Baptist to be built in the new city of La Valetta, together with a stately chapel, to serve for a burying-place for all the grand masters of the order, and endowed the church with a revenue of 1000 crowns. In the mean time the great armament which was happening by Selim II. in Turky, being apprehended to be designed against Malta, la Caffiere made all proper preparations for a vigorous defence, which proved however needless, that emperor’s design being against the Gozja, or citadel of Tunis.

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a Tunisi, of which he made himself master. On the next year, 1573, according to the gene-

erality of authors, was the tribunal of the inquisition established at Malta, which hath continued there ever since; and on the year following, Amurat III. having succeeded his father, revives the apprehensions of the order; about which time happened the great rupture between them and the Venetians, on account of a prize which the former had made of a vessel richly laden with merchandise belonging to the Jews of their republic. This was soon after followed by interminable broils between the tongues, about some rich commanderies and priories, in which the grand master had the misfortune to behave in such a manner, as quite alienated the affections of the convent from him, and occasioned various complaints against him in the grand council, particularly on account of his not making the necessary preparations against the Turks, who threatened that island with a fresh invasion.

Another cause of discontent was, that the Senate of Venice had so far interested itself in behalf of their Jewish sufferers, as to cause all the lands and revenues belonging to the order to be sequestrated, and had ordered reprisals to be made on their galleys at sea. La Caftiere was obliged to send an ambassaedor to the Pope, to justify that action; and to represent to that pontiff, that, the Jews not being subjects to that republic, the law of nations allowed the effects of an enemy to be seized as contraband, though found in a vessel which belonged to a friend; notwithstanding which, the Venetians refused to take off the sequestration, till the Maltese had made full restitution of the Jewish effects.

A new difficulty happened on the next year, in the city La Valetta, where one Cortezza, a Portugeese knight of the order, was affianced by six others of his own nation, who broke into his house in disguise. They were quickly after discovered, apprehended, and tried; and condemned by the secular power to be tied up alive in a sack, and flung into the sea. In the same year the order lost one of their galleys, called the St. Paul, which was taken by an Algerine corsair. They were obliged, however, to submit to some more mortifying terms in this very year, through the arbitrary demands of some European princes, to which the Pope bowed the first example. That pontiff sent a young cavalier, named Mendoza, then but a novice, to the order, with a brief, dated in the foregoing year, enjoining the grand master to admit him, after his arrival, to the highest rank of Knights, called of the great crosses, with the dignity of Temporopelius, which had formerly belonged to knights of the English tongue, but had been, since the reformation, in a great measure, suspended. This brief occasioned a general discontent through the whole order, who thereupon sent an ambassaedor, to desire his holiness to recall it, and not to insist upon their admitting so young and inexperienced a gentleman into the number of the eight pillars of the order.

The king of Spain, following the same path, obtained this year much the same kind of brief from that pontiff in favour of the young archduke Venceslaus, of the house of Austria, and newly admitted into the order, in which the grand master was desired to grant him the reversion of the grand priories of Calvi and Leon, together with the bailiwick of Lora, and the dignity of Grand Prior of the great crosses, after the death of the last incumbent. These, the some of the greatest prerogatives belonging to the Capillan tongue, they were obliged to consent to, out of complaisance to the Spanish monarch; and gave the young Austrian a grant of them accordingly, as soon as he had taken upon him the usual vows belonging to the order. This was followed soon after by a worse infringement from France, where the council of Henry III. passed an arrer, by which they authorized that monarch to name some of his subjects to the grand priories within his dominions; in consequence of which, he sent a letter to the grand master, directing him to confirm theof St. Giles, France, and Champagne, in favour of Francis of Lorrain, the queen's brother, which were the three most considerable priories in that kingdom.

They were upon the point of receiving a still more mortifying blow from several members of Germany, where the diet, then assembléd, proposed, that the German knights should join themselves to the of the Henrician order, that they might thereby render it more powerful, and put it in a condition to carry on the war in Hungary with more success against the Turks; but this motion was strenuously opposed by their ambassaedor at the diet, and so artfully warded off by his address, that they thought fit to drop it.

The last remarkable thing that happened in this year, with respect to the Maltese order, was, the noble aniver which cavalier Bonavinci Giontigliazzi gave to soltan Selim II. at Constantinople. This knight had been, with the grand master's consent, sent thither by the duke of Tyfany, as his ambassaedor. The soltan one day having shewn him a plan of the city of Valetta, and its outworks, asked him whether it was exact, and whether the place was actually so strong as it was represented? and was anivered by him in words to this effect: It bath really all the strength that your majesty sees there; but there is one main part of it, which your engineer bath not taken notice of, and which confists in the intrepid valour of above 1000 of its knights, who are all ready to fight in its defence to the last drop of their blood.

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The year 1578 was likely to have proved still more uneft, through the heavy complaints which eight Carthusian knights preferred to the council against the grand master, on account of the several grand priories with which he had complimented the pope and the kings of Spain and France, in behalf of their favourites, and in prejudice to their own rights, in virtue of their seniority and merit. These discontents, which were privately countenanced by some of the principal knights of the order, out of dislike to the grand master, arose to such a height, that he was obliged to appeal to the pope, who, being the first leader of the dance, could not well fail of supporting him in it. The pontiff accordingly summoned the malecontents to appear before him, which they at first excused themselves from, under pretence that, being deftute of any patrimony, as well as of preferment in the order, they were in no condition of bearing the charges of such a voyage. The grand master easily obtained from the pontiff a dispensation from it, but it was upon condition that they should come and present themselves before him in full council, with each a lighted wax taper in his hand, and in the humblest guise ask his and the council’s pardon for their past misbehaviour which they were forced to comply with; and, after having received a very severe reprimand from the grand master, were admitted again to their pristine dignities.

In the same year happened the death of the grand prior of Bobemia, which gave the order fresh apprehensions that the emperor would, as usual, take upon him the nomination of one of his favourite creatures to that considerable post, to the prejudice of the ancient rights of the order; to prevent which, the grand master dispatched the daily Schomborn his ambassador to the imperial court, with express orders to take Prague in his way, and to secure the interest of the chevalier de Verdemburg, a person in the highest favour with the emperor. Schomborn accordingly applied himself to him, and earnestly pressed him to avert the privileges of the order, and at the same time presented him with a patent from the grand master, which nominated him to that dignity. The stratagem succeeded to their wish, and the emperor confirmed his favourite in that priory without any difficulty.

At the end of the same year arrived the Portuguese ambassador, to notify to the order the death of the late king Don Sebastian, who had been slain on the 22d of September 1578, at the battle of Alcazar, in which several Maltiſe commanders likewise lost their lives; and the accession of Don Henry to that crown. Prentely after this, Gargalla, then bishop of Malta, and Crevotti, prior of the same, two turbulent spirits, laid the foundation for that dreadful storm which was not long afterwards raged against the grand master, their friend and benefactor. Jafchinian, grand prior of Meffina, is sent ambassador by him to conciliate the kings of Castile and Portugal on the death of Venicehaus, archduke of Austria, lately presented with the grand priories of Castile and Leon, and of Don John of Austria, natural son to the emperor Charles V. He was likewise to make some prevailing inferences to those monarchs for some speedy succours, in order to put the island of Malta in a good state of defence against the Turks, who threatened it with a fresh armament. The bishop of Malta having taken upon him the jurisdiction of the grand hospitall of the new city, which belonged solely to the grand master and council, not only excommunicated the felaways and other officers who opposed him, but, supported by his mutinous clergy, railed against him, who went about armed, and insulted the men who sided with the grand master, who was therefore obliged to order a guard of fifty men, in the great borough, to suppreſs their insolence. He sent next an amiable to Rome, to beg of the pope to interpose his authority. The pontiff appointed the archbishop of Palermo to go to Malta, and make a strict inquiry into their content; but, upon his arrival, he found it rife to such a height, and the generality of the order so incensed against the grand master, that he thought it the most expedient way to summon the contending parties to appear before the pope, and immediately after returned to Rome, followed by the Maltiſe bishop.

In the mean while three officers of the inquisition were accused of a design of poisoning the grand master, and, when examined, informed against several knights of the order, some of them of the first rank, as accomplices with them, together with signor Petrucci, grand inquisitor of the island. Some of them, without the least regard to decency or duty, broke into the council-chamber, and insolently asked him what proofs he had that any of them had conspired against his life? and inſilted that three knights of the order, whom they named, should be sent ambassadors to the pope, to demand justice against him; but two of them declining the commission, that motion was let aside for a while, in order to be soon after resumed with greater warmth. Accordingly by the next year the council, supported by the principal commandants of the order, declared themselves against him, and inſilted either upon his abdication or being deposed.

Romegas, one of the heads of the fedition, and remarkable only for his brutifh valour, objected, amongst other things, against him, that he was grown superannuated, fuplid, and inſolent;
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... was always observed to be nodding or asleep at the council, and at the most important debates; and that he was more attentive to the behaviour of the women than to the preparations which the infidels were carrying on against the order. Not content to vilify his character by the most scandalous reflections and insinuations, Romegas, with three other chiefs of the faction, at the head of a numerous troop of mutineers, broke into his palace, and seized on his person, in virtue of the decree of the council, and, having clapped him into an open chair, conducted him as a criminal to the castle of St. Angelo, amidst the curses, execrations, and insults of an inflamed multitude; and there confined him close prisoner. Their next resolution was to lend an ambassado, to justify their proceedings to his holiness Gregory XIII.; at the head of which Romegas caused one of his tools to be nominated. This was followed closely by another from the grand master, who, confined as he was, found means to fend four knights of character and merit to defend his cause before that pontiff.

Two days after their departure arrived the commander Chabillon, admiral of the order, with his galleys, and a good number of knights. They, immediately upon their landing, instigated upon going to the grand master, which the revolted were obliged to comply with. That brave knight immediately offered to take him out of his confinement, and to conduct him to his palace at the head of 2000 men, which he had under him; but the grand master, as generously refrained it, telling him, that he would owe his restoration solely to the holy fee, and not to any hostilities that might be committed by his children in his behalf. Soon after this, the king of France, being informed of the ill treatment which he had received from the order, sent him word by an express to assure him, that he would affix him with all his power to quell the sedition, and punish the fomenters of it; but that offer was likewise civilly declined by him.

In the mean time, the pope, having heard the ambassadors of both sides, sent his auditor de Rota, in the quality of nuncio, to summon the grand master and Romegas to appear before him. La Caffiere accordingly set sail, and arrived at Rome, attended by near 800 knights of the order, and met with a most gracious reception from the pontiff; whilst Romegas, who was no less pressing for an audience from him, was answered, that his holiness was fully determined not to admit him into his presence, till he had divulged himself of the administration which he had taken upon him during the grand master’s imprisonment. This news affected him to such a degree, that, we are told, he fainted away at the first hearing of it. He was quickly after seized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days. His ambassadors, and their adherents, were thereupon ordered to appear before the grand master, and to beg his pardon. Baguenville, the chief of the barbary, appeared at the head of them, and contented himself with asking his hand to kiss: but was thunderstruck, when he heard the cardinal de Montalto address him with these words, Down on your knees, you rebel, and know that it is owing to the singular goodness of your worthy grand master that you have not had your head cut off at the public place of execution. After this, all the factious party were glad to submit both at Rome and Malta, and the grand master was restored to his dignity with the greatest marks of honour and esteem. The pope designed to have done the same to him at Malta by his nuncio, and was even pressing to have him return thither, and resume his former dignity and government; but death soon after prevented it, and only his remains were carried thither, whilst his heart was deposited in the great church of St. Lewis at Rome. The pope caused the funeral inscription to be engraved on his monument, as it was composed by the famous M. Andrea Marzio: Fra: Ioanni episcopo, magni militae Hierosolimitanae magistro, viro fortissimo, religiosisimo, splendidissimo, cujus, ut igne aurum, sic columnia spectata ac probata integritas etiam entuit. Sacra sodalitas militum Hierosolimitanorum patriae principi optimo navemque pofuit. Visit omnium 78, obitit Romae 12 kalend. Januarii, 1581. He died at Rome about three months after his arrival there, worn out with age, fatigues, and vexations, on the 12th of January, 1581, in the 7th year of his age, and 9th of his grand mastership. An author, who was then at Rome, adds, that he outlived but a few days his companion Romegas; and that the judges, delegates, notaries, witnesses, and writings, relating to that contest, were all funk, with the ship that carried them, into the bottom of the sea, by a storm which overtook them in their return to Malta, the Divine Providence not permitting that any records or traces of that accusation should remain.

When the council of Malta received the news of the grand master’s death, they began to be apprehensive that pope Gregory should take upon him the nomination of his successor; to prevent which, Vertot, Histoire, t. xiv. tom. v. p. 161. Naberat, Privil. Hierofol. sub La Caffiere. the election at Malta.
prevent which, they immediately dispatched a new ambassady to Rome, to beg of him that he a
would permit them to enjoy their ancient privilege of election. The pope, having caused the
records of his predecessors to be examined, dismissed them with a general answer, that he would
shortly send them a brief by his nuncio signor Vicenzi, whom they should find to be perfectly
well acquainted with his intentions on that head.

The brief arrived accordingly on the 12th of January following, by which that pontiff en-
joined them to make choice of one of the three persons named in it; viz. Hughes de Loubenz
de Verdalle, of the tongue of Provence, and grand commander of the order, Paniffi, grand
prior of St. Giles, and Chabrisani, grand bailiff of Manosque, all three natives of France, and
persons of valour and merit. The chapter, however, knowing the first of them to be in
Greatest favour with the pontiff, having refused at his court as their ambassadour, made choice of
him without any opposition; soon after which his election was confirmed by his holiness,
by a brief, in which he united the dignity of Turcopoliaric, which had formerly belonged to
the knights of the English tongue, with that of grand master; to which it had been joined
ever since. Several other privileges and exemptions were confirmed in the same year in favour of
the order, both by that pontiff and several other Christian princes; particularly in France,
the parliament of Dijon declared the knights to be capable of succeding and inheriting the
estates of their parents, &c. which had been often contested before.

In the next year he summoned a general council, in which several abuses were reformed,
not only with regard to some disorders which had crept in, more particularly during the late
sedition, but with respect to the revenues and refusals, &c. of the order; after which the
general tax was raised out of all the estates belonging to it, in order to provide for the security
of the island against the Turks, and particularly to add some new fortifications to those of the
island of Goja.

About the same time a contest between the tongues of Italy and Aragon being brought before
the council about precedence, it was given in favour of the former.

In the succeeding year the Malthee, admiral, Durogde, being accused before the said
council of sundry misdemeanors, was deprived of his offices, condemned to a year's imprison-
ment, and the revenue of his bailiwicks for three years confiscated to the public treasury. Some
gallies were ordered to scour the seas, in conjunction with those of the duke of Tuscany;
whilest those of the Venetians continued to make reprisals on those of Malthe, and those on
theirs. Andrea Doria, the famous Genoese admiral, arrived at Malthe about the same time,
where he was received with suitable magnificence. He had divers conferences with the grand
master and council during his stay; and several proper measures were taken for opposing the
Turkish power, and afflicting the island in case of an invasion from that quarter. In the same
year was brought a bull from pope Gregory, excluding the knights of the order from being
chosen bishops of Malthe, and priors of that cathedral; soon after which that pontiff died, and
was succeeded by Sixtus V.

The next year was mostly spent in disquisitions and contests between the grand master and the
council, about the right of nominating the admiral of the galleys, and the person who was to command in the grand capitana, which laid the foundation of an irreconcilable mifun-
derstanding between them. The ferment and feuds arose to such a height, that an order was
passed on the next year, expressly forbidding the carrying about pocket-pistols, daggers,
filetlos, and other such weapons as were only used by banditti and affallows. This prohibition,
though it prevented many disorders that frequently happened at this time, yet rather irritated than
allayed the reigning spirit of sedition; insomuch that the grand master, unable to support
his authority any longer under it, thought proper to leave the island, and sailed directly to
Rome, whence the pope, in order to procure him greater regard from the malecontents of the
convent, sent him back with the dignity of cardinal; which, however, only served to aggra-
ivate the resentments of the mutinous, whose chief objection against him was his too great com-
pliance with the see of Rome, and his little regard to the rights and interests of the order.

Upon his arrival at Malthe, he appointed James Boyle to continue the history of the order,
which had been begun by the commander John Anthony Freyman. All this while the galleys
ranged the seas, and brought in considerable prizes; and the new pope Gregory XIV. was
pleased, about this time, to publish a brief, by which all the effects of the thesauri taken at sea,
on what bottoms soever, were deemed lawful prizes.

In this year the island was afflicted with a terrible pestilence, which swept away vast
numbers both in the city and other parts of the island. The Jesuits being about this time
invited thither by Gargalla, bishop of Malthe, came and settled there; and the grand master
erected a convent for the Capuchin friars, who came and settled there also.
On the next and following years, fresh attempts were made by the pope and European princes, particularly Henry IV. of France, disposed of that of Aquitaine in favour of the commander of Chartres; and that of Auvergne was given by him to baron de Bellagarde, though a layman. The castle of Bosceto, built by the grand master, was called by his name mount Verdale. All this while, neither his public works, nor other popular acts, being able to suppress the continnal cabals of the malecontents, nor allay his uneasiness on that account, he takes his leave once more of the island, and returns to Rome, where he died with grief soon after his arrival. Others say that he died at Malta, full of discontent at the unjust invective and complaints raised against him for having embezzled the public treasure; though he is said to have remitted no less than 200,000 crowns, which the treasury was indebted to him. However that be, his death happened on the 4th of May 1595, after having governed the order thirteen years and almost four months.

He was succeeded by Martin Garzes, of the tongue of Aragon, and at that time grand chamberlain of the impofts; a person who proved more acceptable to the order than his predecessor. He began his government with abolishing fundry duties, taxes, and impofts; and made an order, that no private knight, commander, or even grand master, should thenceforth be allowed to keep vessels of their own to go a cruizing against the Turks, for the sake of plunder and their own private emolument. On the other hand, as the Turks were ravaging the kingdom of Hungary, almost without any opposition, he and the council passed a decree, that any knight of the order, who served in that country against the infidels, should be allowed their respective revenues, in the same manner as if they had been employed in the galleys of the order, or had been refunding in the island; upon which great numbers of them transported themselves thither, and signalized themselves against those invaders. This act so far obliged the emperor Rodolphus II. that, on the next year, he terminated the long content about the grand priory of Bebenau, to the satisfaction of the order; the diploma of which was dispatched soon after to the grand master. The inquisitors, who had, during the grand mastership of the late La Caillere, caused some disturbances in the island, began afresh to make them feel the effects of their encroachments and arbitrary proceedings, and made the order wish, when it was too late, that they had never given any admittance to that office. This year the grand master and chapter passed a decree in favour of the Swifs, by which they were allowed to be admitted into the priory of Germany, provided the candidates proved their descent from their progenitors by lawful marriage both on their father and mothers side, during three generations, and all to have been of the catholic religion, and that none of them had ever exercised any mechanic trades, but been employed in military offices, as captains, commanders, &c. in which case their military calling should intitle them to admission, instead of nobility of blood. This century concludes with making some new fortifications in the islands of Malta and Gozo; and the next begins with some new contentions between the tongues of Italy and Germany, about the priory of Hungary, which are followed by much more dangerous ones between the grand master and the officers of the inquisition, who, to gain the pope’s favour, assumed, by that time, such an exorbitant degree of authority, as rendered them odious and insupportable to the whole order, and helped to shorten the grand master’s life, who died on the 7th of February of the following year, after having governed the order five years and nine months.

He was succeeded by Alof de Vignacourt, grand hospitaller of the order, and of the tongue of France, on the 10th of the same month. This gentleman, who was descended from an illustrious houle in Picardy, signalized his government, above all his predecessors, not only by the unusual length of it, but much more by the variety of memorable events which happened during the course of it. His first care, after having notified his election to the several Christian powers of Europe by splendid ambassies, was to oppose the encroachments of the inquisitor Veralli, who had assumed a right of intermeddling with the affairs of government, and was therein openly supported by pope Clement VIII. Their infolence was indeed grown to such a monstrous height during the two former governments, that there was a necessity for this new grand master to let them know betimes that he was fully determined to confine them to their own proper province. In the same year the galleys of the order, according to a well-concerted plan, made themselves masters of Hammamet, vulgarly called Mahometta, belonging to the district of Sycy, on the coast of Barbary, a fortress built formerly by the Turkmans.

On the next year they were sent on an expedition against Lepanto; and on the following, in which was held a general chapter of the order, they were employed in ravaging the island of Lange, once belonging to the order, when they were masters of Rhodes, but out of which they were expelled by the Venetians.

they were driven by the Turks, as we have already seen. Nothing remarkable happened upon the two following years, except the death of pope Clement VIII. and the election of Paul V. who, in prejudice of the right of the order, dispossed of three commanderies belonging to the tongue of Italy, in favour of his nephews, and not long after, of that of Benevento in favour of cardinal Buffalo. These were not the only mortifications which that great man was obliged to submit to, from the usurping tyranny of the holy fee, as we shall soon see in the sequel.

These frequent violations, so detrimental to the order, inspired a Dalmatian knight, of the German tongue, with a project, which, if it had been put in execution, would have made some amends for their frequent losses. It was to obtain from the Polanders the restitution of the rich and extensive commandery of Pofamanta, which had long since fallen into secular hands, upon condition that a new body of knights should be established in that kingdom, whose office it should be to fight on horseback, and defend its frontiers against the Turks. The proposal was highly approved of by the grand master and council; but the execution of it proved impracticable, through the obstacles which a prince of the house of Radziwil put in its way, whose ancestors, it is probable, had by some means got possession of it.

On the next year a sedition happened in the new city, occasioned by an attempt made by some of the order to get the count de Brie, natural son of Henry duke of Lorrein, admitted into the order; at which time of the German tongue were to be seen, that they took down the arms of the grand master, and of the order, that flooded over the great gate of their inn, and left only those of the emperor in their room. The affair was like to have been attended with some fatal consequences, the Germans being the most jealous and nice in point of blood and defence; but how it was compromised at last, our author has not thought fit to tell us.

On the next year three commanders of the order, Fresquet, Maurat, and Gascouart, surprized the forterefs of Ljazza, in the bay of that name, on the confines of Natolia. They burst open the gate by the help of a petard, entered and plundered the town, where they loaded themselves with rich plunder, rafed the fortrifications, and brought away above three hundred captives.

On the next year the order loff a most noble friend and patron in the person of Henry IV. of France, who was treacherously flabb'd by Racillac.

On this year the city of Corinth was taken and plundered by the galleys of the order.

On the next the duke of Vendome, who had taken the habit of the order, was declared general of all the galleys belonging to it.

The corsairs of Barbary having entered into a combination to surprize the island of Gozo, the grand master ordered some new fortifications to be added to it, and sent a fresh supply of troops and ammunition into it, which rendered the attempt abortive.

The order was alarmed at a fresh infringement of their privileges, by a grant made by the pope of the reversion of the grand commandery of Reggio, in favour of a younger son of the duke of Modena; a grant which might have been attended with dangerous consequences, had it not been compromised by the address and credit of the grand master.

Sixty Turkish galleys land at Malta, and ravage the island, but could meet with no rich plunder, nor make any captives, through the timely precaution of the inhabitants, who had retired with their most considerable effects into the city and other fortresses of the island.

The grand master cauas a noble aqueduct to be made from the city of Malta, since called the Notable City, to the new one of La Valetta, by which the latter is furnished with a sufficient quantity of water to supply a sumptuous fountain, which he cauas to be erected in the great square that faces the palace, with a constant stream; a work, says our author, worthy of the magnificence of the ancient Romans.

We formerly took notice of the order of St. Sepulchre having, for the better defence of Chriftendom, been joined to the order of St. John of Jerufalam; but, about this time, the duke of Nevers having formed a project for diluting them again, the grand master was obliged to send an ambaffador into France to traverfe that design. Don Lewis Mendez de Vazconcelos, baily of Acre, a knight of great penetration and conduct, was the person who was sent ambaffador extraordinary to the French court, and who, by his credit and singular address, prevailed upon the French monarch to oppose it; by which means it was fet aside.

About the same time the famous Taccardin, prince of the Dufli, arrived at Malta, to procure the protection and affifiance of the order against the tyranny and persecution of the grand fignior, and met with a favourable reception.

The order cauas a new galleon to be built at Amsterdam, at the public charge; the con- struction and equipment of which amounted to 60,000 ducats.
Chap. 7. 

The history of Maltha.

At the same time the grand master caused some new fortifications to be added to the castles of St. Paul, Marza, Sican, and Marza Stella, and to those in the small island of Comin, situated between Maltha and Gozo.

In the same year the bishop of Maltha, who had for some time made sundry encroachments on the authority of the grand master and council, being complained against to the pope, was obliged to go to Rome, to justify his conduct. He left the care of the diocese to his vicar, who being a person of a turbulent spirit, exasperated the order against him to such a degree, that the young knights of every tongue agreed to fetch him out of his house, and throw him into the sea. The grand master, being informed of it, caused him to be rescued out of their hands, and sent him after the bishop, to answer for his mutiny and audacions lies before the holy see.

The pope, pretending to resent the indignity done to the vicar, as done to the whole church, and to himself as head of it, sent orders to the grand inquisitor of the island to make a strict and severe inquiry into the cause of the contest, and to threaten the order with excommunication. Whereupon the grand master finding that the pontiff was no friend to the order, was glad to make a feigned submission to him, to avoid the effects of his resentment.

On the same year the order lost a considerable number of knights, and others of their forces, in their fruitless attempt on the town of Sufa, on the coast of Barbary, in conjunction with the rest of the Christian fleet. Many of them returned to Maltha, covered with wounds of which several of them died soon after.

This year arrived at Maltha Francis Ottoman, a Dominicus friar, who pretended to be the son of Sultan Achmet, and on the recommendation of cardinal Verulam, president of the congregation of catechumens at Rome, met with a suitable reception from the grand master and order, soon after which the Maltha galleys made an attempt upon Caffell Terence in the Morea, under the conduct of the commander Alonso Coello, captain of the fleet. They had already opened their way into the place, which was the public magazine of that peninsula, by the means of three petards; when the grand master was informed by a Greek, that, if they did not retire with speed, they would be all cut in pieces by 4000 Turks, who were then at a small distance, which obliged that general to found a retreat, which he did time enough to get all his men on board, with their plunder and prisoners.

Gregory XV. succeeds Paul V. at Rome; and, by a new bull, confirms all the privileges of the order granted by his predecessors, but quietly after invades those which belong to the Italian tongue, by disposing even of the reversion of some of their commanderies, by which they saw themselves deprived of their right of succession to them, according to the title of eldership and merit.

About the same time the commander of Chetan Gaffan was sent by Louis XIII. of France to defire the grand master to permit the galleys of the order to join with his own against the Huguenots, who were in arms in the southern parts of his dominions; upon which the commander Casellani de Montemaderno was ordered to fall with them, and the galley newly built at Amsterdam, directly for Marseilles. Soon after, the grand master being out a hunting in the hot weather, in the month of August, and in too eager pursuit of a hare, was seized with an apoplectic fit, and was immediately conveyed to the new city, where, being taken proper care of, he lived till the 14th of September following, after having appointed Nicholas la Marra, admiral, his lieutenant, and died in the 75th year of his age, and 21st of his grand mastership.

He was succeeded by Lewis Mendez Vazcencellos, of the tongue of Portugal, and grand bailiff of Acre, who was proclaimed on the 17th of the same month, but had hardly enjoyed his new dignity six whole months before death deprived the order of him, whilst he was taken conceals, up in making many new regulations for restoring the ancient discipline. He died on the 6th of March following in the 80th year of his age, and was succeeded by Anthony de Paulo, grand prior of St. Giles, and then 71 years of age, who had the mortification to find that Urban VIII. who succeeded Gregory XV. made as little scruple of invading the rights of the order as his predecessors. In the first year of his government, a Portuguese, novice of the order, named John Fouza, having been convicted of murder and theft, was publicly beheaded; and, on the next year, the prior of Capua was condemned to perpetual imprisonment for defrauding the public revenue of several considerable sums, and died in his confinement. On the other hand, there were many of the order, who publicly accused the grand master of several crimes at the court of Rome, such as lewdness and simony; upon which he was obliged to send the commander Hilliar de Polafron, a person of a most exemplary life, ambassador to Rome, to refute these unjust calumnies, and to justify his character.

He had scarcely extricated himself out of that difficulty, before he was involved in a greater; as he had to deal with pope Urban VIII. who was both judge and party, and had taken upon him the disposal of all the Italian commanderies in favour of his relations and favourites; info
much that they reckoned no less than seventeen of the best of them, which had been thus arbitrarily given away by him and his two predecessors, in prejudice of the Italian tongue. This injustice increased the discontent to such a degree among the knights of that nation, that they refused to perform their caravans, and other duties of their order, and many of them abandoning the island retired to their own respective patrimonies, or among their relatives and friends. The grand master, unable to put a stop to such complicated disasters by any other means, found himself obliged to send ambassadors not only to the court of Rome, but also to the courts of Germany, France, and Spain, who being all staunch members of the order, and men of the highest rank and character, failed not to represent to those Christian princes the injustice of that pontiff's proceedings in the most lively terms. These ambassadors were moreover ordered to complain of frequent dispensations granted at Rome to the knights of the order, by which they were impoverished to dipose of their effects to the prejudice of the common treasury, and consequently the whole community. All these communications were executed with the utmost exactness and zeal by those ambassadors. Some of those princes were pleased to represent those injuries done to the order, as extremely displeasing to them, by their ambassadors at the court of Rome, but without any effect; the pontiff proved deaf to all their remonstrances, and complaints of the grand master, and, instead of receding from his pretensions, did only give them a more extravagant scope.

1625. This year the gallies of the order made an unsuccessful attempt on the island of St. Mauro, belonging to the Turks, in which they had twelve of their knights slain, besides a much greater number wounded, with the loss of their other forces, and some of their vessels. This was followed soon after by the loss of two of their prime gallies, St. John and St. Francis, in an engagement at sea against the Turkish corfairs. In this like wise several of their commanders and knights were slain, others wounded, and some taken prisoners, and carried into slavery.

Notwithstanding all these losses, and others of a different nature, which had reduced the order to very great straits, the pope, still inexorable to all their complaints, continued his old way of disposing of the Italian commanderies amongst his own relations and favourites. The grand master orders a new gally to be built, and added to the other five, which the order usually kept at sea, in order to suppress the inconstancy of the Barbary corsairs. Urban VIII.'s enmity to the order still increasing, by the continual complaints they made against his violent proceedings, he published this year an ordinance, motu proprio, by which he altered the order which had hitherto been observed in the election of their grand masters.

1628. Anthony Bosio, the natural son of Othio de Bofo, and since adopted by his brother James, famous for his great learning, particularly his knowledge in ecclesiastical history, as well as for his other learned works, and, among them, his Roma Subterranea, succeeded his adoptive father in the office of agent of the order at Rome, and, being the last of that name, inherited the great effigies of that illustrious family. The pope, still more eager in pursuit of his own private views, attempted to change the ancient customs, that, till then, were used in the general chapters of the order; but was soon after obliged to recede from some of his new regulations.

1631. On the next year the Christian slaves belonging to the Turkish fleet commanded by Manu Beig of Famagusta, in the island of Cyprus, revolt and kill him and all the rest of his soldiers, and fail with the galley to Malta. A general chapter of the order being to be convened on the 11th of May of the same year, the pope contended that they should proceed according to the ancient custom of choosing sixteen commissaries, tw o for each tongue; but insisted upon his inquisitor's preiating over them, and upon his appointing, during his absence, whom he should think fit, to perform that function in his stead; and that he should moreover be authorized to prorogue or suspend the chapter, if he saw it proper. To which the grand master answered the pontiff, that he, for his own part, was ready and willing to comply with his holiness's orders; yet the rest of the community so highly resented his introducing a stranger into the government of the order, under the title of preident, that, to prevent the ill consequences that might ensue, he thought himself obliged to intreat him to desist from such an unusual and dangerous proceeding. The pope paying no regard to their remonstrances, and the grand master and council seeing themselves forced to obey, a general revolt was likely to have ensued in the convent, especially among the younger members. To avoid which, they thought it expedient to send them out to cruising, during the whole sitting of the chapter.

On Sunday the 11th of May, accordingly, the grand chapter assembled, at which the grand master presided as usual, and a great number of the chief commanders, grand priors, and other officers of each tongue, assisted. The inquisitor immediately, after the usual formalities, presented them with the pope's brief, which appointed him president over the sixteen commissaries, but without any authority to vote or intermeddle, to propose or advise, in any matter on the tapis. The grand master and chapter thought it the most prudent way to accept of it on those restrictions; and it was accordingly received, and submitted to. The chapter
The history of Maltha.

a chapter proceeded soon after to the election of sixteen commissaries, who, with the inquisitor at their head, retired to the hall or room appointed for their seclusion, and proceeded to the business which was committed to their management, without any molestation or demur on the part of the pope's inquisitor. This being the last general chapter that was held at Maltha, the regulations and decisions of it have served ever since as a rule and law, by which all disputes and debates that have happened since then have been determined, and are like to continue so as long as the order subsists.

The following year was rendered remarkable by the general census which was taken of all the inhabitants of the two islands of Malta and Gozo, which were found to amount to 51,750.

b men, women, and children, exclusive of the knights of the order, the ecclesiastics and families belonging to the inquisition.

About the same time one of the galleys belonging to the order, called the St. John, being driven by stress of weather on the coasts of Calabria, was dashed in pieces; but the crew got safe to land, and the artillery, with a considerable part of the cargo, was likewise saved.

On the following year, Imbrol, prior of the church, and one of the commissaries chosen by the late chapter, offers himself to write a general history of the order, and obtains leave to search all the records and registers of chancy, &c. in order thereunto; not long after which another knight of the order, named Cesar Magalotti, a person of great learning, is recommended by cardinal Barberini, as a proper person to compile the same history. They were both approved of by the council, and both set about the work; but neither of them have completed it. And it is not unlikely, as we observed at the beginning of the last section, that they found the subject exhausted by Boyio, so far as his own hand had been continued; and that what had happened since that time was too inconsiderable to countenance the compiling of two new ones. And may not that be the reason why no other author, who hath writ the history of the order, hath thought fit to carry it on further than we have done?

Be that as it will, in the next year general Palli, admiral of the Maltese galleys, attacked The Maltese four Moorish vessels, about the latter end of April, near the coasts of Lepanto, laden with 650 tall negroes, and other commodities from Barbary for Constantineople, and, after an obstinate fight, made himself master of them. He fell soon after upon some corsairs belonging to Tripoli, and carried off 338 slaves, and delivered about 60 Christian captives.

c The Venetians sent heavy complaints to the grand master, on account of his galleys making such prizes on the seas belonging to the republic, to which he ordered his ambassador there to declare, that he would willingly surrender all the subjects of the grand signor that were taken on the Adriatic gulph; but, as to the Barbary corsairs, he should make no scruple to fell them for slaves, as profane wretches, that were sworn enemies to all nations and religions. Much such another misunderstanding happened about the same time between the order and the republic of Lucca, and was likely to have been attended with some dangerous consequences, which the pope, however, prevented, by interposing his authority.

About this time appeared the prince Guebia, who gave himself out to be a son of Moham-
d ed III. by one of the Christian princesses of the house of Commene, emperors of Trebizond, and pretended that his mother hadcauffed him to be educated in a Christian country, and in the Christian faith. Few princes in Europe gave any credit to this story, though interred prevailed upon several of them, and amongst them the grand master and order, to engage in his quarrel, whether right or wrong.

In the year following the pope applied himself to them, to endeavour to recover mount Calvary, the church of St. Sepulchre, the city of Bethleem, and other places of the Holy Land, which had till lately been in the custody of the Franciscan friers of Jerusalem, but had been wrested out of their hands, by dint of money, by the Greek schismatics. The grand master and council readily approved of their design; but gave it as their opinion, that there was no other way of succeeding in it but by open force of arms, and in conjunction with other Christian princes, who, in that case, ought to shew no more mercy to any Greek schismatics that should fall into their hands.

The next year was attended with the death of the grand master, who was attacked by a severe sickness, which held him near three months, whilst he was taken up in fortifying the new city with a new wall.

He died on the 19th day of July, in the 85th year of his age, and the 14th of his government. He was succeeded by Paul Lascaris Cagliard, great bail of Mangio, who was descended from the famed counts of Vintimilla in Piedmont, who were themselves descended from the imperial family of the emperors of Nice. His singular merit had got him admitted into the order so early as the 24th of April 1583; and he was now twenty years of age upon his being 1636. The grand master died.

55. Paul Lascaris Cagliard.


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chozen to the grand masterhship. The illand, at this time, laboured under a great scarcity of corn, which made him apply himself to the president of Sicily for a fresh supply, as usual; but that being refused, the commander Nati, admiral of the Maltafe gallys, had recourse to the vicery of Naples, who readily furnished him with a large quantity of it, without duty or impost; which was the more welcome at this time, as the new grand master had kept a great number of workmen constantly employed in carrying on the fortifications which his predecessor had begun. The person who prefigured over them was the famous engineer Floriano, whom he had honoured with the habit and the cross of the order, on account of the great skill and dillence with which he acquitted himself of that trust.

That nothing might retard the work, as the illand was threatened with a new armament from Turkey, he ordered some money to be coined, as formerly, for the more regular payment of the workmen; and, for the better security of the inhabitants, he caused them to be regularly divided into regiments and companies, commanded by knights of the order, and to be duly armed and exercised, so as to be always ready to oppose the defents of the Turkifh and Barbary corsairs.

About the same time Don Pedro de Vintimilla, another knight of that family, settled an income of 2000 crowns per annum for ever, for the maintenance of an extraordinary galley, which was to be called the St. Peter. His example was followed by the grand prior of Venice, who founded another under the name of St. Nicholas; and the commander Conrad Scheixard, of the German tongue, founded the new commandery of Brandweer, for the service of the order. These fair beginnings of his new government were, however, quickly overclouded, by the inveterate rancour which the vicery and president of Sicily bore to the order, who not only refused to supply it with the usual quantities of corn specified in the grant of the emperor Charles V. but ordered an embargo to be laid upon any Maltafe ships that should fail into any of their harbours.

The occasion or pretence for this misunderstanding was, that, the crowns of France and Spain being then at war, some French knights of the order had been suffered by the grand master to make some considerable prizes in French gallys at the very entrance into the harbour of Malta; in revenge of which the regency of Sicily had ordered two Maltafe gallys, then in the port of Syracuse, to be disarmed; which the Maltafe commander being timely apprized of, forthwith set sail and got away. The governor tried to bring him back by firing upon him, and at length discharged his whole artillery upon him, in spite of which the ships got off, and arrived safe at Malta. This strange conduct of the Spanifh governor caused an universal surprize, but more especially in Italy, where the dominions had been so long protected by the bravery of the Maltafe gallys from the ravages of the Turkifh and Barbary corsairs. This was the first time that this Christian bulwark had ever been cannoned by any but infidels; but that they should be so now by the Spaniards, who had reaped the greatest advantages from their valour and protection, was justly deemed a piece of the foulest ingratitude; and the duke of Mantua, the then vicery of that illand, was so ashamed of it, that he openly disapproved and condemned the deed, and laid all the blame on the governor of Syracuse, and, by way of satisfaction to the order, promised, or at least gave out, that he would suffer corn to be exported by their gallys; though we see by what passed afterwards that he never designed it.

However, the vicery, as well as his master, had just reason to complain against the order, for suffering the French ships to cruise even to the very channel of Malta, and make prizes of their ships; and the grand master was loudly complained against for winking at it, insomuch that he was shrewdly suspected of being privately a favourer of the French court. To give off which aspect, one of those French vessels having brought an Algerin prize into his port, the grand master charged the captain, and all the knights of the order, not to make any prizes or take up arms against Christian princes, as contrary to the design of their institution. He afterwards complained of it to the French king, and in the strongest terms, represented to him the discredit it was to his order, as well as the injury it did to commerce, to suffer the knights that fought under his banners to attack and carry off the Sicilian vessels as lawful prizes; and how much such a proceeding must exasperate the court of Spain against his whole order, and especially against himself, as acting in concert with its enemies. These representations, though they made a great noise, yet proved of little effect, either towards suppressing these abuses, or the clearing of him from the suspicion of being too partial to the French interest.

In the same year Charles, admiral of the Maltafe gallys, made several considerable prizes on the Barbary corsairs, particularly on three large vessels belonging to Tripoli, which were sent to enforce a much greater number of other rich vessels, and whom he boarded at once, without the usual salute of a broadside. The engagement was fierce and bloody, the Turkis having in their little fleet above 450 soldiers, commanded by a Marsifian renegado, named La Biscia, who had served a long while as pilot in the gallys of the order, and whole wife...
The history of Maltba.

Chap. 7.

The young Maltbae take orders, to avoid military expense.

Immediately upon their boarding the Turkib galleys, Marcel de Chataeneuf, brother to the bravest of the St. Peter, attacked the renegade, mounted his ship, sword in hand, at the head of a number of other knights, and, having seized on the traitor, caused him to be conveyed into his brother's ship, where he had served as pilot, and where he was quickly clapped in irons, whilst he and the rest of his knights fell furiously on the Turks, and, after a long and sharp contest, made themselves masters of the ship. The other commanders were no less successful against those they attacked, inasmuch that not one vessel, great or small, belonging to the Turkib fleet, escaped them, but were all brought safe to Maltba by the victorious admiral, to the number of twenty, all richly laden. Besides the riches of the loading, they took 312 prisoners, and a number of Christian captives; but the prize cost the lives of several of their bravest commanders, besides a greater number of wounded; it being usual among those of the order to fight upon such encounters with much more heat than discretion.

Whilst this was transacting abroad, the bishop of Meliba, desirous to increase the number of his clergy, made no scruple to ordain a great many young men, who seemed to take the habit merely to exempt themselves from the military duties and exercises to which the grand master had subjected the inhabitants. Complaints of it being sent to the courts of Rome and Spain, the conduct of the bishop was highly blamed, and those new ecclesiastics condemned to perform the duties of their function, without being exempt from the military ones which were imposed on the seculars. This wise precaution put an end to that shameful practice, which there was then the greater necessity to suppress, as the island was in no small apprehension of a speedy visit from the Turks. However, though the pope indulged the order so far in that one instance, yet, in the main, he never departed from his unfriendly conduct towards them; and, in this very year, issued out a brief, by which the knights were empowered to make wills, and bequeath their effects to their relations, which was an expeditious way of ruining the public treasury, and was no less inconsistent with the institution and constant practice of the order, in virtue of the vow of poverty which they took at their first admission into it.

By this time the jefuits, who, as we have lately observed, had been permitted to settle in the island, were become so obnoxious to the generality of the order, by the great influence they had gained over the grand master and principal commanders, that some of the younger knights took the advantage of the carnival season to go about masked in the habit of the society. These immediately brought their complaints of it to the grand master, who ordered them to be arrested, and closely confined; but their comrades came soon after, and, breaking the prison open, brought them out in triumph. Not content with this, they marched directly to the college, drove the jefuits out, and flung their books and other moveables out of the windows, and at length obliged the grand master to banish them out of the island. Eleven of them were accordingly forced to embark for Europe; and only four of them, who had concealed themselves in the new city, fled behind. This riot, however, was so far from being attended with any ill consequence, that the council, and the far greater part of the order, seemed to be well pleased that it had proved such an effectual means of ridding the island of a set of men, who, to their great dislike, had so long troubled a kind of sovereignty over their grand masters.

The prince of Hesse Darmstadt, commander of the Maltbe galleys, fails to the very port of the Goletta, and brings away from thence five Barbary corsairs, into the port of Maltba; Prince Darmstadt, for a timely help this, considering that the order had scarcely received any part of its German revenue during the space of 20 years, whilst the greater part of the French and Italian commanders were in a great measure ruined through the wars that reigned; insomuch that the exchange was become extravagantly dear; which obliged the grand master, who still continued carrying on the fortifications of the island, to borrow the sum of 200,000 crowns from the bank of Geneva at the common interest, in order to complete them. On the year following, 1641, the Venetians took five of all the revenues of the order in their dominions; and Vladislaus IV. king of Poland, infiassed, by his letters to the grand master, that the grand commanders in Bohemia should be in common between the Polib and Bohemian knights, as both belonged to the same tongue. These two difficulties contributed still more to embarrass the affairs of the order, which were yet more entangled in the following years, when Urban VIII., to prevent the league which was then forming in Italy, to invade the dominions of the duchy of Parme, sent to define the grand master to affit him with some of his galleys; which he had no sooner completed, than he saw all the priories and revenues in the allied princes dominions seized by way of reprisal. It is easy to imagine what difficulties it was to cross accidents must throw the Maltbe council into, besides their continual apprehensions of a Turkib war.
However, the grand master lost no time to discontinue this last step of his, which was taken merely in obedience to the pontiff, who was sovereign of the order; and by assuring those princes, that he had given express orders to his commanders to keep themselves on the defensive, according to the constant practice of it, which had always paid a due regard to the flag of all the Christian princes; by which means he got those revenues restored quickly after.

In the year following the galleys of the order, being on the cruise, perceived a large Turkish ship in full sail, at about four leagues distance from them. The capitana, which was the foremost, and nearest to it, began to give it chase, and was soon after joined by the St. John and St. Joseph. The Turks soon put themselves in a posture of defence, and kept making a continual fire upon them, both from their artillery and small arms; which did not however prevent its being stopped by the grappling irons of the pursuers, and as quickly boarded and taken. Three other galleys, viz. the St. Lawrence, St. Mary, and the Vittoria, met soon after with a large galleon of the same nation, which, to allure them, had concealed its strength and artillery, and seemed to wait patiently for them; whereas the St. Mary, which was the beft manned, quickly got the flart of her, and, without regarding the disparity between them, grappled and attacked her sword in hand, but met with a moft obstinate resistance. The other two coming up to his afflaiance, a fresh combat began with great fury on both sides, which lasted almost seven hours, in which the Turkish commander and several of his officers were killed, before the rest would surrender. The number of the slain on both sides was very great; the Maltese lost nine of their bravest knights, besides a greater number of wounded; the Turks lost 600 men, the greater part of whom were made prisoners, and, among them, a lady of the feraglio and her young son, who were making a religious voyage to Mecca. This son, whom she was said to have had by Iftan Ibraim, was afterwards converted, and became a monk of the Dominican order. As for the cargo of the galleon, it proved to be of immense value, and of singular service towards reimbursing the public treasury for the vast expense it is obliged to be at in keeping up such considerable armaments. However, the joy which this valuable prize occasioned at Malta was in a great measure damped by the news they heard soon after, that Iftan Ibraim, to whom the galleon belonged, had vowed a terrible revenge against the whole order; in consequence of which he sent the year following a herald to Malta, to declare war against the grand master and the whole island.

This alarm, though it proved a false one for the present, the storm having fallen elsewhere, as we shall soon see, failed not to awaken the whole order, and put them upon making all the proper provisions to oppose so formidable a force as they were threatened with. The fortifications were carried on with the utmost vigour, the galleys employed in fetching all sorts of arms, ammunition, and provisions; and the absent knights were every-where summoned to repair to the island, and to bring with them what volunteers and other forces they could get, to refill them in its defence. Among all those brave perfonages who signalized themselves upon this occasion, we cannot in justice omit mentioning the vicount Arpajan, a nobleman of one of the greatest families in France, who not only summoned all his vaillants, but raised an army of 2000 men, armed and equipped them cap-a-pié, hired and loaded a great number of vessels with all necessaries for a war, embarked at the head of them, accompanied with a large train of noble volunteers, and presented the order with such a considerable succour, as they could hardly hope for from any one crowned head. The grand master was so sensible of this important service, that, to gratify the vicount in the most honourable way he could, he nominated him generalissimo of all his forces, with full power of chusing two luch lieutenant-generals as he thought fit, to command under him.

This dreaded storm, however, as we observed a little higher, instead of Malta, fell upon the island of Candia, the successe of which we have already seen in the Turkish history; so that the grand master had nothing to do but to fend his squadron of galleys to its assistance. As for the noble Arpajan, he took his leave of him with the moft engaging politeness, and, with the consent of the council, presented him with an express diploma of the order, by which he and his eldest son were authorized to wear the golden crofs; one of his youngest sons was intitled, even in his minority, to be admitted into the order; and, when of age, to wear the large crofs; and the heads of his family were from that time to wear it on their escutcheons, and in their coat of arms.

On the year following the pope, at the request of the court of Spain, desired the grand master to admit Don Philip, the son of the king of Tunts, who had embraced the Christian religion, among the knights of the great crofs. This request was however strongly opposed by the Maltese council, who thought it repugnant to the dignity of their order, that a Moor, whose conversion was still liable to fulpicion, should have a rank among the pillars and principal members of it. In the course of the next, prince Maurice of Savoy & solicited the grand master and council in favour of Jacaya, who gave himself out to be a prince of the Othman family; but they prudently declined engaging in his behalf, on account...
a account of the small likelihood there was of placing him on the Turkish throne, unless the greatest princes of Europe should declare themselves for him. In the same year, pope Innocent X. conferred the grand priory of Pernau upon a young nephew of his sister-in-law, named Malda Prema. This fresh invasion of the rights of the order obliged the grand master to send embassadors not only to the court of Rome, but likewise to some of the chief princes in Europe, to represent to them the impossibility of the order's subsisting much longer, or of their being able to protect the Christian religion and commerce, whilst their rights, privileges, and revenues, which were the fines of their power, were thus suffered to be infringed. This year the order lost two considerable members, viz. the commander de Guise, who was killed by the burghers of a new cannon; and the admiral Fay, who was killed by a musket-shot from an Algerine corsair, whom he had attacked in the channel of Malta, as he was going to make reprisals on the Venetians for requeturing the revenues of the order. Another great loss they sustained by the treaties of Munster and Ujannah, which disposed of several of their grand commanderies in Germany in favour of Protestant princes.

In this year the island of Malta, labouring under a grievous famine, was providentially relieved by a fresh supply of corn. The master of a Flemish vessel was met in his return from Apulia, where he had bought 2000 loads, by the commander Ciqmar, who offered to buy it of him, which he absolutely refused; not long after which a violent storm obliged him to put into the harbour of Malta, where he was gladly disposed of it, to the great joy of the inhabitants. At the same time four other gallies of the order, having been on the cruises in the Levant, returned to the port of Messina, where the government, being apprehensive they left they should feize on some of the vessels riding in the harbour, laden with corn for other countries, laid an embargo on one of their ships, called the St. Joseph, commanded by Don John de Béchis, of the Italian tongue, and let the other three sail away for Malta, with a letter to the grand master, importing, that they had secured the St. Joseph merely to prevent an insurrection among the people, who laboured under as great a scarcity of grain as he did; upon which, without expressing any resentment against the Messifian magnificates, he ordered the same ship to sail for port Augutsa, whence they quickly returned laden with it; yet was this new supply far from sufficient, that even their infirmity was in want of wheat, and the convent reduced to barley bread, and the rest of the inhabitants to the greatest distress for want of it. The grand master was obliged again to send out his gallies in quest of it; but forbade the commanders to come near the ports of Messina or Palermo. The fate of Idris, the near in Candia, commanded by Ibrahim, who was strangled this year, and his son Mohammed IV. raised to the throne, did not prevent the war in Canada from being carried on with as much vigour as ever; nor was the grand master negligent in sending his gallies thither, with such other succours as he had formerly furnished. In the following year was fought the famous battle of Poggia, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, in which the Venetians gave the Turks a signal overthrow.

Several of the Maltese commanders signalized themselves at the siege of its capital, particularly their admiral Balbina, a man of such experience and bravery, that the governor Mocenigo fearfully ever undertook anything of moment without consulting him. The debate being one day about recovering a half moon which the Turks had made themselves masters of, Balbina immediately undertook the task, and, by the assistance of about 30 of his knights, and about 100 of his best soldiers, which he took out of the capitana, scaled the important work in the dead of the night, and, after a furious onset, forced the Turks to abandon the place, with the utmost confusion and precipitation; an enterprise which was admired even by the very enemy. The besiegers, emulous to retrieve their honour, endeavoured with a much greater number of men to recover it from them; to facilitate which, the bafta caused a mine to be sprung, which blew up several Maltese knights, particularly one named Falea, a gentleman of a great family in Switzerland, who was buried up above the middle, but was immediately dug up, and helped the rest to repulse the enemy, and drive them off with great loss.

All this while the scarcity continued raging at Malta; and corn became so excessive dear, and difficult to be procured, that the treasury was almost exhausted, to prevent the inhabitants from perishing through want; notwithstanding which, the grand master found means to raise a little fort, called the castle of St. Agatha, on the coast of Melchba, which lay most exposed to the depredations of the Algerine and other corsairs; put a good garrison into it, and caused it to be well provided with necessary stores, both for war and for the mouth.

In the next year, when he went to Sicily for the usual supplies, he was not a little surprized to find the viceroy as flint in refusing them as ever, under pretence that he could notuffer either corn or biscuit to be exported without manifold detriment to his Spanish majesty's subjects. This obliged him to have recourse to Don John of Austria, to whom he sent an extraordinary ambaflly for that purpose. Don John soon removed those obstacles by his authority; but that Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.
The history of Maltba.

Book XXII.

did not prevent the viceroy's making very loud complaints against the grand master, who, it a seems, still suffered the French galleys, under command of knights of the same nation, to make frequent prizes of thofe of Spain and Sicily; and insinuating on that as a sufficient reason for his forbidding any provisions from being carried out of his government into Maltba. These complaints were carried on by both sides with much vehemence, and made a great noise in other European courts for a considerable while; notwithstanding which, we do not find that the grand master took any proper measure to prevent his French knights from infringing his former prohibitions, as well as the statutes of their order. This year a resolution having passed thro' the council, of erecting a library in the new city of Valetta, a regulation was made by it, that all the books, which should be found among the effects of a deceased knight, should not be sold with them, but sent to Maltba, to be deposited in the said library.

In the year following, the Maltese galleys took a considerable prize off Cape Bona, a large English vessel, freighted for the Turks of Barbary, in which they took about thirty-two prisoners, and, among them, prince Mehemet Ben Toub, the son of the emperor of Morocco and Fes, then about 21 years of age; soon after which they failed away to join those of the pope and Venetians. At the same time the Spanish and Sicilian courts, being more and more exasperated at the continual prizes which the French made of their ships, insisted an express order, that all the lands and revenues within that kingdom, belonging to the order, should be sequestrated, and that no Maltese ship should be admitted into their port, or be furnished with any kind of provisions. This obliged the grand master to have recourse to his former palliative, and to renew his express prohibitions against those unlawful practices, under the severest penalties; and, to shew himself now in earnest, he strictly enjoined the commanders in all the ports of Maltba and Gozo to keep off all those privateers far enough from this coast; and to fire on them if they offered to come into any of the harbours of either island; which order was punctually executed, that Don John of Austria, the Spanish generalissimo, was satisfied with it, and ordered the embargo and sequestration to be taken off. On the other hand, the pope, being informed that the number of slaves belonging to the Maltese galleys was considerably lessened, through their constant courtesies to and from Candia, made the grand master a present of 250 of his own, to supply their place.

In the next year the grand master ordered a new galley to be built, and to be added to the other six; and much about the same time the order made a new purchase of the island of St. Christopher, by a contract made with the king of France, and ratified at Maltba by the grand master, and principal officers of the order. The conditions on which this cession was made from the former to the latter were contained in the two following articles; viz.

First. That the order should engage to pay all the debts due from the company of proprietors to the inhabitants of the islands. 2dly. That they should pay the sum of 125,000 livres (French) for the purchase of the said island of St. Christopher, and those of St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, St. Croix, and some other small ones, together with all lands, houses, negroes, merchandise, provisions, ammunition, &c. which purchase was afterwards ratified and confirmed on both sides accordingly; soon after which the grand master appointed his nephew, the chevalier de Salses, to go and take possession of them in the name of the order, and to assist Mons. de Poiney to regulate the government, &c. of those islands, that commander being very old, and in a declining state. As for the pretended effects of that old knight, who died quickly after, they were found to be so far from answering the account he had given of them, that nothing appeared but debts which he had contracted, in order to keep himself in his government; but the purchase made amends for the want of effects to pay them.

In the next year happened an engagement between the Maltese squadron, whose crew of rowing slaves was considerably weakened by a contagious distemper which was got among them, and three vessels belonging to Tripoli, which they met in the channel of Maltba. After some mutual cannonading, the Maltese admiral, not finding himself strong enough to oppose them, dispatched a light vessel to the island, to obtain a reinforcement. This action caused a general murmuring and dislike among the order, that being, it seems, the first time that any Maltese galleys had cannonaded an enemy a whole day, without attempting to board him; upon which the grand master sent him a fresh number of galleys well manned, with ten knights in each of them, to his assistance. But a favourable wind, which arose in the middle of the night, gave the infidels an opportunity to fall away unperceived; so that by the next morning they were got quite out of sight, and the squadron was obliged to return without suets, to the great mortification of the grand master, who in great expectations to see his grand nephew, who commanded it, enter the port victorious, and laden with plunder. In the same year happened a notable contest at the court of Spain, between the ambassador of the order and that of the duke of Tuscany, about precedence, which was at length decided in favour of the former, who was, by the peculiar privileges granted by several popes to the former grand masters, allowed to take place of thofe of all other princes who did not bear the royal title.
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The History of Malta.

In the year following the order was in no small danger of having all their lands and
nues in France confiscated by the incensed French monarch. We have seen lately, that the
grand master had been obliged, through the frequent complaints and threats of the Spanish
court, to forbid all French ships to land in the island. A violent storm having thrown the
French fleet upon the coasts, it was forced to retire by the fire which the grand master ordered
to be made upon it from his artillery. This affront was highly resented by the French monarch;
and his courtiers represented it as a crime amounting to no less than high treason against his
person, and firmly perfumed him to sequestrate all the lands and priories of the order to his own
use. The grand master used all proper means to justify what he had done, affirming that it
was purposed to the engagements laid upon the order by the emperor Charles V. a copy of
whose grant he sent to the French court by the baily de Souvere, his ambassador. The matter
was at length complicated, by the address and mediation of the then secretary of state,
whom the grand master had lately consulted, by admitting a young son of his, a minor,
into the order, and bequeathing a rich commandery upon him; and had no farther con-
sequence.

In this year the Genoese ordered five galleys to be seized in their port, for having entered the Maltese
without saluting their fleet; and contented themselves with paying that honour to the city
and the Spanish capitana, whilst the magistrates sent them word: that, if they continued in
their refusal, they would cause their artillery to fire upon them, and tear them in pieces; and the Maltese admiral was obliged to comply, to save his squadron, and sailed out
soon after, with full resolution to be revenged upon them. He fired accordingly on the first ship he met with, which bore the colours of that republic; but, upon his being informed
that it was only a merchantman, he contented himself with tearing its flag in pieces, in hopes of
finding some more worthy object upon which he might wreak his resentment. The grand master and council, on their part, passed a decree not long after, that no Genoese should be
admitted into their order, till that republic had made them ample satisfaction for the affront offered
their squadron.

In the same year the galleys of the order having joined the Venetian fleet consisting of 24 Turkish
galleys, seven galleasses, and 28 other ships, under the command of the famed Laut fleet twice de-
route, Marcilio, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, gained a complete victory over the Turks, fired.
which was followed by the reduction of the island of Tenedos. In the same year died the
duke of difuna, viceroy of Sicily, and was succeeded by the commander Martin de Reding, of
the tongue of Arragon, who failed soon after to that island, to take possession of his new
government. About the same time a young Turkish gentleman, who passed for the son of
Soltan Ibrahim, together with Mohemed Ben Ibeh, the son of the king of Pez and Morocco,
were publicly baptized at Malta.

In the year following, the Maltese squadron joined again the Venetian fleet, commanded by
Don Lazarro de Meranga, in the channel of Jave, in order to prevent that of the Turks,
commanded by the grand vizier Mohammed, recovering the island of Tenedos. They were
joined by the pope's galleys, commanded by the grand prior Biebi; soon after which, a fresh
and fierce engagement ensued, in which the Turks were again defeated with great loss. This
new victory was unanimously ascribed to the bravery and dexterity of the Maltese admiral; and the
Venetian admiral lent to compliment him upon it; but having soon after closely pursuing
some of the Turkish vessels which had sheltered themselves under the cannon of the neighbouring
fortresses, he had the misfortune to receive a cannon-ball into his ship, the St. Barbara,
which setting it on fire, quickly blew it up, together with the Venetian admiral, and about 700
men that were in it. The Christian fleet retired soon after, each to their respective homes, which
gave the Turks an opportunity of recovering the island of Tenedos.

The next year was attended by the death of the grand master Lascaris, in the 97th year of his age, and the 2nd of his government, over which remains Lazearis, his grand nephew, to
caused a stately mausoleum to be erected, with a suitable inscription, in the chapel belonging
to the tongue of Provence, in the great church of St. John. Two factions immediately
flared up, the one for Martin Redin de Navarre, then in his government of Sicily; and the
other, which called itself the flying squadron, consisted of ancient knights of the great crois,
headed by the grand inquisitor Otis, who was an enemy to Redin, and who, to oppose his
election, produced a brief from the court of Rome, which declared any knight, who had
been guilty of bribery or corruption, incapable to succeed to that great dignity, as being
a simoniac, which crime he intended to fix upon him. Redin was nevertheless chosen by a
majority, in spite of all the cabals of the inquisitor and his party. These protested
against the election; but Redin took care to be beforehand with them, and sent the whole pro-
cede of it to Rome; to which he added a solemn declaration, that if his election was not accept-
able to his holiness, he would cheerfully renounce it: but the pope, in no way inclined to fol-
low the passionate steps of his inquisitor, and vexed that he should have opposed the election
of so worthy a knight, and minister of the king of Spain, quickly dispatched a brief to him, by which he confirmed the election, and ordered him to carry it himself to the grand council; so that he, who had so fiendish an idea, had the mortification to be the person appointed to declare his holiness's approbation of it. With this brief arrived Bichi, the pope's nephew, and admiral of his galleys, who complimented the new grand master in his uncle's name, in gratitude for which honour he was by him presented with the grand commandery of Palizzi, in Sicily; and, at his departure, with a large cross of the order enriched with diamonds.

One of the first public acts of the grand master was, to secure the island from the desert of the infidels, by night especially; to which end he ordered strong towers to be built at proper distances along the coasts, into which the perfidous of the island retired, and kept watch by turns; and letted a fund out of his own coffers for the maintenance of those that were employed to mount the guard, and to watch their respective coasts by night. He had the pleasure soon after to see his antagonist Odi recalled, and succeeded by Capanetta, a person more acceptable to him; but though the pope was thus complaisant to him in this respect, he was no less injurious to him and the order, by bestowing the richest commanderies in Italy upon his nephews. This did not hinder their joining their squadron with his, and making jointly several considerable prizes on the Turkish corsairs in the following year, and taking a sufficient number of prisoners to reinforce the crew of the Maltese squadron, which a contagious disease lately mentioned had greatly weakened. In their course they received a letter at one of the Dardanel islands, from the Venetian admiral, importing, that the Turkish fleet was retired to Rhodes, whence it was to sail soon after for Constan tinople, and inviting them to come and join his fleet, and share with him the glory of detaching that of the Turks. Unluckily they met, in their way to him, three Turkish galleys, which they immediately prepared to engage; one of them, however, escaped by dint of its oars, the other ran aground, and one of them was taken; of which the grand prior Bichi, the pope's admiral, had no sooner made himself master, than he resolved to sail with it to Civita Vecchia, in spite of all that Mandalo, the Maltese commander, could urge against it. After many warm expostulations, he found him inflexibly bent upon returning home; and, not daring to hazard the pope's squadron to fall without him, left it should be attacked by the Turkish corsairs; he took the same route, till they were got out of danger; after which the two squadrons parted each for its own port.

The next year, 1660, was remarkable for the peace which was concluded between France and Spain, which freed the grand master from the difficulties he had laboured under, as well as his predecessor, during the war; and gave him an opportunity of maintaining that neutrality between Christian princes, which the institution of the order laid him indispensably under. But he did not long enjoy his happiness, before he was taken off, on the 6th of February, in the third year of his grand mastership, by a violent fit of the flux, which, when extracted, weighed four ounces: his character, signal services, and the various dignities which he had enjoyed, are expressed in the epitaph which was afterwards engraved on his monument.

He was succeeded with the unanimous consent of the electors by Annet de Clermont de Chastes-Goffan, grand bailli of Lyons, a person of a most illustrious family in High Dauphiny, and whose ancestors had been sovereigns of a territory between that and Piedmont, with the title of viscounts of Clermont. His piety, wisdom, and valour, gave the whole order great hopes of his future government; when the Divine Providence was pleased to dash them at once by his unexpected death, which happened four months after his election, occasioned, as was thought, by the wounds which he received at the taking of Malametta, formerly mentioned, and which now opened afresh, and, to the inexpressible sorrow of the order, deprived them of him on the second of June, in the 73d year of his age.

The grand master dies at Rome.

57. Annet de Clermont.

58. Raphael Cotener.

He was, after much caballing, succeeded by Raphael Cotener, grand bailli of Majorca; who was accordingly proclaimed and installed on the fourth of June, with the usual solemnities. By this time the war between the Venetians and the Turks was at the height, and the former were forced to apply themselves to most of the European princes for assistance. Louis of France had already sent them 3600 troops ever since the latter end of April, and pope Alexander VII. in conjunction with the new grand master, sent a number of their galleys to join their fleet. The design of the confederates was to recover the city of Càntua, in the island of Candia, from the Turks; but as they had not a sufficient number of land-forces to form the regular siege of it, nor any likelihood of surprising it, they began with attempting several strong forts in the neighbourhood of it. We shall refer our readers for the sequel of this campaign to what hath been already said in the Turkish history; and only add, that the Maltese signalized themselves in it according to their wonted bravery, though the success of it did not answer their valour and conduct.
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The history of Maltha.

They proved more fortunate in the following year, 1661, in their sea-excursions, when at the very beginning of it, their admiral took a rich prize belonging to Tunis, near Cape Paf- 5saro in Sicily, in which, besides the cargo, they took 130 prisoners, among whom were the Cadi of Tunis, and his son, and a Turkish Chaine, who had been carrying the grand signor's orders to all the regencies on the coast of Barbary.

About the same time, another of their galleys, commanded by one Gavio, a servant at arms, took such another vessel near Tripoli, which had on board 150 Janissaries, who were sent to reinforce the garrison of Girbaria, a small fortress on the coast of Barbary. About the middle of April came into the port of Maltha another servant at arms, named Paul, with three galleys belonging to the French king, and met with a most gracious reception from the grand master.

All this while the Maltese galleys assigned to the assistance of Candia, sailed regularly thither every year, and about this time had joined those of the pope, commanded by Biboli, galleys cruft near Augufsti; from whence they moved towards the Venetian fleet, which they met near the isle of Andros, and all three of them went in search of that of the Turks, but without success; so that after a long cruise, without being able to get any tidings of it, they thought proper to separate, and return to their respective homes. The Maltese squadron, unwilling to come empty-handed, attacked in their way two Turkish galiots, of which, after a fierce and bloody struggle, they made themselves masters, and brought them home with them. In this year, according to most authors, the senate of Venice, to express their gratitude for the signal services which they had received from the Maltese, passed an act, that the knights of the order should be allowed to appear in their proper arms both in their capital, and in all the other parts of their dominions; a privilege which is denied to the subjects of that republic, though of small service towards the reimbursing their treasuries for the expense they were yearly at in sending so many ships to their assistance; yet such was the grand master's economy, that he found means not only to maintain that squadron for their service, but likewise to enlarge the infirmary, and to present the grand priory of St. John with lately pictures, and other ornaments of great value, to embellish the church of it, and which are still there to be seen, as so many monuments both of his piety and munificence.

All this while the distressed Venetians were soliciting the pope and him, more and more pref- d ingly, for their early supply; but whilst the Maltese squadron was waiting for that of the pope, news came that he had ordered it to stay at Civita Vecchia, to screen them from the French king's reftament, whose ambassador and his lady that pontiff's garde de corps had insulted in a singular manner; upon which they were ordered to set sail from Maltha on the 1st of January of the following year, under the conduct of the commander Breijan, who took some small prizes in his way, which he sent to Maltha, whilst he proceeded with his squadron to join the Venetian fleet. Upon their arrival near the isle of Andros, on the 22d of May, they were informed by the Venetian admiral Morfini, that the Turkish fleet had not failed out that year; that they had nothing to do but scour along their coasts, and make what prizes they could upon them.

Whilst they were thus employed at sea, the grand master was carried off by a malignant e fever, which had raged some time in the island, and more particularly in the city of Valetta, grand master, in the month of October, in the 3d year of his grandanship. His remains were deposited with the usual solemnity in the chapel belonging to the Aragonian tongue, of which he was; on whose tomb the knights of that tongue caused a noble inscription to be engraved.

He was succeeded, with the unanimous consent of the electors, by his worthy brother Nicolas Cotone, then grand prior of Majorca; a thing which never happened since the foundation of the order. But his merit was so universally known, that all the voters and electors declared themselves for him as soon as his elder brother expired; so that they proceeded to the ceremony of election only for form's sake; and when Don Emanuel Arias proclaimed him to f the rest of the order, the news of it was received with the sincerest applause.

One of his first cares, was to suppress the insolence of the Barbary corsairs, who were grown so numerous and bold during the Catholic war, that they extended their excursions and ravages as far as the coasts of Provence and Languedoc. Hitherto the Maltese galleys had been mostly employed in afflicting the Venetians in Candia; but now, at the desire of the French king, Louis XIV. they were sent to assist his forces in his expedition into Africa, the ill success of which, through the want of a sufficient number of French forces to support it, we have already given an account of.

In the following year the islands of St. Christopher, Bartholomew, &c. were sold again by the islands of Chistopher, &c. fold back native prince. At the same time, whilst the Maltese squadron was scouring the Archipelago, without meeting any Turkish vessels, or making any considerable prizes, two young knights of the order signalized themselves on the coasts of Barbary and the Levant; the one named G. P. Crainville.
Crainville, commanded a galley of forty guns, called the Dutch Garden, which he had taken the year before from an Algerine corsair, though with only a frigate of 22 guns, which the other knight, named Temericourt, was then commander of. These two men in the channel of the isle of Samos a caravan going from Alexandria to Constantinople, consisting of 10 large vessels and 12 galleys. The first thing they did, was to get into the midst of them, and to make a continual brisk fire upon them, by which they sunk some, took four of the richest, and put the rest to flight.

In the same year another Maltese knight, named Hoquincourt, signalled himself in a most surprising manner in the port of the Daphnios Island, where he was at once surrounded by the whole Turkish fleet, consisting of 33 galleys, which were transporting fresh troops into that of Candia. The Turkish admiral had ordered a continual fire to be made upon him by his best galleys, both from the great and small artillery, till they had in a great measure destroyed the tackle and rigging of his ship, and killed a great number of his men, after which he commanded some of his stoutest men to board him. Hoquincourt stood all the while upon deck like a man invulnerable, with his sabre in his hand; and his men, following his example, threw down the Turks into the sea as fast as they mounted, to such a prodigious degree, that it was with great difficulty that the admiral could make the rest to follow them. Provoked at length at such a brave refi stance, he ordered the galleys to open a way for his capitana to come up to him; which he did with such force, by dint of rowing, that he did not doubt but the violence of the shock would have shattered Hoquincourt’s ship, already damaged to a great degree by his artillery, into pieces; instead of which, it only helped to push it with greater force out of the haven into the open sea, where plying all the sail he had left, he safely got into the nearest Christian port, after having sunk several of the enemy’s ships, and killed above 600 of their soldiers. This brave commander did no sooner refitted his ship than he sailed out again, and in that same campaign was shipwrecked near the isle of Scarpanto, and perished with all his company, to the number of 170 persons. About the same time the duke of Beaufort, high admiral of France, who had commanded the late unhappy expedition in Barbary, landed at Maliba, and was saluted by all the artillery of the city; as was not long after M. de la Haye, the French ambassador at Constantinople; but the grand master declined seeing the former, because he did not think proper to give him the title of highness.

Nothing happened considerable to the following year, except the accession of Don Carlos to the crown of Spain, by the demise of Don John of Austria, which obliged the grand master to receive a new investment, in the usual form, from the duke of Sermonetta, viceroy of Sicily; soon after which the admiral of the Maltese galleys was sent with his squadron to Barcelona, to escort the Spanish infanta, now empress, to his imperial majesty, who had only married her by proxy; and who, upon her landing at Tinal, sent a most obliging letter of thanks to the grand master, for the good offices he had received from the admiral. The pope, this year, pursuant to the example of his predecesors, dispossessed of some more rich commanders in favour of his relations and favourites, to the great prejudice and mortification of the order.

In the year following, the grand vizier Achkmet, being come in person to put an end to the Candian war, and to the siege of the capital of that island, the Venetians had recour se, as usual, to the pope and grand master, who dispatched their respective squadrons accordingly to their assistance; soon after which Alexander died, and was succeeded by Clement IX, who gave fresh cause of complaint to the order by his infractions on their rights. On the other hand, the prince landgrave of Hesse, cardinal and grand prior of Germany, came to an agreement with the grand pensionary of Holland, the lord John de Vigers, about the lands and revenues belonging to the order in the grand commandery of Harlem, situate in the province of Holland, which the states of that province had seized upon. By these agreements the said states of Holland and West Friesland engaged to pay to the order the sum of 150,000 florins, in consideration of which the grand master and the other were to renounce all farther property and pretensions on those lands, &c. that were situate within those two provinces only, without including those which they had in other dominions of that republic, and of which they should be still allowed to enjoy, and to exchange them for an equivalent. This agreement was chiefly transacted by the mediation of the French king, and negotiated by his minister in Holland, the count d’Estrade.

Among other extraordinary succours which were sent by several European princes into Candia, the grand master dispatched a battalion of 400 men, under the command of Hector de la Fug, who having lost a good number of them, immediately after his arrival, by the contagious disease that then reigned, thought it advisable to save himself and the rest, by leaving a place whose infection was capable of destroying all the forces that were sent to its assistance, and sailed back with them for Malta. In this year happened likewise a fierce engagement between a brother of the knight Temericourt, lately mentioned, who was licenced to cruise under Maltese colours,
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a and two Turkish sultans bound for Alexandria, richly laden. His galley being a bricker sufferer, he easily got before them, in order to fill their entrance into the mouth of the Nile, and immediately failed the foremost with a broad-side. He was preparing to board her, when he received a musket-flour in the head, which threw him flat on the deck, but did not prevent his inquiring his officers and soldiers to continue the fight. The Turks finding themselves fail grappled beyond the possibility of escaping, whilst the Christians poured in upon them with incredible speed and bravery, were just upon the point of surrendering, when the Turkish commander ordered a lighted match to be clapt to their powder, in order to blow up both together. The chevalier de Barre, who was in another Maltese galley, and engaged with the other sultana, seeing the danger his friend's cause was in, abandoned the sultana, to go and save the Maltese, which was already set on fire by pattering it from the Turkish and quenching its flames. The success, however, did not answer his bravery; his friend Ternicourt's brother died soon after his wound, and the other sultana, which he had engaged, took the opportunity of his being otherwise employed to give him the slip.

The peace which was concluded the following year between the Turks and Venetians, upon the loss of Candia, and the confiant afflatus which the order had sent to the latter, during the war, gave them new cause to apprehend the refection of the former, and that it would not be long before the sultan turned his whole force against them; to be therefore prepared against it at all adventures, the grand master sent for an excellent engineer, named Valspera, from Savigi, to whom he committed the repairing of the old, and the addition of such new fortifications, as he thought necessary to secure the island, and especially the port, against any invasion. This gentleman, having taken a view of the port, caused several new outworks to be made in it. One fort was called, from the grand master, Cotonero; another Ricasoli, from one of the commanders, who gave 30,000 crowns towards the building of it.

In the next year, Clement X. having succeeded Clement IX. at Rome, sent an ambassady to Malta, as usual, to notify his election to the papacy, and at the same time to congratulate and commend the grand master for his care in fortifying an island which was the bulwark of Christendom; yet did not this hinder the pontiff's bestowing the reversion of the grand priory of France on the knight of Vendenore, maugre all the opposition of the grand master and the whole order against that infringement. In the same year, prince Charles of Lorraine, an son to the duke d'Elbeuf, and some other persons of distinction, were admitted into the order. About this time the number of the servants at arms being become excessive, the council made a decree against admitting any new ones till farther order.

A great scarcity being felt soon after through most part of Italy, and the pope being obliged to feed his galleys out in quest of corn, he wrote to the grand master, to send some of his to effect them; which was readily complied with, and the command of them given to some of the most distinguished commanders. About the same time the brave Ternicourt, being cruising in one of his own galleys, was attacked by no less than five large corsairs of Tripoli, against whom he made such a noble defence, and such dreadful havoc among their men, that they were glad to save the rest by a haughty flight. But he was soon after overtaken by a sudden storm, which drove him against the coasts of Barbary, where his ship was dashed in pieces, himself taken prisoner, and sent to Tripoli, and thence to Adrianople, where Mohammed III. asked him whether he alone had beat the five large Tripolitan vessels? To which he boldly answered in the affirmative. Being asked what countryman he was, he told him he was a Frenchman. 'Then must thee be a defier,' said the sultan, 'for there is a solemn peace between the king thy master and me.' To which Ternicourt replied, 'I am indeed a Frenchman, but what is still more, I am a knight of Malta, and am obliged by my profession to hazard my life against all the enemies of the Christian faith.' The sultan, who admired his bravery, and was willing to engage him in his service, sent him at first to a prisoner, where he was treated with great humanity, and made him several advantageous offers, capable, as he imagined, to tempt so young a warrior, who was then, it seems, no more than 22 years of age, and, amongst them, he offered to marry him to a princess of the blood, if he would consent to turn Mohammedan. Finding him inflexible to all these promises, he resolved to try what effect a contrary treatment would have upon him, and ordered him to be remov'd into a dungeon, and kept him there a whole fortnight. He moreover cauht him to be severely bastonadoed, and afterwards tortured, even to have some of his limbs mutilated; all which he bore with an heroic constancy, begging of Chriff to enable him to confirm him in his resolution of dying a martyr to his faith. The tyrant, exasperated at his firmness, did not suffer him to wait long for that bleeding, but ordered him to be brought out and beheaded, and his body to be thrown into the river that runs through the city, to prevent the Christians paying any veneration to it.

In the following year there happen'd a fierce content between the commanders belonging to the French king, and those of the order, about the salute, which, being brought at length in favour of the order, before that monarch, the commander Hautevelle, then ambassador at his court from the grand 1673.
The history of Maltha.

The English fleet well received at Maltha.

In the following year, king Charles II. having declared war against the Algerines, the English fleet came into the port of Maltha, where they met with a kind and honourable reception, for which our polite monarch sent the grand master a most obliging letter of thanks. The viceroy of Naples having formed a design of employing the Maltysese gallies and succours against the Moorsians, the grand master thought fit to countermand his orders; and to let that minister know, that it was inconsistent with the design and statutes of his order to intermeddle in any war between any Christian princes; and that, from the beginning of its institution, none of them had ever fought against any but infidels. The same year arrived at Maltha Frederic de Mogel, ambassador from the crown of Poland, with a letter to the grand master, importing, that his dominions being terribly harassed by the frequent incursions which the Turks made into them, he should be highly obliged to him and the order if he would please to send some powerful diversion into the Turkish territories. To which Cotoner answered, with his usual politeness, that, complying with his Polish majesty's desires, he should only fulfill the obligations which his profession laid him under, his order having been always ready to assist Christian princes against the infidels; and that in conformity to his majesty's wishes, he would immediately order his armaments to be considerably augmented, that he might render their service more effectual to him. In the same year he caused the foundation for a new lazaretto to be laid in the castle of Marzo Mussat, which hath been since that time fortified with several strong bastions, and other outworks.

A grievous pestilence, which had begun to rage about the latter end of the last year, continued to make such havoc both in the island and in the convent, that they could hardly find a sufficient number of forces in the former to man their caravans, and were obliged to lessen the number of knights in each galley from 21, the usual number before the plague, to 11 in the capitana, and nine in each of the rest. About the same time the dignity of grand marshal being become vacant, and claimed by two considerable commanders of equal merit and pretensions, the one named Macfonsiule, and the other Gerlana, both of the tongue of Auvergne, the contest being likely to run a dangerous height, and the grand master unable to decide it, he thought himself of an effectual expedient to end it amicably, by ordering that each party should enjoy it alternately only, from month to month.

About two years after, during which interval we do not read of any thing material that happened at Maltha, the former of the competitors died, and the latter failed out with his squadron of five gallies; and meeting with two Algerin corsairs near cape Passaro, fell a cannonading them without attempting to board them. This occasioned a general murmur in the convent, which began now to wish he had died instead of the other. A complaint was preferred against him in the council at his return, when he got himself off, by alleging, that the wind was full against him, and would not suffer him to approach the enemy. Soon after this, Peter Fletcher, a Majorcan privateer, funk another Algerin, out of which he saved 100 Turkish soldiery, whom he went and fold at Maltha for 100 piasters per head. About the same time Don John of Austria, grand prior of Castile, being dead, the grand master and council were consulting to alienate about 8000 ducats per annum of the revenue of that vast rich priory in favour of some of their favourites; of which the king of Spain, who lays claim to the sole patronage of it, being apprised, expressly forbid their levelling, in any instance, the income of that overgrown benefice; with which injunction they were obliged to comply.
In the next year, a peace being happily concluded between Spain and France, by the marriage of the princess Maria Louisa, eldest daughter of the duke of Orleans, Don John de Villa Vicosa was sent by the grand master on an embassy, to congratulate the Spanish monarch upon it, and took that opportunity to obtain from him a fresh supply of corn for the island of Malta, which began to labour under a great scarcity.

In this year the grand master, who had been for several years afflicted with a paralytic disease, fell into a complication of the stone and gout, accompanied by a lingering fever, which gradually exhausted his strength, without diminishing any thing of his usual vigilance and application; till a dysentery, which ensued some time after, obliged him to keep his bed, and to nominate Don Orlando Serralta, grand prior of Catalonia, for his successor. He languished till the 29th of April, of the same year, and expired in the 73d year of his age, and 17th of his government, greatly regretted by the whole order. His remains were deposited, with the usual ceremonies, in the chapel belonging to the tongue of Arragon, and over his lately tomb was engraved an epitaph.

The choice of a successor, after a great deal of caballing and bribery, which began during the last grand master's sickness, fell upon Don Gregory Carafa, a Neapolitan, to the great joy of the Italian tongue, who had not seen an Italian chosen to that dignity during the space of one hundred and twenty-eight years. One of his first cares was, to complete the fortifications of the island, which his predecessor had not been able to finish, and to rectify some abuses which had crept into the order during his long sickness. In the following year he had the pleasure to see the admiral Carrea return with fix Algerine vessels which he had taken, by his address and bravery, when they thought themselves almost sure of him. He resigned soon after his place to the bally Colbert. In the year following the vice-chancellor Arrigo resigned that office into the grand master's hand, after having enjoyed it above twenty years, with great integrity and reputation; and was succeeded by the commander Carrera. About the same time father ferraro Molina, bishop of Malta, was, at the grand master's recommendation, preferred to the bishopric of Leida by the king of Spain, and succeeded by David Coca Palmieri, a person highly esteemed for his probity. The grand master having received a letter from Lewis XIV. notifying the birth of his grandson the duke of Burgundy, caused the usual rejoicings to be celebrated through the island, in which the knights of the three French tongues signalized themselves in an extraordinary manner. Soon after which, the dukes of Gufren and Berwick landed at Malta, the latter of whom was admitted into the order, and presented with the great crofs, together with the grand priory of England.

In the following year happened the memorable victory over the Turks, and the raising of the siege of Vienna, which was followed by the Christian league against them, set on foot by pope Innocent XI. into which the grand master readily came, and ordered very great preparations to be made for the prosecution of the war; soon after which the Maltese squadron sailed out, under the command of the bally of St. Stephen, which spread a general terror over all the coasts of Barbary, and he drove the Turks out of the islands of Previa and St. Mau.

The year following, the Maltese squadron, commanded by Hettor de la Tour, being Coron, &c. joined by that of the pope and the Venetian fleet commanded by signor Morosini, failed directly to Coron, a sea-port in Morca, and, after a brisk and bloody siege, in which the knights of the order greatly signalized themselves, and their general de la Tour lost his life, made themselves masters of the place. All this while the grand master caufed the new fortifications to be carried on with all possible diligence: so that they, especially those of the castles of St. Elmo and St. Angelo, were in a great measure completed by the following year.

The squadron of the order failed out again in the beginning of the following spring, under the command of their new general Orbigone, grand prior of Hungary, and, in conjunction with the confederate fleet, went and besieged Old Navarin, another sea-port, about 12 miles from Coron; and, next to that, the New Navarin, a place of great importance, not only on account of its advantageous situation, but likewise for the convenience of its haven in the gulph of Zunto. Both places were well fortified, and defended by a good garrison, yet were both surrendered to the Venetian general in a few days; after which the whole fleet failed to Modon, in the same peninsula, but much stronger than any of the former, and in the attack of which a good number of knights lost their lives; but the place was, after a stout defence, forced likewise to surrender. This success encouraged the confederates to attempt the reduction of Neapoli de Modon, &c. Romania, capital of Morca. The place was accordingly besieged in form on the 20th of July, 1685. The forraclier tried in vain to succour the place, and was three times repulsed with los; and 19 knights of the order, with a great number of their troops, were slain, either in those attacks, or in the siege. The citie at length surrendered, after a month's defence; after which the Maltese squadron parted from the rest, and sailed homewards. In the same year the pope, to shew his grateful regard for the order, bestowed the cardinal's hat upon Don Fortunatus Carafa, brother to the grand master, Francis de Medicis, grand prior of Pisa, and Leopold Kestonich, bishop of Newhald, all of the order.

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In the following year, the grand master ordered eight gallys to be equipt for that campaign, a the command of which he gave to the chevalier Claude de Mechenie ; these, in conjunction with the confederate fleet, made a descent on Dalmatia, laid siege to Cattie Novo, the surrender of which rendered the Venetians masters of the whole Adriatic gulph. The knights signalized themselves in this siege to such a degree, that the pope wrote a letter of thanks to the grand master, full of encomiums on their bravery, and the great services they had done at that siege. The following year produced nothing intersting at Malta, except some considerable promotions and successions from one preterment to another, which we need not dwell upon.

In the following year the Maltese squadron failed out under the command of their general Mechenie, and joined the Venetian fleet, now no longer commanded by Morosini, who was by this time raised to the dignity of doge. The confederate fleet having attempted the reduction of the strong fortress of Negropont, were forced, after a long and difficult siege, to abandon it. The order lost in that expedition 29 of its most valorous knights, besides a great number of their men, who were cut off by the Turks. The loss of these so affected the grand master, that he was quickly after attacked with a violent strangury, attended with a raging fever, which carried him off on the 21st of July of the year following, in the 76th year of his age, and 10th of his government. His remains were depositep in the chapel belonging to the Italian tongue, in which he had caused his tomb to be erected in his life-time, and on which was engraven an epitaph, said to have been written by himself about two years before his death.

He was succeeded by Adrian de Vignacourt, grand treasurer of the order, and nephew to the late famous Alph de Vignacourt, who had been raised to that dignity many years before. Not long after his election the Maltese squadron, returning from the Levant, brought the first news of the taking of the city and castle of Valonna in Albania by the confederate fleet, which occasioned great rejoicings to be made through the island. But, as we observed a little higher, the Turkish war having cost already a vast number of lives, and reduced the widows and children to extreme indigence, the new grand master made it one of his first cares to give them a speedy relief, and to make a proper provision for them, the rest of the convent following his example, and contributing towards to pious a work. His next care was to suppress the insolence of the Barbary corsairs, who, in the absence of their squadron, made frequent incursions into their channel, and as far as the coasts of Sicily; to which end he ordered a strong galliot, well manned and armed, to be constantly upon the cruise in those seas. He was no less diligent in what concerned the security of the island, to which he added several new fortifications, and built fresh magazines where-ever he thought they were wanting, particularly a magnificent arsenal for the gallys of the order. Whilst he was thus generously taken up, he received a letter from the emperor Leopold, which imparted to him the welcome news of the complete victory which prince Lewis of Baden had gained over the Turks, and which caused general rejoicings through the island. All this while the pope's courtiers were writing solicitations for some of the pictures of the order, as had been the custom during the reigns of the foregoing pontiffs. But the new pope Innocent XII. put a generous end to that shameful practice soon after his election, by a new brief, in which he confirmed all the ancient rights and immunities of the order.

In the following year, the grand prior of Messina, general of the Maltese gallys, joined those of the pope and Venetians, and accompanied them to the siege of Cannea, one of the most convenient ports in the isle of Candia. But, having cannonaded the place during the space of 25 days, they were forced to raise the siege, on account of the season being too far advanced; and the squadron of Malta arrived at that port at the time the order were making fresh rejoicings for the taking of the strong fortress of Great Paradis by the imperialists; about which time arrived also the marquis of Orléans, nephew of the grand master, and was received by the order with the pomp and honours suitable to his rank and proximity to their sovereign.

In the beginning of the following year the island felt a terrible earthquake, which began on the 11th of January, at ten of the clock at night, and lasted three whole days, by which several buildings were overthrown, and other considerable damage done; soon after which, four Sicilian gallys arrived, which acquainted the grand master with the dreadful fate of the city of Augusta, which was totally overthrown by the same earthquake; so that he was now wholly taken up in sending proper assistance to the sufferers, in ordering public fasts, prayers, and processions, forbidding the usual diversions of the approaching carnival, and repairing the damages which the public and other edifices, as well as the vessels riding in the port, and other parts of the island, had received by it. In the interim arrived the grand prior of Messina, at the head of the Maltese squadron, bringing in a large vessel which he had taken from the Turks in his return from the Levant, in which were 150 soldiers. Upon his appearing before the grand master, he was accused of having suffered three Barbary corsairs and a tartar to escape. He was
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The whole day with all the sail and rowing he could make, till the night put an unavoidable stop to his pursuit. He was nevertheless deprived of his post, which was, the following year, conferred on Francis Sigismund, count of Tavon, who, having joined the confederate fleet, affixed in the reduction of the city of Chios, which they took after an eight days siege. In the mean while Louis XIV. and the duke of Savoy had begun to seize on several lands and revenues of the order, under pretence of carrying on the expensive war they were engaged in. The grand master failed not of making proper remonstrances to both courts; which, being backed by the pope's mediation, put a happy stop to that unjust attempt. That pontif at the same time was pleased to take a special cognizance of the long contest which had reigned between the order and the republic of Genoa; and, partly by his address, and partly by his authority, put an effectual end to it; immediately after which several Genoese noblemen were admitted into the order.

In the year 1695 the admiral Sigismund failed out with his squadron, and took a large vessel belonging to Tripoli, after a bloody contest of two hours, and sent it to Maltha. He then proceeded to join the confederate fleet; but the Venetians refusing to enter upon any enterprise, on pretence that the feason was too far advanced, they all returned to their respective posts, without effecting anything worth notice.

The pope, next year, transmitted a considerable number of galley slaves over to Maltha, to reinforce the galleys of the order. The grand master falling ill of old age, and other infirmities, the candidates for the succession began their cabals and bribery betimes, and continued them till his death, which happened on the 4th of February of the following year, in the 77th year of his age, and 7th of his government. His remains were deposited in the chapel belonging to the tongue of France, and his just encomium was engraved on his tomb.

He was succeeded by Raymond Perellos de Roccacoull, of the tongue of Arragon, and grand bailly of Negropont; one of whose first public acts was, to call a council of the order for the suppression of froudy abuses, particularly that crying and destructive one of beftowing the best commanderies on junior knights, at the recommendation of the pope, or other crowned heads; which so frequently disfigured the seniors, who had more just pretensions to so high a degree, that they bequeathed their riches and effects to their near relations, which ought in course to have been sunk into the public treasury. The first step that was taken, in order to prevent it, was, to make pressing instances to the pope against all such partial recommendations, which tended to subvert the design of their institution, and ancient discipline. The next was, to pass a decree, expressly forbidding all the religious of the order the carrying of either gold or silver about them, and suppressing all cards, dice, and other games of chance.

The peace of Utrecht being concluded between France and Spain, the grand master caused great rejoicings to be made throughout the island; about which time arrived Boris Petrowitz Xeremetof, a relation of the late czar of Muscovy, with recommendations from that prince, from the pope and the emperor; and was received with all the honors due to his rank by the grand master and convent. In the next year, pope Innocent, having decided the contest which had so many years been warmly carried on between the bishop of Maltha and the grand prior of that church, about their respective jurisdictions, to the satisfaction of the order, the grand master caused a brazen statue of that pontif to be set up before the great gate of the church of Victory, with the inscription which the reader will find in the margin (N). The same year some Turkis corsairs having escaped being taken by the Maltha squadron, by a sudden change of the wind, the grand master and council, afraid left it should be owing to the negligence of the commanders, ordered them to be tried for it; when it plainly appeared to have been owing to a contrary wind which prevented their pursuit; upon which they were honourably acquitted.

On the 15th of February of the following year happened a notable engagement between Don Spinola, the Maltha admiral, and a Turkis vessel near the coast of Sicily. The galley which first came up with the enemy having lost her mainail by a sudden gulf of wind, the admiral, who came next, advanced to the attack. The combat was sustained with great bravery; and the admiral's brother received a mortal wound in it, as he stood close to the grand prior of Messina, who, by reason of his great age, was incapable of standing upon his feet. His valet de chambre came next to keep him up, and was likewise shot to death by his side; upon which he supported himself by leaning his hand on the balconle that contained the compass, and continued the fight with fresh fury. The victory was just upon the point of declaring for the Maltha, when the Turkis commander came with full force, and struck his prow into the capitana, and made a dreadful gap in her.

(N) Innocenio XII, optimo & sanctissimo pontifici, Maltesiis confiditis tradens ecclesiam in magnificam forum liberaliter restitutis. Pop. & rev. dom. frater D. Rainen. vouos de Roccacoul, gratum omnibus omnium a votis sunt exercitatis, utique vivibus post se vivatis, pluribus commendis.
The wind chopping immediately to the south, was followed by a sudden storm, which quickly parted them, and dispersed the rest. The commander Javon, captain of the St. Paul, made all the diligence he could to assist the sinking capitana, and saved about fifty persons, among whom were the admiral Spinola, and some other commanders. His extreme desire of saving still more of them from the shipwreck made him tarry so near that place, that his pilot was forced to apprise him of the extreme danger they ran; yet all in vain, Javon being more intent to save others, than solicitous about his own life, would in all likelihood have perished, had not the violence of the wind driven him away against his will, and preferred him from the same fate. The order left, either in the fight or shipwreck, no less than 21 knights and 500 soldiery and slaves, besides a good number of brave officers. The rest of the squadron were scattered at a great distance from each other; but quickly rejoined at Auguyha, and arrived safe at Malta, though very much scattered by the storm.

The news of this disaster, attended with so considerable a loss, deeply affected the grand master, and that which more sensibly afflicted him was, to see what advantage the Turkish corsairs had gained by degrees over the order, and what prizes they were continually making upon the Christian merchants ever since the order had discontinued, as it had for many years, the maintaining of some stout men of war to keep those freebooters in awe, and contented themselves with the bare keeping up of a squadron of galleys against them. He had for some time entertained a desire to revive the old custom, but feared the difficulty of gaining the consent of the order. The horrid depredations which they now made on those seas, the number of families ruined by them, and the vast number of Christians that were condemned by those pirates to a most dreadful slavery, joined, without doubt, to the daily complaints, if not harsh reflections, which were made on an order which for so many centuries the bulwark of Christendom, and security of their commerce, was now become a cogent motive for them to enter into his views; and he succeeded in it even beyond his expectations, as soon as he declared his design to them.

As soon, therefore, as he had gained their consent, and raised a proper fund for it, his next care was to commit the management of it to some of the most experienced members of the order, and the execution of it to some of the best shipwrights. The choice of the former fell upon a knight of the family of St. Peter in Normandy, who then commanded some French vessels, and who, by his signal services to that monarch, had been advanced to the command of the foot ordnery; and it is to that worthy commander that we are beholden for that noble project, so highly approved of most Christian princes, and since printed among his brother the abbot of St. Peter’s works, for utterly extirpating the whole nest of Barbary corsairs, and which was closely followed by the grand master. In the same year the brave commander Javon, lately mentioned, was unfortunately cast away with his ship St. Peter, which struck among the rocks of the small island of Obarica. He was drowned, with three knights, and about 70 other persons; but the rest were saved by the other galleys.

In the following year the Maltafe squadron, coasting along the Barbary shore, met with the great Sultan Bingen, carrying 80 guns and 500 soldiers. They engaged her with their usual bravery, and met with a suitable resistance; the combat was long and furious, and had cost a great number of lives before the knights could make themselves masters of her. Upon her being brought to Malta, the grand master ordered her flag to be hung up in the church of St. John d’Aix, the birth-place of the commander Ricard, who had first boarded, and had the greatest share in taking her, in order to perpetuate the memory of that noble action. Soon after, this squadron set sail again towards the coasts of Barbary, and advanced as far as Gholt, or citadel of Tunis, and brought away from thence a large Turkish vessell, and a brigantine, with the losts only of one knight and four soldiers. In the same year Philip V. having succeeded to the crown of Spain by the death of Charles II. confirmed all the rights and privileges of the order within his dominions, as did also Clement XI. who had succeeded Innocent XII. at Rome, by a new brief.

The grand prior of England was sent in the following year on a congratulatory embassy to the new pope, with order to obtain from him a regulation about the pretensions of the grand inquirer of Malta, to a greater jurisdiction than was consistent with the privileges of the order. The court of Rome, according to custom, spurned the contest a considerable time, but it was at length decided by that pontiff to the satisfaction of the order.

In the year 1706, the admiral St. Peter, at the head of his squadron, sailing into the Levant, encountered three vessels from Tunis, richly laden. One of his galleys, named the St. James, having lost its mainmast in the engagement, and being forced to retire, the St. John came forwards, and attacked and took the Turkish admiral of 50 guns, and 370 soldiers, whilst the rest of the Turkish vessels made all the sail they could from the Maltafe. This prize, being brought to Malta, was soon after converted into a galley of the order, and added to the squadron, under the name of the Holy Cross. On the following year, the commander of Langon, being
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a being ordered to convey a supply of ammunition, in the St. Peter, to the city of Oran, which was invested by the Algerine fleets, commanded by their bey, fought his way thro' the midst of the fire they made upon him on both sides, and, with that one galley of fifty guns, penetrated through the midst of them into the place, and conveyed the wildest for succour into it; for which he was advanced to the post of lieutenant-general of the squadron, and commander of the Maltbebe fleet.

In the year 1703, the king of Spain wrote a very pressing letter to the grand maffter, desiring him to send some farther succours into that city, with which he readily complied; but whilst the preparations were making for it, news was brought, that the Turks had made themselves masters of the place, which put a stop to that convey. The news of the loss of that Oran rais.
b important place was soon followed by intelligence of a vast armament which was carrying on at Constantinople, and was presently supposed to be designed against the isle of Maltbe; both which so deeply affected the grand maffter, that he was quickly after seized with a feverish fit of the gout, attended with a violent fever, which would not permit him to attend to any public affairs for a day or two. On the third, finding himself a little better, he acquitted himself of some of his late obligations to the pope, by bestowing the commandery of Viterbo on his nephew Alexander Albani. Finding himself recover strength by degrees, he applied himself again to business with his usual diligence, especially about making preparations against the Turkib armament, which, he was now informed, consisted of twenty foltanas and forty galleys, and a proportionable number of forces. His first care was, to fend for c the assistance of the pope, and other Christian powers; his holiness dispatched to him immediately one of his tartans laden with powder, and other warlike ammunition, against a siege, and 150 soldiers, with a promise of sending him in a little time a much more considerable reinforcement. His other ambassadors returned likewise from France and Spain with fresh supplies of troops and ammunition; and the whole amount of those forces, upon a review, were found to consist of 10,000 effective men, well armed and disciplined, and all of them, as well as their officers, fully resolved upon a brave defence.

This vast pretended armament appeared soon after to consist only of five Turkib foltanas, which came to join other vessels at Tunis and Tripoli, which made the grand maffter suspet that their first attempt would fall upon the island of Caffa, upon which he immediately dispatched some of his best forces thither, together with all other necessaries for its defence, whilst the brave grand pror of Meffina, lately mentioned, was, at his earnest request, notwithstanding his extreme old-age, nominated to go and command them, in conjunction with general Langon, and the commander Mountfort, governor of the island.

d All these preparations, together with the repairs which had been lately made to its fortifications, which were not, in all likelihood, unknown to the Turks, did so far discourage them from making any attempt upon it, that they contented themselves with letting fire to some Maltbebe vessels and houfes they found along the coasts; after which they failed back directly for the Levant. This sudden retreat did not hinder the grand maffter’s finishing those magazines which his predecessor had begun, and filling them with all sorts of stores both for the war and e the mouth; by which means the island began again to enjoy a better commerce, and greater abundance, than it had done for a considerable time before. A rumour being afterwards spread, that the four foltanas, and a brigantine, were gone to make a defenc on the coasts of Calabria, the grand maffter forthwith ordered the squadron to sail away under the conduct of the commander Florigny.

f He had not made above three days sail before he perceived a large vessel, which, upon closer Florigny inspection, proved the Capitana of Tripoli, commanded by a famed corsair, named Babbe-Alharni, in two Ambulla-Oghi-Stamboli, carrying 56 large pieces, and 40 pateroies, and about 600 men. This was followed by a tartane of 12 pieces and 90 pateroies, commanded by Mohammed Oghi Cafdali, who, in spite of his general’s orders, resolved to sallay the attack of the Maltbebe squadron. Langon, who commanded the St. James, began the onet with such a brisk and continued fire, that he quickly set the whole rigging of both Turkib vessels in an universal blaze; the enemy, not being able to quench it, jumped into the water in the utmost conternation, but were for the most part savd by the Maltbebe long-boats, which came on all sides to their assistance; and, amongst them, took up the Rais or commander of the foltana of Tripoli, and about fifty Christian captives, to whom they gave their liberty, and about four hundred Turks, whom they carried off prisoners. The Maltbebe lost only one knight and five soldiers in this engagement. All the rest of the Turks, except the four hundred above mentioned, perished, as well as the two vessels. After this combat, the commander Langon sailed towards the coasts of Spain, and, in his way, met with the Capitana of Algiers, which g mounted 50 guns, and had 500 men on board. A fierce engagement ensued, which lasted some hours; neither did the Algerines yield till all their officers were slain. But this victory proved a dear one to the order, by the death of the brave Langon, an officer of great courage.

6 R and
and conduct, who lost his life in the engagement. His body was conveyed to Cartagena, and interred under the great altar of the cathedral; after which the grand master ordered an epitaph to be engraved on a sepulchral monument, set up in the memory of him in the church of St. John in the new city of Valletta.

In the following year the grand master, not having been able to receive any supplies of corn from Sicily, according to the treaty, the viceroy obstinately refusing it, sent some of his galleys into the Levant, which returned soon after laden with it, and put a happy end to the scarcity which had prevailed in the island above a year.

This year the Maltese inquisitor, notwithstanding the pope’s regulations concerning his jurisdiction, begun afeath to make some encroachments on the immovable of the order, and took upon him to enter it in quality of visitor, accompanied with some of his officers, whom he b b eing to visit several apartments of the palace. The commander Avennes, the then grand inquisitor, was no sooner informed of the infilt done in defiance of the statutes, then he came in person, and forthwith drove them out of the apartment. The inquisitor not only complained of the opposition offered to his officers, but entered a protest against it as null, and done against his authority; and, by that prefigurative step, laid the foundation for a fresh contest with the grand master, which he was in hopes would be decided more in his favour than the former had been. The grand master was again obliged to send two ambassadors, the one to Rome, to complain of the holiness of the insolvency of his inquisitor, and the other to the French court, to define his majesty to interpose his good offices with his holinesses to put an effectual stop to the infractions made by that minder upon the rights and privileges of the order. Upon c

The Memorial presented to that monarch by the insolvency himself, Lewis XIV. immediately wrote to the pope in the most pressing terms but the inquisitor had by this time given the order fresh cause of discontent, by the frequent patents he had granted to several Maltese, by which he pretended to exempt them from their obedience to the grand master, their lawful sovereign. Against these the commander Zondarari, his ambassador extraordinary, made some very pressing complaints, the small success of which did but plainly shew, that the pontiff was neither ignorant of, nor dissatisfied with, the proceedings of the inquisitor and his tribunal.

Yet did not all these just complaints discourage him from writing pressingly to the grand master the very next year, for the affumition of some galleys of the order to come and report the frequent excursions of the infidels on the coasts of Ifis, where they made very considerable prizes, and committed dreadful outrages, besides carrying off great numbers of inhabitants into slavery.

In the same year Adrian Langon, a near relation of the brave warrior late mentioned, who now commanded the St. Catherine, being on his cruise in these seas, attacked the Algerine squadron, consisting of seven galleys, which he put to flight, except one called the Half-moon, of 40 guns and 400 men, which he boarded and took; thirty-five Christian slaves, who rowed in it, were set at liberty by him, and a great number of Turks slain, and the rest made prisoners, with the loss of only seven men.

In the next year he attacked a stout Algerine corsair of 56 guns and 500 men, near the isles of Hires, and fought with him near six hours, without being able to force him to surrender, tho’ he shot away his main-mast, and killed a great many of his men; so that, to prevent his escape, he was obliged to sink him, by which only two Christians and five Turks could be saved out of the whole crew. He took soon after another Barbary corsair, out of which he made 95 of the crew captives.

All this while the Soltan was carrying on a vast armament at Constantinople with more diligence than before. The grand master, still apprehending that it was designed against Maltese, sent his summons all round to the knights, to repair thither with their usual arms and retinue, whilst he was taken up at home in putting it in a condition of defence. Upon receiving his summons, most of those knights and commanders, dispersed in several parts of Europe, made all the proper preparations to repair to the convent. Some who, by reason of old age, infirmities, or other impediments, could not appear in person, resigned the revenues of their respective preferments towards the expense of the war, whilst others, tho’ not so infirm and disabled, did yet cause themselves to be transported thither to assist the rest at least with their advice. Many of those that were unable to contribute to the public expense, either as being yet in their novicature, or without any preferment, did yet signalize their zeal, by becoming sureties for a variety of large sums that were contracted by the order for the procuring of arms, ammunition, and other necessaries, for a gallant defence. The grand master, over and above all those contributions, drew the sum of 150,000 crowns out of the public treasury, and borrowed a much larger sum, by help of which he provided the island with every thing that could be thought

\[\text{Vide Memorial presented to Lewis XIV. 1712.}\]
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... wanting for a vigorous opposition against so formidable a power. To all these preparations the pope contributed a small number of men and galleys, together with a full power to levy money on the ecclesiastical state.

Whilst these precautions were taking at Malta, an unknown person arrived there, of a good aspect, who offered his services to the grand master as an engineer, and gave such proofs of an uncommon skill in military architecture, that the grand master made no scruple to accept of them, and let him take a full survey of the chief fortifications of the island, especially of the city of Valletta, which he did with much exactness and judgment, in company with some of the knights who had been deputed to attend him. He disappeared two days after, to their great surprize, which gave them just reason to suspect him to have been a spy sent from the Perite to take an exact view of the state and strength of the island, and confirmed their apprehensions that the Turkish armament was designed against it. To be fully satisfied about it, the grand master resolved to dispatch some trusty and expert person to Constantinople, to gain the best intelligence he could of the design of those preparations.

He pitched upon a wealthy merchant, named Andrew Veran, a native of Provence, whom he sent thither in a ship richly laden with a variety of merchandizes. Veran landed first at Neapol de Romania, capital of the Morea, where he was informed by the captain-general of the Venetians, that the Turkish armament was designed against his republic; and, upon his failing through the Dardanelles, he received the news of the Perite’s having declared war against the Venetians. Upon his arrival at Constantinople, he applied himself to the French ambassador, and got the count d’Alleurs, and put himself under his protection, and was by him more fully assured of all the sultan’s designs. All this while numbers of knights and commanders of the order arrived at Malta, and brought with them volunteers, forces, ammunition, and other kinds of supplies, which the grand master made use of to reinforce his squadron, and sent it to join that of the pope and the Venetian fleet. Whilist these were at sea, Veran returned from Constantinople, and informed the council, that, from all he had been able to learn or observe, either the grand signor never designed that armament against Malta, or, if he ever did, he was since diverted from it, by the information he had received of the state of defence which the grand master had taken care to put the island in, and of the number of knights and other forces which came flocking to his assistance from all parts of Christendom.

In the following year the Venetians failed not to apply to the grand master for fresh succours against the Turks; upon which he ordered five large vessels, and some galleys, to fail out to their assistance. These meeting with some Barbary corsairs, gave chase to them, and took one of the largest, of 54 guns and 500 men, and brought her to Malta, together with several缺乏 laden with all sorts of provision. Soon after this a contest arose among the commanders of the auxiliary squadrons, which was like to have had some dangerous consequence, when his holiness was pleased to put an effectual end to it, by declaring the Maltese admiral his lieutenant-general. After this the Maltese squadron fell on several Turkish vessels laden with variety of rich merchandize, and carried them off to Corfu, where he found the commander L’age, who was admirals of the pope’s galleys, and who, on his part, had been no less successful against the Turks, from whom he had taken a considerable number of vessels.

In the following year the squadron set sail from Malta, reinforced by two frigates, and some other light vessels, in order to join the confederate fleet; and, in their way, sunk a large Turkish vessel, after a fierce engagement on both sides, but gave a great part of the men by the help of those light vessels, and made them prisoners. Soon after which the auxiliary forces had a fierce engagement with the Turks, in which the latter were so terribly treated, that they betook themselves to a speedy flight, after a combat of two hours, sustained on both sides with great obstinacy. The Maltese admiral De Bellefontaine, who commanded the whole fleet, behaved in that engagement with such conduct and bravery, that he was received, on his arrival at Malta, with the greatest marks of honour and distinction by the grand master.

The next year produced little that is worth recording; the grand master had indeed reinforced the squadron with the large galley called the St. John, and they actually failed out at the usual time, and joined the confederates; but the Turkish courage was so effectually cooled by this time, that they did not care to give them a fresh occasion of signalizing themselves against them. In the same year the pope honoured the natural son of the king of Poland with the croce of the order.

This year produced nothing considerable, except some prizes which the Maltese squadron took from the Turks; two of which were richly laden for Constantinople; and on board another was the balla of Romelia, with his whole family, bound for Neapol de Romania.

The next year was remarkable for the demise of the grand master Raimond Perillo de Roceaffo, who died of extreme old age, accompanied with a lingering diæsea, under which he had laboured above a year, after a glorious reign of nearly twenty-two years, during which he bestowed most of his time and care in fortifying Malthe and Cora, with variety of works, in building...
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He was succeeded by Mark Anthony Zondodari, a native of Siena, and of an illustrious family, who had been some years before sent ambassador to the court of Rome by his predecessor, to complain to the pope of the inferiority and encroachments of his inquisitors at Maltba. The general joy which accompanied his election, was soon after increased by the successe which his squadron met with against the corsairs of Barbarie, two of the largest of which were brought into the port, and, not long after, were followed by the Algerine admiral of 80 guns and 500 soldiers. In the same year the new grand master obtained a brief from the pope, by which every knight of the order, who had 300 livres per annum, was obliged to maintain one soldier at his own expense, for the security of the island; but we do not find that it produced any effect.

The Maltba squadron under the command of the brave Adrian Langon, who was sent, at the desire of the king of Spain, to cruise along his coasts, was no less successful against the Barbarie corsairs. They began with chasing one of their galliots on the coasts of Saragoria, but this proving too brisk a feller for them, they only retook a pink from it belonging to the Christians, which had been forced to surrender to it a few days before. Soon after this the St. John, commanded by the admiral, took an Algerine of 40 guns and 350 men, after an obstinate fight of an hour, by which about 20 Christian slaves were set at liberty, and 250 Algerines were chained to the oars. The next that fell in their way was the squadron of Tunis, consisting, among others, of the Patrona, the Capitana, and the Porcupine: the two former of which, taking advantage of a dark night, gave them the slip, after having maintained a long and bloody fight; but the last of them, called the Porcupine, was obliged to surrender, after having fired a continual fire till ten of the clock at night. Above 30 Christian slaves gained their liberty by that prize; and the successe and valour of the commandor Alegnis struck such a general terror among the Barbarie corsairs, that they dared not to flir out of their ports.

In the following year the grand master, who had been afflicted with a gangrene in his bowels above six months, expired on the 16th of June, in the 64th year of his age, and 5th of his government, greatly lamented by the order and the European princes, on account of his exemplary piety, extensive charity, and his strenuous application in putting the island in a better posture of defence than it had ever been in before; and in restoring, as well by his example as by his authority, the antient discipline and privileges of the order, both in church and state.

He was succeeded by Don Antonio Manuel de Vilhena, a Portuguese, of the Cabilling tongues, a person of an illustrious family, who had, by his valour and merit, gradually passed through all the other dignities of the order, and was perfectly well acquainted with all the interests and maxims of it. The island being still in danger from the Turks, he made it his first care to complete the fortifications which his predecessor left unfinished, and to add some others where they were thought wanting, especially on the peninsula of Marza Musetto, which still lay exposed to the attacks of the Turks, that they might easily have made themselves masters of it, and by that means have facilitated their attempts on the adjacent works. On that he ordered a stout new fort to be erected, called by him Fort Manuel. Whilst that was constructing, he issued out an order, that all knights, who had attained the age of nineteen, should repair to him, with their proper arms and retinue, in order to be ready to oppose the Turks, in case the armament that was carrying on at Constantinople should be designed against their island, as it really proved to be.

It must be here observed, that all these vast preparations at the Porte were made at the instigation of a Turk, named Hali, who had been a slave at Maltba a considerable number of years, and had afterwards served among the marines, and having acquired great favour with the Maltbae knights, had been raised to be chief master of the Turkish slaves. This man did Mohammed Effendi redeem on his arrival at Maltba, in his way to France, whither he was sent ambassador, and brought back by him to Constantinople, where he informed the ministers of the Porte of the state of that island, and of the order, with the great number of Turkish captives of all ranks, who groaned under a cruel slavery, and would not fail of raising a general revolt among them, if a proper attempt was made to surprise the island, they being there much more numerous than the inhabitants.

By these remonstrances he easily obtained a squadron of ten men of war, commanded by Ali di Capitain, which he told them would be sufficient to accomplish the design, as they would have nothing to do but appear before the island, where they would find all the slaves up in arms. Hali was allowed to accompany them in this expedition, with the title of captain; and the squadron set sail accordingly for Maltba, yet their design had not been kept a secret at the Porte, but the grand master had intelligence time enough to frustrate it, by the care he took
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a to have all the slaves closely secured, and put out of a condition to answer their end; so that when the Turkib squadron appeared before the island, all their hostilities terminated in some few discharges of the artillery on both sides; after which they presently retired, only Ali Capitan, the commander of it, took care to have the following letter conveyed to the grand master:

"The chief of the island of Maltba, the officers of his council, and the heads of the tongues &c. Tunis, &c. by their corresponding letters, that we have been expressly sent by the grand signor, lord of the universe, and refuge of mankind, to enjoin them to deliver into our hands all the slaves who are found under their miserable government, to the end they may go and present themselves at the foot of his supreme and august throne. Such is his will; and the end for which he has armed us; and if you fail of complying with his commands, you will be made to repent of it by the most dreadful punishments. Send your answer to Tunis."

This haughty and threatening style being so well known to be the language of the Porte, the grand master did not fail to send a proper answer, which was to this effect: "That his order was not intituled merely to move on the feas, and make slaves, but to cruise upon them with their armaments, in order to secure the navigation and commerce of the Christians; that they attacked none but such as did annoy it, and, by making slaves of the Christians, did justly deserve to be made such themselves; that he had nothing so much at heart as to procure the liberty of those who were captives in the sultan's dominions; and that if his highnesses entertained the same views, he was ready to enter into a negotiation with him for a mutual restitution of their captives, either by way of exchange or ransom, on the footing on which it was practised by other princes; and that if his highnesses would be pleased to signify to him that such were his intentions, he would omit nothing that was in his power to secund them."

This answer was not sent, as was desired, to the admiral of the Turkib squadron, but to the count de Bonac, then ambassador from the French court to the Porte, who was left at his liberty to deliver it to whom he should think best, who accordingly presented it to the grand vizier. He was a few days after agreeably surprised to find that minister disposed to treat not only of an exchange of captives, but of an exchange of peace with the grand master. The vast advantage which not only the order, but all Christendom, would reap from such a peace, easily encouraged the ambassador to use all the address and application he was capable to obtain it: and as he was in high favour and esteem at that court, and especially with the prime minister, he quickly gained his assent to the articles which he had proposed to him.

The plan was thereupon sent both to France and Maltba, where it was equally liked and approved of, excepting only that the grand master preferred a limited truce to a peace, and approved of his reasons for it, which may be easily guessed at.

The following articles were soon after agreed upon between the grand master and prime vizier; viz.

1. That there should be a reciprocal exchange of captives; and if those of either side should be found more numerous than the other, they should be redeemed at the rate of 100 piastres per head. 2. That this exchange should extend no farther than to those captives which had been taken under the Maltebe and Turkib flags. 3. That the truce should be for twenty years, which might be renewed after that time. 4. That the states of Barbary should be excluded out of the treaty; and that the Porte should not give them any assistance, directly or indirectly, against the Maltebe. 5. That the French should enjoy the same privileges within the grand signor's dominions which the French did.

6. That this treaty should become null as soon as any Christian prince was at war with the Porte.

These articles, tho' generally approved, and even applauded at Constantinople, were never opposed by the captain bafta, partly, as is reasonably supposed, because he had not been confounded about them; whereas, being of a maritime nature, they equally belonged to his province; and partly because all such pacific treaties were generally disagreeable to the whole posse of sea-officers; so that he found no difficulty to exasperate them against it, whilst the grand vizier, apprised of the universal discontent they had given to that powerful body, saw himself obliged to suspend that negotiation for a time. It was not long, however, before he took an opportunity of acquainting the French ambassador, that it might easily be revived, provided some effectual methods were taken to induce the captain bafta, and the rest of the maritime chiefs, to come into it: the plain meaning of which was to make it their interest to do so. The count de Bonac easily apprehended him; but as that required time, as well
as new instructions and remittances from France and Malthe, the further negotiation was suspend-
ed till they could be procured.

In the mean time, the grand master being informed that a Tunis vessel, followed by a tartane, had taken two barks, the one belonging to Sicily, and the other to Genoa, near the island of Pantaleria, dispatched the St. John galley, with another frigate, after them. The latter, being the better sailor, soon overtook and attacked the vessel, and after a mutual fire, which lasted near four hours, obliged it to surrender. It was a noble ship and excellent sailer, carrying fifty-eight guns, fourteen brass pateroens, and 400 men. It had been made a present of by the Porte to the Dey of Tunis, to serve him for a patrona, and had infested those seas for some time with no small success. As for the tartane, it was chased by the St. John a considerable time, and made a stout defence; but was at length forced to yield, and both were brought into the port of Malthe.

In the following year, with which we shall close the Maltbete history, as having little or no-thing considerable, except the yearly excursions and successes against the Turks and Barbary corsairs, pope Benedict XIII. to express his esteem and gratitude to the grand master and the order, for their vigilance over, and great services to, Christendom, sent to him, by one of his Camerarii, the helmet and estock which he had blessed on Christmas-day. The latter of which is a silver gilt sword, and the other a purple cap or bonnet of velvet, embroidered with gold, and adorned with a dove, the emblem of the Holy Ghost, enriched with pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones; which present was received with the usual tokens of gratitude and professions of loyalty and zeal for the holy see, by the whole convent.
B O O K  XXIII.

C H A P. I.

The History of Spain.

S E C T. I.

The history of the kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain, from the accession of Euric, or Evaric, to that of Recared, who is also styled the Catholic.

A. D. 466.

The Visigoths, who triumphed over the Suevi in Spain, under their king Theodoric, became masters of that extensive country under his successor Euric, who is therefore commonly, and with no great impropriety, considered as the founder of the Gothic kingdom in Spain*. With his reign, therefore, the Modern History of that nation properly commences; but, to render it the more intelligible to the reader, it will be requisite to say something of the state in which things were, in that as well as the adjacent countries. The eastern coasts of Spain were the greatest part of them at that time in the hands of the Romans, though their power was in a manner ruined, the western empire at that juncture having no head b. As for the empire of the caft, Leo the First then held the sceptre; and not long after named, as we shall see, an emperor of the west c. As for the western coasts of Spain, they were almost wholly in the hands of the Suevi; and their king Raimund, having married the daughter of Theodoric, remained in quiet possession of those territories which this conqueror had still left him d. But for the interior provinces, together with those of Gaul, bordering upon Spain, they were in the hands of the Goths, who fixed the seat of their kingdom for the present at Toledo e. As for the Vandals, who had transported themselves to Africa, and were masters of all the coasts opposite to Spain, they had for their monarch Generius, who had been very successful against the Romans, and was now considered both as a lawful and very potent prince f. In point of religion, all these nations were Christian; but the Visigoths, Suevi, and Vandals, were Arians, and are charged with dealing very harshly by the Catholics, that is, with the inhabitants of those provinces of Gaul and Spain which they had torn from the Roman empire g (A).


(A) The history of the kingdom of the Goths in Spain is in itself fruitful of great events, and capable of affording the reader entertainment, at the same time that it is the fundamental history with respect to the inhabitants of that extensive kingdom; and without a thorough knowledge of which, even the relations of much later times can be but very imperfectly understood (1). Besides, this history is of great consequence towards giving a just idea of the political constitution which originally subsisted among that brave and warlike nation, and the several alterations that became necessary in different conjunctures (2). Add to all this, that it affords us very full evidence against the prejudices of those who would persuade us, that all was so dark and barbarous within the compass of that period, which is our present subject, as to exclude us from all hopes of seeing it reduced in any tolerable order or certainty. Yet amongst the original authors, on whose authority the principal facts are taken, some were very eminent for their abilities, learning, and veracity (3). As for instance, Isatius, bishop of Lamige, who wrote a chronicle grounded upon that of Eusebius, and continued down to his own times, in which he is allowed by the best judges to have set things down with great punctuality and exactness (4). St. Gregory of Tours, who wrote the history of the Franks in ten books, and delivered

(1) Lenfer in Freyssy, Methode pour etudier l'histoire, chap. xxxiii. (2) Sedlens Titres de haine, chap. iv. (3) Ibid. de Don Nicolas Aneco, escrita por Don Gregorio Maynas y Sifon. e. p. viii. (4) Felix Telen. de varia historia, therein
Euric, Euroric, Euravic, Euthoric, or Evaric, for by all these names we find a him mentioned, was a younger son of Theodoric the First, king of the Visigoths, in Gain, and ascended the throne of his father by the murder of Theodoric II, his brother, who had before fixed himself thereon by the murder of their elder brother Thorneound. It does not appear that Euric met with any difficulty in obtaining the possession of any part of those extensive dominions which Theodoric acquired; nor does it appear, that Rezfund, king of the Suevi, made the least attempt to revenge the death of his father-in-law, or disputed the succession. On the contrary, mutual civilities and reciprocal embassies passed between them. Leo, emperor of the east, thought fit to associate Antemius in that dignity; and soon after both emperors began to make great warlike preparations both by land and sea, with an intent, as it afterwards appeared, to attack Genoric king of the Vandals, who, having entered into a close alliance with Rezfund and Euric, these two princes, as well to favour their own views, as to create a diversion, resolved to attack the countries in Spain which were still in the hands of the Romans; and this they did with so great success, that they both made very considerable conquests, the former making himself master of Lisbon, and the latter taking considerable tracts of country, which hitherto had made parts of the Roman province. Euric entered afterwards into a negotiation with Antemius, probably that he might obtain better information as to the state of affairs in the empire, that he might take his measures more effectually for driving the Romans entirely out of Spain, where his power was already so great, that instead of being jealous of the Suevi, he looked upon them rather as his dependents, and, being a prince of great address as well as ambition, managed them at his pleasure (B).

As soon as he had obtained an account of the success of the Vandals, and that the western empire was in the utmost danger of being entirely subverted by domesetic intrigues, therein a multitude of particulars relating to the monarchy of the Goths in Spain, is also in very great credit. (G). To these we may add St. Isidore, metropolitan of Seville, who, in his works, on which the attention of the church is so much devoted, and in which there are many corrections, for which we have occasion to cite him, are set down according to the regular order of time, but also a history of the Goths, the Suevi, and the Vandals; extremely useful in this history, and a treatise of illustrious persons, which afford full farther light as to the passages in the two former works, that would otherwise be somewhat obscure (6). We have added, more especially at the beginning of each reign, the authorities of such general histories of Spain as are in the highest esteem, such as those of the Jullien Marinius, who wrote concisely, but very elegantly, of the affairs of his country in Latin (7), and more largely in his own language, and with great spirit and freedom (8). We have quoted, as occasion required, from both these works. Mayyera de Tarqut has written in French a general history of Spain, collected from Marinius and other authors (9). His work was formerly more considered than it is at present; but inasmuch as it serves for the ground-work of most of these histories of Spain which have been written in other languages, it is not amiss to indicate to the reader in what part of his performance the details of those things which we have represented factually may be found. The history of Spain by Don Juan de Ferreras is allowed to be the most copious and exact of any now extant (10). This author lived in our own times, was indefatigable in the study of the antiquities of his own country, extremely accurate in copying, and impartial in his narratives, and one, who as much as he enjoyed great opportunities of correcting the errors and mistakes of other writers (11), so he has prattled it fairly and truly, not with the dogmatic air of an angry critic, but with all the candour and modesty that becomes a man of letters, and a sincere inquirer after truth. (B) In the course of the ensuing history, we follow, generally speaking, the chronology established by Ferreras, not only because he has been remarkably careful in that respect below other historians, but also because he had far better lights and had thrown very great judgment in making the best use of them. We may join to these two a third reason, which is, that the chronology of this author agrees the best of any with all the foregoing histories, in which there is incidentally any mention made of transitions with the court of Spain (12). As for that era by which most of their old historians account, and which for that reason has been filled the era of Span, men even of very great learning have been very much divided in their sentiments about it. St. Isidore of Seville, in his etymologies (13), affirms, that this term is derived from the Latin word aera, and that the occasion of it was the general suspension and taxation of the Roman empire in the reign of Christ. At his opinion is both rational and probable, we may as well adopt it as any other. But then as to the time when this era commenced, it admits of as great, or rather greater, variations in sentiments. There has been printed of late years in Spain, by the care of Don Gregorio Maynez y Espin, a very curious and judicious work, by one of the most eminent antiquaries in that kingdom, upon this subject (14). However, in this too we follow the sentiment of Ferreras, and allow the Spanish era to be earlier than the common calculation of the birth of Christ by thirty-eight years. We mention this, that in case the reader should have recourse to any of those ancient authors which compute by the era of Spain, he may be more easily correct himself agreeing with the utmost facility, either by subtracting thirty-eight years from their computation, or adding the year of our Lord as it stands in ours.

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a Euric resolved to carry his scheme into execution without delay. His forces, having passed the Pyrenees, presented themselves before Pampeluna, which speedily submitted. From thence they proceeded to Saragossa, which made no great resistance, any more than several other places in its neighbourhood. The nobility and gentry, assembling in arms, endeavoured to stop the progress of the Goths, but, being easily defeated, what is now filed the principality of Catalonia, and the kingdom of Valencia, were quickly overcome. At this time, as some authors say, Euric himself passed into Spain, and, putting himself at the head of his armies, penetrated as far as Lyustania; which giving him an opportunity of entering the Roman province on all sides at once, he became in a very short space entirely master of all that they possessed. Having settled garrisons in such places as he thought most convenient, and provided in the best manner he could for the administration of the civil government, he returned again into Gaul; without giving any disturbance to the Suevi, who by this time saw their error, and that, by afflicting the Romans, though they had extended their territory, they had notwithstanding diminished their power.

The confusions in the western empire, where Olybrius had defeated and put to death Attiius, encouraged Euric in his views of enlarging his dominions by attacking the Romans almost all the country between the Loire and the Rhone.

b c e differently towards these strangers, who were Arians, that they quickly defeated the service, and went over to Euric, who was of their own communion. Sigrius, at the head of the Roman forces, and Childeric, king of the Franks, had assembled a numerous army, in order to oppose Euric; and, by bringing things to a quick decision, were defeated in a general engagement; soon after which, Euric made himself master of Tours. His victorious army being strongly reinforced by the troops under Widimer, the monarch of the Visigoths, he turned his arms against Bourges, which he likewise reduced, after defeating an army raised for its relief. He was prevailed upon by St. Epiphanius, bishop of Paris, to make peace with the emperor Julius Nepos. This however, he soon after broke, and besieged Clermont in Auvergne, which, not without some difficulty, he reduced. After this conquest, he gave some time to repose; and keeping his court at Bourdeaux, received there, as we are told by an eye-witness, in a royal manner, the ambassador of all the neighbouring princes.

c The western empire being entirely overthrown, on the deposition and death of Augustulus, the Visigoths, being attacked by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, who thereupon assumed the title of monarch of Italy, that prince thought he could not take a more prudent step, in order to establish his new-founded state, than to make an alliance with Euric, king of the Visigoths, to whom, at the same time that he proposed this alliance, he made an offer of all the places that were still in the hands of the Romans. Euric readily embraced these terms, and soon after took the field, in order to reduce the cities to which this treaty gave him some colour of title. He besieged, and, after some rest, made himself master of Arles, and soon after in Marchelles shared the same fate; yet he did not enjoy these conquests in peace. The Burgundians, who had before seen the increase of his power with envy, grew jealous, now he was become their neighbour; and, to spoil the progress of his arms, made an irruption into his territories with a mighty army. Euric marched against them with his veteran troops; and the dispute being ended by a decisive battle, in which he gained a complete victory, he returned afterwards to Arles, where he spent the few remaining years of his life in peace. He turned his thoughts now to the cultivation of the milder arts; and as he knew that a government could never subsist long where the laws were uncertain, he caused a complete code of those made by his predecessor and himself to be collected and published. He was a zealous Arian, and is said to have persecuted the Catholics in

a Isidor. Hist. Goth. b Isid. Chron. c Is. Chron. d Isid. d Isid. Histor. GOTH. e Greg. Turk. i Greg. Tur. f Jornand. Greg. Tur. g Procop. Bell. Goth. i. h Jornand. i Jorn. Isid. j Jorn. Isid. k Jornand. cap. xlii. l Isid. Histor. GOTH. m Jorn. cap. 45. n Greg. Turon. lib. ii. o Sidon. Appol. l. viii. ep. 9. p Jorn. Isid. q Sidon. Appol. lib. ii. r Isid. (c) The author, upon whom whole credit these facts are related, is one of the most celebrated of that age, Sidonius Apollinaris, who was upon this occasion at the court of our Gothic monarch, and speaks of his grandeur and magnificence from his own knowledge. It is from him likewise that late writers have taken what they object to the memory of this prince, in relation to his ill usage of the catholics; but then it is to be observed, that they carry things much farther than our author did, and make him appear a much greater bigot than he really was. (D) The person chiefly employed by our monarch in compiling this code was Leo, his prime minister; he was descended from Cornelius Fronte, preceptor to the emperor Marcianus Aurelius, and the most eloquent person of the time in which he lived. This descendant


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of
in Gaul with great severity; but the accounts we have of this seem to be exaggerated, since it is allowed, that his subjects in Spain enjoyed, during his reign, a profound peace. He is on all hands allowed to have been a magnanimous and a magnificent prince, and to have ruled wisely the territories which he had valiantly acquired. He died in the month of September, in the year of our Lord, four hundred eighty-four, and in the nineteenth of his reign. He had by his queen Ragnachild a son, who succeeded him, and a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Sigibero, a prince among the Franks.

Alaric II. succeeds and governs his subjects with great mildness.

A. D. 493.

Alaric the second succeeded his father, and reigned quietly over all his dominions in Spain and in Gaul; but, if there be any credit due to some writers, he fulfilled the very beginning of his reign with a very mean and unworthy action. Siagrius, a Roman general, who still held Sisfoins, and some other places, was attacked by Clovis, king of the Franks, and, in his distress, took refuge in the dominions of Alaric, who at first received and protected him, but afterwards delivered this unfortunate perfon to that vindictive monarch, who put him to death. Thedoric, king of the Ostrogoths, having, at the instance of the emperor Zeno, entered Italy, where he defeated and put to death Odoacer, king of the Heruli, remained quiet possessor of his dominions, and governed them with such wisdom, as induced Alaric to court his alliance. Accordingly he espoused Thesidvota, who some fay was the natural daughter of that monarch; which was very acceptable to his subjects, as it seemed to promise a lasting peace, without prejudice to the interests of their nation. Two brothers, Gondeband and Godesulf, at that time governed the Burgundians, the former making Lydot, the latter Genevus, the feast of his residence; and entering into a war with each other, drew Clovis, king of the Franks, into the quarrel, who took part with Godesulf, as Alaric did with Gondeband, who, having slain his brother, and united his dominions to his own, soon after deserted the Visigoths, and reconciled himself to the Franks; which, as may be gathered from the histories of those times, produced a jealousy between Clovis and Alaric, who appear to have been both of them naturally haughty and sanguine.

The Goths having now enjoyed many years peace, law-suits and disputes about property became much more frequent than in former times, which induced Alaric to direct Arian, one of the most famous lawyers of that age, to make an abridgment of the Thibaudian code for the benefit of his subjects, which was afterwards published by his authority (F). He likewise laboured to compose amicably the differences that had arisen with Clovis; and, for that purpose, there was an interview between the two princes, which, tho' it produced a good correspondence in appearance, was far from putting an end to their animosities, as to the cause of which historians differ; but it seems most probable, that Clovis, who had lately become a Christian, was excited to make war upon Alaric by the bishops and clergy in his dominions, who hated their sovereign for being an Arian, and this notwithstanding he had permitted them to hold a council very lately at Aigde. Thedoric, king of Italy, offered his mediation, and threatened to aid with all his forces against the aggressor; which however did not hinder Clovis from making an irruption into the territories of the Visigoths, where the city of Tours was pretly yielded to him by his partisans. Alaric marched against him with a numerus army, with which he acted for some time upon the defensive, but, not being able to restrain the ardour of his forces, it came at length to a decisive battle, in which the Visigoths were totally routed, and Alaric killed, as the French historians say, by the hand of Clovis (G).

Our engagement happened within three leagues of Poitiers, in the year of our Lord five hundred and seven, according to the best historians, tho' Mariana places it in the year before (G).

After

of his was also in all respects a man of singular abilities; he professed the catholic religion in the court of a monarch who was an Arian. He was a person of great learning, unblemished character, and, which is so little to our present purpose, was esteemed the best civilian of that age (19). In all probability it was from him the advice came of collecting and publishing these laws by the authority of king Eutic, whose preface stands before them, and it is said they were considered and confirmed by an assembly of seventy bishops (20).

(F) In order to have a clearer conception of this matter, it may be necessary to observe, that the subjects of this monarch being Gauls and Spaniards, as well as of his own nation, the Goths, and as they had lived long under the dominion of the Romans, they had contracted not only a deep reverence, but a warm affection, for their laws, upon the capital maxims of which those of the Goths were likewise founded (21).

(G) It is somewhat strange, that Mariana and Ferretas, writing after the same authority, should differ in


(20) Ferreras, P. iii. sect. 5.

(21) Ferreras, P. iii. sect. 5. almoût
After this unfortunate battle, some of the most prudent captains in the army of the Visigoths retired into Spain with Amalaric, the only son of their deceased monarch, by his queen Theodoric; but the rest of the troops, judging a prince of five years old very unfit to restore of Abaric by a mistres of his, shoulde assume the royal dignity. His first action was against the Burgundians, who, under the command of Gotesshard, marched to besiege Narbon, which city, where he raised new disturbances. In the mean time Theodoric sent Ibars, one of his generals, with a great body of troops to the assistance of the Visigoths, who, having in some measure recovered their spirits, behaved with so much courage and resolution, as obliged both the Franks and Burgundians to abandon the best part of their conquests, for which they flooded at least as much indebted to the disaffection of the clergy as to the success of their army. After this, Ibars marched against Gelasius, who had taken possession of Barcelona, recovered that city, and forced the usurper to transfer himself and his few adherents into Africa, where they were received by Tahamond, king of the Vandals, tho’ he was brother-in-law to king Theodoric, who, in consideration of the trouble and expence he had been at, kept the country of Provence for himself, and administered the affairs of the rest of Abaric’s dominions, as regent for Amalaric, appointing Theudis, an Othrogoth by birth, but a person of great prudence and merit, to have the chief direction in the councils of the young prince.

With the help of those pecuniary supplies which he received from the king of the Vandals, Amalaric, by mountains, directing his march towards Barcelona, within four leagues of which city he was encountered by a part of Theodoric’s army, and, being entirely defeated, was forced to fly back into Gaul; but being overtaken, before he could reach any place of safety, by a party of the Othrogoths, they put an end to his troubles and his life: by this incident, and the death of Clovis, king of the Franks, the Visigoths were equally freed from the miseries of an intestine war, and the apprehensions of a foreign invasion. Theudis governed Spain with great ability, and yet not without giving some kind of umbrage to Theodoric; for though, pursuant to his orders, he sent him the revenues of that kingdom, yet he could not be prevailed upon to return into Italy, to render an account of his administration. He married also a Spanisht lady of distinguished family, and who brought him immense riches; so that when he furnished either his life or liberty to be in danger from the fulpiscions of Theodoric, he was in a condition to raise and maintain a body of two thousand men, in the nature of guards. The king of Italy, therefore, having no other method to recover that power which he had put into the hands of Theudis, declared his grandson Amalaric of full age, and ordered him to be put into possession of his father’s dominions, which was accordingly done.

almost every circumstance relating to this event, as well as the year in which it happened. The former represents Abaric as entirely in the wrong, as having given protection to the enemies of Clovis, held secret correspondencies in his kingdom, and had even formed a design to murder or assassinate him at their late interview (22). The latter, on the contrary, affirms us, that thefe ought to be regarded rather as calumnies than as facts, since they are not mentioned by the most considerate writer of that age (23), but have been taken upon the credit of later and less credible authors (24). He relates the story of the war in the ecclesiastics about Clovis, who preaded him to undertake it, and to the intrigues of the catholic prelates in Abaric’s dominions, who invited the Franks (25). They are wide of each other also as to the place where this decisive battle was fought; Mariana says, that it was on Campo Fagladenno; which his French translator, father Charlet, interprets the plains of Barilli, and places them at the distance of eighteen leagues from Paitier (26) whereas Fereras affirms us, that Abaric encamped within three leagues of Paitier, in sight of a town which he calls Fyand (27), and which is believed to be that now called Fungue (28), where his people forced him to give the Franks battle. Mariana is very express as to the year; he not only says that it was 560, but adds, that he had published his body of laws mentioned in the former note in the month of February preceding (29). His French translator acknowledges this to be an error (30), and it is not the affair of a stranger to decide this difference; but Fereras, who places it a year later, agrees better with the French and other foreign historians (31).

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Book XXIII.

On the death of Theodoric, he was succeeded in his dominions by his grandson, Athalaric, the son of his daughter Amalasunta, by Eudoxia, a Getae, born in Spain, who deceased before his father-in-law. The new monarch of Italy was very young; and, to prevent any dispute with the king of the Visigoths, it was agreed, that the river Rhône should be the common boundary of their territories; that no part of the revenue of Spain should be any longer remitted to Italy; and that the treasurers which Theodoric had removed should be restored. His affairs thus settled, Amalaric found himself inclined to marry; and the princes upon whom he cast his eyes, was Cloistida, the daughter of Clovis, and the fifth of those princes amongst whom the kingdom of the Franks was divided. They listened very readily to this proposition; and the marriage being concluded, Cloistida was received with all possible demonstrations of joy by her subjects, and the wedding celebrated with the utmost solemnity. At this time, in the opinion of all parties, there could not have been a more judicious alliance, or one that afforded a fair prospect, either in respect to public peace, or to private happiness; yet it was not long before those uneasinesses commenced, which, in their issue, proved so fatal both to the king and kingdom of the Visigoths.

Amalaric was either desirous himself, or was influenced by his priests, to bring over his queen to the Arian heresy; and, as she was a zealous catholic, this was the source of those differences that broke out early, and continually increased between them, till at length the poor queen was so ill treated, that she wrote a long letter of complaint to her brethren, in which she gave a large account of her sufferings, and the daily insults she received, not only from that monarch, but from his subjects; and, with it, sent a handkerchief stained with her blood, occasioned by the blows she had received. Upon this, Childerich, king of France, marched with a numerous army into the territories of Amalaric, who, collecting as great a force as he was able, took the field against the invader; but had the misfortune to be defeated, and was forced to take refuge on board his fleet. But, recollecting that his treasurers were left in the city of Narbonne, he went on shore again, in hopes of recovering them; and had scarce entered

both, that the years of the reign of Amalaric were not reckoned from the time of his accession, but from the time that he assumed the government. It is from a date of this kind that Ferreiras proves his computation, since an author of indubitable credit tells us, that Montanus, metropolitan of Toulon, who died in the year five hundred thirty one, fat in that fee nine years during the reign of Amalaric, which, according to his account, was to be impossible, since he allowed him to reign but five. What some writers say of the marriage of Theodoric in Spain, is plainly a mistake for that of Theudis, who actually married a Spanish lady; which was one circumstance that made him so formidable to his own master Theodoric, as to determine him to send his grandson, then about the age of twenty one, to take upon him the administration of his own affairs. This is at once so natural and so consistent with the history of this period, that it was the power of Theodoric which protected the whole monarchy of the Visigoths from crumbling to pieces. He is however said to have taken a considerable part of their dominions in Gaul, by way of indemnification for the expenses he was at; however, as this would certainly have fallen into the hands of the Franks, if he had not taken it, and as it enabled him to keep a body of troops there sufficient to restrain the attempts of that ambitious and warlike nation, we cannot tax him with any injustice.

We have the particulars of this agreement set down by Ferreiras, and that upon very good authority; but he does not tell us when these treasurers were carried away from Carcassonne. On the other hand, it is certain that immediately after the defeat and death of Amalaric, the Franks, under the command of Clovis, made themselves masters not only of his riches, but of all the treasurers collected by his predecessors, and, amongst the rest, the holy vessels which belonged to the temple of Jérusalem, which Alaric, the first king of the Goths, brought away from Rome, after he had sacked that famous city, and left as perpetual monuments of his victories to his successors. Some of this wealth, it is said, fell into the hands of the Franks, when they plundered the camp of the Goths, and made themselves masters of Toulouse. It is however acknowledged, that, according to some authors, the treasurers of the crown were lodged at Carcassonne, and that it was the desire of having them in their power which brought the Franks and Burgundians before that place; from whence, however, they were obliged to retire, by the advice of Tiberius a numerous army to his relief; and upon this occasion, in all probability, it was, that this monarch thought fit to remove those riches, that the Franks might not have to strong a temptation to continue their invasions; it is not very strange that Theodoric should not be in any haste to restore these valuable effects to his grandson; and, on the other side, it is far from being difficult to account for the relinquishing of them at this juncture. The dominions of the Visigoths in Italy were then governed by a prince who was a widow, as regent for her son, who was a child; and therefore we need not wonder that, for the sake of preferring the friendship of a powerful foreign monarch, he would readily comply with his demands, more especially as those demands were founded in justice.

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a. the city, before it was surprized by the enemy; on which, retiring for safety into a church belonging to the catholics, a common soldier ran him through with his spear. Others say that he retired to Barcelona, and was affaminated there by his own subjects (K). It is more credible that he was killed in the month of December, in the year of our Lord five hundred thirty-one. The victorious Childerbert carried all his treasures and queen Chlotilde back into his own dominions; and that prince dying on the road, her body was interred with that of her father, in the monastery of St. Genevieve, which, at that time, was consecrated to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Amongst those treasures were sixty chisels, fifteen patins, and many other vessels, all of solid gold, which the victor distributed amongst the churches in his own kingdom.

b. The royal family of the Goths being entirely extinct, their monarchy, which seems hitherto to have been in some measure hereditary, became afterwards strictly elective. The first who mounted the throne, by the choice of the nobility, was Theudis, who had governed Spain with so much reputation during the minority of the deposed prince. He was scarce seated on the throne before he saw the neighbouring kingdoms of the Vandals in Africa overthrown by the armies of the emperor Justinian, under the command of the famous Belisarius, and this before he could determine with himself whether it would be consistent with his interest to interpose in the quarrel. It appears, however, that he did not neglect any opportunity of recovering the places that had been conquered by the Franks, and that he met with considerable successes in their endeavours. But the princes of that nation, having at length put an end to the kingdom of Burgundy, resolved to employ all their forces in driving the Visigoths entirely out of Gaul; but however they were not able to effect it. Some years after they revived the same project. Childerbert, king of the title of France, and Clotaire, whose residence was at Soissons, palled the mountains with a very numerous army, and having reduced every thing in their passage, advanced with great rapidity to Saragossa. Theudis, who found it impossible to raise an army capable of withstanding them, very judiciously determined to make his utmost efforts against them upon their retreat, and gave his orders accordingly to Theudis, whom he appointed his general. Childerbert and Clotaire, after having made a composition with the inhabitants of Saragossa, returned with the spoils they had collected in the course of this expedition; but when they came to repass the Pyrenees, the general of the Goths harassed them continually, and would have destroyed their whole army, if Childerbert had not engaged him, by a present of a great sum of money, to leave the passage free for twenty-four hours, which gave him and Clotaire an opportunity of saving themselves and the best part of their army. The French historians are very silent on this head; but the facts, however, seem both probable and certain. This war thus ended, the king of the Visigoths was alarmed by the prospect of new dangers, for the imperial forces not content with overturning the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa, returned their victorious armies against the city of Casta, which, though we have no account how it came into their hands, was at this time in the possession of the Goths, and reduced it before. Theudis was in a condition to afford the garrison any relief. He had however assembled an army for this purpose; and, becoming better apprised of the importance of this place, from its loss, he should his troops to be embarked as soon as possible, in hopes of recovering it before the Romans had time to repair and provide for its defence. But, though an Arian, it seems he was so strict in his observation of Sunday, as a day of rest and devotion, that he seems, taking advantage of his piety, made a general fallly with such success, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and return with his fleet and army into Spain (L). He did not long survive this disgrace.

(L) All the modern Spanish historians concur in relating this expedition of king Theudis into Africa as we have represented it in the text; and all cite, in support of what they say, the authority of St. Isidore of Seville, which would admit of no dispute, if we were sure that he said what they make him say (43). But, notwithstanding the ananymity of the Spanish writers, a modern French historian is fully persuaded, that the Septa Optimad, in Isidore, does not refer to Casta in Africa, but to the little town of Sette in Languedoc, which the Franks having taken from the Goths, king Th only thought it a point of such importance, as to fall with a body of troops, embarked on board a fleet collected in half, in order to recover it; and that, in this expedition, his forces received that signal blow which obliged him to return to Spain with much disgrace (44). The same author likewise adds, that the medals still preferred, having on one side the face of Clotarius, and on the reverse a cross, with these words inscribed round it, Victoria Gothorum, alludes to this action. In order to remove the great difficulty, which is, that Septa Optimad should signify Sette in Languedoc, as well as Casta in Africa, he affirms us, that in some Spanish
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The throne of the Visigoths being vacant, the nobility elected, in the room of their deceased prince, Theudisile, who is also called by some historians Theudisile, Theodisile, and Theodiges, who then commanded the troops. In all human probability, his true character was not then known, or so much as suspected; but, after his elevation, it was quickly discovered: for, being extremely given to women, he felt no bounds to his lust, or, where it was necessary to the gratification of it, to his cruelty. This in a short time made him universally odious: as he had already taken off several persons of distinction, some of those who were nearest his person began to be jealous of their own safety, and therefore resolved to provide for it at the expense of a tyrant, who, by violating all laws, had forfeited, at least in their opinion, all title to fidelity, and even to compassion. They waited therefore only a favourable opportunity to remove him; and it was not long before they met with one, which, in effect, was of his own procuring. He invited them to a splendid entertainment, which was one of his principal delights; and, when the evening was far advanced, and most of the company warm with wine, those who were in the secret suddenly put out the lights, and, before he could recover himself from his surprise, buried a dagger in the bosom of Theudisile. This dismal tragedy was acted in the year of our Lord five hundred forty-nine, so that he enjoyed, or rather abused, the regal dignity about a year and five months (O).

It was natural enough for those who had thus removed one king, to think they had a right, under the fame of necessity, to make choice of another; and therefore, without waiting for the usual forms, they placed Agila on the throne. This disfigured many of the nobility, who had no share in the election; and his irregular conduct soon increased the number of his enemies (7). The city of Cordova was the first that refused to acknowledge him for their sovereign; which provoked him to such a degree, that he marched thither with a numerous army, fully resolved to chastise the inhabitants in such a manner, as might deter others from following their example. The people of Cordova, fleeing out of the city, attacked him in the field, defeated his forces, killed one of his sons, and obliged him to retire with great precipitation. This success of their excited revolts in several places; which Althanagild, a noble, but a very ambitious Goth, managed with such dexterity, that those who were in arms, and without a chief, invited him to put himself at their head, and proclaimed him king. He might very probably have attained his views without foreign assistance, but he was in haste to be a king; and,

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Maps, he has found Cap de Sette called Monte Sepio; and farther affords, that Bernard Guado, bishop of Lodovica, who flourished more than four hundred years ago, affirmed, that the country was called Septinania from the name of the promontory; which conjecture, though he does not approve, yet he thinks that it is a strong argument of its being anciently called Septimania. However, notwithstanding all he says, it will be difficult to find any author in which this cap is called in Latin by any other name than Septimania. We do not pretend to decide upon this head, because much may be said on both sides.

(O) We are affrighted by Mariana, that this monarch was the son of the sister of Totila, king of the Ostrogoths, which might in all probability be one motive for raising him to the throne, an honour he so little deserved. We are also affrighted by a very grave historian, that this king of the Visigoths, fulpeopling a miracle which the catholics gave out to be wrought annually on the eve of Whitunday, in the cathedral church of Ovira, where, though wiped ever so dry, the fonts were continually filled with water, he came two years together, and examined it with all the care imaginable; and, though he was not able to detect any appearance of forgery, he came thither again the third year, when he not only caused the doors of the church to be shut and sealed as he had done before, but previously directed a deep trench to be thrown round up the church, to prevent water from coming by any adjacent springs; all which, however, was without effect, to the king's great surprise. Mariana says, that he was employed in surveying this trench at the very time that he was stabbed (45); which would do no great honour to the miracle, if we could suppose it to be true. But Ferreras assures us there are great objections to it (47); in the first place, there is no such city as Ovira, Ovira, or Oyra, in Lusitania; in the next, Theodisile, as a multitude of Spanish writers agree, did not reign above a year and a half (48), which makes it impossible that he could examine this miracle three years together; but, besides all this, St. Bede, of Seville, who mentions a miracle of this kind, and who would have been the best authority that could have been cited in favour of this place, it is Sicily (49), which plainly proves, that what was said to have happened in Spain, had never come to his knowledge.

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a that he might be to the sooner, demanded assistance from the emperor Justinian, to whom this application was very welcome, more especially as he proposed at the same time to give a certain district on the coast of Spain, in return for these auxiliaries. The emperor, therefore, sent over a body of troops from Africa, under the command of Liberius, who was immediately put into possession of the maritime country, from the fortress of Gibraltar to the confines of the kingdom of Valencia.

b The Spanish inhabitants were very well pleased with this change of masters, for they had always a strong propensity to submit to the imperial authority, on the score of their religion; so that Liberius found it not at all necessary to weaken the body of troops he commanded, by separating them into garrisons. He made halfe, therefore, to join Athanagild; and they were about taking the field, when they were informed that Agila was marching directly towards them, with an intent to give them battle, or to besiege the city of Seville. They began, upon this, immediately to move towards him; and it was not long before a decisive engagement ensued, in which, after an obstinate resistance, the army of Agila was defeated, and himself, with his broken remains, compelled to retire to Merida. He did all in his power to revive the spirits of his party, and to recruit his troops; but the nobility who were about him, considering the many miseries brought upon their country by this civil war, the danger they were in by admitting a foreign force, and disgustd with the insolent behaviour of one who had so indifferent a title, and who, notwithstanding, was continually threatening the utter extirpation of those in rebellion, resolved at last to take that step which appeared to them most for their interest; and, having secretly concerted their measures, removed him much in the same way that those who proclaimed him king had removed his predecessor. This happened in the year of our Lord five hundred fifty-four; and at the same time that his death was made known to the army, Athanagild was proclaimed king with universal acclamations. He was no sooner informed of this unexpected and surprising resolution, than he sent to give the army assurance of his kind acceptance of their good wishes, and soon after came and joined them with his own. From this time he was, without any farther dispute, acknowledged the legal sovereign of the Goths, whose affairs were now in such a situation, that, if this civil war had not been thus determined, they might very probably have been reduced again under the power of the emperor, who, having recovered Africa and Italy, was very ambitious of retrieving Spain.

c Athanagild, according to some historians, established the residence of the Gothic monarchs at Toledo, as bring a city most happily situated for that purpose, being almost in the centre of their dominions; yet, being strictly examined, this will be found perhaps no more than conjecture. He was without doubt a prince of a very gracious disposition, and one who chose to establish his authority rather on the affection, than, as his predecessor had done, on the fears, of his subjects, which however made him generally and cheerfully obeyed. The Romans, pleased with this, never showed him so much of their courtesy and respect as was shown to his predecessor. Athanagild, that, finding nothing was to be done by persuasion, he had recourse at length to force, and quickly took from the imperialists all their new conquests. It is possible that some events of importance happened in this war, and that there might be other causes than those we have mentioned; but the silence of the historians of those times has concealed them from our notice. It appears, however, that, from his conduct in this and other respects, Athanagilde rendered himself universally beloved by his subjects, and generally respected by his neighbours.

(P) We have observed in the text, that the Spanish historians call the foreigners, that were now invited over, by different names. As, for instance, they very frequently style them Romans, because these people themselves affected that title, as subjects of the Roman empire; and for another reason which deserves notice, which is this; that the Goths, who were Ariani, unwilling to call the Spaniards catholics, filled them Romans, as living in communion with the bishop of Rome, and might possibly apply the same title to these strangers in the very same sense. They called them likewise Greeks, the modern historians more especially, because they were the subjects of the Greek emperor. But the title of imperialists is clearer than either of these, as it conveys an idea at once of people subject to an emperor, and governed by his lieutenant who, in these days, was filled the patrician; an office of very high rank at court, and with which it seems such of the nobility as were employed in Constances's thought fit to trull with his province in Spain (50).
This monarch of the Visigoths, by his queen Gisaintba, had two daughters of admirable beauty, the fame of which reached to France, now governed by four young princes. Of these, Sigebert, king of Austrasia, youngest but one, seeing with regret how much his brethren had dethroned themselves by unequal marriages and their dissolute lives, resolved to demand in marriage Brunichilde, or Bruneward, the youngest of Albansigilde's "laughters; and accordingly sent Gegen, who was his prime minister, at the head of a splendid embassy, for that purpose. To him that princes was delivered, with a large sum of money, and conducted into France, where she quickly became a Catholic; and, though some French historians represent her as a very bad woman, yet others, as well as Mariana, of the Spanish writers, give her a very high character. This marriage was so much applauded in France, that, the year following, Chilpéric, king of Soissons, the youngest of the four brethren, resolved to requite of Albansigilde his other daughter Gallieniba, though he had already two wives, Andevore, and the infamous Tredegonde. It was with great reluctance the king of the Goths yielded to his desire, and not till the kings his brethren guaranteed his promises, which however were very ill kept, since, at the instigation of Tredegonde, he caused the queen to be strangled; upon which his brethren invaded his dominions, and he was at length obliged to yield to Brunewald those places which had been given by way of dowry to her father. Albansigilde, having reigned in peace, and with great reputation, thirteen years, deceased in the year of our Lord five hundred sixty-seven, and before his death, as some writers say, was reconciled to the church.

After the death of this wise and great prince, there followed an interregnum of five months; a certain historian says, of five years. The nobility pretended, that they were not able to fix upon a person who had the virtues requisite to support so high a dignity; but, as Mariana well observes, it is much more probable that they had their private views and particular interests at heart, since ambitious and jealous have usually a much larger share than the love of peace, or regard to the public interest, in all disputes of this kind. But, from whatever cause these divisions might arise, they had a dismal effect on the affairs of the nation; for the imperialists, taking advantage of this untoward situation of things, extended their conquests daily, at the same time that several great men began to oppress their vassals; so that, for want of a king, there started up many tyrants. This however produced one good effect; the people in general, and more especially the inhabitants of great cities, began to express their dissatisfaction in very loud terms; so that the nobility found, that the best way to provide for their own safety, was to proceed, without farther delay, to the choice of a prince.

Under these circumstances, the majority of the nobles at last called their eyes upon Liuba (so his name appears upon his coins), or, as historians commonly call him, Liuba, who was at that time governor of the Gothic province in Gaul, whom they elevated to the throne, though not with the universal consent of the nation, which perhaps is the reason that the historian after-mentioned includes the years of what others style his reign, in that interregnum which followed on the death of his predecessor. It is indeed agreed, that no prince ever deserved a crown better; for he was not only pious, prudent, and brave, but of so public a spirit, and preferred the welfare of his subjects so much to his private advantage, that, perceiving affairs

The apology written by Mariana, in favour of this prince's, is far from being the least enticing part of his history (51), as it must be allowed, that he has offered many probable arguments against receiving in the grofs all the imputations that have been thrown upon her. In doing this, he has followed the steps of Boccace and Paulus Emilius, both of them elegant and judicious writers, who faw the ill usage this unhappy queen received in the same light that he did. The strict examination of this matter belongs to another part of our history; and the main intention of this note is, to direct the reader's regard to the confinements that followed with respect to the Goths, from this marriage; which, with a little attention, he will perceive to be the source of the principal events of the two succeeding reigns, in which the greatest changes were brought about, in respect both to church and state, that happened during the continuance of the Gothic kingdom (52).

There is great discordance in the accounts given us by historians who lived and in these times of this interregnum, at the same time that what they say is so very concise, that it is not easy to comprehend with any certainty their true meaning (53). It is not however altogether improbable, that Liuba was governor of the territories which the Goths possessed in Gaul during the reign of Albansigilde; and that his administration was so wise and just, that the people remained firm in their obedience, while the inhabitants of Spain were in a state of confusion for want of a prince; and that it was the observation of their different circumstances that induced the latter to inflict upon an election, and perhaps determined them likewise to desire that the crown might be placed upon the head of that worthy person, who, while their domestic diffusions exposed them to their foreign enemies, covered Spain on that side, which must otherwise have been the weakest (54).

(52) Ferreras, P. iii. jor. 6.
(54) Mariana, Hift. de Espana, lib. v.
Chap. i.  The history of the Visigoths in Spain.

a would suffer if he removed out of Gaul, and that the Visigoths were in great danger of being driven out of Spain if they had not a chief of distinguished abilities at their head, he proposed to the nobility associating his brother in the royal dignity, as a measure which this juncture required, and which led him to propose it. The then state of things, the nature of the expediency, and the disposition of the people, loudly applauded the king's generous dispositions, obliged the nobility to yield to this motion. Lioba, therefore, having made this provision for the security of that part of his dominions, continued to reside in Gaul, where he kept his subjects in the full possession of peace and prosperity to the time of his decease, which happened in the year of our Lord five hundred seventy-two a. We have chosen to represent the few events in this short reign all together, that they might appear with greater perspicuity to the reader, than they would have done if intermixed with that of his brother, who became the sole monarch of the Goths at his decease, and one of the most distinguished princes of that nation who had hitherto reigned in Spain b. 

Leovigilde, whom his brother had associated in the government c, was a person of great iudicia power and distinction. Before that event happened, he had espoused Theodolinda, the daughter of Severian, duke or governor of the province of Carthagoña, whom the Spanish historian conceived to have been the son of Tondis, once king of the Visigoths. By this lady, who was dead before his elevation to the throne, he had two sons, Hermengild and Reccared, and, in consequence of the virtues of this alliance, had a great interest among the native Spaniards, as well as the Goths d. In order to extend this still farther, and to put an entire end to those disputes that still subsisted, he thought proper to espouse Gisuntha, the widow of the late king, which contributed not a little to augment his authority e. He then proceeded to allay the tumult, by which he attacked the imperialists, and led siege to Molina Sidonias, which made an obstinate resistance. At length he found means to enter into intelligence with some of the inhabitants, by whose assistance his soldiers entered into the place, and put all that were in it to the sword, that it might be like a terror to those who had revolted during the time of the late troubles f. The city of Cordova felt the weight of his arm: which he was the more desirous of reducing, as it was a place of great strength, and very important by its situation, but more especially as its inhabitants had shown a very great zeal for their new masters. They made therefore, as might well be expected, a very vigorous and even obstinate defence, till the king found a weak place. This he prudently battered with that artillery of the first invention and greatest force, a large sum of ready gold, by which he gained admittance; and, being once master of Cordova, reduced many other cities and fortresses, rather by the terror than the application of his arms. Thus while the prudence of Lioba kept all things quiet in the Gotic province in Gaul, the valour and vigilance of Leovigilde restored the reputation of the Goths in Spain.

When he became sole monarch of the Goths, and saw, that partly through hope, partly by his great from fear, the nobility testified in general a very great affection for his person, and profound obedience to his commands, he resolved not to lose so favourable an opportunity, but, under various plausible and popular pretences, insisted the expediency of associating his two sons, as his heirs expectant of the kingdom, and polished like wife of such a share of authority as he thought proper to intrust them with, which being received with applause by many, and opposed by none, Hermengilde and Reccared were publicly proclaimed princes of the Goths g. Thus the reader sees what an influence the personal virtues of a king will always have, even on an elective constitution. This great affair finished, the king turned his arms against the inhabitants of Cantabria, then a very large province, comprehending not only what is now called Biscay, but all the neighbouring mountainous countries. Notwithstanding the hardships of the people, and the natural strength of the places which they inhabited, Leovigilde reduced them by degrees, chastised them severally for their revolt, and obliged them, though not without great difficulty, to submit to that form of government which he judged convenient to impose: which conquest added not a little to the reputation of his arms, and the security of his government h.

In the course of these wars, Mur, king of the Suevi, had afforded some assistance to his neighbours, who were in arms against the king of the Goths, which was sufficient to provoke a prince of Leovigilde's disposition, and who was on the point of turning the whole force of his dominions against the Suevi, when their king made such submissions by his embassadors, as diverted the storm for that season i. Leovigilde invaded next the inhabitants of the moun. Sigebert.

* J. Bicl.  
* Adonis Chronic. 
* J. Bicl.  
* Idem ibid.  
* Isid. J. Bicl.  
* Vit. S. Illiian.  
* J. Bicl.  

Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.  

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against
against his predecessors. But the king, who underflood perfectly the art of war, and his troops that were continually us'd to conquer, soon taught them a new lesson, obliged them to submit to his mercy, and, upon a second revolt, punished them, as his manner was, with extraordinary rigour. The peace of his dominions being thus settled, he, by the advice of his queen, resolved to demand the princess Ingonda, her grand-daughter by Brune- baud, for his son Hermengilde, and this marriage being quickly concluded, to the satisfaction of both parties, he put the young prince and his comfort into possession of part of his dominions, and sent them to keep their court at Seville. The joy occasioned by this match did not last long; for Hermengilde, by the persuasion of his wife, became a catholic, upon which a civil war ensued between him and his father, in which the young prince expected assistance from the imperialists; but the old king prevented that by bribing their general; and in a short time reduced his son to such distress, that, at the persuasion of his brother Recared, he submitted, and, being despoiled of all ensigns of royalty, was sent prisoner to Toledo; notwithstanding which he remained firm in his religion.

The dispute between the father and the son had, as might be well expected, the most dismal effects upon the catholics; all of whom were considered by Leovigilde as rebels from principle; and therefore he treated many of the catholic bishops and clergy with that rigor which was natural to him, and which, by degrees, increased into a general persecution; the rather, because of their intrigues with the Suevi, and with the kings of the Franks, from whom, as they were of the same religion, it was natural for the catholics in Spain to expect assistance and encouragement. Queen Brunebaud interposed her good offices in favour of the prince, and of her daughter, but to no purpose; for her mother Gofunitha, who was a bigotted Arian, prevented any good effects that might otherwise have attended her solicitation. These religious debates, amongst other mischievous consequences, are supposed to have been the principal cause of the general revolt of the Vaecons, who inhabited the countries of Gipuzcoa, Navarra, and Jaca; whom, notwithstanding, king Leovigilde quickly reduced by force of arms; and, as well to preserve the memory of his successes, as to provide the more effectually against any future revolts, he built, in the district of Alava, a new city and fortress, to which he gave the name of Vitoria. But so short-fought are the views of all human politics, that this had an effect of which the king never entertained the least suspicion; for though it preserved the country, it left him the people. The Vaecons saw that it was impossible for them to refurbish the monarchy of the Goths, whose forces, by a continual course of action, were become invincible; and therefore, quitting their native seats, they passed the mountains in great multitudes, and, in spite of all the refil-

(T) There seems to be some confusion in the account which Mariana gives us of the disputes between the king and his son Hermengilde, which may be easily executed; for, amongst many of the ancient historians who have undertaken to record these events, there are hardly two that agree about a fact, much less in reference to its circumstances. If we may depend on Gofunitha, the grandmother and mother-in-law of the princes Ingonda, was very deformed in her person, had left an eye, and was not only very hasty and passionate, but obdurate also and imitable (97). She pressed the princes, who was but sixteen when she was married, to quit the catholic religion, and to be repauperized, as the practice was amongst the Arians at that time; and, upon her refusal, had recourse not only to menaces but blows, threw her on the ground, flung upon her with her feet, and pulled her by the hair of her head (98). All this happened in the fifth year after their marriage, which induced the king to send the prince and his consort from court; one author says to Merida (99), and another to Seville (100); but as the latter was upon the spot, and bore a share in this persecution, it is more probable that he is in the right. St. Leander, who was then metropolitan of that city, confirmed the favourable inclinations of Hermengilde to the catholic faith, and admitted him into its communion (4). An ancient historian affirms, that, upon this occasion, he took the name of John (5); which Mariana thinks improbable, because that name does not appear on the gold medals which he caused to be struck soon after his conversion, and distributed amongst his friends (4). Before the end of the year the rupture happened, and prince Hermengilde retired to the perfidy of the imperialists, found himself under a necessity of taking sanctuary, out of which he was drawn by the intercession of his brother, to whom the king had promised that he would use him tenderly; notwithstanding which, he reproached him bitterly, when he came into his presence, and ordered him to be confined (5). The true reason that the king's resentment ran so high, was from an apprehension that Hermengilde's conduct would produce an irreparable breach between the Catholics and Arians, which would exceedingly weaken his power. In order to prevent this, he caused an assembly of the clergy to meet the next year, who were directed to try to frame such forms of public prayer as might be used by both parties; in the management of which scheme the king succeeded tolerably well in this assembly; but when it came to be put in execution, this project proved abortive (6); and as the king attributed this to the hopes the catholics had of Hermengilde's accession, it incensed him the more against that unfortunate prince (7).
The history of the Visigoths in Spain.

a. ance that could be made, possessed themselves of a part of Aquitaine, which from them received the name of Vasconia, or, according to the French pronunciation, Gascony.

b. While the king was thus occupied in the northern part of his dominions, his son Hermengild, having made his escape from the place of his exile or imprisonment, began to take the best measures he could for his own security. But it was not long before Leovigild marched against him with a numerous army, took Merida in his passage, and advanced directly towards Seville. As in the former war he was deceived in his expectation of affluence from the imperialists, so in this he was undone by his dependence upon the Suevi, tho' with this difference indeed, that Mir, king of that nation, rallied all the forces that he was able to assemble, and marched with them to join prince Hermengild; but the old king, having exact intelligence of all his motions, brought him into such distress, that he ventured to pass out of Lyvania, by intercepting his communication with his own country, at the same time that the bulk of the Gotic army lay between him and prince Hermengild, who was at a great distance; so that at length he was constrained to abandon his alliance, and, as some Spanish historians say, obliged to lend a part of his troops, which served as auxiliaries at the siege of Seville.

c. That inflexible temper, for which the king was so remarkable, displayed itself to an extraordinary degree in the course of this siege, for a number of persons being turned out of the place, to prevent a famine, he caused them to be put to death without mercy. In a short time the city was in all respects dif suffred, and the Herengildis, being made prisoner, was sent loaded with chains to Seville, and not long after removed from thence privately to Taragona, but that prince having sent an ambassador to Constantinople, to solicit the assistance of the Greek emperor, orders being sent from thence to the general of the imperialists in Spain to attack the Gotis; and that general marching directly towards the place of the prince's confinement, his father caused him to be removed again privately to Seville, and shut up in a tower.

d. He had not continued long there, before an Arian bishop was sent to persuade him to change his religion; which he absolutely refused to do, or to communicate with that prelate at the feast of Easter; and of this as soon as the king was informed, he caused him secretly to be put to death, in the night of the thirteenth of April, in the year of our Lord 584.

e. Which day, therefore, is dedicated to his memory, as a faint and martyr, by the church of Rome.

The war breaks out with the Suevi, which proved the ruin of their king's dominion.

(V) We find in Mariana no mention at all made of the first submision and imprisonment of Hermengild; but the whole of the story is professed in a continued narrative, in which, however, are inferred the king's letters to his son, exhorting him to alter his sentiments and his religion, and the prince's answer; whereas Ferrera, by a comparison of the several facts and dates that occur in ancient authors, makes it highly probable, that the second war between the kings and his son took its rise from Leovigild's violent persecutions of the catholics, who thereupon revolted in many places; which, with the hopes of being assisted by the Suevi, induced Hermengild to make his escape, and put himself again in arms. We find also great differences, and even contradictions, in the relations given by ancient writers of the events of this war; and the only point of consequence in which they seem to be agreed is, that the city of Seville suffered extremely, and was at last reduced by a long siege.

Some writers say, that Hermengild retired first to the imperialists, and finding himself but coldly received, withdrew from thence, and that himself up in Offet, with no more than 500 men; that though the place was very strong, yet being suddenly invested by the king, and being attacked before the garrison recovered their器具, it was carried by assault. Others affirm, that the people of Cordova, to whom Hermengild fled for refuge, fearing the king's retribution, endeavoured to make their peace by delivering him up. Here is that Muriiana introduces Hermengild's taking refugiy in a church, where his brother had a conference with him, by his father's permission; and that historian also gives us Restudo's speech. The prince's legend, who was then in the hands of the imperialists, endeavoured to retire privately with her son to her mother; they fled her, and sent her over into Aetia, where she died.
which city being investing, was quickly surrendered; Andaca falling into his hands alive, whom a
he banished to Badajoz, where, as he had served his master, he was, by the command of Leo-
vigilde, shaved a priest 4. Thus the dominions of the Suevi were added to those of the Goths,
and the two nations had thenceforward the same sovereign. The Franks, who had afforded
Hermengilde little or no succours while he was living, invaded his father's dominions in Gaul,
under pretence of revenging his death; upon which, Leovigilde, who was grown old and
infirm, sent his son Recared to repel this irruption; believing his own presence necessary to
prevent any stir in Spain, where, by persecuting the catholics, he had excited a spirit of dis-
affection among his subjects 5. The young prince discharged his office so well, that the Franks
were everywhere repelled; but his marriage with Rigorita, the daughter of king Chilperic,
upon which his father depended chiefly for restoring peace before he died, proved abortive,
occasioned by the death of her father 6. Gontrand, king of Orleans and Burgundia, continued
to arm against the Goths, notwithstanding the little success he met with in his former expedi-
tion; and Recared was again sent by his father into Gaul, to repel these invaders; where
having defeated their forces, and settled the peace of the province, he returned into Spain,
and married, by the advice of the old king, Bada, the daughter of a rich and powerful Goth,
which was universally acceptable to the nation 7. A little after this, and toward the close of
the year, Leovigilde, worn out with age and infirmities, breathed his last at Toledo, and, as some
historians say, quitted his errors a little before his end, and was reconciled to the catholic faith
by St. Leander, metropolitan of Seville, who had been highly instrumental in the conversion
of his son Hermengilde; yet this is doubtful, as is also the exact time of his death; but the
best historians place it in the year of our Lord 585, when he had reigned eighteen

years (X).

The great actions performed by this monarch, and the consequences of them, in respect
to this nation, are of so extraordinary a nature, as oblige us to enter more particularly into his
character. Leovigilde, like most other heroes, was equally distinguished by good and bad
qualities; if he was ambitious in a high degree, if he was avaricious in a greater, if he
was severe and inflexible beyond measure, he was at the same time extremely brave in his
person, a great orator, an avenger of justice, and one who was defirous that all, who kept
within the measure of their obedience, should enjoy his protection in its full extent 8. He
is not much obliged to the historians who lived in or near his time, and yet they furnish
us with facts that sufficiently prove all we have advanced. He found the government in great
confusion; he reduced it into perfect order. The laws, which, from the time of Abaris,
had been very much neglected, he revised, repelled such as were ufeless, and added others
agreeable to the circumstances of the times. He settled a royal treasury, which had been
wanting to his predecessors, and brought the finances under some regulation 9. He was
the first of the Gothic kings that distinguished himself by robes, and other regalia; and it is
observed, that he behaved himself on all occasions with such firmness, prudence, and

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1 Anon his Chr. Isid. J. Bical, vol. i. p. 283, 284, 285. 2 J. Bical. 3 S. Greg. Dialog. lib. iii. J. Bical. Greg. 4 Ferreras Hist. de Hispania, p. iii. c. vi. 5 Greg. Turon. 6 P. Daniel Histoire de France. 7 Isid. Hist. Goth. 8 X There are two questions that arise upon the death
of Leovigilde, which are not easily settled; the first is,
as to the time, which Mariana fixes to the year 585;
though he cites one Maximus, who pretends to have
been present at his death, and who, not content with
marking the year, tells us likewise the day of the
month, and of the week, which, according to him, was
Wednesday, April the 12th, 587; but the work attrib-
uted to this historian has been long ago detected by
the abbe Spence and others, to be a forgery. The
answer of Bical fixes it to the latter end of the year
585, and is followed therein by Marckis, Barrius, Pa-
dilla, Ferreras, and other judicious writers; and with
very good reason. It appears from the acts of the 3d
council of Toledo, that the 8th of May 589, was in
the 4th year of king Recared, which shews that his ac-
cession must have been before that day, in the year 586;
and we shall see that he did not assume the royal digni-
ity without the form of an election. Bical fixes the
year 585; Ferreras the year 586; and the best of the old historians, agree, that Leovigilde
reigned 18 years, or rather, that he died in the 18th year of his reign, which, as it began in 568,
must therefore have ended in 583. Bical fixes the
accession of Recared to the year of the Spanish
ltera 624; from which if we take, according to Fer-
erras, 38 years, it leaves 586 for the year of our Lord;
in the beginning of which he succeeded, according to
our computation. But if, according to the sentiments of
the best Spanish critics, we find the year of our Lord
by subtracting 30 years, his accession will be placed in
the year 585, which agrees exactly with what the abbot
of Bical says, and with the records of the council of Toledo;
and it is at the same time a direct proof, that the account
of the pretended Maximus, before-mentioned, is
more false. The other question relates to his conversion;
as to which St. Gregory of Tours says, it was reported
in Spain, that he abjured his heresy, did penance, and
was received into the catholic faith, before he died.

Pope Gregory the Great assures us, that he died an
Arian; and both these authors must speak from hear-
by; and therefore their authority seems to destroy
each other. It is pretty clear that he recanted Leander,
metropolitan of Seville, a little before his death; and
it is said, that he added him to his list of saints; from
whence Ferreras thinks it probable that he might die a
catholic, and recommend the establishing this religion
to his son. Bical is in error of it, that he gives us
the speech which he made, that he might have made, upon
this occasion. But Ferreras thinks the whole was trans-
acted with great secrecy, from an apprehension that the
nobility among the Goths, who were almost all Ariants,
might be prejudiced against prince Recared, if the
king's conversion had been publicly known. The judi-
cious reader will form upon this subject what judge-
ment he pleases.
Chap. i. The history of the Suevi in Spain.

a majesty, that he was much more respected, and, out of comparison, better obeyed, than any of the princes he succeeded; and this by all ranks and degrees of people, in some measure through fear, but chiefly from a conviction of the great advantages that arose from his wife and uniform administration, which, while it kept the nobility in awe, secured the commons from oppression. But the principal point in his, and indeed in almost every great prince’s character, is this, that he was endowed with talents exactly suited to the conjunction in which he lived; so that his virtues, and even his vices, concurred to the establishment of his government. He comprehended clearly the defects in the Gothic policy; he applied the proper remedies, and he applied them in due order. He began with restoring military discipline; and, when he had restored it, he kept his troops always in action. His predecessors, either thro’ want of inclination or leisure, had suffered the inhabitants of Cantabria, and other mountainous countries, to live after their own manner, and without paying the same respect to the laws and regal authority with the rest of their subjects; which he corrected, and took away numberless evils that flowed from it. He took care to make all places accessible, and to exact obedience alike from all his people. He knew how to castrate, to corrupt, and to divide his enemies, and by these arts, he gradually prepared them for conquest. He attacked them always separately; and whilst his preparations were supposed to be intended against one party, he suddenly made peace with them, and turned his arms against another. He acted on the defensive against the Franks, because he knew that conquest on that side would be very difficult to make, and more difficult to keep. He laid hold of proper occasions; so that his designs were never rendered abortive by his impatience. He made the imperialists feel the weight of his arms, that they might be afraid of offending him; and, as soon as an opportunity offered, he reduced the countries inhabited by the Suevi, while the power of their neighbours was but low, and their own affairs in great confusion.

b Mariana Hist. de Hispania, l. v. c. xiii.  

*Sect. II.*

The history of the Suevi, Sueves, or Suevians, settled in Spain, from the restitution of their government under Remismund, to the total destruction of their kingdom by the Visigoths.

d The manner in which the Suevi, with other barbarous nations, entered into Spain, in the beginning of the fifth century, as also how the Visigoths came to engage in a war with this nation, at the request, or at least with the consent of the Roman emperor, many years after, have been clearly and copiously explained in their proper places. We are in this respect in the first monarchy. We turned to take up the thread of the history there, and to shew how, after the defeat and death of that obdurate prince, who had involved this nation in an unjust, and, at the same time, an unnecessary war, by which they were undone, they came to retrieve their affairs, so far as to think of reviving their government, and of demanding leave from Theoderic king of the Goths, without whose permission they durst not do it, to proceed to the election of a new prince; in consequence of which they began once more to make a figure, tho’ by no means such an one as they had made, or at least were capable of making, before the subversion of their former monarchy. It is true they were full, in point of numbers, very considerable; but, as they were less brave, they were full more barbarous in their manners than the Goths, and were at the same time less bent up in that small district, which they still retained, and which comprehended part of Lusitania, and part of Galicia, that they scarce knew how to act, or on which side to turn. For the Romans were full in possession of the opposite coasts of Spain, and of the whole part of Lusitania and the Goths enjoyed all the interior part of the country; at the same time that the people of Galicia, though they might have been absolutely free, yet chose to fill themselves subjects of the empire, and, in that quality, acted against the Suevi with all the force they were able to raise, and yet with no great effect (A).

Suev. Terreresas, p. iii. sect. v.  
*Idat.*

Idat. Episcopi Chronicon, p. 54.  
*Idat. p. 55.*

(A) The monarch of the Suevi, at the time this great revolution happened, was Rechiarius, a prince who had been extremely fortunate in several military expeditions, and who, seeing the distresses of the Roman provinces, had flattered himself with the hopes of making an intire conquest of Spain; in which it is highly probable.
The proposition made on behalf of this nation to Theodoric, as it was a mark of their submission, met with a favourable reception; and they might have brought their affairs into some tolerable order, if they could have been unanimous in an election: but, instead of this, they split into parties, and set up two kings; Maldras, who had been at the head of such as endeavoured to preserve their independency, and Frontian, who was in the greatest credit with the opposite faction. The former of these princes fell with his adherents into Lusitania, where he committed great cruelties upon the Romans, and treacherously surprized the city of Lisbon, while the latter, and those who stuck to him, remained in Galicia, where they made peace with the natives. Frontian did not long survive this; and upon his demise, Remigmond was chosen king by his adherents. In a short time after, Maldras made another irruption into Lusitania, where he committed great cruelties; and Remigmond, on the other hand, forgetting the treaty that was so lately concluded, renewed his incursions into Galicia; but the inhabitants defended themselves so well, that the Suevi were able to make no great impression. The subjects of Maldras being offended with his barbarous temper, which had prompted him to the murder of his brother, killed him in a tumult, and set up Frumarius for his successor. Remigmond, taking advantage of the Easter holidays, which in those days were observed with great devotion, surprized the city of Lagos, put the governor and most of the inhabitants to death; after which the place was pillaged. But Nepohannus, at the head of the Roman troops, and Suevic, who commanded the forces of the Goths, advancing to the relief of the Galicians, killed great numbers of these invaders, and forced them to abandon their new conquests. Some fallacious reports having engaged these generals to retire, the Suevi renewed their incursions, and did as much mischief as ever; till Remigmond had intelligence that Frumarius was advancing towards him with a numerous army; upon which he dispersed every thing to meet him, in order to decide their pretensions by a battle (B).

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Maldras, Frontian, Remigmond, Frumarius, bore the title of kings. 458. h

The proposition made on behalf of this nation to Theodoric, as it was a mark of their submission, met with a favourable reception; and they might have brought their affairs into some tolerable order, if they could have been unanimous in an election: but, instead of this, they split into parties, and set up two kings; Maldras, who had been at the head of such as endeavoured to preserve their independency, and Frontian, who was in the greatest credit with the opposite faction. The former of these princes fell with his adherents into Lusitania, where he committed great cruelties upon the Romans, and treacherously surprized the city of Lisbon, while the latter, and those who stuck to him, remained in Galicia, where they made peace with the natives. Frontian did not long survive this; and upon his demise, Remigmond was chosen king by his adherents. In a short time after, Maldras made another irruption into Lusitania, where he committed great cruelties; and Remigmond, on the other hand, forgetting the treaty that was so lately concluded, renewed his incursions into Galicia; but the inhabitants defended themselves so well, that the Suevi were able to make no great impression. The subjects of Maldras being offended with his barbarous temper, which had prompted him to the murder of his brother, killed him in a tumult, and set up Frumarius for his successor. Remigmond, taking advantage of the Easter holidays, which in those days were observed with great devotion, surprized the city of Lagos, put the governor and most of the inhabitants to death; after which the place was pillaged. But Nepohannus, at the head of the Roman troops, and Suevic, who commanded the forces of the Goths, advancing to the relief of the Galicians, killed great numbers of these invaders, and forced them to abandon their new conquests. Some fallacious reports having engaged these generals to retire, the Suevi renewed their incursions, and did as much mischief as ever; till Remigmond had intelligence that Frumarius was advancing towards him with a numerous army; upon which he dispersed every thing to meet him, in order to decide their pretensions by a battle (B).

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The history of the Suevi in Spain.

Chap. 1.

a. This gave some relief to the long-harrased natives of Galicia; and their quiet lasted longer than it otherwise would have done, from the event of this action, which, though fought with great resolution on both sides, and extremely bloody, yet proved only a drawn battle, by which both parties were so weakened, that it was agreed to send embassadors to King Theodoric, and desire his interposition; yet as soon as they had breathed a little, and notwithstanding this reference, Remismund renewed his incursions into Galicia; of which the natives complaining to the king of the Visigoths, he sent Cyril to the city of Lugo, where he had a conference with the chief men amongst the Galicians, and afterwards made a temporary pacification with the king of the Suevi, which was of no long continuance. In the midst of these transactions Firmarius died, and those who had remained subject to him, considering the mischiefs their whole nation had suffered by setting up two kings, while their territory was scarce big enough to require one, and reflecting on the slaughter they had made of each other in the last battle, very prudently dispatched deputies to acquaint Remismund with what had happened, and to offer him their obedience, which he very willingly accepted. At this time, therefore, the restitution of their monarchy may be properly placed, and the former looked upon as times of confusion.

The first step taken by Remismund, after he became the sole monarch of this nation, was to send embassadors to Theodoric, to acquaint him with this event, and to desire that he would betow upon the king of the Suevi one of his daughters in marriage; which proposition was very kindly received, and the princess, with a large sum of money for her dowry, committed to the care of the Suevi embassadors, and sent with a numerous escort of troops from Thououle, where Theodoric kept his court, to the frontiers of Galicia, where Remismund received her, and the marriage was solemnized with great pomp and splendor. About two years after, Remismund, taking advantage of the confused state of affairs in Spain, surprised the city of Coimbra, and, after having pillaged it, abandoned his conquest. About the same time, this monarch, in compliance with his queen, embraced the Arian heresy, and sent embassadors to his brother-in-law the king of the Visigoths, to desire that he would send certain prelates to instruct his subjects in that belief; and accordingly one Ajax, who was by birth a Gaul, repaired to the court of Remismund, and thus the Suevi, who, it seems, were ready to embrace their monarch’s religion, received the first tincture of Arianism. This alliance with the Visigoths did not hinder the king of the Suevi from making fresh inroads into Galicia, where he pillaged the town of Amona, or Almena, between the rivers of Douro and Minho, notwithstanding that they were under protection of Theodoric, and treated the inhabitants with great cruelty; upon which they sent deputies to Thououle, to complain of this treatment to Theodoric, who thereupon sent embassadors to expostulate upon the matter with his son-in-law, but without effect; which might possibly have raised some disputes between them, if the monarch of the Goths had not been killed by his brother Euric about this time, as has been already mentioned.

This circumstance seems to have been favourable to the views of Remismund, who gave a kind reception to the embassadors of Euric, renewed his alliance with the Goths, and soon after plundered all the adjacent country. The year following, in consequence of intelligence he had with Rufinus, he entered and made himself master of Lisbon; upon which the Goths, who were in Spain, and saw his soldiers enriched by these predatory expeditions, followed their example, and plundered without the least distinction the territories of the Suevi, and of the Romans likewise. All this time Remismond had embassadors at Thououle and at Rome, who, it is probable, acted the part of spies also, and gave him intelligence of the situation things were in, and the understanding that there was between the Romans and the Goths, that he might take his measures accordingly, and extend his territories on both sides, while it was not in the power of either of those princes to send a number of forces into Spain, sufficient to curb these insolent and pernicious breaches of peace. It is highly probable, that, in the course of his reign, he made very considerable acquisitions, and reduced his subjects into better order than that in which he found them. But what were the consequences of this, how long he reigned, whether he established the royal seat at Braga, when or where he died, or was buried, is out of our power to relate, since there is an absolute chasm in the history of this nation for upwards of four score years; so that we know not so much as the names of those kings who

unintelligible. In respect to this period, therefore, the Sueve® history, Ferreras has been our principal guide (12), as well on account of the pains he has taken to range facts in their proper order, as because he agrees precisely with the old authors; whereas Marianna very rarely quotes his authority, and sometimes perhaps trusted his memory a little too much.

(12) Hist. de Espana, p. iii. febr. v.
The history of the Suevi in Spain. Book XXIII.

Carriac, king of the Suevi, coverted to the catholic faith. 3

The history of the Suevi in Spain, Book XXIII.

Carriac, king of the Suevi, was king of the Suevi in the middle of the sixth century, and contemorary with Agila king of the Vizgoths. He appears to have been a prince of a mild and pacific disposition, and under whom the Suevi were in a very flourishing condition, since it is manifest that his dominions comprehended the kingdoms of Portugal and Galicia, and the best part, if not all, of the principality of Abarias. This monarch had an only son, who fell into a wafting dangerous distemper; baffled the skill of the physicians of those times, and inclined his father, abandoning all other helps, to address himself wholly to devotion. He had heard of miracles wrought by the intercession of St. Martin bishop of Tours, and therefore he made a vow, that if, thro' the interposition of this saint, his son recovered, he would embrace the faith of this holy bishop; that is, he would become a catholic. Having taking this resolution, he sent deputies to visit the tomb of St. Martin on his behalf, who carried prelats to the saint in gold and silver, equal in weight to his son's. At their return, they made a large relation of wonders they had heard and seen; but, in the mean time, the young prince was not at all better. Carriac attributed this to his remaining fill an Ariam; upon which he thought fit to embrace the catholic religion without delay, caused the plan of a fine church, which he intended to dedicate to St. Martin, to be drawn, and laid the foundation immediately after which he dispatched deputies a second time with richer presents than before, and orders to obtain some of the relics of that saint for his new church. They succeeded in all their requests, and the prince perfectly recovered; upon which he embraced the catholic religion as well as his father, and, at his confirmation, took the name of Theodoric. We know nothing farther of him, and we should have known nothing of him at all, if this transaction had not been related at large by Gregory of Tours. This king died in the year 559, and was buried in the new church he had built to the honour of St. Martin, which is believed to be the cathedral of Orense, a province of Valence (D).

(C) Upon the irruption of Euric into Spain with a great army of Vizgoths, and extending his conquests on every side, Remigius, without doubt, took his advantage, and made himself master of the remaining part of Galicia; for he durst not now flirr the round side of Leipontia, part of which Euric himself subdued; and, as we have shown in the foregoing section, secured to his successeirs the greatest part of Spain. In the confusion that happened afterwards in the kingdom of the Vizgoths, upon the death of Aureil, and again upon that of Juscelric, we have little reason to doubt that the Suevi might enlarge their territories a little, because, as we shall see hereafter, their kingdom became much more confidable than it seems to have been in the days of Ulaico bishop of Lemoze, whose chronicle ending here leaves us entirely in the dark as to this nation (13). He was a catholic bishop, and zealous for his religion, which made him less favourable to that nation, by whom he had been very ill treated, even before they had become Arian, and, through the suspicions of Framarius, had suffered a long imprisonment, without any jurt renton (14). Ferreras complains loudly, and not without cause, that none of the bishops of Spain continued his chronicle. It is indeed true, that, in some manuscript histories of the churches of Ositudo and Teleda, there is mention made of two kings of the Suevi between Remigius and Theodoric, viz. Rechila and Teudancing; but as it is evident that those named are interpolated, Ferreras thinks they were not chroniclers, and therefore has not so much as admitted them into his catalogue of the kings of this nation (15).

(D) We have affixed in the text the reasons which induced, and indeed obliged, us to mention these miracles, which we have done as concisely as possible. Mariano and Ferreras expatiate largely on this head in their respective histories; but with this difference, that Mariano gives kings of Tours; and so the fon was miraculously cured, Theodoric, without mentioning Carriac: at all, and places this event at least ten years later than it ought to be. Ferreras has reduced both these mistakes, and has also shown us whence they arose. It seems, in some late editions of the works of St. Gregory of Tours, the name of Theodoric is inserted; and as this agrees with what another ancient author has written, Mariano, without scruple, took Theodoric for the king whose fon was so strangely cured; and this drew him into the other mistake. We are assured, however, by Ferreras, that all the manuscripts have Carriac (16), and particularly one of 800 years old, which was in his own possession (17). As to the date, it is agreed on all hands, that Martin bishop of Dumiio, who went into Galicia from Tours with the relics of St. Martin, was the great conductor of this important affair; and St. Gregory relates, that this prelate died A. D. 580, when he had been thirty years a bishop (18). On his authority, therefore, the fact is stated in the text; and as it renders the thread of the history perfectly smooth and consistent, and is also confirmed from the records of the first council held at Braga, at which this bishop assisted, there seems to be not the least colour of doubt that this transaction is rightly placed, notwithstanding that the celebrated Pictorensis, and other writers of great credit, have followed the chronology of Mariano (19), without taking pains to examine the original authors (20), who have mentioned this event.

(13) Obra chronologica del Marques de Mondrider, p. 262, 263.
(15) Historia de Espana, P. iii. sect. 3.
(19) Histoire de Hisp. lib. v. c. 9.
(20) Sforra de Script. Ecclesiastic.

3 Theodorus.
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(a) Theodosius, who succeeded his father, held, in the 31st year of his reign, a council at Braga, which was his capital, where he made a solemn abjuration of the Arians here; in which it seems, he was followed by most of the prelates and clergy in his dominions, to the general satisfaction of his subjects, many of whom were Catholics before. About six years after he held another council in the city of Lugo, in which it was resolved to render that see metropolitan; which circumstance we mention, because it affords us the fairest opportunity of coming at a distinct knowledge of the provinces which made up this monarchy. To the old metropolitan of Braga the following bishops were to remain suffragans, viz. Porto, Lamego, Coimbra, Viseo, Idadga, and Dume; whereas the new metropolitan of Lugo had for his suffragans the bishops of Iria, Ornejo, Tay, Britonia, now called Mondragone, and Astorga; so that, in the b dominions of Theodosius, there were twelve dioceses. This prince died in the latter end of the year 569 (E).

Mir, or, as Mariana calls him, Miro, succeeded his father Theodosius, and was also a prince of great piety. He seems, however, to have found himself under a necessity of acting under the influence of Leovigilde, king of the Visigoths, in conjunction with whom he attacked the territories which the imperialists possessed in Spain, and forced the Romans to acknowledge him for their sovereign (F). It has been matter of doubt to these people, or where their country was situated; but there seems to be no room to question, that till this time they had been subject to the Roman governors, and that the Suevi made war upon them as the allies of the Visigoths. (A.D. 572.)

(E) We have by no means the least intention to stray beyond our proper bounds, and to invade the province of ecclesiastical historians, by mentioning the time when councils were held; but the councils held in Spain, during the time of God, were in some measure parliaments also, or assemblies of the faithful, for the great men sat in them, as well as bishops; and as they were called by the authority of the king, so the canons made in them were very often approved and confirmed by him also (I). It is this that makes the assembling of councils, where any records of them remain, that renders them of great use in illustrating the civil history of this country. In respect to this first council of Braga, it is said, that it was held A.D. 563, and in the third year of Theodosius; and this it was that induced Mariana (2) to place the conversion of the Suevi so much lower than he ought to have done, as may be proved from the proceedings in that council; for the acts are signed by Lucretius, metropolitan of Braga, Andrew, bishop of Iria, Floreia, and, in the third place, by Theodosius, bishop and abbot of Dume, after whom subscribed five other prelates. Now it was as the custom of those times to subscribe according to the seniority of their consecrations; it is evident from Martin bishop of Dume must have been some years a bishop, since there were five prelates in this assembly younger than he. This agrees exactly with what was said in the former note, on the authority of Gregory of Tours (4), who places the date of Martin’s becoming bishop of Dume in the year 550 or 551, which, as the reader sees, is very consistent with the records of this council; in which, as Mariana himself observes, there is mention made of kind Arius (5), which he supposes to be a mistake for Theodosius; but it is more probable that it should have been Carthage. To put this matter out of all doubt, and to convince the reader that Theodosius was not the king, but the son of that king, who sent deputies to the tomb of St. Martin, let it be, considered, that the council was held in the third year of Theodosius’s reign, and that Martin gave the private man to Braga with thofe deputies at their return, he having been twelve years a bishop when this council assembled (6).

(F) The abbot of Bilar (7) calls these people, who were at this time attacked by the Suevi, Arevacques, which is very probably supposed to be an error in the print or in the manuscript (8). Iberes, metropolitan of Seville, names them Racos, in Racos, but where to find them is the difficulty (9). Some authors, as amongst these, Mariana, conceive them to have been the inhabitants of the little province of Riaza, which indeed lay very conveniently on the confines of this monarch’s dominions, and, though it be but small, is nevertheless celebrated for having as pure air, rich a foil, and as great plenty of corn and fruits, as any part of Spain (10). If this be the true account of the matter, then these people must have been deprived of their liberty, or laboured after some revolt, since they lay at a distance from, and quite out of the reach of the imperialists. But others again suggest, that this might have been the country of Alpujarra, the inhabitants of which, from their living among rocks, had the name of Racos, or Racos, who it is thought might depend upon the imperialists; yet this name is not a little embarrassed; for, in the first place, this small country, which, in spite of all the negligence of nature, is, if not one of the most fruitful, yet one of the best cultivated districts in Spain, owes all this to the industry of its present inhabitants, descendants from the Mori, formerly masters of the kingdom of Grau- nada, within the bounds of which this little country lies (11). We have therefore no reason to suppose, that in former times, it wore the same aspect that it does at present; or, if we should grant this, it will do us but little service, since, however probable it may be, that at this time the inhabitants were subject to the Greek emperor, yet how the Suevi could have any quarrell with them, or why the king of the Visigoths should suffer King Mir to march with an army through his territories, to conquer these people, is not easily understood (12). The former, therefore, seems to be the more probable opinion; and, it may be, wherever the Spanish inhabitants could preserve or have preserved their liberty, they thought it an honour to file themselves Romans, though they had little or no correspondence with the countries that were still governed by a patri- cian sent from Constantinople (13).


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It was not long after this that the king assembled the second council of Braga, at which both the metropolitans, and most of their suffragans, assisted. He called, in the following year, an assembly of the flates of his kingdom, at Lugo, where various regulations, chiefly respecting the church, were made. In the disputes that happened between the king of the Visigoths and his son, Mir, out of his zeal for religion, was inclined to favour Hermengild, or at least to support the catholics; but his ambassadours unluckily passing through the territories of Chilperic, king of Soissons, that prince caused them to be seized, and kept in prison, till, by another ambaissady to him, king Mir procured their release. We have shewn, in the foregoing section, what share this monarch took when things came to extremities between king Leovigild and his son Hermengild, and how, after raising an army in favour of the latter, he was constrained to employ it, or at least to suffer it to be employed, against that unfortunate prince, in whose defence it was raised. Whether this misfortune had any effect upon his spirits, or whether the fatigue of the expedition, joined to bad air and unwolf some waters, proved injurious to his health, so it was, that, upon his return to Braga, he was seized with a violent distemper, of which he speedily died, in the year of our Lord five hundred eighty two.

He was succeeded by his son Eboric, Evoric, or Euric, who was very young, and who, before he had wore the crown a year, was dispossessed of it by an ambitious nobleman, whose name was Andaca, contracted to his fitter, but who, to fortify his usurpation, espoused Segone, the widow of king Mir, and the mother-in-law of Eboric, whom he thrust into a monastery, and obliged to enter into holy orders, that he might be incapable of regain the crown.

Andaca did not long enjoy the fruits of his disloyalty, or the title of king which he had usurped; for, as soon as Leovigild had reduced the imperialists to sue for peace, he suddenly turned his arms against the Suevi, wasting all the country with fire and sword; till he entered Braga, which was the capital, where he deposed Andaca, obliged him to enter into holy orders, and then banished him to Badajoz. Thus an end was put to the kingdom of the Suevi; for the country was reduced to the condition of a province, notwithstanding the efforts made by one Amalaric, who assumed the title of king, but was quickly defeated by the generals of Leovigild, who sent him prisoner to their master: the subversion of this kingdom happened in the year of our Lord five hundred eighty-four.

As we have no mention made at all of the affairs of the Suevi, in any other than church chronicles, and the writings of other ecclesiastics, as in truth the learning of those times was wholly among the clergy; so we cannot reasonably expect, that, from their short memorials, we should be able to collect much, either as to the manners or the circumstances of this nation; yet, notwithstanding their silence, there are several good reasons why we may conclude, that the Suevi, at the time of their being subdued by the Goths, were at least as opulent, if not more so, than the rest of the inhabitants of Spain; for all the antient writers agree, that the countries occupied by them were very fertile in corn, abounding in rich fruits, and exceedingly rich in metals; so that, if it was well peopled, and those people industrious, they must have been rich. Secondly, they had enjoyed a profound peace for near a century; for, if they had but engaged in any wars either against the Visigoths or Romans, there could not have been such a gap in their history; and, lastly, having so long a tract of coast, it is not possible that they should have been without commerce. It is true, that these are conjectures only, but it is also true, that they may be supported from facts, since what is reported of king Carriarius, the prefect sent by him to the tomb of St. Martin at Tours, the building and endowment of churches and monasteries in his reign, shew him to have been rich, at least for those times. The number of bishops sees in his dominions, which, though in extent not a third part of Spain, were at least half the number of dioceses in that country, is an additional proof; and the feizing some ships belonging to the Franks, on the apprehension of a rupture, demonstrates, that the acribing some degree of commerce to these people is far from being a groundless supposition.
S E C T. III.

The history of the Visigoths, from the reign of Recared the First, the Catholic, to the entire subversion of their monarchy by the Moors.

THE principal nobility of the Goths readily concurred in raising to the throne Recared, the successor of the only surviving son of their deceased monarch, who had deserved so well of the whole nation in his campaigns against the Franks. His first care, as soon as he was seated on the throne, was to pursue the negotiations his father had begun, in order to establish peace with that potent nation. It was with this view that he sent embassadors to Grenada, king of Orleans and of Burgundy, who, notwithstanding his late defeats, absolutely refused to hear of any accommodation; but at the court of Childbert, king of Austrasia, these ministers were better received, and on the assurances they gave, that Recared was so far from having any share in the death of his brother that he beheld it with the utmost detestation, a treaty of peace was speedily concluded. In the mean time Sifert, by whose hands Hermengilde was said to be put to death, and, who had been captain of the guard to the late king, engaged in some dangerous designs against the new monarch, which brought upon him the punishment he despaired of. This former the forces of Grenada made an irruption, under the command of Didier and Ausrival, into the provinces where the Goths still held in Gaul, and, being very numerous, carried all before them. At length the army of Recared endeavoured to drive their progress, and were quickly routed; but Didier, with that impetuousity natural to his nation, pushing the victory too far, and appearing with a small body of forces before Carcasonne, where the Goths had taken shelter, they suddenly marched out, and, having surrounded, cut him and his people to pieces; which foiled their spirits, that they proceeded directly to the attack of the rest of the army under Ausrival, whom they also defeated with a vast slaughter. The news of this victory were extremely welcome at the court of Toledo, and might perhaps contribute not a little to facilitate the great work the king had then upon the carpet.

The conversion of the king had been early brought about by Leander, metropolitan of Seville, but the declaring himself publicly a catholic was still considered as a very delicate point. At length, after the great victory obtained over the Franks, it was resolved, that the king should proceed to the grandees and prelates about his person introducing the catholic religion throughout his dominions; which he accordingly did, in the month of October, and the motion was received, as though things generally were, with all the exterior marks of approbation and applause.

In


(A) According to the French historians, the true cause of that extraordinary and obdurate avarice, shewn by king Grenada towards the monarch of the Visigoths, was openly imputed to the intrigues of Hermengilde with that rebellious prince Fredgerando, which were alleged to have been carried on in the darkest manner, and for the worst purposes (1). At the bottom, however, it is owned, that the real source of this implacable hatred was an ambitious desire of driving this nation entirely out of Gaul, which produced a resolution of continuing the war, notwithstanding any propositions for putting an end to it, so long as their domestic troubles continued in Spain (2). Upon these principles it was that the king of Burgundy would not suffer Recared's ministers to come into his presence, but ordered them to retire to Mars, from whence they were directed to send him an account of their commission; upon receiving which, he declared he would have nothing farther to do with them, and prohibited all correspondence between his subjehs and the Visigoths (3). Soon after this (as the Spanish authors affirm) the Franks invaded Recared's territories, beat the army that was assembled to oppose them, and advanced toward Carcasone, where Didier, by an imprudent contempt of an enemy once beaten, was cut off with a small body of horse; and this unexpected blow intimidated the Franks so much, that they made a hasty retreat, which put an end to the campaign (4). On the whole, it is evident enough, that as the histrions of one country are disposed to exaggerate, so those of the other are inclined to extenuate, this business; and it is also worth observing, that Gregory of Tours places this event in the life-time of Hermengilde (5).

(B) On his first acceding to the throne, we are assured, that Recared manifested the most upright intentions. His behaviour towards Austrasia, whom he treated as if she had been his own mother, was not only admired by his own subjehs, but celebrated by foreigners; and it was by her advice, and with her assistance, he reconciled himself to the court of Austrasia (6). She seems to have gained his confidence by pretending to become
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In the very beginning of the next year, Autilacu, an Arian bishop, and zealous for his opinion, caballed with two counts, Granius and Vidergen, who were likewise dissatisfied with the king's measures, to raise a general insurrection. In this they succeeded so far, that, at their instance, a considerable body of people took up arms, and falling suddenly upon the catholics, killed many of them, and, amongst them, several ecclesiastics; but the principal officers of the king's troops, being firmly attached to their duty, quickly assembled an army, and put the rebels to flight, the two counts being killed upon the spot, which put an end to this affair, and to the life of the Arian bishop, who is said to have died of discontent. This did not hinder the forming a new and more dangerous conspiracy, of which Sumna, an Arian prelate, who had been metropolitan of Merida, and in high favour with the late king, was the author. He drew to his party two counts, Witeric and Siggen; and, after mature deliberation, doubting of the interest of the city of Toledo, they resolved to open their enterprise at Merida with the murder of Maxuona, the metropolitan, who, after being exiled to make way for Sumna, was now recalled, and Claudius, who had the chief command of the forces, and was governor of the city. The scheme laid for bringing their design about was this: Sumna proposed a conference with Maxuona under the pretence of abjuring his heresy; this conference was to be held in the portico of the cathedral church, and in the presence of Claudius. Witeric, who was that nobleman's great favourite, undertook to dispatch him and the metropolitan as he stood behind their backs; and count Siggen was to assemble a number of Arians to support this action when it was done, and to seize the city. All things went to their wish; Witeric took his post, at the interview, behind the duke and the prelate; while Sumna made a long speech, to give him an opportunity of performing what he promised; but Witeric's dagger fell so fast in the scabbard, that he was not able to draw it. Another plan was then laid, which was to have taken place at a public procession; but in the mean time Witeric, from motives either of piety or ambition, disclofed the whole matter to Claudius, who caufed the principal conspirators to be apprehended, gave the king a distinct account of all that had happened, by whose orders they were severely punished.

These are catholic; in which article, no doubt, she was imitated by many of the courtiers, who, to carry on their intrigues the better, appeared very probably the most zealous converts. This might induce the king to believe the conversion of his subjects to the catholic faith a work of grace and facility than in truth it was, and in this opinion he might be confirmed by arguments drawn from political motives.

(C) Hee honours, which in Latin are dux et comes, in Spaniis, duc et duxo, and, courts, were unknown to the antique Romans, and first introduced under the Greek emperors. When, therefore, the king of the Visigoths became so potent, as that they apprehended very little difference between them and the emperors of Constantinople, they judged it a manifestation of their own greatness to introduce the same titles; the rather, because the inhabitants of their dominions, having been subjects of the empire, were accustomed to those titles, and to give such as were cloathed with them all the reverence they could expect. The duke was in those days a military honour, and the person who bore it was commander in chief of the forces within a certain province, whence in process of time he was distinguished by the name of that province, came gradually to have a near relation to it, and to exercise, in the name of the sovereign, a civil jurisdiction also; which in Spain, if we may credit Mariana, advanced pretty nearly to the prerogative of directing the mint, whence that species of money called ducats (5) received its name. Count, again, was not originally a local honour, but a title of office; those were governors of towns, others officers in the army, and denominated from the nature of the corps they commanded, that so there were counts of the archers, counts of pioneers, &c. Others were officers in the king's household, and were distinguished in the like manner; that there were counts of the butlers, counts of the stable, whence the title of countable is derived; and others were counts by their names, which were a mere honorary title (2). It is requisite farther to observe, that the same person was often both duke and count, and that these honours were in this age, and long after, personal only, and not hereditary.

(D) This Witericus was a young nobleman, who attended on the person of the king, and was in great credit with him, which in all probability recommended him to the favour of Claudius, duke of Lusitania, who appears to have been the ablest man in the service of this monarch, and the person upon whose military skill his master chiefly depended (3). It is suggeted, that he entered into this base design, through the persuasions of an Arian bishop, and out of zeal for that sect (4); but though religion is the common prejudice for most conspiracies, they are rarely entered into by men of any religion, more especially if they have any parts, as Witericus certainly had.

(E) The detection of this plot gave the king, and his minister duke Claudius, an opportunity, which they did not let slip, of crushing the heretics effectually, by seizing on the persons of the principal leaders, disfiguring the common people, and taking proper measures to put reliance on the power. As to the chief confirmer Sumna, so much regard was to be shew to his episcopal character, that it was offered to his choice, whether he would abjure his heresy, or quit the kingdom. He chose the latter; and was sent to Africa, where he died (5). Count Varitia, who was very deep in this detest-
These proceedings taught the Arians to act with a greater caution, as they still perished in their design of retrieving their lost power. With this view Gafantius, the dowager of Alba, fortified privately with Ubiola, an Arian bishop, to remove the king, whom they considered as the great obstacle to their designs; but, the plot being discovered, Ubiola, out of respect to his character, was banished only; and, while it was under deliberation what should be done with Gafantius, that miserable prince died, either through remorse or despair. The king, to give a check to this spirit of heresy, so dangerous to himself and to the public, ordered all the writings in favour of Arianism to be brought in and burnt. He next renewed, or rather attempted to renew, his negotiation with Guntram, king of Orleans and Burgundy, who remained as inflexible as ever; and sent a fresh army of sixty thousand men, under the command of Bofon, to support Authovoldo, who, having recruited his army, had taken Carcassone. The king of the Visigoths sent Claudius, who was governor of Lusitania, to command in Gaul, where he had the good fortune to gain a surprising victory, which would have done more honor to the Spanish arms with pithy, if their authors had not related it with such circumstances as render it altogether incredible (F).

King Recared, being very deftious to settle the affairs of the church on so firm a base that it should never be shaken, summoned for that purpose a council at Toledo, where five metropolitans and sixty-two bishops assembled, and made several canons, which were signed by the king, the metropolitans, and the prelates; and thus the conversion of the Goths to the Catholic faith became a national act. But, notwithstanding the seeming unanimity with which this great affair was transacted, Argimund, a nobleman in great credit with the king, governor of one of the principal provinces in his dominions, and who had free access to his person, framed a treacherous design against his life, in which he found means to embroil a great many persons of different ranks, which very probably made way for the discovery and punishment of himself and other offenders. The Jews petitioned the king to abrogate one of the canons of the late council, by which they were rendered incapable of public offices, of keeping Christian slaves or concubines; and, that they might induce him more readily to exert his

able design, fled to the church of St. Eulalia, and obstinately refused to submit himself to justice. Upon this, judgment was given against him, that he should remain the ferret or flake of that church for life, and be employed in such kind of work as the clergy should think proper (6). Count Paul Siggen had both his hands cut off, and was banished into Galicia (7). Thofoe of the better fort, who had been engaged with them, lost their office, and,latitudes, and the messengers of the conspirators were sent into exile. In all these proceedings there is evident, that the king showed his prudence rather than his reformation, and made the necessity of being secure the only argument for his severity (8).

The general Authovoldo entered the territories of the Visigoths first with a numerous body of troops, and, meeting with little resistance, advanced to Caracassane, of which he took possession. Soon after this event arrived Bofon with a more considerable army, and joined with the chief command. He was displeased with the conduct of Authovoldo, and the dilatations between these commanders had a very bad effect on their inferior officers and their troops, which, joined to the want of any apparent strength to oppose them, occasioned such a contempt of dilators, and such general licentiousness, as must have rendered them an easy conquest to the Visigoths, if they had had any army in the field (9); but, it seems, the forces in the Spanish province were so much inferior, that they retired to the very mountains, and satisfied themselves with taking possession of the passes, where they waited the arrival of duke Claudius with the troops under his command. After their junction, Claudius found his army much inferior to the enemy, but without finding that they were discipline, and were without intelligence (1). He caused therefore, his army to advance towards them with as much secrecy as it was possible, and, having brought them as near to the camp as was practicable without a discovery, and made such a disposition as he judged most expedient, he then put himself at the head of a small body of his best men, and boldly attacked their camp, where, finding them fasting, and in confusion, he made a prodigious slaughter before they were in condition to make a proper defence. At length Bofon, having put part of the army into tolerable order, attacked the Visigoths in their turn; upon which duke Claudius made at first a flow, and in a little time a precipitate retreat. The French general pulled him vigorously, the whole army joining in the pursuit, till they found themselves on a sudden attacked by the Visigoths on both their flanks, while duke Claudius, with that handful of brave men, under his immediate command, made a noble stand; so that in a little space the rout became general; and the French, abandoning the field of battles, placed all hopes of safety in speedy flight (2). This, as far as we are able to collect from a comparison of different accounts, is an impartial representation of this signal victory. A contemporary Spanish writer affirms, that it was gained by duke Claudius with three hundred of his guards (3), which term great as an improbability, and others as a miracle. The truth seems to be, that he ascribed the victory to those who made the first attack. A French historian, who also lived in those times, acquires us, that there were five thousand killed, and three thousand taken prisoners, (4) but the Spanish historians unanimously affirm, that this was the most decisive victory gained in that age, and that it appears to have been from its consequences; for the French, who were before altogether inextricable, began to be well inclined to peace; and Recared, who was a prince remarkable for his moderation, made a right use of his victory, by concluding an advantageous treaty, without trifling to the uncertain hopes of future victories.

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authority, they offered him a very large sum of money, which Recared, with a magnanimity worthy of so great a prince, rejected with disdain. Upon the death of his queen Bada, Recared demanded in marriage Clodofinde, the daughter of Brunelaud, and the sifter of Lignade, whom he obtained, notwithstanding he had been promised in marriage to the king of the Lombards, who was an Arian, but it is thought that he in some measure purchased this marriage by the cession of the two fortresses of Jabinice and Cormehil, part of his dominions in Gaul, to queen Brunelaud, who entered immediately into possession of them 7; and it is believed that Clodofinde was sent into Spain, notwithstanding we have no distinct account of the celebration of this marriage by any of the ancient historians 8. Recared also sent embassadors to compliment pope Gregory the Great, to carry him presents of a considerable value, to facilitate a request he made to him to procure an extract of the treaties between his predecessor Athanagild and the emperor Justinian, that he might be preciously acquainted upon what terms the imperialists held the territories which they still possessed in Spain 9 (G).

The historian, who at this time governed those countries on behalf of the Greek emperor, had suffered his people to make some excursions into the dominions of king Recared, who resolved to take this occasion of reducing these people within bounds, which, by various successful expeditions, he performed; for, it seems, he was a prince of so great justice, that, notwithstanding the provocation he had received, and the superiority of his forces, he would not attempt an absolute conquest, but granted them a peace upon equitable terms 10. This war was hardly finished, before he found himself embroiled in another against the Gofsuns, who had retired into Gaul in the reign of his father, and, elevated by their successes, made an irruption into the country which they had formerly possessed in Spain; however, the forces which Recared sent against them quickly recovered the places they had taken, and compelled them to repulse the Pyrenees 11. These military exploits interrupted, in some measure, the king’s endeavours to regulate the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his monarchy, upon such a foot as might equally contribute to the glory of his succours; and to the welfare of his subjects; but, as soon as peace was restored, he returned to his salutary projects: he took care to revise the laws of the Goths, and to make such alterations as the change of customs and manners had rendered necessary 12. He was employed in this and other acts of a like nature, when he was seized with that illness which deprived Spain of so great and good a prince, in the month of February, in the year of our Lord six hundred and one.

He left behind him three sons, Liuvia, Suintilla, and Geila; but who were the mothers of these princes, is by no means clear 13. The eldest is supposed to have been a natural child, begotten on some woman of mean condition, five years before his accession to the crown; and it is very likely the other two were the sons of Bada, since there is no author that mentions is having issue by queen Clodofinde 14. The respect of the nobility, and the affection of the people towards his memory, was so strong, that, notwithstanding the blemish in his birth, and his being but twenty years of age, Liuvia was elected and proclaimed king without opposition 15. The dawn and the close of his reign, however, followed close upon each other; for notwithstanding he was a young prince of great hopes, and did nothing that ought to have deprived him of the affections of his people, yet he was quickly deposed of his crown, his liberty, and his life 16. The instrument of all this mischief was Witerico, whose life his father had spared. We have but a very dark account how it was brought about, and shall therefore follow the sentiments of an eminent historian, who suggests, that this cunning traitor first inveigled the young prince to signalize his very accession to the throne by the expulsion of the imperialists; which having repreented to him as a very easy thing, and being intrusted

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x S. Greg. Epist. lib. vii. ep. 228. 7 GREG. Tur. lib. xix. c. 16. 25. MORAL. lib. x. c. 1. 6 Liuvia II. succeded his father, is quickly depoed, and von after murdered. 8 S. Greg. epist. lib. vii. 9 Isid. de Script. cap. 32. 10 Isid. Hist. Goth. MARIANA, Historia de Hispana. 11 Vasari lib. vi. c. 1. MAYERNE TURQUET, L. V. FERRERAS, Historia Hispaina, p. iii. lec. 7. 12 MARIANA. 13 Isid. Hist. Goth. 14 Vasari Chron. 15 (G) This count Erginouad, the principal conspirator, was chamberlain to the king, and might therefore have executed his detestable design with very little difficulty, if the death of his master had been all he fought; but he had his own advancement likewise in view, and profited, when the throne was vacant, to fill it with his own person, which obliged him to seek affiance among the nobility, and this made way for the detection of his designs (5). The king, who saw how much his Clemency had been abused, dealt with this nobleman and his associates much more severely than had been practiced in regard to the former conspirators; for, in the first place, the count’s head was shaven, which, as MARIANA remarks, degraded and rendered him infamous, then he was whipped, and his right hand cut off; after this, being mounted on a mule, he was led through the streets of the capital, and exposed to the derision of the people; and lastly he was heaped; all his accomplishes were likewise punished with death, which put an end to those conspiracies that had been hither to so frequent (6).

(5) J. Bictar in Chron. (6) MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.
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a with the army that was to perform this great action, he corrupted the principal officers, and, with their affiance, not only deposed the king, but cut off his right hand, thrust him into a dungeon, and engaged in the preparation of these cruelties; and, as if he intended to have shown that he was not altogether unworthy against the imperial dignity, he proceeded the war with vigour, and, in a general action in the neighbourhood of Siguenza, gained a complete victory, and brought their affairs into the utmost distress. This gained him some reputation, for the populace are always on the side of succes. Soon after Theodoric, at the same time, a desire that thefe which had so long submitted between the Franks and the Visigoths might, in conquence of this marriage, be buried in perpetual oblivion. This relit the method by which he rose to sovereignty, and was charged with this mark of deference to the king of Burgundy, demanded in marriage the princess Hermengarde his daughter, testifying, that, with a numerous and magnificent equipage. This scene of triumph her back again to her father. Some say, and it is not at all improbable, that Brunobald, that he endeavoured to form a confederacy with the monarchs of the Franks and the Visigoths against the king of Burgundy, in order to strip him totally of his dominions, in revenge of the affront offered to his daughter (1).

This negotiation, which proceeded with indefatigable zeal, and at a vast expense succeeded to his wish; Clotaire, king of Soissons, Theodotus, king of Autun, together with their dominions was already settled, when, by promising Theodoric better conditions than were allowed him by this treaty, Theodoric drew him to his side, and the rest of the princes growing diffident of each other, the league was dissolved. This rendered Theodoric deserted at

With his forces. (H) The deficiency of ancient and contemporary historians renders part of this history somewhat obscure. The chronicler of San Juan de Palafox, as the Spaniards tell him, or, as he is generally called, tabloides, notwithstanding that he was bishop of Gerona, ends under the reign of Sancho II., so that all the light we have now left is the history of St. Hilary of Seville, an author very succinct, more especially in each passage as do no honour to his country. There is to be seen a certain writer who pretended to fix the very day on which Lierau was murdered, which, he says, was the fourteenth of April; but, as a fact, and that he was buried in the church of St. Mary at Tolede, with great lamentation; but as his authority is of no credit, we cannot rely upon his information (8). Mariana affirms us, that this young monarch rendered himself respected and beloved by his sweet and majestic air, his benevolence, and other royal virtues, which he inherited from his father, so that his looks were bitterly bewailed by the whole nation. He further remarks, that some pieces of gold, bearing the inscription of this prince, are still extant, on the reverse of which, are the words of Hipsipla Pius, to show that they were coined at Seville (9). He farther observes, that we may be certain these pieces ought to be attributed to Liureus the Second, and not to his uncle, Liureus the First, because the prince they represent has a crown upon his head, which regal ornament was not yet before the reign of Louis the Sixth, of whom, and of Reccesvan, there are several pieces of gold coin extant in the king’s cabinet. (1)

The history of this lady's marriage, which was very near being fatal to two of the greatest powers in Europe, has in it something so frightful, that the principal circumstances deserve our notice (1). This Theodoric, king of Burgundy, was so well disposed to an alliance with the king of the Visigoths, that he sent Arildus, bishop of Lyons his high constitutive Eboriacus, and count of Vermandois, to Theodoric at Tolede. The monarch of the Visigoths objected the bad behaviour of one of the French kings to their wives, and particularly the dissolute and licentious behaviour of their son, who had several mistresses, and children by some allowed him by this treaty, Theodoric drew him to his side, and the rest of the princes growing diffident of each other, the league was dissolved. This rendered Theodoric deserted at

A conspiracy formed against him, which brings him to a dishonourable end.

FERRERAS, Historia Hispana, p. iii. sect. 7.  e P. DANIEL, Historia de Francia, tom. i. p. 372. 1 SPALD. Hist. Goth. 0 FREDEG. in Chron. 2 ANTONIO CASTRO DE HISPANIA, p. 393. 3 Mariana, Historia de Espana, lib. vi. cap. 2. 3 FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, p. iii.
home, where the ill usage the daughter had received was attributed to the wickedness of the father; and a rumour being spread at the same time, that he was privately an Ariam, and meant to restore that heresy, such a general defection ensued, as prompted some, whom he had disobligeed, to fall upon him as he sat at dinner, without the least suspicion of what happened, and, having stabbed him, they threw the body out to the people, who, after dragging it through the streets, and offering a thousand insults, they at last buried it amongst malefactors executed for their crimes, in the year of our Lord six hundred and ten.

Amongst those who directed the resentment of the populace against the miserable Witteric, there was one Gundemar, a man of great quality, and adorned with many virtues. He had previously formed schemes for placing himself upon the throne, and they were attended with success; for, very soon after the death of Witteric, he was elected and declared king. He studied to maintain a constant correspondence with the Franks, which for many ages was looked upon as a mark of prudence and good policy; but, from some papers which have been seen by Mariana, and other Spaniards historians, it appears, that he bought their friendship by an annual pension, which did him no honour in the sentiments of the Visigoths, accustomed to receive rather than pay such kinds of tribute (K). Yet in his person he was brave; and had no sooner information that the Gastesones had renewed the inroads of the Franks, he marched against them with an army, entered their country, which he levelled with fire and sword, obliging them to take shelter in their mountains. After his return to his capital, he directed a council to be held at Carthagena, in which several canons were made by the prelates who asssisted therein, which he afterwards signed and confirmed; a plain proof that the king's supremacy remained as yet unimpeached in Spain.

While he was thus employed, the imperialists committed hostilities against his subjects, which constrained him to turn his arms against them; and they, finding their forces far inferior to the Gastesones, retired to a strong camp, where they fortified themselves in the best manner they were able. Gundemar, however, attacked and carried their intrenchments, gaining a signal and a bloody victory, which terribly distressed their affairs, and extinguisht all desires of revenge for the present. He then returned into his own dominions, and held another assembly of the clergy; soon after which he fell sick, and died in the beginning of the year six hundred and twelve, when he had governed but a short time, and had rather raised than satisfied the expectations of his subjects, who, notwithstanding, expressed great concern for his death, on account of the unquestionable proofs he had given of his piety, courage, and zeal for the public welfare.

Sisebut was elected upon the demise of Gundemar, with the universal approbation of the nobility and clergy, on account of his many excellent qualities, amongst which his learning was not the least conspicuous. He was the first to be seated on the throne, before the public tranquility was disturbed by two insurrections, one of the Afturians, and the other of the Rucson, against the former the king sent a body of troops commanded by Recilla, and another against the Rucson, at the head of which was prince Suinsila, in the sentiments of many the fon of Reccared, and both these officers met with all the success that could be expected, obliging the people to return to their duty, after they had chastised them for departing from it.

(E) The fulcrum of this note will show the reader with what different public histories are to be read; for none of those that have been hitherto published of the kingdom of the Gastes in Spain, written either by contemporary writers, or by those who lived near these times, say the least word of that connexion, which, it seems, subsisted between king Gundemar, Thobireus, king of Burgundy, Theodebert, king of Austrasia, and Childebert, king of Saxons, which had, in the reign of Gundemar, become the folc king of the Franks (A). Yet, in the opinion of the best modern historians, it incomparably appears from the letters of Count Baldegerus, at that time governor of the territories possessed by the Visigoths in Spain, which papers are still preserved in the archives of the university of Alcin, and in the library belonging to the church of Occido, that Gundemar paid these princes an annual tribute, amounting to a considerable sum for those days; and, as is very natural in such cases, had it was in great contempt by those to whom he paid this pecuniary acknowledgment (B). It seems that, to cultivate a friendship with that nation, he sent an embassy into France, composed of persons of distinction, who were very ill treated; which was so far from reflecting that he sent other embassadors, who were still worse treated, and sent back again without being admitted to an audience. Count Baldegerus, who it is probable was not let into the secret of his master's extraordinary compliance, was so provoked at this, that he refused to suffer the Frankish embassadors sent to Gundemar to pass through the province; and even went so far as to declare war in his master's name, in order to obtain satisfaction for the indignity that had been offered to the crown, and recovered the two territories which Recared had yielded to Brunelard, that princes being dead, and none of their descendants remaining (C). The boldness of this proceeding had a good effect; and, as the count stopped there, the Frankish did not think fit to make any attempts on that side; so that in this particular thing remained till the death of Gundemar, and a better understanding between the two crowns was restored under the reign of his successor.

(A) P. Denis, Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 377. (B) Ferrieras, Hist. de Espana, p. iii. sec. 6. (C) Mariana, Hist. de Espana, lib. vi. c. x. gave.
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a gave the king great satisfaction, as it did credit to his arms at the beginning of his reign, and afforded him rational hopes of success in the design he had formed of completing, what several of his predecessors had made some trials to effect, the entire reduction of what the imperialists possessed in Spain, where at this time they were masters of the whole coast, from the straits of Gibraltar to the frontiers of Valencia, and had also the little country of Algarve, with a line of numerous little fortresses along their frontiers. As he knew that this would be very acceptable to his subjects, and would deliver his successors from many inconveniences, he made the necessary preparations for assembling a potent army, and for providing all things necessary for their keeping the field longer than was usual in those days; which could not be done without affording the enemy an opportunity of guessing at least at his design, and consequently of providing for their own defence; though it does not appear, from their method of managing the war, that they sufficiently penetrated the scheme of king Sisebut, or believed there was any danger of its executing it if they did; since, if they had, they would certainly have acted only on the defensive, and availed themselves of the strong places they had fortified with so much care.

The patrician Cefarius had at this time the direction of the affairs of the imperialists in Spain; and, as soon as he was informed that Sisebut was at the head of his army, he marched with his forces to give him battle, in which he was totally defeated with great loss. Sisebut professed his victory like a great captain, and one who did not fight for the honour of victory, but for the consequences of it, and actually reduced several great towns on the frontiers, which none of his predecessors had ventured to attack. Cefarius, believing that the only method left to deliver his country from so formidable an enemy was to bring on another engagement, in which he might have better fortune, took all imaginable pains to recruit his army, attributing the success of their Goths in the last action to their superiority in number. Experience convinced him of that error; he fought again, and was again defeated, with much greater loss than before; for, exclusive of those who were killed on the field of battle, many thousands of his soldiers were taken prisoners. Sisebut availed himself fully of this victory like an able general, and a good prince; for he gave directions that the utmost care should be taken of the wounded, paid the ransom of all the prisoners to his own soldiers, and then released and sent them home (L). This behaviour put it out of the power of Cefarius to raise another army, and most of the fortresses surrendered as soon as he appeared before them. The patrician knew not what to do with a prince whose force was more fatal to him than his courage; and, perceiving that he had conquest in view, he very prudently determined to make the best terms he could. He sent, for this purpose, an embassador to king Sisebut, under colour of doing honour to Cecilius, a bishop among the Visigoths, who, defirous of leading a quiet and retired life, had quitted his see, and taken shelter in a monastery among the imperialists, from whom Sisebut had demanded him at the beginning of the war. By this embassador Cefarius sent a letter to the king, deferring to know what terms the imperialists might expect, in case, for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, they should be dispensed to submission. The king received the minister kindly, answered the letter graciously, acquainting Cefarius with his terms; who contented them, provided he might have leave to send them to his master the emperor Heraclius, for his approbation.

We are assured by Mariana, that king Sisebut, having made choice of Theodore, a nobleman much in his confidence, to repair with Ansemonds, whom Cefarius had appointed to carry the treaty to Constaninople, the emperor readily accepted it, adding only this condition, that the king of the Visigoths would rid his dominions of the Jews; for Heraclius, who was much given to judicial atrocity, and other superfluities, was exceedingly troubled about a prophecy, that the empire should be speedily subverted by a wandering and circumcised nation, enemies to the Christian faith, which he applied to the Jews; and not contented with persecuting them in their territories, purfused them into France, Spain, and other countries, with implacable hatred.

F. Ferreras, Hiltoria Hiltiana, p. iii. fed. 7. 
Hiltoria Hiltiana, l. vi. c. 3. 
(I) The very high character this monarch had obtained, both as a statesman and as a general, might well induce us to believe, that in this there was at least as much of policy, as of generosity and tenderness of heart. An ancient writer, however, affirms under the contrary; and that king Sisebut, when he saw the great slaughter of his troops made of the enemy, cried out in a transport of passion, Unhappy man that I am, to see so much blood slit through my means! whereveron, at the hazard not only of the victory, but of his person, he pre-
The history of the Visigoths in Spain. Book XXIII.

A.D. 616.

That part of Mauritania called Tingita, annexed by the Goths.

618. This was the last great action of his life, except that which some would persuade us brought upon him the judgment of a sudden death; the reader will judge with what probability. The bishop of Barcelona permitted a play to be acted in his church, in which were introduced certain superstitious ceremonies of the pagan religion. Enfelius, metropolitan of Tarragona, to whom that bishop was a suffragan, gave an account of this proceeding to the king, who immediately wrote him a letter, which is still preserved, directing him to depose that prelate, and to consecrate another in his stead, which was accordingly done. In this it is pretended that the king exceeded the bounds of his authority; but those who say so plainly beg the question, since the metropolitan's application to that monarch is such a proof of the supremacy of the kings of Spain in those times, as will never be overthrown by the firmness of the king's days being cut short on that account; which is so much the more important, as the bishop was deposed before Easter one year, and the king did not die till the spring of the next, which was the year of our Lord five hundred twenty-one.

620. The nobility among the Goths, believing it incumbent upon them to shew how true a sense they had of the merit of their late sovereign, set his son, though a minor, upon the throne; and he was accordingly declared king, by the name of Recared the Second. He was endowed with many good qualities; and resembled his father so much in the whole turn of his disposition, that the nation unanimously approved the setting the crown upon his head, and promised themselves the greatest felicity under his reign; but the rejoicings for his accession were hardly over, before a general sense of sorrow was awakened by his los, which happened where, or of what distemper, he died; but, it seems, he was no sooner dead, than the eyes of the Visigoths were turned upon prince Suintila; which is not at all wonderful, if he really was, what Mariana and other historians affirm him to be, the son of Recared the catholic, by his queen Bada; which, however, Ferreras very much doubts, because the antient historians who could not be ignorant of the fact if it was so, are nevertheless silent upon this subject. However that matter might be, Suintila had peronal merit enough to engage the attention of his countrymen, whose forces he had commanded in several expeditions, and had thereby established a reputation both of being an able and a successful general.

1 Paul Æmil. de Ges. Franc. in Dscbb. 1. p. 21. 
3 Epift. Patric. 
8 Ferreras, Hift. Hispan. p. iii. fect. 7. 
9 Santi. Epift. Palent. 
11 Historia Hispana, p. iii. fect. 7. 
12 Isid. Pacens. 
13 Isid. Pacens. 
14 Isid. Pacens.

(M) We have stated this matter in the text as it is related by Mariana (9), always a most elegant, and generally speaking, a careful and impartial historian; yet here he seems to be mistaken, and to have been governed by those probabilities which we have represented in their utmost strength in the upper part of the page. But a most judicious, learned, and noble Spanish critic, has very clearly and candidly shewn, that the imputation upon the emperor Heractius is no better than a popular story, very ill founded: that king Sifebut was too far from being influenced either by the perfusion or the conduct of that emperor, as Mariana and other historians upon his account have supposed, that in reality he published those edicts against the Jews very early in his reign, and before he had any correspondence with the court of Constantinople (1).

(9) Historia Hispana, lib. vi. c. 3. 
(1) Moniteur de l'Espagne, Dif. ii. Par. xv.
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A. D. 621.

a Suintila began his reign by taking certain measures which were universally acceptable to his own subjects; for he directed that the laws should be strictly put in execution, without respect of persons, and that proper care should be taken for the relief of the poor: that, on the one hand, such as were guilty of bad actions, from the malignancy of their hearts, might not escape with impunity; and that none might be tempted by necessity to trespass on the laws, on the other. By a steady attention to these points, the domestic tranquillity of his people was secured, which however was quickly troubled from abroad by a formidable irruption of the Gaesons, who spread terror and devastation wherever they came. The king had no sooner intelligence of this, than he dispatched orders to the governors of the adjacent provinces to assemble all forces they could, and to secure the passages behind these barbarous invaders, b who, finding themselves for some time unopposed, continued to advance, and to live everywhere where custom. But it was not long before king Suintila appeared in person at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army; upon which the Gaesons began a precipitate retreat; but finding it impossible to repass the mountains, and perceiving themselves environed on all hands, they sent deputies to the royal camp, to implore the king’s compassion, on any terms that he should be pleased to prefer. Suintila gave these deputies a favourable reception; and having obliged the Gaesons to restore all they had taken, and to build a strong fort to prevent their future incursions, he suffered them to return home safely, with a gratitude for their labour. The name of this place was Oligito, but modern writers are by no means agreed by what name it is distinguished at present. Some think that it is the city of Olite, c once the capital of the kingdom of Navarre; others imagine it to be Fontarabia, d on the frontiers of France and Spain; and others will have it the city of Valladolid. e We mention their several opinions, because where the natives of a country, in cafes of this nature, disagree, it would by no means become us to decide. Wherever it was, the king’s clemency and prudence sufficiently appeared, in making so just a use of his superiority to convert a present calamity into a means of preventing any thing of the like nature from falling out in times to come. This expedition over, he returned to Toledo in triumph, his subjects being alike rejoiced at the signal advantages his courage and conduct had gained, and the just and moderate use he made of them.

d Suintila, desirous of achieving all that was still necessary to make his sovereignty independent and illusory, conceived a design of driving the imperialists out of that little corner which they still possessed about cape St. Vincent. f His army was more than sufficient for that purpose, and therefore he made but little doubt of carrying this country in one or two campaigns. If it be true, which Mariana suggests, that the emperor Heraclius was so imprudent as to divest the government of this little territory, and to appoint two patricians, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, which gave the king of the Visigoths an opportunity of razing jealousies between them, it is no wonder that he thought the conquest easy; but it seems more probable that there was but one patrician who ventured to give the king battle when he entered this country, and had the misfortune to fall in the engagement; upon which another assumed the title and administration, till such time as the court of Constantinople thought proper to send a new governor, together with the necessary supplies. g But the affairs of Heraclius were at this time in such confusion, and he found himself so hard pressed at home, that he was content to name a governor, and leave him at liberty to act according to the discretion of things at his arrival. Suintila pushed his conquest with such vivacity, that the new patrician saw little or no hopes of preserving that country to his master: he collected, however, what forces were still left, and, with a courage inspired by despair, dispersed all things for an obstinate resistance. The king, unwilling to expose an army, that had already done him so much service, to the loss that must have ensued from vanquishing men who had scarce any thing to lose but their lives, and who would therefore be sure to tell them dear, inflamed to the patrician, that tho’ he looked upon his conquest as secure, yet he was unwilling to destroy so many brave men, who might be useful to their country, and to themselves elsewhere; and that therefore, if they would transport themselves out of Spain, he would gratify himself, his officers, and even his soldiers, in such a manner, that they should have no reason to complain. This proposition, being known, discouraged the troops of the enemy to such a degree, that the patrician found his cloathing with the king’s offers was not only the worse, but the fickle measure which was left for him to take; so that the evacuation of the country was settled by a kind of convention, and Suintila, as he had promised, made the patrician and all his dependents an ample compensation for what they left behind, effecting it a cheap purchase, since, upon their departure, he became sole monarch of all Spain, an honour which none of the kings of the Visigoths had hitherto reached.
The reputation acquired by this conquest facilitated the only great point Suintila had now a view, which was, procuring the content of the nobility for associating his son Ricimer in the government, which included a tacit election upon his father's demise; a thing, however difficult in its nature, that he obtained with so much ease, as proved the means of rendering it altogether ineffectual (N); for such is the unhappy disposition of some minds, that, though altogether without every difficulty and danger, they are easily seduced by prosperity. As soon as this was done, as if, the reward of his virtues being attained, they were of no further use, Suintila almost at once threw off the character of a gracious prince, to put on that of an oppressing tyrant. Seduced by the evil counsels of his queen, and his brother Gelimer, he grew haughty, voluptuous, and avaricious, treated the nobility with contempt, exercised the most unjustifiable acts of cruelty on all who testified their dislike of his proceedings; and levied such prodigious taxes, as diffused universal poverty and discontent through all the provinces under his dominion. This in a short time disposed every thing for that revolution which afterwards happened; for a prince, who has once lost the hearts of his subjects, is in the power of every accident, and the murmurs of the commons naturally inspire the grandees with thoughts of turning them to their own advantage, more especially in elective monarchies, where the voice of the people conveys or confirms a title.

The provinces belonging to the Visigoths in Gaul were then governed by Sisenand, a person of great distinction, and one who, with considerable talents, had an ambition that surpassed all bounds. He was quickly informed of that amazing change which had happened in the behaviour and temper of the king his master, which put him upon forming intrigues that might conduct him safely to the throne. He had various correspondences in Spain; but the knowledge his friends had of the martial disposition and great military talents of Suintila, made them unwilling to hazard a revolt unless they could be secure of some support. In order to procure this, Sisenand applied himself to Dagobert, king of France, a prince who, amongst other foibles, was strangely delighted with a glaring and pretentious magnificence, to whom he promised a fountain of solid gold, and exquisitely wrought, of the weight of fifty pounds, which Actius the Roman general had presented to Torismond, king of the Visigoths, as a monument of gratitude for that service which he rendered the Roman empire (O). Dagobert listened to his request; and, having ordered the troops he had in Burgundy, under the command of Aabundantius, to join those that were already about Thoulouze, under Venerand, he directed them to affix Sisenand in his irruption into Spain. Suintila had early intelligence of this revolt; and, having put himself at the head of his army, he arrived within a few days march of Saragossa, about the time that Sisenand took possession of the place. The next morning when he was about to make the necessary dispositions for a general engagement, he was surprised to hear Sisenand proclaimed king of the Visigoths in his own camp, with the unanimous acclamations of his soldiers, and that nobody was more active therein than his brother Gelimer. He was convinced that rebellion was vain; and therefore, giving his crown for loft, he withdrew as privately as possible, in order to save his life. Sisenand arrived in a few hours in the camp, where he was joyfully received; and, having regaled Aabundantius and Venerand with splendid and costly presents, they repulsed the Pyrenees with their forces, at the same time that he prosecuted his march to Toledo, where he made his entry in a kind of triumph, and was publickly proclaimed king, to the general satisfaction of the whole nation.

Sisenand was scarce seated on the throne, before Dagobert sent Avarogar and Venerand, as his ambassadors, to compliment him upon his accession, and to put him in mind of the gold

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1 Isid. Hist. Goth. 2 Mariana, Mayers Turquet, Ferreras. 3 Paulus Ammianus. 4 Fredeg. in Chron. 5 Freron, Historia de Hispania, P. iii. sec. 7.

(N) With this great event, the learned and pious Isidore, metropolitan of Seville, concludes his history of the Goths, though he did not entirely finish and digest it in writing till the year after (2). It is very apparent, that he had a tender regard, as well as a profound respect, for king Suintila and his family, to whom some think that he was nearly related; whether that be so or not, we have good reason to conclude that it proceeded from this disposition in their favour, he declared recording what passed from the time of this event, since he not only survived more than ten years, but prefixed also in the fourth council of Toledo, and was obliged to take a share in many other public affairs during that space (3).

(2) Obscr chronologicae de Marques de Mondjar, p. 176. 4 [P]eipor, Ead. Fornandez.

(O) This fountain, or basin of gold, for it is not very clear which it was, was the prize of that celebrated Roman general Actius, to Torismond, king of the Visigoths, upon the signal and decisive victory gained by their alliance, and with the loss of that monarch's father, over the famous Actius and his Hunt, in the neighbourhood of Metz, anno Dominii 437 (4); so that it had been above a hundred and seventy years preserved among the treasures of the Goths, and, exclusive of its intrinsic value, was looked upon as a matter-piece in point of workmanship.
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The King received them with all possible marks of honour, and gave orders that the fountain should be delivered to them agreeable to his promise; but the Goths, who saw this with inexplicable regret, surprized them in their palfiage home, and recovered this monument of the courage and generosity of their ancestors. Dagobert was not flow in complaining and demanding satisfaction from Sifemard, who told them, it was not in his power to deliver them the fountain a second time: but if King Dagobert would be content with the value of it in money, he would discharge the obligation he was under with the greatest punctuality; and, this offer being accepted, the money was paid. While this affair was upon the carpet, it created some murmuring, as is natural, amongst a free people, when they conceive the public welfare sacrificed to the particular interests of the prince; and this afforded Geilan a fresh opportunity of discovering the blemishes of his disposition, by endeavouring to raise an insurrection against the prince whom he had helped to set upon the throne; but he was generally known, and as generally condemned, so that his insinuations only produced his own ruin; for, being spurned of all his employments, and his estates confiscated, he passed the remainder of his life in as low a condition as his infamous behaviour deserved, equally unfounded and unpitied.

In the third year of his reign, Sifemard summoned the fourth council of Toledo, in which Udore, the metropolitan of Seville, presided, and in which sixty-nine prelates were present, either by themselves or by their vicars. In this great assembly there were seventy-five canons made, the laft of which was very remarkable, for by it the people were enjoined to keep the faith they had sworn to their monarch, and to defend his authority and person to the utmost, under pain of excommunication. It was also enacted, that, upon the demise of the king, the bishops and great men should be called together, in order to proceed to a new election. The bishops also gave the king a great deal of good advice, and more especially desired that his majesty would be pleased to revise all criminal sentences himself, and not put the parties to death till their offences were thoroughly proved, and the nature of them closely examined. In reference to Saintila and his children, they were declared incapable of any public office, and all their goods and estates confiscated, except what the king should, in his private capacity, be pleased to bestow upon them for their subsistence; and the traitor Geilan was put under the like incapacities; so that, notwithstanding the silence of ancient historians, the deposing this monarch appears to be fully proved from public records. Perhaps the writers of those times were unwilling to convey the history of their troubles, and the failings of one who had been formerly so good a prince, to posterity; neither is it at all impossible that personal gratitude for favours received might in some measure impose this silence, which however cannot furnish any argument against what is preferred in the registers of the council, where it is very likely some concurred in doing what they had no inclinations succeeding times should learn in any other manner than as it is expressed in the canon (P).

We may easily conceive, tho' nothing of that kind can appear in their proceedings, that there must have been some discordance in the sentiments of so numerous an assembly, considering more especially what important and tender affairs fell under their deliberations. But we should not have troubled the reader with any conjecture on this head, if it was not necessary to give

(P) In this fourth council of Toledo, there were several canons made in relation to the Jews, by which, on the one hand, it was provided, that they should not be compelled to embrace the Christian religion; and on the other, such as had embraced Christianity were not permitted to quit their religion, though they had embraced it by force (5). No person whatever was to give protection to the Jews in any thing, contrary to the interests of the Christian religion, on pain of excommunication. Such Jews as, after receiving baptism, apostatized, and circumcised others, were to be punished by the bishops; and those they circumcised, if they were children, to be taken from them; and to be set free, if they were slaves. All the children of Jews, boys or girls, were to be placed in monasteries, or under the care of pious persons, in order to their being brought up in the faith, and instructed in found morals. The Christian children of apostate Jews were not to suffer by the confiscation of their parents effects, but to receive out of them such a share, as by the laws, they would have had. Conversed Jews, having intercourse or communication with those of their old religion, were to suffer death. Jews married to Christian women were to be excommunicated, and, if not, they were to be separated from their wives; and, in like manner, Jewojo women from their husbands; the children already born of such marriages, to be brought up Christians. A Jew that apostatized was incapable of giving evidence in any court. All Jews were rendered incapable of holding any office or post of any kind. Whoever permitted or assisted them to obtain either, was to be excommunicated; and the Jew, who found any means of eluding or breaking through this canon, was to be punished with death. There were seventy-five canons made in all, and it was by the latter that Saintila and his children were excommunicated, and rendered incapable of any preferment, on account, as it is expressly said, of the tyrannies exercised by him during his reign (6).

fome rational account of two strange facts that are said to have happened under this short reign. It is reported, that one Gerontius, a priest, preening on the favour in which he stood with this king, behaved towards Jaffar, metropolitan of Toledo, with incontinency, and even with insolvency, which the good people of Toledo, with a long time with patience, till a sudden the priest loit his fences, and continued in a state of his folly till his death, which in those days was regarded as a judgment. The other event, still more tragical, regards the fame metropolitan of Toledo, who, if Mariana was rightly informed, for he has not acquainted us with his authority, was an affront to the man, and so generally disagreeable to his clergy, that they made bold to strangle him in his bed. Such transgressions must be referred to the factious disturbances of the times, and the story of the first dispute ought to be regarded as a key to the second. King Sifonad did not long survive, and, for ought that appears, died a natural death, in the month of March, and in the year of our Lord six hundred thirty-six, when he had reigned somewhat more than five years.

Upon his demise, there happened some disputes which retarded the election of his successor; however, in the ensuing months, Chintilla was raised to the throne, who began his reign by calling a council at Toledo, for regulating affairs in church and state. He was present himself at the opening of this assembly, and recommended to them the taking proper measures for quieting the minds of the people, desiring all that set times of fasting and humiliation should be appointed, in order to obtain the blessing of God on his person and government. This council did not last long, and made but eight canons, all of which, except the first, respected the civil government. They declared, that whoever was wanting in loyalty and duty to the king, should be excommunicated: that whoever, without requisite talents for government, or being desecrated of the illustrious blood of the Gibriz, should aspire to the crown, should incur the same penalty: that all such persons as, during the life of the king, should inquire after the time of his decease, or should ask for it, in hopes of succeeding him, should be likewise excommunicated: that those who should incur the same penalty who cursed the king, or practiced witchcraft against him: that those on whom the king bestowed recompenses of any kind, for their good and faithful services, should enjoy them peaceably, as an encouragement to others to behave in the like manner: that, in all enquiring councils, the canons made in the preceding council of Toledo, for supporting the respect due to the royal authority, should be read, that none might pretend ignorance of them; and lastly, that the king might mitigate or remit whatever sentences were passed upon criminals, if he thought proper. These laws will serve to give us a just idea of the government of the Visigoths, which was far from being arbitrary.

The whole nation of the Jews expelled his dominions by an edict. On the first of July, in the first year of his reign, the king published an edict, directing the public days of humiliation to be strictly observed, and for enforcing the other decrees made by the council.

The most remarkable transgression in this prince's reign was the expulsion of the Jews out of his dominions, in virtue of an edict, by which he declared, that his subjects and soldiers should be all of them Christians; but whether the Jews gave any particular cause for this severity, or whether it arose only from the general odium they lay under, and the desire the king had to render himself popular by treating them in this manner, is uncertain. In the sixth council of Toledo, which met not long after they were driven out, he received the complaints of that assembly upon this subject, and laws were made to support what he had done. In this, as in the former council, many points, relating purely to civil government, were settled in such a manner, that there remains no doubt of great animosities and heart-burnings that filled the minds of the people, and which induced an apprehension that every future vacancy of the throne would be considered as a kind of dissolution of the government, against which they provided all the remedies that human prudence could dictate (Q). At the close of the assembly, they returned

(Q) By the third canons of this sixth council of Toledo, the prelates and other members of that venerable assembly, not only approved, and rendered thanks to the king for what he had done against the Jews, but likewise exalted with him his content, and that of the nobles (a clear proof that these assemblies were really parliaments), that no monarch thereafter elected should enter upon the functions of the regal office, before he was proclaimed, under pain of excommunication, to adhere inviolably to the laws made against that nation (7). They provided, in this assembly, that persons accused of capital crimes should not be condemned till they were heard face to face with their accusers, and, for want of legal evidence, the party accused to be acquitted, except the matter charged upon him touched the king's life.Such as divided and endeavoured to stir up war against their country, were to be excommunicated. Such as broke

a turned the king's throne to the divine protection, and made vows for his long life and prosperity. He continued to govern with the same spirit of moderation and equity during the short remainder of his life, and deceased in the beginning of the year fix hundred and forty, universally regretted by his subjects, who enjoyed uninterrupted peace at home and abroad during the time that he sat upon the throne.

The great reverence that was borne to the memory of the deceased king, engaged the nobility, in compliance with the unanimous voice of the people, to raise his son Tunga to the throne. Though he was very young, he inherited from his father his piety and his charity with many other virtues; but the tenderness of his age, and want of experience, enervated his authority, insomuch that, depopulating his subjects, or pretending too much upon his indulgence and good-nature, took such liberties as were inconsistent with the respect due to government; and as bad examples are naturally contagious, so in a little time the whole kingdom was full of disorders, notwithstanding the young monarch was remarkably free from vices, and had no other failing than that want of firmness and readiness which was incident to a good-natured youth. The principal nobility, considering this, and being persuaded that these dangerous mischiefs would continue to increase while Tunga remained upon the throne, and might prove the ruin of the nation before he acquired the talents necessary to correct them, concluded, that, for the preservation of the state, he ought to be deposed. Having digested this scheme in their minds, they cast their eyes upon Chindaquinto, a person of great quality, much advanced in years, but who possessed, as they conceived, all those qualifications, in a very high degree, the virtues requisite to form a great prince, as well as to put an end to those disorders that otherwise threatened an extinction of their monarchy. These are the specious reasons assigned by some historians in support of this proceeding, that otherwise is far from having a just foundation, and upon their credit they must rest. Chindaquinto, old as he was, made no difficulty of accepting the crown; and, with the assent of his party, executed it with very little trouble, causing the young king to be conducted to a dungeon, and to have his head shaven, which, as the reader has seen by their laws, prevented its being ever covered again with a crown. Chindaquinto was declared king in the month of May, fix hundred forty-two; but Chindaquinto was very far from enjoying peaceably that dignity which he had rather seized by force than the mainstay of their allegiance, and afterwards fell into the king's power, were to be shut up in a monastery for life, if they made it their choice, in some measure equivalent to their claiming the benefit of the clergy with us. The highest respect and veneration was to be paid to the nobility having places at court, and about the king's person, so long as they behaved with justice, moderation, and benevolence, to their inferiors. Whatever rewards in lands, or otherwise, the king should bestow on his faithful subjects, they were to enjoy; and such as entered into conspiracies were to forfeit all they had, even though their treason should not be discovered till after the death of their king. In consideration of the benefits conferred by king Chindaquinto upon his subjects, the greatest respect should be preserved towards his children, and care taken to defend them in their persons and in their properties, there being nothing, says this canon, more equitable, than that the same regard should be shewn by the nation to the posterity of kings, that those kings, while upon the throne, manifested for the nation. If any, possessed either of an ecclesiastical or feudal rank, should enter into any intrigues during the life-time of the king, in order to secure the election of some other person upon his demise, he was excommunicated. When the throne was vacant, none should try out it, but wait the decision of a free election; and none should be capable of being elected who had taken a religious habit, and suffered his head to be shaven, or who had been destitute of force, or who should defend from slaves or strangers; but the person so elected should be one elected from the illustrious blood of the Goths, and endowed with prudence, and the necessary talents of government. Whoever should infringe this decree, incurred thereby the penalty of excommunication. All that was therefore done for the security of the life and successor of the kings of the Visigoths, was hereby confirmed; and the centurion of the Visigoths, the guardian of the sacred remains of God, his angels and saints, of the church, and of all the faithful, against all who should attempt the king's life, endeavoured to dethrone, or assemble troops to make war against him. If any prince be slain, his successor should avenge his death, as he would do that of his father, in which he should have the ascription of all the nobility, and of persons of every rank, who would not be held and respected infamous by the whole nation. These canons fixed the constitution, and were regarded as the magna charta of the Visigoths in Spain, so long as their monarchy in that country subsisted (8).

The history of the Visigoths in Spain

Book XXIII.

The king, with his courtiers, affixes his seal to the constitution of the Visigoths perfectly, and takes pains to restore and perfect its vigour. He was, the times in which he lived considered, a man of letters, and so great a lover of learning and men, that he sent one Taurus, or Taurus, bishop of Saragossa, to Rome, on purpose to bring from thence certain works of pope Gregory the great, which as yet had not been sent into Spain. He was no less remarkable for his piety, according to the notion of those times; and is reported to have built the magnificent monastery of St. Romanus, now called the monastery of Orniga, between Toro and Toro dels, not far from the river Duero, where he deified that his own and his queen's corpse might be laid, as it is believed they were. He died with great marks of sincere repentance, and after having caused very large sums to be distributed to the poor, October the first, in the year of our Lord 852, when he was upwards of 90 years of age, and in the 11th year of his reign (R).

We have thrown together all that regarded Chindaswintha, that we might not perplex the relation of what was achieved by Chindaswintha, as well in the life-time of his father as afterwards. It is believed, upon good foundation, that, a little before his assassination in the throne, he married his confit Ricibergue (S), and was much afflicted in compounding that point, by her

(R) Among all the monarchs of the Visigoths, Chindaswintha appeared to be most thoroughly versed in the science of government, and to have governed by true maxims of policy, instead of following the dictators of his passions. He gave a strong instance of this in the case of Tordelofit, who had been advanced to the metropolitan see of Brielia, and who, not satisfied with spreading dangerous and heretical opinions, endeavoured to give that to the errors he taught, by pretending that he found them in the writings of St. Isidore, his predecessor; of which the king being informed, he cau’d him immediately to be deposed, and even obliged him to quit his dominions; upon which he went over into Africa, where, after he had disturbed the minds of many people with his notions, he embraced, or pretended to embrace, the Mahometan superstition; which fully justified the king’s conduct towards him, and showed that he was not worse treated than he deserved (q).

her relations. But notwithstanding all this, there were not a few malecontents who were exceedingly displeased with this measure, and inclined to pull Reclusinum down before he was well seated on the throne. The want of free election was given out, with many other pretences, by such as were desirous of dethroning him; but the truth of the matter was, that the principal perfons of the faction, who honoured his father with the crown, took it extremely ill that they were disappointed in their views, and all their hopes cut short, by this afflication; whereas, with them, the chief motive to the king’s exaltation was his great age, which gave them a probability of surviving and succeeding him in turns. It does not however appear, that they declared openly at the time of the election, but waited for a more proper conjuncture, when the dispositions of the common people in the more distant provinces should be known; for, having been treated with severity in the beginning of the old king’s reign, it was presumed that they would not be universally pleased with this measure. Time made it appear that they were in their conjectures not at all mistaken.

Amongst these malecontents there was one Frojfa, a man of great quality among the Goths, who was himself rich and powerful, and had many relations and friends. He was the first who took up arms, and, for the better support of his party, he employed his money among the Gafons to raise an army. These people, who had been frightened into submifion by Sinum, were very glad of this opportunity to find their way orderly into Spain. As soon as they had passed the Pyrenes under his command, they began to chew their old disposition, desolating the country with fire and sword, ruining edifices of all kinds, churches, and monasteries not excepted, and destroying without mercy perons of all ranks, sexes, and ages. In the midst of their career, Reclusinum fell upon them with a small but well-disciplined army; and tho’ the victory was not gained without a considerable loss, yet the king purfued it with such vigour, that the rebels were entirely defeated. Frojfa fled with a small party, and the Gafons suffered so much, that they repafed the Pyrenes, and thought themselves happy in regaining their own country. But, notwithstanding this blow, many cities and provinces discovered visible signs of discontent, and made preparations for their own defence, in case the new king should endeavour to reduce them with his victorious army. But those who were not frighted with the terror of his arms, he reduced by his clemency; for having declared that he was willing, and even desirous, to redress grievances, and to grant whatever could be justly expected, they confessed, upon his publihing a general amnesty, to submit, and to acknowledge him for their sovereign. But what became of Frojfa does not appear from the Spanish history.

Things were in this situation when the old king died; and Reclusinum, than whom no Reclusinum prince was more punctual in the performance of his promises, summoned a council at Toledo, in order to settle the affairs of the kingdom, which was opened on the 17th of December 653, at which attended a multitude of prelates, and all the chief perons of the kingdom. The king opened this assembly of the states by a short speech, conceived only in general terms, and referring himself for farther particulars to a memorial which he left with them writing.

arch as Chidesta would marry at fourscore and three a young lady of sixteen; but it is not at all improbable of the fon. On consulting, however, the manufacturer of this prelate’s works, the library of the Chidesta would marry at fourscore and three a young lady of sixteen; but it is not at all improbable of the son. On consulting, however, the manu-
This paper contained, first, a confession of the catholic faith; next, the opinion of the assembly was demanded in respect to those who had taken up arms against the crown and the faith, on account of the oath which the whole nation had entered into for excluding such offenders from all hopes of pardon, which, however, the king, in the present case, was willing to relax. In the third place, he declared, that where the subjects complained, with respect and decency of the sovereign, that arbitrators might be appointed by law to decide equally between them. He recommended it to the nobility to concur in judgment with the prelates, and to execute punctually the canons that should be made. Lastly, he desired to know their sentiments with respect to the Jews, who, after baptisms, had apostatized. This august assembly not only settled these, but several other points of very high importance, to the entire satisfaction of the king and his subjects; and their canons, which were twelve in number, were signed not only by the bishops and abbots, but by the great men who were present (U). The day after the council separated, the king published an edict, grounded upon their advice, by which he declared, that whatever estates or effects were acquired by monarchs after their accession to the throne, should be annexed to the crown, and belong to their successors; but that, with respect to their private fortunes, they should defend to their children. In this edict he farther declared, that whereas he was in possession of his father Chinadranto's estates, he was ready to make satisfaction in the most ample manner to any who could make due proof of their having been oppressed or injured by that prince.

The reign of Reccaredo, from this time, was perfectly calm and undisturbed. His subjects, in general, began to understand and be perfectly sensible of their happiness in living under a prince who made that much more study than his own. The clergy, and with good reason, were wholly devoted to his service, and, in points of highest consequence, had recourse to his authority, without applying themselves to the bishop of Rome (W). The Jews, who were indeed the only people the king was disposed to treat with severity, pacified him by a memorial, in which they qualified what was called the apostasy, by declaring, in the most solemn manner, that it consisted not in any unbelief, but in a natural aversion to pork; defining that the king would be pleased to excuse them in that respect, since it proceeded not from any repugnancy of their will, but from the imbecility of their stomachs, which would not bear a food they from their infancy had been taught to abhor; submitting to be burnt, if, in any other respect, they behaved otherwise than as became good Christians:

(U) Mariana, by a slight mistake, places this council in November instead of December; which we remark, to prevent this difference creating a suspicion of our negligence (6). Orosius, metropolitan of Merida, presided in this assembly, in which were present fifty-two prelates, and the flower of the Gallic nobility, more especially such as had great employments at court (7). By the second canons of this council it is declared, that the oath which does not regard the service of God, but respects only temporal interests, is not perpetually binding; and that, notwithstanding the past laws against such as took no part in them, yet, for the welfare and welfare of the state, the penalties inflicted by them may be, and are by this canon, remitted. By the tenth canon it is declared, that, for the future, the king shall be elected in the place where his predecessor died, by the bishops and great lords of the court. The king shall protect the catholic faith, and shall be affiduous in preventing all dangers that might arise from the wickedness of the Jews, but shall keep within the bounds of moderation, taking at the same time all due care of the government. The new king shall succeed to whatever his predecessor held in right of his dignity: but he shall not be solemnly crowned till he has sworn, and comply with this degree. By the twelfth, they declare, that whoever offends against the decision of any council, shall stand excommunicated; and by the thirteenth it is declared, that, with respect to the Jews, the canons made in the council of Toledo, by king Sisenando, shall be strictly put in force. After this the usual conclusion, in which the prelates return thanks to God and the king. We have mentioned the nature of the subscription in the text; and, on the whole, there can be nothing clearer than that this was an assembly of the great men, a general council or meeting of the estates of the kingdom, which was the peculiar characteristic of the Gallic policy, of which the reader can never too often be put in mind, as it is the basis of legal liberty and constitutional freedom (8).

(W) The influence hinted in the text was this. In a dark time after, at a council held at Tarsa, the president of the metropolitan of Merida, preferred his petition to the king, setting forth, that the jurisdiction of his fee was very much diminished, and a great number of his suffragans taken from him; desiring that the king would be pleased to examine the matter, and restore the metropolitan fee of Merida to its ancient state. The true reason of this complaint was, that as far as the kings of the Suevi made conquests in Lusitania, they subjected the dioceses, of which they became masters, to the metropolitans of Braga, the chief city of their own dominions; and this regulation, though the reason ceased, had still subsisted under the kings of the Goths; but Reccaredo, who was both a prince and an equable prince, directed that this matter should be carefully looked into, and the jurisdiction of the metropolitan fee of Merida re-invested in its former rights; which was accordingly done, and the king's conduct afterwards approved and confirmed by a council (9). This wise and good pope Orosius was, it seems, entirely ignorant of the pretensions claimed by the Roman pontiffs, and thought it sufficient to apply himself to the love of kings, who, also without the least scruple, and without the least dispute, did him all the justice that he could desire (10).
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with this well-disposed monarch seems to have been contented. Some corruptions having crept into the morals of the people, and into the discipline of the ecclesiastics, he corrected these by the advice of two councils held at Toledo; for which he was highly applauded by the nobility and prelates, who found the good effects of these frequent assemblies, which have been otherwise fortified by prescription.

That happy spirit of loyalty and general tranquility that reigned throughout the kingdom, induced the brethren and family of the king, who was now become a widower, to informate that this was a proper time to do something for them; but the king, it seems, was of a different opinion, either from a persuasion that his relations wanted the proper talents for going them of that privilege which they had most at heart. He had, however, in the midst of this reposé at home, a melancholy, and even an alarming prospect abroad; for the Saracens began to extend their conquests in Africa, and count Gregory, who was governor of the province of Carthage, having endeavored to give a check to this progress with the best army it was in his power to raise, was not only defeated, with the loss of a great part of his forces, but likewise fell himself in battle. Some carry this farther, and affirmt, that the invidels pulched their incursions as far as Mauritanias, then in the hands of the Goths, which obliged king Reconquista to arm in its defence; but the best writers are silent upon this subject, and therefore the fact ought to be concluded doubtful, if not false. However, the king could not be without apprehensions from the vicinity of such neighbours, which, with the weight of his other affairs, brought him into a bad state of health; in hopes of recovering from which, he made a journey to a place called Geritos, in the territory of Salamanca, at the distance of forty leagues from Toledo, which was his private patrimony, and perhaps the town where he was born; and there, his distemper being too hard for the skill of the physicians, he died, September the first, 672, in the 24th year of his reign, to the great and just sorrow of his subjects.

As soon as king Reconquista had breathed his last, the bishops and great lords of the court assembled; and being sensible how much the nation might suffer through the want of talents if that should happen in the successor of so great and good a prince, unanimously caft their eyes upon Wamba, a nobleman whole years, whole virtues, and whole great experience in goth.

Wamba, a nobleman whose years, whose virtues, and whose great experience in the most arduous public employments, left them nothing in that respect to fear. A new difficulty arose, however, which they had not foreseen; for he not only laboured to decline the honour, but, when he found that this was in vain, declared positively, that he knew himself not fit for it, and therefore would not accept the crown. This threw the assembly into much perplexity, till one of the lords laid his hand upon his sword, and, addressing himself to Wamba, told him, that in their choice of him, they were guided by no private motives, but armed solely at the public good; that his behaviour was of a very different nature, since it seemed that he preferred his own bed, and the pleasures of an independent life, to the welfare of his country; that he, who would not contribute, as far as in him lay, to the preservation of the state, was as guilty as he, who contrived its ruin; and therefore, if he continued to prefer an indolent security to the care of a crown, which the public interest, and the legal call of those present, required him to wear, he would sacrifice him upon the spot. The menaces of this nobleman, and the tears of all who were present, overcame the constancy of Wamba, who confessed to be declared king, but desired they would remember he never sought it; that it was a dignity forced upon him, in which his ambition had no share. He farther defined that his coronation might be repfted, till it should appear that their choice was the fene of the whole nation. On his return to Toledo, he was solemnly anointed and crowned on the 19th of September, 672, in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, with the universal acclamations of the nobility and people, and, as many historians affert, with a very miraculous intenance of the divine favour.

The Gaecoms, according to the usual custom, made an irruption, under pretence that they were too heavily taxed, and their neighbours, the inhabitants of the country of Aftirias, the Gaecoms made an insurrection under the like pretence. The king was no sooner informed of this, than he disposed every thing for the immediate reduction of the rebels; but his army was scarce in motion before he had intelligence of a more formidable revolt of the inhabitants of Aftirias, and Gallic provine. He apprehended his crown was not so far opportunity of rendering himself independent, and matter of all the territories the Goths poliehed in France. He was confirmed in these notions.
by two of the most popular ecclesiastics, Guimilde bishop of Maquelone, and the abbot Ranimir, by whose assistance he soon drew over the populace, and found afterwards no great difficulty in corralling the troops. But, in this defection, Aregez, bishop of Nimetz, remained inflexible, and gave the conspirators so much trouble, that they sent him to France, loaded with chains; and, that they might not be without a bishop, Ranimir was put in possession of that see. The king being informed that the whole province was departed from its duty, made choice of count Paul, an old and experienced officer, and sent him at the head of the best part of his troops against these new rebels. When this general was advanced into the province of Tarragona, he consulted with duke Ranulf and the warden Hildigis, who were intrusted with the government there, whether it would not be better for him to fall up for himself, and to assume the title of king, as soon as he was master of Narbonne; in which wiled design, upon the promise of great advantages and preferment for themselves, they confirmed him by many arguments, and raised, to augment his army, the whole force of the province, under colour of the king's orders (X).

On his approach to Narbonne, though he kept his design as secret as possible, Aregez, bishop of that city, had some suspicion of his intentions, and gave orders for shutting the gates against him; but these orders were not obeyed; and count Paul, after he was admitted into the place, reprimanded him for giving them very severely. The bishop submitted, because it was not in his power to do otherwise; but gave the king privately the best account that he could of all that had happened. Count Paul acted with great subtility and address; he represented Wamba as old, peevish, cruel, and altogether unworthy the title he affirmed. He pretended to be extremely affected at the miseries that werefallen upon his country, and, in a great assembly of the officers and principal inhabitants, he gave it as his opinion, that nothing could contribute so much to restore the public tranquility as their making choice of some proper person to be king; with which he had reason to believe that count Hilderic would be very well pleased. Ranofine and Hildigis, by whose advice he took this step, inunified, in the mean time, to those who were near them, that Paul himself, on account of his birth, his wealth, and his great military experience, was the only person worthy of the crown; upon which they fated him king, and soon after placed on his head a crown, which king Recared the Catholic had dedicated in one of the churches. In this strange election Hilderic thought fit to acquiesce; and the Franks, as their interest directed them, not only suffered Paul to raise what men he pleased amongst them, but promised likewise to be his faithful allies, and to furnish him with auxiliaries whenever he thought it necessary. The inhabitants of the country of Catalonica likewise embraced his party; upon which he gave orders for fortifying several places that were important from their situation, and to occupy the chief passes of the mountains, while he laboured to assemble a regular army, capable of supporting him in his usurpation (Y).

(X) The reader will easily discern that there is no part of this history so clearly, so circumstantially, and with so much certainty, related, as this upon which we are now entering. The reason is, that a complete narrative of this remarkable rebellion was written by the prate mentioned in the last note, who is sometimes called in Latin, Juliana, sometimes Peneius, who, A.D. 680, succeeded Spiericus in the metropolitan see of Toleto, and whose testimony is this revolt, beyond exception, as he was perfectly capable of treating this subject as it ought to be, and wrote of nothing but what fell under his immediate observation (2). He is also, with great probability, supposed to be the real author of that ancient Spiebus chronicle, which is usually cited under the title of Tulfes, but in the manuscript is intitled Tufles, which is no more than a cipher, or contrived way of writing Juliana Sancti Epsici; that is, as he was perfectly capable of treating this subject as it ought to be, and wrote of nothing but what fell under his immediate observation (2). He is also, with great probability, supposed to be the real author of that ancient Spiebus chronicle, which is usually cited under the title of Tulfes, but in the manuscript is intitled Tufles, which is no more than a cipher, or contrived way of writing Juliana Sancti Epsici; that is, as he was perfectly capable of treating this subject as it ought to be, and wrote of nothing but what fell under his immediate observation (3). This chronicle, which is remarkably correct in the dates, and defends only to the coronation of king Egisa, is printed in the second volume of the learned cardinal d'Aquiere's Councils held in Spain. These circumstances it is necessary the reader should know, that he may not apprehend we have believed more care or colouring on this than on other parts of our history; whereas, in truth, the difference arises only from our having better materials.

(Y) As count Paul had, from the very moment he was intrusted with the command of the troops, formed the project of his revolt, he began to hold secret correspondence with Hilderic count of Ninet, and, by the shortness and fewness of his marches, afforded himself leisure to complete all that he designed. By the defection of Ranulf duke of Terragona, and his confederates, the foundation was laid of Paul's usurpation, who, besides the personal ill qualities he attributed to Wamba, pretended that he was set up only by a tender faction, who, under the shadow of an old infirm king, meant to oppress the people, more especially those in the remote provinces, and thereby enrich themselves. The etymology of Egisa has been explained by king Recared in the church of St. Erice the Martyr at Girone, from whence it was fetched upon this landable occasion. As soon as it encreased his brow, Paul had the insolence not only to use the regal title in all the

a King Wamba, on the other hand, halted on the frontiers of Navarre, and, having called a council of his chief officers, laid before them the accounts that he had received, and demanded their advice. This produced various councils; some were for proceeding with the troops others thought it better for the king to return to Toledo, in order to assemble an army suitable to the danger, and to the great force of his enemies. Wamba, who was an old general, had probably taken his resolution before he told them, that when he accepted the crown, he resolved to act as became a king; and that he could not think it consistent with his dignity to turn his back to traitors; that therefore he would first reduce the Gafons, and then pass the Pyrenees. At the same time he gave orders that all the forces in the adjacent provinces should march to the pofts he alligned, and directed his fleet to repair to the coast of France, in order to wait the arrival of himself and his army. When he had done this, he entered Navarre, laid the country waste on every side, and struck such terror into the inhabitants, that, abandoning all fort of defence, they threw themselves upon his clemency. Wamba told them, that the devastation he had made was the proper recompence of rebellion; and that, since they had altered their conduct, they had nothing farther to fear from him; but that, since they were in arms, he would take them into his service. His army, thus recruited, he obliged to observe the most exact discipline, and marched with such diligence, that he appeared before Barcelona when he was little expected. The bishop of Girona caimed the gates of that strong city also to be thrown open, and presented the king with the keys, and with a letter from Paul to himself, directing him to give possession of the city to which king appeared first; at which place in order to have forced all the passages, the royal army entered Narbonne.

b Wamba smiled.

c His forces and his fleet having exactly obeyed his orders, he found himself in a condition to prosecute the war which for which the rebels thought him only preparing. After three days' rest, he divided his army into four bodies, and directed them to pass the Pyrenees, by three different routes, himself, at the head of the fourth division, following that which marched along the coast. His generals executed his commands punctually and successfully, without meeting with much resistance. In one place only they found a good fort, and a strong garrison, which they attacked, and, according to a vigorous defence, took it by form, and in it duke Ranefinde and the warden Hildigis, whom they sent to the king with their hands tied behind their backs. They advanced then to Sardonia, where Witimir, whom Paul had made general of his forces, had a numerous garrison, and every thing requisite for a good defence; he judged it more advisable to retire in the night, to carry his matter an account of the condition things were in, his troops presently submitted. The king, finding his army had entirely paffed the mountains, assembled all his forces, halted for two days, and having made the same division as before, directed his generals to march with the utmost diligence to Narbonne, himself following with a small guard. They pursued his instructions, and quickly invested the place, from which Paul was retired to Nimes, leaving the command of all the troops to Witimir, who, being summoned to open the gates, returned a rude and insolent answer. The generals of Wamba, provoked at this behaviour, and perceiving that it had irritated the army to a degree of madness, resolved to try if it was not possible to take the place by form; and having proposed this to the army, they offered with joy to begin the attack immediately. The generals then made the necessary dispositions, and the royal army advanced to every side to the assailants. Witimir, with the rebels under his command, having no hopes left but in victory, since all expectations either of mercy or escape were equally vain, defended themselves with a degree of obstinacy that had been rarely seen, for about three hours; but at length the king's forces having burnt some of the gates, and undermined a part of the walls, entered the city on every side, and made a dreadful slaughter. Witimir, giving all for lost, withdrew with a handful of men into a church, in which they made a desperate resistance. One of the king's soldiers finding him with a beam, he was at last taken alive, with most of his principal officers; and, after whipping them to the streets, the next day they were sent prisoners to the king. After the reduction of Narbonne, the king, without much difficulty,
obliged other cities and great towns to return to their obedience; those who commanded in a them retiring with their garrisons to Nimes, where the usurper Paul did every thing that an able officer could do to render the place strong, and to inspire his troops with resolution; sometimes complimenting them on the fine appearance they made (for, in effect, he had the whole flower of the province with him); sometimes putting them in mind that the king's army was exceedingly weakened and fatigued; and sometimes assuring them, that, the prodigious succours were in full march to their relief from France and Germany. By these and other arts he kept up their spirits so well, that they prepared cheerfully for their defence, and disposed of all things for the defence of Nimes, but without effect.

The king's forces, after the repose of a few days, appeared before the place in four distinct corps, each commanded by an experienced general, making in all about 30,000 men, and, in a few hours, had completely invested the place. The besieged considered and despised them, as being themselves much more numerous, better armed, and better provided; so that they proposed marching out, and giving them battle; but Paul supposing an ambuscade, perfunctorily disposed of them to act on the defensive. The king's generals, animated by their past success, thought to carry the place by storm, in the same manner as at Narbonne, and attacked it therefore with great fury, but were repulsed with so much loss, that they sent the king intelligence, that, without an immediate supply of French troops, they must be obliged to raise the siege. Wamba, who forewore what might happen, had provided a body of ten thousand men, ready to march on the first notice; who, as soon as they received his orders, began to move, and, continuing their route all night, arrived the next day as the army was about to renew the assault. The sentinels on the towers of the city gave notice to Paul of this reinforcement, which intimidated the garrison not a little. That usurper heard the news not only without emotion, but with a seeming air of satisfaction; and, as he passed from post to post, encouraged his adherents, by telling them, that this was Wamba's last effort; that they were now to fight with all their enemies at once, and that those being defeated, they had nothing farther to fear. Having thus revived their courage, the action began with great noise and fury. The dispute lasted long; but at length the French mercenaries in Paul's pay began to mutiny: they said, that defence was in vain; that the place once taken they should be all put to the sword; and that there was no reason so many brave men should die in the cause of a base usurper. This created a great confusion; and the royal army laying hold of that advantage, mounted the walls with ladders, and began to enter the place on all sides: the rebels took it into their heads that they were betrayed by the Spaniards that were about Paul, whom they killed without mercy, and particularly two of the officers in whom he most confided, cloze by his side. In this situation Paul thought proper to lay aside his crown and his purple robe, and retired with such forces as yet remained firm into one of the ancient amphitheatres, where it was impossible they should be easily forced. The night brought on a cessation of arms, and the royal army contented themselves with taking quarters in all parts of the city, where they celebrated their victory, and the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne, which happened to be the same day. Things continued in this state for two days; and, on the third, they had notice of the king's approach with the rest of the army.

Paul and his associates, after mature deliberation, deputed Argebald, archbishop of Narbonne, to implore Wamba's mercy. He met the king at some distance from the city, and executed his commission in so pathetic a manner, that the king readily pardoned the whole body of malecontents, but would not hear of extending his clemency to Paul, and the chiefs of this dangerous rebellion. When he came in sight of the city, he found the army drawn up in order of battle, which having thanked for their services, he divided them into several corps, and ordered them to take post on the hills round the town, that they might be ready to oppose the Franks, in case they should attempt any thing in favour of their allies. But while the army were yet under arms, he ordered Paul and his companions to be summoned to come before him. They came accordingly, but in a difmal equipage. Paul was on foot, his cloaths torn, and his feet bare; a captain of the king's troops on each side, holding a lock of his hair. As soon as he saw the king, he went and knelt at his feet, at the same time cutting the military belt he wore, inflicting on himself that mark of degradation as a traitor. Wamba ordered him and his friends to be put under a strong guard, but disobeyed the Franks, and other strangers that were with him, freely and without ranlom. The spoils that were taken he causd to be reftored to the churches and private persons from whom they

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*Ron. Toletan. I. iii.*
*Luc. Tudenf.*
*Toletan. I. iii.*
*Jul. ubi supra.*
*Luc. Tudenf.*
*Ron. Toletan.*

had
had been plundered, and directed also the breaches to be carefully repaired, and the dead bodies to be interred. The public tranquility being settled, the king, on the third day, ordered the whole army to be drawn out, and ranged on both sides of a tribunal, on which himself and the principal nobility of the Goths were seated; after which he commanded Paul and his adherents to be brought before him. As soon as he appeared, the king stood up, and asked him whether he had ever given him any offence, ever done him any injury, or thrown him any mark of displeasure? To this Paul answered, that the very contrary was true; that he had always treated him with peculiar marks of favour; that he owed it to his confidence the power of raising this rebellion; and that he had nothing to allege in excuse. Those who came with him said the same thing, and mentioned severally the obligations they were under to the king. On this their oaths of allegiance were read, their subscriptions sworn, and then the laws against treason heard, the judges stood up, and pronounced sentence of death; but the king, a few minutes after, changed that sentence into their being shaven, and sent to several monasteries, where they might have time to repent of their offences. This was the issue of a rebellion that had endangered the monarchy of the Visigoths, and which had been very probably fatal to a monarch of less prudence and less fortitude than Wamba, whom they provoked by the incursions of one Lupus, a French general, who made an irruption for the sake of plunder. Wamba contented himself with obliging them to make a precipitate retreat, and, after the miseries to which they had been already subjected, would not expose his people to the danger of a foreign war. He appointed new officers and new governors throughout the whole province, put strong garrisons into all the forteresses, rewarding his soldiers amply, and recompensing the merit of every officer by preferment. With the rest of his troops he repassed the Pyrenees, and continued his march directly towards Toledo, into which he made a pompous and triumphant entry, all the soldiers being new clothed, and their arms in perfect order. In the centre of the troops were several waggonst, in which were seated Paul and his captains and counsellors, all of them clove shaven, with ragged cloaths and naked feet, and their chief with a dirty leather crown upon his head. The king closed the procession, surrounded by the nobility, from whom he was distinguished by the majesty of his appearance, his silver hair flowing on his shoulders, and his brow bound with a diadem. The whole city rang with acclamations and the king having returned thanks to God for having restored peace to his people, dismissed the council and applied himself to the regulation of such disorders as time, accident, or corruption, had brought into church and state; for which he was extremely qualified, being perfectly versed in their laws, and having nothing so much at heart as the interest of the kingdom. His first care was for the capital of his dominions; and as Toledo, since it became such, was very much increased, he ordered the old city walls to be well repaired, and circum- scribed even the suburbs with a new one, which he adorned with the images of saints, and placed also certain inscriptions, which are still remembered, and are said to have been repaired and restored, out of respect to their royal founder, by king Philip II. (Z).

The king summoned two councils in the year 675, one of which was held at Braga, the other at Toledo, in which many canons were made, chiefly with a view to reform the discipline of the church, and to repress the luxury, pride, and superstition of the clergy. At first sight this may seem a reflection upon that body; but, if duly considered, we shall find discreet, for the simple duties of their function, these laws could not have been made; for luxury would then have been filled with detestable splendor, pride the support of ecclesiastical dignity, and superstitious ceremonies

In order to supply fountains for this building, it was judged necessary to destroy a noble cypress, which had been raised at a vast expense by the Romans, which is the reason that, in the walls of Toledo, there appear frequently large and beautiful pieces of marble, and because upon many of these the figures of a roe and a wheel are very elegantly expressed. An opinion prevails among the vulgar, that these were the arms of king Teudis; whereas, to a judicious eye, it is evident, from their being placed here and there, without any order or arrangement, that there is not the least colour for any such notion. It is reported that the outer wall was fortified with no less than 150 square and semicircular towers, according to the mode of those times. Upon some of thefe the following Latin distich was engraved.

Erectit fuentem Do rex inclitus urben
Wamba sua celebrum pretiosi gentis honorum.

On the principal towers stood the statues of several saints most in ebonium, in white marble, and on their pedestals were engraved the following Latin lines, which, in those days, it seems, were accounted poetry.

**Marina Hisp. de Hispans, I. vi. cap. xiv. Luc. Tudens.**

**Ibid ibid.**

**Elevated**
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Book XXIII.

The Saracens, at that time, not only disturbed the continent with their armies, but har- rassed likewise the whole Mediterranean with their fleets, and were particularly troublesome on the coasts of Spain. The king, who had a good naval force, disposed of it in judicious a manner, that the infidels found themselves very much curbed thereby, which induced them to assail their whole force, that they might at once crush that of Spain. When they came to make the experiment, however, they found themselves mistaken; the skill of the Goths defending them from being oppressed by superior numbers, infomuch that, after a long and obstinate engagement, the Saracens were totally defeated, and, besides a number of slaves that were taken, lost 270 vessels of all sizes. Some have thought this number excessive; but if we consider that they had no ships of great burthen, and reflect on the great number of men they sometimes transported, we need not be surprized at hearing of fleets of several hundred sail, because, in those days, they had not ships of war, properly speaking, but employed in such expeditions almost every vessel that was fit to put to sea. This was a point of very great consequence, and very probably delayed for some time the disorders anddiffers to which the people of Spain were afterwards reduced, and from which they might always have been defended, if the successors of Wamba had in any thing, except the title, resembled him.

While the thoughts of this great monarch were entirely taken up with arduous affairs of state, there was one near him, who, not out of pity to that indefatigable prince, but purely to gratify his own ambition, was studying how to remove him out of the throne, and to feast himself in his place. This was Erviga, the son of Ardanahus, and, as is generally supposed, the d great grandson of Hermengild. He saw with displeasure, that, through his temperance and clement devotion, he made the third council of Braga (6), provided, that, in the celebration of the holy mysteries, priests should not make use either of milk or raisin wine, but should use only bread and wine, mingled with a few drops of water. Priests were restrained from having any other woman than their mothers in their houses, to prevent an indecent resort of females to visit their sisters or other relations, who were hitherto permitted to reside with them. Restraint was laid on the bishops, that they should not, for the future, be carried in a chair to church by four deacons, but that they should walk to church, attended by the clergy and people. They were likewise forbidden to order priests, abbots, and other ecclesiastics, to be whipped for every slight offence; and, if they did, were to be excommunicated and exiled. The latter, which is filled the eleventh council of Toledo (7), was opened November the 7th, 657. There were made in this council fifteen canons; the first of which is very remarkable, and to this effect: Such as are members of this, or of any other council, shall believe with the utmost modesty, and speak with the greatest decency, observing at other times a perfect silence, and, by a strict attention, testify their respect to the place they are in. Whence they are called upon to speak, they shall deliver themselves with much circumspection, without any variation from truth, without any strokes of ill nature, without unmentionable talk, that create confusion, and without offending to be silly, where the bishops was false and grave. The rest of the canons relate to ecclesiastical discipline, and contain nothing curious, or of any great importance.

(8) The regulating exactly ecclesiastical discipline in Spain, by a distinct description of the bishops, and placing them under their respective metropolitans, to whom Mariana always gives the title of archbishop; was one of the most remarkable acts of his people's administration; and an extract of this regulation may be found in the historian before-mentioned, who compares it with another made in the time of Constantine the Great. It may be sufficient here to observe, that the six metropolitan sees were Toledo, Seville, Saragossa, Braga, Tarragona, and Narbonne, the capital of that province which the Goths still retained on the other side of the Pyrenees. What is principally to be observed in respect to this act is, that the whole was done by the king's authority, without the least intimation to, or communication with, the pope, or even the intervention or approbation of a council of Spanish bishops; so that it is clear, in things temporal, which the limitation of episcopal jurisdiction is allowed to be, the supremacy was acknowledged in the Gothic kings in as large an extent as it hath been anywhere enjoyed, since the propagation of the Christian faith has been promoted and supported by civil authority.

Chap. 1. The history of the Visigoths in Spain.

a constant exercise, Wamba, notwithstanding his great age, enjoyed a firm state of health; and he was not thoroughl				
ty afflicted, if he had patience even to his death, that, upon a full and free election, he should be chosen his successor. He framed, therefore, by his own point, a plot very ingenious, though at the same time very base: for he gave a kind of intoxicating potion to the king, by which he was thrown into a feigned and stupefied condition, and, while he was in this state, he cau				
ted him, according to the custom of those times, to be fiend, and put into his habit of penitence. The king, when he came to himself, discovering his forsee, and the fiend he entertained of the usage which he had received. He knew it was impossible, according to the laws, to resume his dignity; and, preferring the peace of his subjects to every other consideration, he recommended, by a writing under his hand, Erigo for his successor; 

b to prevent, what he fearfully would otherwise have happened, a civil war 1. After this he retired peaceably to a monastery, where he spent several years in a life of the strictest devotion; and, after having shown that he was not ambitious of a crown, and that none was more worthy to wear it, he left to posterity a glorious demonstration, that he could part with it likewise without losing that peace of mind which so much surpasses the regal title, and all the prerogatives annexed to it a (C).

Erigo was declared king in virtue of Wamba’s nomination, approved by the Gothic nobility Monday, October the sixteenth, in the year six hundred and eighty, and was anointed and crowned on Sunday the twenty-second of the same month, by Julian, metropolitan of Toledo. As, thro’ the care of his predecessor, he found the affairs of Spain in very good order, for his accession was in every respect more peaceful, and more generally acquiesced in, than he could have well hoped; yet either some murmurers there were of the artifice by which Wamba had been removed, or the king’s fiends made him so uneasy, that he resolved to call a council to fanfary his title, and to make some laws which might be beneficial to the state. 2 This assembly was opened on the ninth of January in the succeeding year, and continued sitting till the twenty-fifth of the same month, in which space they made several canons or laws relative to civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs, very proper to quiet the minds of people, and to make the crown sit lightly on the head of the new monarch 3 (D). To render their endeavours still more effectual, and to remove, if possible, the heart-burnings of Wamba’s family, he gave his daughter Civlona in marriage to Egica, his nephew and heir, but notwithstanding all


(C) Some writers affirm us, that this treason of Erigo was very far from being a hasty thought; and that, on the contrary, he had been before purifying schemes left unsuccessful, but not less villainous (3). In short, they attribute to him the attempt made by the Moros, whom he solicited to come into Spain, in hopes of being put at the head of an army to oppose them, which might have facilitated his design upon the crown (4). After this malicious and treacherous plot, which Thudered, the younger brother of the late king Ricas-uletto, was now of a proper age to govern the kingdom, and had an interest among the nobility, at least equal, if not superior, to his own, which put him under innumerable difficulties (2). It is asserted, that it was a piece of poisonous cane, soaked in the water he drank, that had this fatal effect; and that Julian, metropolitan of Toledo, was the instigator of depo-

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ing king Wamba, without being at all privy to the design; for finding him, after the administration of the sacrament, totally without sense or voice, he concluded to the shaving, and dreading him in a religious habit, as thinking it impossible he should recover (3). The whole of this transaction hap
ded on Sunday the 14th of October, and the very next day Erigo was declared king (4). Wamba recovered his senses in little more than twenty-four hours; and looking upon this as an admonition from heaven to bend his thoughts for the future to the concerns of another life, contented himself to be removed to the monastery of Pamplona, and left his successor to enjoy the splendor, and to struggle with the cares, of a crown (5).

(D) This twelfth council of Toledo was opened by a short speech made by the king, in which he told them, that his design of calling them together was, to engage them to confirm his title, and to make such other canons as they should think expedient, on the perusal of certain papers which he left with them (6). According to the king’s desire, the first canon declared him the lawful monarch of the Goths; and, in support of his title, offered three reasons: The first, that King Wamba was flamed; the second, that he had taken a religious man during his sickness, so that he was incapable of retaining the crown; the second, that, in the presence of the great lords of the court, and with their consent, Wamba had declared him his successor; and, lastly, because Julian, metropolitan of Toledo, had made a strict inquiry into the legality of his election, before he proceeded to the ceremony of his coronation. By the second canon, they forbade aborning from the vow of penitence, upon any pretence whatever, thole, who, during his sickness, and even though deprived of their senses, had taken a religious habit; but enjoined them to fast for precipitately the vows which in that condition they had made. They suppressed the bishopric of Aquit, which had been erected by king Wamba; they gave the metropolitan of Toledo leave to name, with the consent of the king, to the vacant bishopric in Spain, or rather to consecrate such as were elected; they restored such as had been declared infamous, for not attending king Wamba in his expedition against the rebels at Pampolin; and they confirmed, regulated, and directed to be strictly put in force, all the laws made against the Tares, with several other canons relating to ecclesiastical discipline.


1 Mariana, Hif. Hifpana, l. vi. cap. 14. 2 Luc. 3 Carol. Toledo. xii. cap. 1. 4 Luc. Tudenf. 5 Mariana, Mayenne Turquet. Fererreus.

Mod. Hist. Vol. VII. 7 Thefe
thee precautions, and one cannot easily conceive how more could well be taken, a war broke out; but whether this happened thro' an irruption of the Gascons, by an invasion of the Gallic province, or through an invasion of the Moors, we cannot determine. But this we know from the most authentic testimony, the positive declaration of the prelates and grandees in the next general council, that some great convulsion there was, and that the king Erviga had behaved therein with great courage and conduct, by which his subjets were again restored to peace, for which they offered him the tribute of their most grateful acknowledgments.

As Erviga had a numerous family by his queen Lubidigota, and as he was very apprehensive of their safety in case of his demise, he laboured all that was in his power to gain the affections of his subjets. It was with this view that he meditated within himself on every thing that could give the people quiet or satisfaction, and studied all the means possible by which the one might be removed, and the other procured; believing, that whatever dislik or prejudice they might at first have conceived against him, they must be gradually moved by this conduct, and with well to a prince who made his happiness more his study than almost any of his predecesors; and, to carry thefe his good intentions into execution, he held two other general councils in course of his reign (684). By a steady perseverance in this laudable course, he so far carried his point, that whatever disaffete some great perfons might have, they were obliged to conciliate the, the clergy and greatest part of the nobility and the common people in general, being well affced to his government. In his time, however, there happened a grievous famine, which was followed by an epidemic diftemper that carried off great numbers of people. The Jews also, encouraged by the lenity of his reign, began to behave with some degree of inofence, and to multiply exceedingly, so as to give the clergy great apprehensions; but the moderation of the king was too great, that it does not appear he ever moved to treat them with any extraordinary degree of rigour.

Seized with a malignant diftemp, and refused the crown in his life-time.

At length, after having worn a crown rather for the service of others than himself, and having every-where procured more tranquillity than in his own breast, the king found himself attacked by a disease that left him very little room to hope for recovery. This induced him to set his affairs in order while there was yet time. He began with appointing Egiza, the nephew and heir of king Wamba, his successor, on the fourth of August, an hundred and eighty seven, having obliged him to swear he would do justice to all whom he might have inadvertently wronged. This done, he sent for the nobility into his presence, releafe them from their oath of allegiance, ordered himself to be shaved, and dress'd in a habit of penitence, by which Egiza entered into the possession of the government, and soon after Erviga breathed his last, in the eighth year of his reign (*). His precend, for Wamba, being still living in his convent, and having the satisfaction of being this prince obliged to take for his own security that step into which he had betrayed him, and to place the crown, while he was yet living, upon the head of that very perfon for whom it has been designed by himself; and which was perhaps another point of happiness, he did not live long enough to see the untoward consequences that followed from this disposition of the crown, from the implacable resentment which the new king preferred against all who had the least share in that ill usage which the old monarch had met with. But how long he survived his successor, and whether he gave his nephew any advice

(E) In the next general council, the five first canons out of thirteen relate entirely to civil affairs (7). By the first, the accomplices in the revolt to Paul, who had been declared infamous, and deprived of their eftates, are restored to both, through the king's clemency; and from the same motive the like favour is granted to all such as were punished in the time of king Chieza for the like offence. In the second, it is recited, that whereas in times past kings had deprived some great lords of the dignity of palatines, in right of which they voted at elections; had condemned them to death and perpetual infamy, without hearing their justification; the council, therefore, to prevent such crying acts of oppression, prohibited any palatine or bishop to be degraded, deprived of his goods, or condemned to be whipped, before the bishops, great lords, and wands, shall have taken knowledge of his offence, who, in case they find him guilty, shall punish him according to law. As the people were indebted great sums to the public treasury for the arrears of taxes, in the third canon the king's remission of all that was due before his accession is confirmed. In their fourth canon, after acknowledging the great obligations they have to the king, they forbid, under pain of excommunication, any perfon, of what rank soever, to do any evil to his wife, his children, his sons, or daugh ters in law, in their perfections, dignities, or eftates. The fifth canon forbids any perfon to espouse the widow of the king, or to live in an infamous familiarity with her; and whoever, by the council, shall dare so to do, even though it shall be the king himself, his name shall be rased out of the book of life.

a as to the management of public affairs, though mentioned by Mariaea, is notwithstanding very uncertain. But so great was his reputation for wisdom and piety in succeeding times, that a potent Spanish monarch caused his body to be removed, and reinterred with honour (F).

We find no difficulty or disturbance made on the accession of Egiza, who without doubt was very acceptable to a great part of the nation, on account of the great reverence his family had paid to his uncle Wamba, notwithstanding the alliance he had contracted with the family of the prince then upon the throne; but it is not at all probable, that, by the advice of the old monarch, he parted with his queen as soon as he found himself settled in the regal dignity, because there is no authentic proof of this; and because, in the canons made by the councils held in his reign, there are many circumstances which render this suggestion very improbable, to which we may add his associating the only son he ever had by her in the government. But it is nevertheless very certain, that he was far enough from approving the measures of the last reign, and of this we have authentic evidence in the scuffles he proposed to the first council which was held at Toledo after his accession to the throne, and which indeed seems to have been affembljed chiefly on this account. The number of the prelates and of the great lords that sat therein was very considerable, tho' not so numerous as in some councils; but as there had been several lately held, it was not likely that many things of importance would be brought before them.

This assembly met on the eleventh of May six hundred eighty-eight. King Egiza, at his first entrance, saluted them, and, without deferring any confirmation of his title, said, that he had some scuffles upon his mind which regarded the government of the kingdom, and which he had called them together to decide. These scuffles regarded the oaths he had taken, which appeared to him contradictory. On the marriage of his queen, he had sworn, agreeable to a canon, to protect the widow of his predecessor, his children, his sons-in-law, and his daughters-in-law. At the time of his coronation he had sworn to do justice to all his subjects; and as it was informed that the late king had degraded several of the nobility who were most attached to king Wamba, and had deprived them of their estates illegally, which he had bestowed upon his family, he was at a loss to know how far he was bound by his first oath to protect the family of the deceased king against those who, in virtue of the second, demanded justice, and the restitution of those estates that had been iniquitously taken from them. He affirmed them, that he was desirous of keeping both these oaths as far as it was possible, and desired their sentiments upon this head; that some rule might be established, in case any thing of the like nature happened for the future.

After the deliberation, the fathers in council declared, that the first oath could not oblige the king, but so far as it was not contrary to justice: that right was to be done to all the world, and that therefore Egiza was not to support his mother-in-law and his brothers-in-law against any others than those who set up ill-founded claims and unjust demands. They added, that, the oath, if taken in favour of his subjects, could not oblige them any farther than justice required, and that the extent of this was to be determined by the judges. This great point settled, the council separated; nor was there anything of importance done, except vindicating their president Julian, metropolitan of Toledo, against the pope, who pretended to quash the orthodoxy of certain explanations that had been used in explaining mysteries of a high nature; and, in doing this, the council acted very roundly, not only without fearing the least submission to him, but even with a visible air of defiance at his conduct; yet at Rome they were so far from repenting this, as in later times, that the decision of the council was received as satisfactory, and the dispute thenceforward buried in oblivion. The good archbishop did not survive

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(F) This wise and religious monarch, after spending very near as much time in the privacy of a convent, as in the pleasures of a palace, deceased at length, full of years and glory, and with a high reputation for his virtue and sanctity, at Pamplona, the place of his residence, and was buried in the church of that monastery. But Don Alphonso the Wise directed his body, as well as his predecessor king Sancho the Great, to be taken up, and brought to Toledo (8). Father John Mariaca, of the order of Franciscans, and bishop of Gauda, who was charged with this order, performed it with all the decency and respect imaginable; so that his remains being deposited in the church of St. Leocadia, a sumptuous tomb was erected over them, on the left hand of the high altar, over-against the tomb of king Alphonso the Third, whose bones were interred on the right side of the altar, where they have remained in peace ever since (9); except that Philip the Second, in the year one thousand five hundred seventy-five, caufed these bones to be opened, and found the bones of both kings wrapped in cotton, and deposited in chests of wood, without any inscription whatever (1).

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(9) FERREKAS, Hist. de Hispiana, P. iii. lect. 7.
two years, and then left behind him a character for learning and piety, which has rendered a his name venerable even since, not only amongst his own nation, but throughout the whole literary world 1.

His successor in the see of Toledo was Sigebert, who is supposed to have been a person of very high rank and quality amongst the Goths, but he was withal a man infatuated proud and extravagantly ambitious, which put him, within two years after he had received this extraordinary favour, upon one of the boldest acts of ingratitude, as well as one of the rankest conspiracies that ever entered into the heart of man 2. In a word, the scheme he had formed was, to cut off, the king, the queen, and all their children; and his interest was so extensive, his address so great, and interests so well laid, that he had gained a multitude of people of all ranks to abstain even wicked and traitorous a design 3. Yet he could not manage his affairs so cunningly, but that the king had notice of his schemes, which he defeated by causing his profecy to be secured; and, though some of his partisans actually broke out into rebellion, yet the king, by his prudent management, and by attending in time to the suppression of their attempts, quickly restored the tranquillity of the kingdom; and then summoned a council of Toledo, to judge of the punishment proper to be inflicted on this turbulent pretate. His cause was accordingly heard; and he was deposed, for having conspired against the life of the king, the queen, and their children 4; which was as far as they could go, for he was still left to the king's protection in the ordinary course of justice, who, out of respect to his dignity and character, was content, notwithstanding his enormous offence, to banish him out of his dominions 5.

Before the close of the year, the discovery of a new conspiracy constrained the king to assemble another council. This scheme was as deep-laid and as dangerous as the former; for the Jews, who were scattered throughout the provinces, had concerted a general insurrection, and, in consideration of their intelligence with others of their own nation in Africa, were in hopes of being strong enough, with the help of these foreign auxiliaries, to shake off the yoke. The king, by his vigilance, prevented this rebellion from breaking out; and the council, which met on the 9th of November, fixed hundred ninety-four, decreed, that all Jews, who, after baptism, should either return to their old religion, or confide against the king, should be made slaves, and lose all their effects 6. They farther prohibited the permitting these people for the future the public exercise of their religion; and directed their children should be taken from them at seven years of age, in order to be brought up Christians 7. It is very probable that this might contribute to prevent their breaking out into rebellion; but certainly it could have no great effect towards removing their dissatisfaction to a government that treated them with so much severity. We have not, however, any distinct account of the manner in which this law was carried into execution, or of any farther steps taken by the king to keep them in subjection; though we may naturally conclude, from the disposition of this prince, and from the circumstances of the nation, that this was not omitted 8.

The Saracens in Africa having conquered the best part of Mauritania, and having a good fleet upon the coast to attend the motions of their army on shore, Egisia thought it a point of prudence to fit out a navy for the defence of his dominions. This was accordingly done, under the command of Theodemir, who is on probable grounds believed to have been either the son or the fon-lin of this monarch, being one of the persons devoted to destruction by Sigebert's conspiracy 9. The young prince had not been long at sea, before the indiscipline, confident of their own strength, and despising the youth and experience of the young admiral, attacked the Goths, which brought on a general engagement; and this, after an obstinate dispute, ended in a decisive victory of the latter, by which Theodemir delivered Spain from its present apprehensions, and disappointed the hopes of those who wished for a foreign invasion, to give weight to their secret conspiracies, from which Egisia, through the whole course of his reign, was seldom or never free; yet it was not long before the expectations of the maincontents were received by a war that broke out with the French 10.

It is not very clear what the motives were to this rupture, or indeed with whom it happened; for at this juncture the kings of France had no little real power, that they could not much disturb their neighbours; so that it is generally supposed, and in regard to this war we have no better light than conjectures, that the dukes of Aquitaine and Gascony, having in a great measure rendered themselves independent, made an irruption into Spain, or rather into the Gallic province that belonged to Spain, which obliged Egisia to send a considerable army into those parts 11. In the course of this war there were no less than three battles fought, in which

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The history of the Visigoths in Spain.

a. The Goths had no advantage, and the French were also no great gainers, which made both parties so weary of the war, that, as it rose, so it ceased gradually; and Egisa, by keeping good garrisons on his frontiers, discouraged the invaders from repeating their visits; with which he was so well satisfied, that it does not appear he ever acted offensively against these enemies. It is probable, that one principal cause of his moderation was, his being being grown far into years, and the strong defile he had of seeing the tranquility of his dominions thoroughly established before his death. With this view he proposed to the nobility associating his son Witiza with him in the government, that, amidst so many perils, the kingdom might run no unnecessary hazard by those disorders which almost constantly happened upon a vacancy of the throne. His arguments had so much weight with them, that they readily yielded to his request; and the old king thereupon sent his son into Galicia, where he kept his court in the city of Tuy, that, having the administration of a province in his own hands, he might be accustomed to business, and be more capable of ruling the Goths when he became the sole monarch of so potent a nation, and of so extensive a dominion as they at this time enjoyed. The design was certainly worthy the wisdom of Egisa; and, if it had not all the consequences that he expected, it was no greater a disappointment than might attend whatever plan's finest understanding could devise, as being more especially impeded by accidents he could not foresee, and which he could not have prevented if he had foreseen.

b. The king, as it became a wise prince, when he perceived that his son's great abilities and many amiable qualities had gained him the affections of the people, resolved to sanction what had been already done with the consent of the nobility by the approbation of a council, which he caused to be summoned for that purpose at Toledo, in which Felix, metropolitan of that city, preside," but the acts of it are unfortunately lost. We should have had no memorial of this assembly at all, but for the care of some ancient historians, who have barely mentioned the place where it was held, and given us some light as to the reason the king had for holding it, which, it seems, it effectually answered; but whether any thing more of moment was done therein, or of what nature, they are silent, who could have informed us, and have put us under a necessity of being silent likewise. This was one of the last public acts of Egisa's reign, and must in all probability have afforded him very high satisfaction, as it gave him a fair prospect of securing to his son a peaceable entrance into the government, and to his subjects the quiet enjoyment of that felicity which it had been his study to procure for them during the continuance of a long and prosperous reign.

c. The weight of years, and the load of those infirmities which accompany them, brought Egisa to his grave in a very short time after, that is to say, in the month of October in the year seven hundred, or, as others affir, and perhaps with reason, in the preceding year. Some, but there are for the most part modern writers, accuse this monarch of cruelty, especially at the entrance of his reign; which cannot, however, be easily reconciled to the high commendations for his leniency bestowed upon him by several councils, which, if they had been contrary to truth, must have been equally injurious to him and to his subjects. Besides, it is certain, that, not long after his ascension, he pardoned, and restored to the rank of a lord of the palace, T تعدون, a nobleman, whom his uncle Wamba had banished and degraded. It is also universally allowed, that he was a prince of great piety, that he levied the weight of taxes, and that he was very strict in the administration of justice. The notion that has prevailed of his having repudiated his queen at his first coming to the crown, seems to have no other foundation than the mistake that the true issue of a canon made by one of the councils at Toledo, and that it is countenanced by so great a writer as Mosén, that it is justly rejected by Ferreras. Upon the whole, he was a vigilant and victorious monarch, labouring incessantly to bring things into good order, and, as far as it was possible, to provide the best remedies for those evils which he could not eradicate. His reputation and his power preferred his kingdom in peace, and the people of Spain, in such wealth and plenty, that the luxury the people produced proved very soon after fatal to their safety, but ought not to prove fo to his reputation. He without question hoped they would have made a better use of that abundance which they accumulated from the happy situation and rich produce of their country, and from the wisdom and lenity of his administration, which did not fall in any degree short of that of his predecessor.

d. Witiza was no sooner informed of his father's death, than, leaving Tuy, he repaired to Toledo, where he began his reign with such extraordinary acts of goodness and clemency, as gained him the affections of his subjects to a degree of adoration. He granted, in the first place, an act of general amnesty, recalled all that had been banished by his father on the score of their in
fidelity to Wamba, or having had a share in the conspiracy of Sisibert, metropolitan of Toledo. a He not only recalled them, and restored them to their estates, but likewise revered every thing that had been done against them, which put them into full possession of their former honours. b He was not content with doing this, but, being devious that all ranks and degrees of his people should feel the effects of his generous disposition, he cau ed all the regifter and books of account, in which there were any entries of fines, impositions, or taxes, remaining due to the crown, to be thrown into the fire, and so released them all at once c. We need not wonder that such a prince as this was excessively commended; nor is it at all strange that these excessive commendations had a bad effect upon a young man of a gentle, generous, and debonair disposition. Yet we cannot imagine it happened all at once, or that, from his behaving with the greatest moderation, kindnefs, and tenderness, towards his people, he should immediately become vicious and profligate in the most extreme degree d. This must certainly appear very improbably; and, as no authority is brought to support this charge, there is the greatest reason to believe that it is ill founded; and that, if Witiza became in reality such a monster as he is reported, he sunk gradually into vices and debaucheries as other men do.

In the first year of his reign, he held a general council at Toledo, e in which Gunderic, metropolitan of that see, presided ; a prelate universally extolled for his piety, and, which is still more remarkable, for his zeal and fortitude in opposing the king in his ill courses, and remonstrating to him the bad effects his vices would have in weakening his government, and corrupting his subjects f. Such a man could not be suspected of countenancing wicked actions, and much less of giving them credit by the decrees of such an assembly, the acts of which are long ago destroyed; but if, in this council, an attempt made by the pope to fetice his jurisdiction in Spain was rejected with contempt, and treated as a usurpation, we may easily find a reason why the acts of this council were either destroyed, or withheld from the light g. If, in the same assembly, any canon was made for allowing secular priests to marry, we may easily apprehend that this did not arise from any intention of indulging, but rather from a desire of reprefenting the corruption of the clergy. We can likewise easily see, that as things now stand, and have long stood, in Spain, it is by no means fit that any such canons should appear; and this will account to any unprejudiced mind, for the methods in which their facts are related in the Spanib hiftories i.

We must, however, admit, if we will give credit to the unanimous voice of the Spanib hiftorians in thefe and in succeeding times, that, within a short time after the deceafe of his father, Witiza suffered himself to be seduced by his natural propensity to pleasure, by the base inhumations of flattering courtiers, and by that flattering prospect of prosperity that had attended his father's virtues and his own, to digress from that path which he had hitherto trod, and to make excursions unworthy of a wife man and a great prince. In short, he gradually gave way to fnfual inclinations, till at last he abandoned himself wholly to women, in him which had its usual effects, that is, it increased his desire of commanding, in proportion as it weakened his understanding j. From being disflute only, he quickly became unjust k, and, having deferted his queen's bed, he invaded the beds of other men, a crime, which however common among princes, is notwithstanding the most compendious method of filling up their inequities, and conducts them by the very shortest cut from general effeem to universal execration. Gunderic told him this early; but Witiza was not to be restrained; he was misled by those transportns of loyalty which he had beheld in his people, simply imagining they would keep their duty when he forgot his own, and that the fervour which his virtues had raised would not be extinguished even by his vices l. But in the space of a few years he found his mistake, and that a per- furation of his having lost his people's hearts encouraged them to think of arming their hands against him, which discovery, instead of convincing him of the neceffity of regaining their good opinions, by taking a contrary course, prompted him to another vice, more hateful than the former, which was cruelty; a flp, which, as it made him a much worse man, made him so much the more hated m. In all countries, sooner or later, like caules will produce the fame effects, but their operations are fooner perceived among the free people: slaves have indeed resentment, and a dangerous resentment, but then it is silent: whereas amongst the free people, tho' who are injure complaine.

In the train of his debauches he came at length to have as little regard for decency or honour as for the dictates of his conscience, or the laws of his country; so that the daughters and wives of the most distingui/hed perfons about his court entered as frequently into the number of

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f Ferreras. Hist. de Hispina, P. iii. sect 8.

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h Isid. Pacenc. j Hist. de Hispina, P. iii. sect 8.
Chap. i. The history of the Visigoths in Spain.

a. his concubines, as the irregularity of his passions led him to cast his eyes upon them preferably to others*. By this impropriety as well as impudent procedure, he provoked those who were most able to hurt him; but having intelligence of the first conspiracies that were raised against him, he delivered himself by quitting such as he had most reason to suspect. Amongst these were some princes of the royal family, particularly Teobald, the brother of King Rodericus, whom he sent to Cordova, where some fay he caused his eyes to be put out, that he might be in no condition of mounting the throne; which however is not to be depended upon; with him went his son Rodericus, who actually succeeded in Seville. At this time also it is believed he banished Pelagius, who is generally held to be the son of Fasila, who was likewise brother to king Recesvintho. If we speak doubtfully of these genealogies, it is that we may avoid misleading the reader; for we make no question at all that there were princes, that is, descended from crowned heads among the Visigoths, but from whom, and in what degree, is very uncertain, and so it ought to be understood. Mariana would have us believe, that, while Witiza resided at Tarraconae he killed Fasila, the father of Don Pelagius, with a blow of a baton, or commanding staff, at the time this prince was captain of his guard, which, as we have elsewhere observed, does by no means agree with those high and universal praises bestowed upon Witiza at his accession to the throne."

He is also said to have done other strange, wicked, and even wild actions, which are many of them improbable, and some of them impossible. Among the first may be reckoned a law he is said to have made, permitting his subjects to have as many wives as they pleased; and another for breaking to pieces and destroying arms of every kind, under pretence that he would render them needless, by maintaining his people in constant peace; towards which, this would have been a very foolish step. Amongst the latter, we may justly range another law, said to be of his making, for dismantling every town in his dominions, except the cities of Toledo, Tarragona, and Alcacer, which could not be true, because the Moors found many of them very well fortified, and were put to a great deal of trouble in reducing them. We have no intention to excommunicate his vices, or apologize for his conduct; but, with the wiser and more judicious of the Spanish historians, to expose those exaggerations which are unworthy of belief. Witiza might be a wicked, and, in that sense, a weak prince, without being a madman or an idiot*. His vices grew upon him daily, more especially after the death of Gundarric, who was succeeded in the see of Toledo; a man who is said to have compounded with his prince, at the expense of his confidence and his function; and it is likewise affirmed, with great probability, that, misguided by the bad example of the court, the people in general became indulgent, insolent, and vicious, which, as it was very natural, lessened them in the eyes of their neighbours, and prepared the way for that ruin in which they were quickly after swallowed up. We must now turn our eyes upon those whom Providence made the scourges of a disolute monarch and a degenerate people, and take notice of the first steps that were made towards their destruction. (G). Wulfric was at this time khaif of the Saracens, and Muzas was the general who commanded his forces in the maritime parts of Africa. He had already, by order of his master, Certa, which

* Alphons. Magn. Chron. Rodericus Tolestan. lib. iii. 3. Ferra. Hist. de Hispania. p. iv. sect. 8. Rodericus Tolestan. l. iii. 4. Ferra. 5. Isidor. Pacent. Alphons. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudensi. 6. Alphons. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudensi. (G) We are told by Mariana, and, upon his credit, by many later writers, that Sinedrid, metropolitan of Toledo, admitted Oppas, the brother of king Witiza, or, as some say, his son, as his colleague in that office (8); but for this there is no sufficient authority alleged; nor is it easy to discern why the king should put Sinedrid under such a difficulty, who is said to have been so complainant to him as to refrain, and even to punish, such of the clergy as would have admonished him of his vices. The ancient writers speak of Oppas as metropolitan of Seville, not of Toledo (9); and it seems more agreeable to the king's interest to have his brother at the head of a large jurisdiction in one place, and his creature in another, to avoid them both into one see. As to this Sinedrid, he has a very indiffer-ent character given him on all sides, and therefore, we presume he deferred it (1). But what seems to him in the worst light, is his flying to Rome, when the Moors became masters of Spain, where he survived many years, for we find him, in the year seven hundred twenty-one, aspiring at a council held there by pope Gregory the second (2), who no doubt considered him as archbishop of Toledo, which however was not the case in Spain, where, upon his ad-ducting his see, the clergy chose Urbanus to succeed him (3), which is a proof, that, to the very last moment, the Spanish church maintained her independency. It is no improbable conjecture, and we mention it barely as a conjecture, that this Sinedrid, who was so complainant to Witiza in the worst part of his reign, might carry away the records of the last council at Toledo, and, out of complaisance to his new master, suffer them to be destroyed at Rome, where, from the nature of their contents, it is not to be ex-pected they should meet with any quarter.

reduced the rest of Mauritia under his obedience, and resolved to finish his conquest by driving the Goths out of the small part of that country of which they were possession. It was with this view that he marched directly with a numerous army to form the siege of Ceuta, in which count Julian commanded, who is said to have espoused the sister of Oppas and of king Witiza. He was certainly a man of great quality, and an excellent officer, of which he gave a noble instance, by defending this place with such skill and intrepidity, that, after considerable loss before it, Musa was obliged to raise the siege, and, as a proof of his resentment for want of success, he ravaged and destroying all the adjacent country without mercy. Some time after this, bearing fill in his mind the anger kindled by this defeat, he cauused a powerful fleet to be fitted out, that he might try whether the Goths were as able to defend themselves at sea as they were on shore. Witiza had no sooner intelligence of this, than he likewise equipped a powerful navy, under the command of prince Theodomir, who had been before victorious over this enemy, and was so fortunate as to defeat them again; which obliged Musa to consider his future attempts better, though at the same time it served to augment that indignation he had conceived against the Goths, and which was ever after implacable.

This, as some judicious Spanish writers observe, ought to have opened the eyes of the monarch of the Goths, and excited in him as active and diligent zeal for putting his dominions, more especially their sea coasts, into the belt state of defence possible. But when men, and more especially princes, devote themselves entirely to pleasure, it fo enervates their faculties, and clouds their understandings, that they remain in a kind of dead sleep, in which destruction generally finds them. But, besides this neglect of Witiza, to take the measures necessary in so critical a juncture, there was another circumstance that could not fail of retarding his progress in that respect, though he might have been so inclined; and this was, the fulpiscions he had of the facility of many of his subjects, which rendered it extremely dangerous for him to raise forces in different parts of the kingdom, who, instead of reflecting foreign enemies, might have turned their arms against himself. We may from hence discern, that the condition of Spain at this time was such as really invited the Moors, a restless and martial nation, to attempt an invasion, at the same time that it disabled the Goths from exerting themselves in a manner otherwise natural to a people who had established themselves in Spain by conquest, and who had hitherto defended their territories by the same courage and discipline, through the exercise of which they had been acquired.

All the arts that Witiza could use, and all the precautions that his diligence could inspire, proved in the end ineffectual for preventing the defection of his subjects, who, taking the advantage of the distracted state of his affairs, began to shake off all respect for his government in several distant provinces. Rederic, the son of Theodomir, availing himself of this general disposition, was quickly in such a state, as to form pretensions to the regal dignity; so that a civil war began, and confusion ensued, as it commonly does in all countries, as the prelude to universal destruction. The king's thoughts, being taken off from the care of the public, were from this time entirely turned to the preservation of himself and of his family; on the other hand, the rebels and malecontents, having their own safety chiefly in view, were affilious only in bearing that revolution which might free them from all fear of punish-

(H) There is no part of Mariana's history written with greater fidelity of thought, or beauty of expression, than where he describes the strange degeneracy of the Vizgoths, and that universal corruption by which they were made to fall to quadruple themselves for destruction. By their conquest of the Savoi, by the expulsion of the Greeks, and from the confusion into which the Frankish monarchy fell under their last kings of the first race, the Goths had no enemies left to struggle with; and this long peace produced vast riches, to which may be added the disposition of the three preceding kings to court the good-will of their subjects, by flattering what might be most acceptable, absolutely turned their heads, and made them believe that they were as much superior in power to other nations as they evidently were in wealth and luxury. We may also remark (the rather, because hitherto it has escaped observation), that in these times all who had any free property were waited upon by flatters, than which nothing contributes so much to enervate the strength of a country; for, by a servile submission, they lose all sense of honour, and consequently all spirit and courage, at the same time that they render those who serve excessively indolent, and inspire them with an insupportable haughtiness, that renders them utterly unfit for discipline; so that, however tumultuous and faward in time of peace, they can never be brought to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war. Witiza's great fault was, that he foisted his subjects in this manner of living, at the same time that he encouraged them in it by his own example, without ever reflecting, that, to disable a nation from making war, must inevitably deprive them of the power of maintaining peace. There is no need, therefore, of prying into the rolls of destiny, in order to account for the sudden ruin of this great people. Since that settled connection, which Divine Providence has established between enormous vices and their adequate punishments, may sufficiently satisfy; and in this sense their destruction was a judgment from heaven, which they might have averted by a timely change of manners.
The history of the Visigoths in Spain.

a. From the apprehensions of present and immediate danger on both sides, hindered either party from discerning the peril they were in of being totally overthrown by an enterprising and vigilant enemy, that kept an eye continually upon their divisions, and expected with impatience when a proper opportunity would offer for renewing their endeavors to extend that empire, which they had lately established in Africa, over the opposite country in Europe, which they knew to be rich and flourishing, and which these hungry and rapacious conquerors had a longing desire to plunder. Of this they very speedily gave another pregnant instance, even before things were altogether ripe for making a general invasion; but by what means they were led to this expedition is not easy to determine, though we conceive the following at least a probable account.

b. The governor of Mauritiania for the khalif, Masza, after long meditation, judged the most probable means of subduing Spain was to gain a footing therein, by seizing either some strong place, or some small district that might be easily fortified; and, having this project once in his mind, it was not long before he perceived, that the peninsula fronting Africa, and within four leagues of his own province, was the fittest that he could desire for such a purpose. He made choice, therefore, of Tarick or Tarif Abuzara to command a small body of troops, which he caused to be embarked for the execution of this design, about the success of which authors differ extremely. The Spanish writers say, that he landed with so small a force, that he was speedily repulsed, and obliged to return to Africa; whereas some of the Arabians affirm, that finding the Goths engaged in a civil war, he ravaged all the coasts, and returned to Masza with an account that his enterprise would be found a great deal more easy than himself had imagined.

Others maintain, that he went yet farther, and that he established himself here, bestowing the name of Gezira Haladva, i.e. the Green Island, afterwards contracted into Algiera, on the whole tract, and that of Gezel Tarik, which by degrees has been softened into Gibraltar, on the promontory and fortresses which he erected there. This, in the sentiment of the most judicious of the Spanish critics, is accounted the first entrance of the Moors, the step by which they prepared for a general conquest, and, from a nice and judicious comparison of facts and dates, they fixed this introductory expedition of Tarif Abuzara to the year of our Lord seven hundred and nine; and if, in this, they have not hit the exact truth, we may be at least certain that they come as near as at, this distance of time, and with the few lights which can be derived from antient writers, it is possible; and therefore with this we must be content; for though nothing is of greater importance to the history of Spain than the fixing of this period, yet too much nicety therein would serve only to deceive us.

While Masza was contriving in what manner he could most effectually avail his master of what had been already done and discovered in Spain, the civil war went on between king Wittiza, and Don Roderic, till the death of the former put the latter in possession of the kingdom; but without putting an end to the war, for Eunon and Siuebat, the sons of Wittiza, having been long accustomed to be filled princes, could not think of being degraded into the rank of private persons with patience, and therefore took every method that could be devised to make the utmost of their faction of creatures, in order to set one of them upon the throne. It was to compass this end, that they began to intrigue with the Saracens; and, as if the vices of their country were not already too many, to propose to them sending an army into Spain, which, through the intrigues of count Julian, they were more than enough inclined to do. It must appear strange to an attentive reader, that this noble perfidious, who but a short time before had done his country such a remarkable service, by the defence of Ceuta against this very man and this very nation, should now go over to their interests, and labour to throw his country into the most miserable condition that can possibly be conceived. It must be imagined,


In obedience to his master's commands, it is said, that Masza acquainted count Julian he was willing, in pursuance of his advice, to make an attempt upon Spain; but that the situation of affairs in Africa was such at this time, that it would not permit him to face any great number of men; and on this account, only one hundred horses and four hundred foot were embarked on board four trading ships, and sent over under the conduct of Tarick Ebn Nanoair, an old officer, who had but one eye, yet in great esteem with his master, and held the lists among all under his command to form a right judgment of what might be expected from count Julian's intrigues and interest. We have let down the Arabic names, as bellowed on the island and promises, in this rather than in the next expedition, in which we differ from Ferreras' (3), though we rely upon the same authority (3) because it appears much more natural that new names should be given to places at first fight, than when they become more familiar. The reader, however, being apprised of this, will decide as to him shall seem reasonable.

(1) Magn. 2 Monjar, Examen chronologico del aux. in que entraron las Mos a en Espana, Par. xxi. (2) Hist. de Espana, P. vii. cap. 5. (3) Sirif. Ht Ed in Geograph. Mod. Hist. Vol. VII. 7 11 that
that he was drawn to this either by the promise of a prodigious recompense, or, which is rather to be expected in a man of his birth or quality, by a too deep repentment of some personal injury. This lait is adopted by most historians, and, in some, we find a copious and circumstantial account of the manner in which king Roderic ravished his daughter Carina, with a long train of particulars, that visibly betray the romance. Those who are more defiers of finding truth, are very far from being positive whether it was the daughter or the wife of count Julian that was thus injured; and some modern critics, after entering closely and deeply into this inquiry, instead of solving those doubts, have introduced a new and greater difficulty, with respect to the king by whom this injury was done, and who they think it very probable was not Roderic, but Witiza. Others again, reflecting upon these uncertainties, and that none of the ancient Spanish chronicles afford the least hint of this matter, conclude the whole to be a fable, which therefore they reject entirely * (K).

But without carrying the matter so far, we may allow the Arabian writers, who in this respect had as good a title to be well informed as the Spanish, may be in the right as to the affiance given Muxa by Don Julian, moved to this inexcusable and barbarous conduct by resenting some flagrant injury done to him at home, while he was defending the conquests of the Goths abroad, not only against the prince who committed the offence, but against his innocent subjects, and Don Julian's own countrymen. This was no more than Witiza's sons likewise did, and their uncle Oppas, who was metropolitan of Seville, who, to preserve a precarious principality, were content to abandon a part, and thereby hazard the whole of Spain, thro' the bringing in of those infidel auxiliaries. By the perfusion of count Julian, as their own writers lay, Muxa made a second and much more considerable embarkation, under the command of a new general, whose name was Tarick Abdalabbi, who, with upwards of four thousand men, accompanied by count Julian, landed near Gibraltar, and from thence made inroads into the adjacent country. The Saracen general, being thoroughly informed of the divisions of the Goths, and how little king Roderic was in a condition to oppose them, resolved, even with so inconsiderable a force, to attempt the reduction of the whole kingdom; and, that this design of his might not be disappointed by his soldiers endeavouring to return with their spoils into Africa, he caused his fleet to be set on fire before his intentions were generally known; but it is to be supposed that he gave proper notice, as well of what he designed to do, as of what he had already done, to Muxa, from whom he derived his authority. This is considered as the second invasion of the Moors, and is by many writers confounded with the first, because the forces landed at the same place; but the best authorities place this in the year seven hundred and ten.

The wife governor of Mauriania, who had rendered himself accountable to the Khalif his master for the successes of the war he had undertaken, entirely approved this measure, as thinking the force already sent over by no means proportionable to such a design, though he was at the same time very well pleased that his general was in possession of a fortres and port where...

(R) It is certainly not a little unfortunate for the credit of this story, that Jadore of Badejas, Don Alphonso the Great, and the author of the Chronicle of Albaday, the three most ancient as well as most authentic writers concerning these times, should not mention or take the least notice of it; so that till the archbishop Don Rodrigo of Toledo brought it to light from the memoirs, and on the faith, of the Arabians (4), it was fierce known in Spain; yet it might for all that be very true, and the doubts raised concerning it are not so much founded in the fact, as in the circumstances with which it is related. For it is said that Roderic, king of the Goths, accidentally discovering from a window Carina, the daughter of Don Julian, who then attended upon the queen Elobina, half naked, became in love with her to such a degree, that finding every method he could take to corrupt her virtue, vain, he at length employed force. Upon this, he wrote to her father; and Murina has given us her letter at large, which is one of the ornaments of his history, and Don Julian's answer, who afterwards returned into Spain, and, offending the injury he had received, prevailed upon the king to send him ambassador to Murina, and to permit him to carry his daughter with him; which opportunity he took to persuade the Saracens to undertake the conquest of Spain (5). Now most of these facts may very probably be true, if, instead of king Roderic, we substitute Witiza, in whole time, as we have already shown, count Julian began his intrigues with the Moors. The great, indeed the only objection to this is, that, in the succeeding part of the history, we find count Julian acting in concert with the sons of Witiza, which seems to be inconsistent with the perfusion shown against their father. The state of Roderic was so short and so full of troubles, and his own personal character in other respects so fair, that nothing can be more improbable, with respect to him, than this imputation.

(4) De rebus Hispaniarum, lib. ii. cap. 19.

a for the future, he might send reinforcements, as occasion required. But believing it necessary, in the first place, to have a superior army in the field, he got together as many vessels as was possible, and drew out of his army twelve thousand men more, mostly natives of Mauritania, from whence the conquest of Spain is attributed to the Moors, and sent them over under the command of Tarick Abiurer, whom he declared general and commander in chief, and who had instructions to extend his conquests as far as he was able, without hazarding his troops too much, by marching into the heart of the country. We must naturally conclude, that the contrivance, providing necessaries, and carrying this scheme into execution, must have been attended with various delays, and occasioned, on the whole, a great consumption of time, infomuch that we cannot easily conceive this new general could take the field before the summer of seven hundred and eleven, at which time he found King Aderic, who had already brought his affairs into some order, at the head of a small army, ready to oppose him, and at the same time to cover, as far as he was able, all the open country behind him from the incursions of the Moors, who, as they had a considerable body of horse, made wherever they came a most dreadful devastation, and exercised, by the advice of Don Fajirn, and with a view to strike a terror that might render resistance vain, the most inhuman cruelties, upon the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants.

The reader will discern that hitherto we have had but a very indistinct account of this last monarch of the Visigoths, and for this plain and short reason, that there is no better reason for the solemn election, or at least recognition, of Aderic afterwards; for things were now in such a disorder and confusion, so many evils were felt, such numberless dangers threatened, and this calamitous scene was of so long a continuance, that very few people had any inclination to put the transactions of these times into writing, till it became impossible to speak of them with that correctness and accuracy that posterity might with or expect. It is indeed true, that some historians afterwards stepped in, and in a good measure filled up this chasm with ingenious and superstitious stories, below the dignity of history; and which have so obscured any traces of truth that may remain amongst them, as to prevent the bringing them together in a way that might afford the reader any tolerable satisfaction; and therefore it is much better to content ourselves with a few facts that are tolerably well supported, as being drawn from the short chronicles of antient writers, than to have recourse to these fabulous suppositions, which, though they might entertain and amuse, could not either inform or instruct.

The king of the Visigoths, conceiving plainly that this kind of defensive war would by degrees waste his army, and ruin his subjects, and being at the same time conscious that he was in no condition to act offensively, laboured with all imaginable industry to heal the divisions that had been so fatal to his country; and, with this view, made some propositions to the sons of Witiza, who had filled a considerable party at their devotion. Whether these young princes repented of their past conduct, and entered into the king’s reasons, or whether they But parties determined to put the issue of things upon a battle.


(L) The reports concerning the death of Witiza (for what we have in modern historians must be esteemed as taken from tradition, since the ancient writers before-mentioned contain nothing upon that subject) were not only various and uncertain, but at the same time inconsistent and contradictory. According to some he was killed in battle by such as adhered to Don Aderic; others, that he was not killed, but taken, sent prisoner to Cordova, and, having his eyes put out, lived there some time in a miserable condition. Some again affirm, that he died of wounds at Toledo, and was buried in the church of St. Leocadia, on the twentieth of December seven hundred and ten, says a certain writer, upon whose credit however we cannot rely (8). Yet in this respect he cannot be very far in the wrong; for towards the latter end of this year happened his death, if the ablest among the Spanis his critics are not misled in their judgments. To justify further what is said in the text, it may not be amiss to represent succinctly a story, which Martinet tells us from an Arabian author, of Don Aderic, which, as they have placed it, must have happened early in his reign (9). There was, it is said, a certain structure in Toledo, called the enchanted palace, which was very carefully locked up; and the current tradition was, that, whenever this place should be opened, the monarchy of the Goths would be quickly overthrown. Don Aderic, it seems, took it into his head, that this was only a political invention of his predecessors to secure their wealth, which he fancied must be deposited in this house, under such a variety of bars and locks, all of which he caused to be broken, and, having thus forced an entrance, he found the place altogether empty, except that there was an iron chest, which he also directed to be forced open, and therein a piece of cloth, with armed men painted thereon, and an inscription, signifying, that, very soon after this should be brought to light, Spain would be subdued by men resembling those that were there painted; a piece of intelligence that made him quickly repent his ill-tempered cruelty. Mariana, to excuse himself for inferring this idle tale, alleges he was unwilling his readers should be unacquainted with an event transmitted by tradition; and it is inferred here to justify our remark on the fabulous circumstances interwoven by certain writers, for want of facts worthy of history.


(9) Roder. Tolet. de rébus Hispan. l. iii. c. 17.
resolved to postpone their resentments for the present, and to refuse them when a more favourable opportunity offered, is very uncertain; yet, whatever their intentions were, it is generally agreed that they altered their behaviour, accepted the terms offered them by the king, and joined his army with their forces. The Moorish general Tarick, being informed of this, and that Roderic was putting himself at the head of all the troops he could raise, in order to act offensively, sent an exact account of every thing to Mazza, demanding a reinforcement, that he might be in a condition to dispute matters with the enemy, in case, after this alteration of their affairs, it should come to his turn to act on the defensive. Mazza no sooner received this intelligence, than he caused a body of five thousand men to embark, and sent fresh instructions with this reinforcement to his general, who now thought himself in a condition to keep the field, and even to give them battle if he was forced to it. This was indeed the only method Roderic had to take; his army was more numerous, he had the flower of his nobility about him, and he saw that things could not remain long in the situation they were in, unless it was in his power to give the Moors such a check as might oblige them to return again to Africa; he therefore dispensed every thing in the bpest manner he was able for a general engagement, which he knew must be decisive; and omitted nothing that was in his power to infuse his troops with the hopes of victory, by reviving the ancient spirit of valour, and regard for the public welfare, which had rendered them invincible in former times. His presence, his eloquence, and his activity, had, as might be well expected, a great influence over his army, infomuch that they received this proposition with applause. Though the feasting of the year was far advanced, and themselves much fatigued by their frequent endeavours to cover the country, yet they flewed themselves willing to exert their utmost power to rid themselves once for all of such dangerous and troublesome neighbours; and Roderic, upon this, without suffering their courage to cool, affixed all his generals their proper polls, and marched directly towards the forces of the Moors, to determine the fate of Spain by a single action (M).

The Moors, on their side, were very far from declining the engagement, and sought only to avoid fighting with any manifest disadvantage of ground. At length the two armies met in a plain near the town of Xeres de la Frontera, on the banks of the river Guadalete, about three leagues from Arcos, in the kingdom of Andalusia, as it is now called. The Goths charged with all the fury that is commonly inspired by despair; but the Moors, who were old feaoned troops, received them with such firmness and intrepidity, as quickly diminished their fire. They made, however, several brisk efforts to penetrate through the infiles, but in vain; for the number of experienced officers among them kept the fillers to their duty, and hindered them from rendering victory precipitous by too early a pursuit. At last, however, the Goths being entirely broken, the Moorish cavalry fell in amongst them, and made prodigious slaughter, rendering their victory as complete as they could desire; for the Goths flying without any order, or so much as knowing where to seek for safety, were more killed in running away than had fallen in the action; and the scattered remains differed in such a manner, that if their generals had attempted, it would have been very difficult to have brought even a small body of them together. We are not told what the numbers were that fell in this bloody dispute, but without question the loss on the side of the Goths must have been very great; and yet this was not their utmost misfortune; but their having no place of retreat, no other army

(M) We find in some historians a long detail of this war, in which the troops of king Roderic are said to have been commanded by a general named Sandoca; but as we find nothing of this in authors of indubitable authority, we pay nothing of him in the text. There seems to be as little regard due to the fine speeches of king Roderic and the Moorish general Tarick, which, it is easy to judge, would have been sufficient to deter, were framed on the model of ancient historians, and may perhaps be not elegant but useful in the general history of Spain, though quite without the compass of our plan (1). We will confine ourselves, therefore, with observing that the river, on the banks of which this fatal battle was fought, received its name from this very action, and that too not in the sense that some interpret it, as if Guadalete implied Rio de Octavio, or River of Octavius; whereas the druidic name is Guadalete, which in Spanish is Rio del Delito, that is, the River of Delight, in honour of the glory they acquired by deciding the fate of a kingdom in a single battle (2). This method of changing and imposing names was ever customary amongst the ancient nations, as appears from several passages in the Scriptures, and, like most of their customs, continues in use to this day. This remark is how expedient, and even necessary, to be brought to the druidic writers, in order thoroughly to understand the history of Spain (3). But then it requires a very nice judgment, and very great caution, to make a right use of what assistance they offer, since their affection for the marvellous leads them often far into fictions; as render it extremely difficult to distinguish how much or how little there is of truth in what they write. The same humour also prevails amongst many of the Spanish authors who have published histories of these times, of which we shall frequently have occasion to take notice, in the course of our subsequent felicities.

(1) Mariana, Historia de Espana. lib. vi.; (2) Meähliger, Examen Cronologica, Parv. 23.; (3) Hottinger, de suy lingua Arctica, Mariana, Ferreras.
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to which they might retire, nor any person of note with them to give the least directions in so dreadful a conjunction. Such was this fatal battle, by which the monarchy of the Goths was entirely subverted; and though there seems to be very little or no dispute about the day, which was the eleventh of November, the festival of the popish saint Martin bishop of Tours, yet it is not easy to say whether it was in the year seven hundred and eleven, or seven hundred and twelve, the majority of writers declaring in favour of the latter, though the former is maintained to be the true date by the most judicious of the Spanish critics.

Some of the Spanish historians, and even Mariana, ascribe this defeat in a great measure to the treachery of the two princes, sons to Viziza, who, by the advice of their uncle Oppas, concerning the metropolitan of Seville, went over to the Moors in the heat of the action, and charged with b them upon the flanks of their countrymen; but as this is not mentioned by any ancient author, it cannot be depended upon. As for the king Roderic, he made his escape, and, as many writers say, retired first to a convent near Merida, and from thence, with a monk whose name was Romanus, to a hermitage not far from the city of Vise in Portugal, where it is reported he lived some time, and then died in obscurity. King Alphonso the Great affirms us, that in his time the tomb of this unfortunate monarch was discovered in a church in that neighbour- hood, but, as Ferreras justly observes, it is much more probable, that, being wounded in the battle, he fled thither with the utmost expedition, and died quickly after of fatigue, of his wounds, or of despair, because it is not easy to conceive how he should continue for any space of time, much less for two or three years, undiscovered, in a country over-run by the enemy; c or that a prince, so perniciously as all historians report him to have been, should abandon his subjects to the rage of such barbarous enemies, without making the least attempt to assemble, in some distant part of his dominions, another army, that might have done something towards their deliverance. The danger of leading that retired life was not at all less; and the glory of aiming at the relief of his subjects, whatever the consequences might have been, would have done more honour to his memory than those legendary stories that have been published of his severe penance in the place which he chose for his retreat. As a king, it was his duty to have expiated himself for the sake of his people; and, as the fate of war is uncertain, he might at least have saved a part of his dominions, and have left the recovery of the rest to his successors; whereas, by this abdication, supposing the fact true, he deprived the nation of the Visigoths of all appearance of government, which was no less fatal in its consequences than the battle he had lost.

The Moorish general Taric, as soon as he perceived that he was not only master of the field of battle, and the enemy entirely defeated, but that there was not so much as the appearance of an army in the field; and that the inhabitants of all the adjacent cities and country were in the utmost distraction and confusion, resolved, like an experienced general, to leave them no time to recover their spirits, but immediately attacked and reduced Seville, Cordova, and other cities that were in no condition to make resistance. That this universal terror might not abate, he suffered his army to commit the most horrid outrages, without retribution or punishment, so that perfections of all ranks, sexes, and ages, fell by the sword, unarmed, and without the least provocation which had the effect he forewore, and filled the people everywhere with such amazement and fright, that they lost all power of resistance, and submitted to whatever terms he thought fit to prescribe. After making the best provision he could for the security of the country he had conquered, he sent an exact account of all that had passed to Musca, under whose authority, and by whose orders, he had undertaken and executed this fortunate expedition. He flewed that general, at the same time that he informed him that the king had disappeared, the people were so terrified as not to think of a new election; and that this, of all others, seemed the most proper time for making a complete conquest: that it was necessary for him to come over in person; that he should bring with him a competent supply of troops; and that, before the Goths had time to recollect themselves, he might then be able to penetrate even to the most distant provinces of the kingdom; whereas the troops under his command were but barely sufficient to garrison the towns, and protect the country he had already conquered, so that it was impossible for him to improve this important and decisive victory any farther. (N).

There


(N) According to Mariana, and some other historians, great numbers of the flying army of the Goths took shelter in Evia, not far from the field of battle, where they endeavoured to fortify themselves as well as they could, but were attacked before they were in any state of defence, so that they had no resource but that of their courage, or rather, that of their despair, which taught them to sell their lives dear, but subjected the inhabit-
THERE wanted not many arguments to convince Muza of the expediency of his passage into Spain, neither was he at all retarded in his expedition through the want of those supplies that Tarick had demanded: for, having caused a report to be spread through Afric of the immense wealth of the Spaniards, and that the plunder of every place that made the least resistance was given to the soldiers, his army was quickly completed, so that it was much more difficult to find shipping to embark them, than men who were ready to embark. On his arrival in Spain with this multitude, which were all landed at or in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, he held a council of war, at which Tarick and all the general officers under him assisted; and in this council it was resolved, that, as nothing more was to be apprehended from the Goths, whose intemperate feuds survived their government, and prevented any lop from being put to that conflagration which it had kindled, the widest measure that could be pursued, as they had a competent force, was to embrace the conquest of this great country at once. In order to this, Muza divided his forces into three armies: the first, commanded by his son Abdasses, had orders to conquer all the country lying on the Mediterranean; another general was charged with the like commissary in respect to the provinces lying upon the ocean; but the largest of the three corps, under Muza himself, with whom Tarick went as his lieutenant-general, undertook the reducing the midland countries; and this plan of conquest, being once settled, was immediately carried into execution, so to facilitate which, it was resolved that good terms should be given, or at least promised, to every place that submitted; and that, where-ever they met with any resistance, all should be left to the discretion of the soldiers, or, in other words, the effects of the inhabitants given up to be pillaged, and their persons to slaughter without mercy.

Muza, with the main army under his command, advanced without any resistance as far as Mérida, which being a place of some strength, the inhabitants stood upon their defence; but at length judged it best to surrender, on promise that they should be permitted the free exercise of their religion, and live under their own laws. The general of the Moors then advanced with his victorious forces towards the capital, and in a short time after appeared before Toledo. Sindered, metropolitan of that city, had retired before this time to Rome, abandoning his flock to their misfortunes. Many of the ecclesiastics had likewise withdrawn with the treasuries of their respective churches into the mountains of Leon and Old Caffile, where they were covered and protected by those who preferred liberty in a desert to the finest country where that was wanting. The great lords of the court, who had done so little either for themselves or for their country, were defi-sious of making their escape before the place was invested. Oppas, metropolitan of Seville, who accompanied Muza, purrmed them with a body of Moorish cavalry, and, coming up with them, cut them off, in revenge for the dislike they had shown to his family. The people, delivered from these incumbrances, defended themselves with great resolution, and surrendered at last upon honourable terms; in which, amongst other things, it was stipulated, that fevin of their churches should remain to the use of the Christians, and that the people should be governed by their own laws. In the course of this capitulation, there was some mention made of the security the inhabitants might expect for the due performance of articles; upon which those who treated for the town declared, that they did not expect or desire any other security than the faith of Muza; by which it is certain there were no sufferers; and from hence Ferreras thinks they were filled Mazarabians, or Mazorabians, though as to this there are very different reasons given by some of the most learned among the Spanish antiquaries (O).

While Muza was thus employed, he sent a strong detachment, under the command of a general officer, into that country which is now called Portugal, where the towns of Estigia and Ojóebra, having made some resistance, were plundered and demolished; which so terrified ant to be also put to the sword, and the place, when taken, to be first plundered, and then ruined. Some say, that the project of making an insiute conquest of Spain, by employing different armies in different provinces at once, that the confirmation might be general, and the Goths no-where have leisure enough left them to recollect themselves, so as to provide for their own defence, was given to Tarick by count Julian; and that one Magued, a renegade, had a considerable post in the army, and procured several places, by means of secret intelligence and bribes, to be put into the hands of the Moors (j).

(1) Histor. de España, lib. VI. c. 24.
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the inhabitants of Evora, Lisbon, Viseo, and Lamego, that each of them submitted upon the best capitulation that could be obtained: but the people of Coimbra, or Conimbra, making an obstinate defence, that city was almost entirely destroyed. Some Arabian historians, who are followed by many Spanish writers, place the reduction of Murcia here, and enter into a long detail of the siege, which, to lessen the horrors of so melancholy a story, they have decorated with some marvellous circumstances (P). After all these conquests, Muza thought it proper to give his troops some rest, that he might have leisure to provide for the civil government of his new subjects, of whom at present no higher tributes were demanded than they had paid to their own monarchs. But let us now pay somewhat of what was performed by the other generals, who did as effectively.

Abdalaiz, with his forces, entered those countries that have been since known under the titles of the kingdoms of Jaen, Granada, Murcia, and Valencia, the best part of which were ravaged by his cavalry. Yet he met with more resistance than his father had done; for prince Theodomer, who had acted with so much reputation at the head of the naval forces of the Goths, assembled a small body of troops on the frontiers of Valencia, with which he gave the Moors so much trouble, that they were obliged to fend advice of the situation they were in to Murza, whose troops were quickly in motion; so that Theodomer must have been surrounded, if he had not very wisely demanded conditions from Abdalaiz, a young man of a noble and generous disposition, who granted him a fair capitulation, the articles of which were put into writing, and signed on both sides; by which the country he protected reapplied great advantages, and Theodomer himself was intrusted with the government of it in time past. The other general, meeting with little or no opposition, but marking his progress every where with blood and devastation, pushed his conquest to the very extremities of Galicia.

The next year, Murza with his army entered early into the field, and seems to have divided his forces in two columns; for it appears, that, while he marched with one part of them to form the siege of Saragossa, the rest entered into Old Cadiz and Leon, where it is reported they met with more than ordinary resistance, since they dismembered and destroyed almost all the cities and towns in those countries, to the very foot of the mountains. Abdalaiz, on his side, brought, partly by force, and partly by persuasion, the provinces on the coast of the Mediterranean under his subjection, as far as Zaragoza, a city in those days strong, rich, and very populous, the inhabitants of which defended themselves, for some time, with great courage; but at length, perceiving that on one side they had nothing to expect but utter destruction, and that there was no kind of succour to be looked for on the other, they made their peace on the best terms possible, which left the young Moor at leisure to carry his victorious arms throughout Catalonia, to the foot of the Pyrenees. By this means the reader will perceive, that the poor remains of the Goths were shut up in the mountains of Arrius, Burgos, and Biscay, where they were not easily to be forced. As for the inhabitants of Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre, who, in conjunction with them, might have made a considerable stand against the common enemy, they chose, for the most part, to retire into France, better pleased to enjoy quiet in a foreign country, than to live in a miserable or precarious state in their own.

(P) Amongst the circumstances of this siege of Murcia, which are recorded by some historians, the principal is this (6). There was, it seems, in the neighbourhood of this city, a very large quarry, and the roads leading to and from it were very broad and deep. Murza had intelligence that the besieged intended to make a general sally on that side, which induced him to order a very strong detachment of cavalry to take possession of those hollow roads in which they were concealed, and to charge the enemy in the rear as soon as their situation gave them an opportunity. In consequence of these instructions, this sally, though managed with great prudence, and supported with much impetuousity, proved very fatal to the besieged, who lost the best part of their bravest men. Being compelled to treat, though Murza rejected their propositions with contempt, they continued notwithstanding to make an obstinate defence, upon the report of their deputies, that the Morisc general was of a great age and very infirm, in hopes that his death might occasion the raising of the siege. But Murza, being informed of this, encouraged them to renew their negotiation, and, before he gave audience to their deputies, caused his beard and his eye-brows to be painted black; on which they reported to their fellow-citizens, that the Saracen general was grown young again, and that it was to no purpose to refuse a man who had even nature at his command. At their persuasion, therefore, the inhabitants submitted, upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe, though, amongst others, this was one, that they should deliver up to him all the gold and silver in their churches. But in all this there was such an air of fable as renders it very jolly: in fact, which was the reason we did not give it a place in the text.

(6) Rafa, Vargas, Muriana.
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As the business of war was now over, and the inhabitants of Spain had their fortunes weakened and broke, that they seemed to have left equally the will and the power to breeds, Musa found himself obliged to yield obedience to the khilaf Walid's order, which required him to repair immediately to Damascus, to answer such demands as the emperor had made. This was drawn upon him by the misunderstanding that arose between him and Tarick, although as soon as he set his foot in Spain, for that general attributed all the success they had met with to his own abilities and good fortune, and could not bear with patience that Musa, with his superior title, should run away with the reward. On the other hand, Musa having amassed, in this and his other conquests, a prodigious treasure, and having the most considerable officers of the army at his devotion, behaved in Spain rather as a sovereign prince than as the lieutenant of the khilaf, and more especially towards Tarick, with whom he professed himself displeased, and would have made him very willingly feel the weight of his resentment. When he came to depart, he caused a vast quantity of precious stones, rich plate, and other valuable effects, together with the most beautiful flowers of both sexes, to be put on board his fleet for the khilaf's use: he carried likewise Tarick with him, and prince Theodemir, that he might hinder the former from doing mischief in Spain, and procure for the latter the ratification of that treaty which he had made with his son, being extremely pleased with the noble frankness and great candour of that worthy person. On their arrival at the court of the khilaf, Musa, after all his services, found but a very indifferent reception; but Theodemir obtained all that he fought, and was treated with the utmost respect and kindness by the khilaf Walid as long as he lived, and had the like attention shown him after his decease by his brother Zuliman, or Soliman, who succeeded him in the khilafate.

The government of Spain remained all this time in the hands of Abdalaziz, whose authority was confirmed by the khilaf Zuliman, and from him it is supposed that he received orders to make an actual survey of the whole kingdom, that the administration of justice might be put into a regular method, the revenue more easily collected, and the value of this important conquest be with more certainty known. At least in this all historians agree, that Abdalaziz undertook to have such a description made, and this under his own inspection, which obliged him to enter on a tour through most of the provinces of the kingdom; in which it is asserted, that if he was affixed in doing the khilaf's business, he was not negligent in his own. He made himself, by this means, perfectly acquainted with the true state of things, and the condition the people were in, their laws, customs, and tributes, which he regulated at his pleasure; and, from whatever motive it proceeded, he was certainly very gracious and very kind to the inhabitants, to whom he made magnificent promises, and upon whom he bestowed many favours. The Moors officers and governors of great cities had orders to cleanse and repair them, new fortresses were erected in proper places, and the necessary orders inflicted for restoring a free intercourse between the several provinces, that the people in general might enjoy the blessings of peace, and have reason to be pleased with his mild administration; methods that there is little reason to doubt produced, at least in a great measure, the desired effect.

But with all this prudence, economy, and moderation, Abdalaziz had its foibles as well as other men; he loved to acquire money, as a thing necessary to support that magnificence in which he lived; he had a strong passion for the fair sex, and was not without a touch of ambition, which even the high past that he possessed could not satisfy to the full: with all his failings, he was a perf of great abilities, and had address enough not only to cover his vices, but also to render them useful to his secret and important designs. Amongst the ladies that were brought into his franglio was Egilona, the widow of king Roderic, for whom he had a peculiar tenderness, and treated her with all imaginable marks of deference and respect. He fixed upon Seville for the seat of his government; and, after he returned


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a thither from the progress he had made, it is said that he espoused Egilona, and, under presence of her former quality, caused her to be treated with all the marks of duty and submission that could have been paid her if she had still been a queen. She was a princess of exquisite beauty, majestic presence, and of a high spirit, though accompanied with an affability and easiness of deportment which gained her a great acclamacy over all who approached her. It was suspected that she inspired him with an inclination to render himself independent; and some writers go so far as to affirm, that, at her persuasion, he in private assumed the diadem, and took, though with all the secrecy imaginable, the most effectual measures he was able to pave the way to absolute sovereignty.

This scheme, though managed with the utmost dexterity, could not be carried on without creating some suspicions. The principal officers among the Moors, who envied his greatness, and thought he kept them at too great a distance, began to have a strict eye on all the motions of Abdalaziz, and at length penetrated, or at least pretended to penetrate, into his scheme of revolting; in which, as they did not perceive that they were any-ways to find their account, they resolved to prevent him. For that purpose, they formed a project of assassinating him, as the only method that could effectually answer their intent, his credit with the army being so great, and his influence over the people being so strong, as left them nothing to hope, if their conspiracy was detected, and themselves compelled to have recourse to arms. This resolution once fixed, they only waited for a favourable opportunity to strike their blow; and it was not long before they met with an occasion every way suitable to their wishes.

It was necessary for Abdalaziz, in order to preserve the affection of the Moors, to maintain a great show of zeal for the Mohammedan religion; and therefore he went regularly at the proper hour to make his prayers at a certain mosque, which gave Ayud, an antient general, who was at the head of this plot, an opportunity of observing that he went thither one day almost alone; of which having given notice to the rest of the conspirators, they presently repaired thither, and, while he was occupied with his devotion, surrounded and dispatched him with their daggers. They had no sooner perpetrated this fact, than they caused public proclamation to be made, that he was a traitor to the khalif, and that they had put him to death only to prevent the design he had formed of usurping Spain, to the prejudice of his master; and at the same time, to prevent the dreadful effects of anarchy in a state so lately settled, they declared Ayud governor pro terium, till the pleasure of their sovereign should be known. This revolution was attended with little or no disorder; for the Moorish army, seeing this stroke abetted and approved by their principal officers, were silent; and as for the Goths and Spaniards, they conceived themselves very little interested in this change of matters. Ayud was a man of courage and experience, and, for the few months that he held the administration, behaved with vigilance and discretion; notwithstanding which, the Moorish governors, in many places, exercised great oppression, and acquired immense riches, in some measure at the expense of the khalif, whose revenues they embezzeled, chiefly by pillaging the Christians; being never at a loss in imputing crimes to such as, after the destruction of their country, were yet in possession of any thing that was worth taking from them.

The reins of government were taken out of his hands by Alabor, upon whom the khalif bestowed that employment. He began immediately to look into the conduct of his predecessors; and having clearly distinguished the errors and iniquities that had been committed, he made the first effray of his authority in doing strict justice to the khalif and to the people. He fixed the seat of his government at Cordova, and from thence issued his orders for the principal officers to attend him. When he had them thus in his power, he laid open all their acts of fraud and oppression, caused strict restitution to be made to the Christians of what had been taken from them, and, when this was done, took what he could find towards reimbursing the khalif; and, where satisfaction could not be had, he caused the offenders to be publicly chastized with rods.

This inquisition once over, he ordered a general review of the army, and, under that pretence, assembled a great body of forces for an expedition which he had meditated for some time. He had received orders from the khalif Omar II, who succeeded his nephew Zuliman, to make himself master of all that the Goths had possessed in France, and the first intelligence the public had of this order was by his making an irruption into that country with the flower of the Moorish troops. He opened the campaign, after their usual manner, with wafting all the country before him with fire and sword, which spread such a terror among the inhabitants, that he reduced Elna, Carcassone, Ayde, Narbonne, Beziers, and Niort, as soon as he came before them, and the rest

2 Isid. Pacent.
5 Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.

7 K of
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of the province in the space of a few weeks. There were two things that greatly facilitated this expedition; the first, that the people had not hitherto so far recovered of their confirma-
tion, as to be in any of their nobility the supreme command; the second, that the Franks, who might have protected them, were so involved in their intestine disputes, that they were not at leisure to look after any body's affairs but their own.

As this expedition completed the conquest of the Moors, and left the Visigoths nothing of their antient monarchy but those rough and mountainous countries which nature had fortified against all invaders, the proper business of the sectio ends here: but, notwithstanding this, the judicious reader might very probably conclude we had handled this something imperfectly, if, after pursuing the history of the Visigoths established in Spain, from the time it became their seat of empire to the ruin of the monarchy, we should, to save ourselves the labour of a strict and troublesome enquiry, lay nothing at the clofe, of that policy by which this glorious nation was ruled, during the space of almost 350 years that they remained in possession of such extensive dominions, and were justly respected as one of the great and most formidable powers in Europe; the rather, because this enquiry will throw light upon the other Gothic constitutions, in demonstrating the means by which they consolidated dominion and liberty, secured independency in church and state, and, without weakening the power of the crown, maintained the authority and vigour of the laws, which protected the subject in the enjoyment of his property, and settled the privileges of all ranks and degrees of people, so as to hinder their clashing with each other, at least as far as could be expected from any frame of rule contrived by finite understanding. This, indeed, is a task incumbered with many difficulties; but which, from a close attention to facts, and the assiduity of the candid reader's attention, we flatter ourselves, may be, in a good measure, overcome.

In reference to religion, the Visigoths were Arians at the time they became masters of Spain, and continued during the space of above 123 years; that is, till Reccared the Catholic, with the principal nobility of the nation, returned to the profession of the Christian faith at the third general council of Toledo. As the faith which they then embraced was that of the old Spanish church, which, under various difficulties and hardships, had constantly subsisted there amongst the natives in general, so it was in a great measure pure and incorrupt, very little tinctured with those innovations that had crept into other churches, and as near the primitive integrity as any that was then in being; and so it continued to the very time of its subversion, when, though the morals of the people were corrupted, yet the doctrines of their church were found, at least if we may judge from the canons made in their councils, from their liturgy, and from the writings of those great luminaries of the Spanish church, whom they still honour with the titles of saints. It is true the Spanish ecclesiastical historians deliver, with great confidence, many things as facts, which are not very compatible with this account, and some that are directly inconsistent with it. But the reader will consider, that this is done to justify the pretension of titles, and to prevent the Spanish nation from differing, that, after the destruction of their church and state by the Moors, which constrained the poor remains of the Goths in the mountains to have closer communication with Rome than their ancestors had maintained, the doctrine and discipline of their church were gradually changed; for, notwithstanding this, even their latest and their ablest writers clearly acknowledge, that, through this whole period, the nation of the Visigoths were remarkable for their zealour attachment to the catholic faith. What that faith was we may certainly learn with much greater security from their own writers than from modern commentators; and upon this ground we maintain, that the Christian church here very much resembled that of our British ancestors before the coming of the monk Augustine from Rome, and was consequently free from all gross superstitions. A point of very high importance, and which deserves the most serious attention (R).

As

(R) In order to make this matter more perspicuous, it may be expedient to enter into a few particulars. The Spanish historians, for many ages past, speak very confidently of images as commonly in use in those times, and allude to it as a cause why so many have been discovered or dug up in different places. But those who know what strange antiques have been practised in Spain, to give an air of antiquity to things of a very recent date, will not be much moved by this argument, which, at the very best, is conjectural only, and not conclusive.

(1) Confera de Historias Fabulosas, Obra póstuma de Don Nicolas Antonio. vol. III. p. 17.

(2) De Godii's Tradit., negative
negative argument, indeed, is not of the weightiest sort; and therefore let us set it against the confessional ration before-mentioned, which will bring the scale even. We may then urge against images the canons made against idolatries, and allowed in such very strong terms as would have recoiled upon themselves, if they had not found them so (3). This is a very persuasive argument, and must incline the negative fast not a little. To bring it quite elsewhere, let candidates, that, in one of their ancient canons, we find these words, It is the opinion of the very candidates ought not to be set up in churches; that what is worshiped and adored be not painted or venerated (4). Can it be imagined, that those who were so cautious as not to admit pictures, should have a more favourable opinion of images? A candid enquirer will never believe this. It may not be amiss to add, that all the accounts of the statues set up by King Wamba are supported only by tradition; and if even that tradition was inexecutable, it would not overturn what has been said; for they stood not in the church, but upon the city-walls, and are celebrated not by any canon, but by a poet. The praying to saints and angels is a doctrine under the very same circumstances, the lawfulness of which the canons cannot prove from the canons of the Spanish councils, or from the writings of their ancient prelates. St. Isidore, bishop of Seville, in his Book of Sentences, has a chapter upon prayer, and another on the honour due to the images, but even these topics surely have declared his notions on this head, if they had been his notions (5). It is indeed true, that, in the public discourses of life, some fairs are praised to, and, among the rest, St. James; but these are nothing, at least nothing more than this, that the prayer was not of St. Isidore’s composing; because the legend of St. James of Compostella did not obtain credit in Spain till some centuries after his decease: so that though this may be an old prayer, and perhaps the first of its kind introduced into their liturgy, yet not so old as his time. Purgatory was also a doctrine unknown to this church. They did commune in their worship upwards of 50 fairs, that is, holy men, of whose sanctity in another life they had the strongest assurance; and, which is not a little strange, there is not a bishop of Rome amongst them (6); they did not offer for loss of merit departed, or intimate their belief that the prayers of the faithful could alter their condition. Yet, not to disfigure the truth, they did in some fairs pray for the dead, but in a sense that clearly excludes purgatory. They believed that the souls of pious men were at rest from the fear of their enemies and had peace in the Lord; but that they could not enter into the joys of heaven till the general reformation of the world. For this reason, they prayed that God would speedily accomplish the number of his elect; and that the souls of pious men departed might the sooner enter into the fruition of eternal happiness. That they gave the holy communion in both kinds, and that they filled the elements, after consecration, bread and wine, is evident from the canons of their councils, and their antient liturgies. We may affirm the like with regard to auricular confession, and several other things; but we content ourselves: with referring the reader to a treatise in which these subjects are very well explained, and the truth of them as fully evinced (6).

(5) All the governments instituted amongst those warlike nations, by whom the dominions of the Roman empire were divided into kingdoms, had much resemblance one to another, though hardly any two of them were perfectly alike. It was impossible that a person, who had not military virtues and experience, should have the charge of a nation; and, in motion, and in the field; and, for this reason, the monarchs were elective (7). Among the Gothi as well as the Franks, they at first had attention to certain great families, out of which they condescendingly chose their kings; which might be an act of great political prudence, as it confined the number of candidates, and did not leave that room for intrigue and faction which was afterwards found. In process of time this humour wore out in Spain, and the regal election came to have a other relickence than that the pardon chosen should be of the illustrious blood of the Gothi (8). By degrees also this power of choosing, under colour of the public good, was transferred, at least in respect of dignity, from the nobility in general to the great officers of the crown, or lords waiting upon the king in his palace. There is still an appearance of this in the empire, where it is not his dominions that constitute an elector, but some great office in the emperor’s household, which, now, except upon some very particular occasion, is merely nominal, that initiates him to his lands, and to his voice in the election. In France they had their mayors of the palace, who, for a long time, set up and dethroned kings at their pleasure (9). In Poland they have the title of palatines at this day; but they have no power of excluding the red of the nobility from the choice of a king; and the mischiefs to which faction and envy are liable are visible enough on every vacancy of the throne; which sufficiently demonstrates the vileness of confining his great council to a few. We have before mentioned, that, in the subscriptions, there is added to the decrees of several councils, we may, in some measure, collect the objects to which this high privilege was annexed (4). Some historians also observe, that these great lords were admitted only into that council, in which civil as well as religious concerns were to be brought under consideration; for where nothing was to be done but what regarded ecclesiastical affairs,
The prerogative, or royal power of the kings of the Visigoths, was very extensive and as a
considerable, notwithstanding they derived their title from election. They had an absolute
power over the army, which they commanded in person, or intrusted with any officer of ex-
perience, as they thought proper. They called general councils, or assemblies of the states,
at their pleasure, proposed, at the opening of the sessions, all points which they were to de-
liberate upon; and, at the close, gave a sanction to their proceedings, byubscribing their de-
crees. They stamped money with their own effigies, and settled its value. They bestowed
all places of trust and profit; and they exercised, as we have fully proved, an ecclesiastical su-
premacy, which was not only submitted to by the clergy separately, but owned and acknow-
ledged by them collectively in their provincial and general councils. They had also the power
of making laws, as appears by that antient body of their laws, intituled, lPuo ruego, b
which sometimes were revised, confirmed, and published, in their councils, or assemblies of
the states.

The administration of justice was provided for in every district of the kingdom, where the
Conde, the bishop, and the Guaduna, or warden, seem to have had a conjunct authority,
as in other Gothic governments; nay, such a reverence was paid to laws, that we fear
that king Receswiniko declared that judges might be appointed to decide between him and his
subjects; and where princes exceeded their authority, or where, in compliance with their com-
mands, any illegal acts were done, they were censured and declared void in the next council,
and the bane remedies applied that the wisdom of the nation could devise. By this a noble
and generous spirit of freedom was kept up, which, without intrenching on the power of the
king, a circumstance equally honourable and useful, secured the people from feeling any bad
effects from it; so that as the dignity of the monarch procured duty and submission from his
subjects; his lenity of the importance of preferring their affections obliged him to a reciprocal
reverence for the nobility and the whole nation. This is not a notion taken up at pleazure,
or from prepossession, and which we endeavour to impose upon the reader, but an observation
resulting from facts, of which the reader himself must be sensible. The motive to our
making this observation was to shew, that as this principle was, through the course of several
reigns, the cause of happiness to the Visigoths, from that royal cedescendence which was the
capital maxim of their wise and just princes, yet it became, in the end, the source of their
destruction. The mutual compliance of Witta, and the bulk of his subjects making an ill
use of that amazing prosperity which a long peace, and a succession of wise administrations,
had poured upon them, and which corrupted both prince and people, and, opening the flood-
gates of luxury, revolved all their wishes, and softened all their passions, into a love of ease
and pleasure, were alike incompatible with the true principles of piety and public spirit, and
brought along with them all those evils that are the constant attendants of a preposterous de-
line of being perfectly happy here, which is the never-failing prelude of extreme and univer-
sal misery.

We may with certainty infer, from the number of bishopricks, in the regulation settled
by Wamba, from the numberless towns mentioned in the old historians, from the ruins of
places of considerable extent, which yet appear, from the various other circumstances, and
more especially from the concurrence of Chillian and Mohammedan authors in their relations
of the state of things at the close of this period, that the Moors found Spain thoroughly
peopled, excellently improved, full of cities, boroughs, and villages, and many of these
adorned with fine structures, some of which, in spite of the injuries of time, and of bar-
barous enemies, are not wholly decayed. Now, though much might be due to the in-
dustry of the natives, to the frugality of their ancestors in former ages, and to other inci-
dents, of which it may be we have received little notice, yet we can scarce conceive that this
should be brought about without an extensive and beneficial commerce. For, first, this has
rarely happened in any country; secondly, it is unnatural to believe it of this, which lay
then the most convenient of any part of Europe for carrying on foreign trade; thirdly, and
which is indeed the strongest argument of all, on account of the plentiful naval force which
it is evident they had, and which never can be had where commerce does not flourish. This
is so much the more apparent, as it is out of dispute that, even at the time they were undone,
their fleet was superior to that of the Saracens, notwithstanding they found means to embark

Hifisana Illustrata, tom. iii. e Morales. b Mariana, Fxrras.

affairs, their presence was not either required or permitted. Pero como era conveniente para fi los ejércitos de la F. y va para negar de eje, no interesa en el de a guno de
Feitones (2), y en a very learned and judicious hislo-

rían, whose sentiment is highly rational and proba-
bly; and yet perhaps the point is incapable of strict

proof.

(2) Saavedra Crónica Gothic.
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The history of the Visigoths in Spain.

a so many thousand men. It likewise merits attention, that their feehmen kept up their courage to the last, which was owing to their active and hardy kind of life; so that if this had been attended to as it deserved, their enemies might have been prevented from undertaking and executing such an invasion. But their factions and domestic discontents prevented them from leaving from us, it may be hinted, from discerning where their remaining strength lay, and of what importance it was to their coreformation. But this is clear and undeniable, that their victorious admiral Thedemir was the only nobleman in 

Spain that behaved in a becoming manner, and made any struggle worth recording in defence of his country; which justifies the foregoing observations, and, in the midst of this obscurity, furnishes us with a ray of light sufficient to discover, that great part of that immense wealth, which proved the bane of this once warlike nation, and that so much enriched their plunderers, was derived from maritime traffic: (T)

In the writings of Isidorus Pcenstis, whom some file bishop of Beja, and others of Bado-Ploc of the Jet, we have an ample and affecting detail of that dreadful devastation which the Moors following part where committed at their first entrance into Spain, as if their business had not been to conquer and to pillage, but to disintegrate and destroy: so that as this section began with representing the grandeur of the monarchy, and proceeded to show how the country was gradually improved, and its inhabitants rendered opulent, it ends with the subversion of the one, and the ruin of the other, leaving all things in a state of horror and confusion, till, out of this chaos, both the Christians and the Moors returning to their senses, began to form themselves into regular governments, and to bend all their endeavours, which succeeded, however, but slowly, to repairing and restoring what had been so suddenly and surprisingly reduced into a state of desolation, to which history scarce affords us a parallel (1).

The history of these changes of the revival of the Gothic power, the revolutions in the Moorish administration, the principalities established by the former, the kingdoms that grew out of the latter, their perpetual contensions, which, with various turns of fortune, sometimes flattered one nation, and sometimes the other, till, by the joint efforts of force and policy, and through the over-ruling disposition of Providence, the Christians recovered their ancient dominions, and, after a long series of years, many cruel battles, and a vast effusion of human blood, at length forced the Moors utterly to abandon Spain, will be the business of succeeding discussions, in which it shall be our study to represent a variety of great events as clearly and as concisely as possible, and at the same time with candour and impartiality, that part of the Modern History, than which there is none more instructive or more pleasant, may,

(T) It is an omission justly to be regretted, that the historians living in and nearest these times are so very scarce in all they say concerning the naval strength of the Goths; so that when we speak of it with any degree of confidence, sixty may be inclined to treat it as a mere conjecture; whereas, in reality, though we can state but very few facts, yet the deductions made from these are so plain and natural, and withal so certain, that whoever attends to the chain of reasoning cannot entertain any doubts about them. The Goths and Vandals were famous for their power at sea before they settled there. The former nation, if a Greek historian is to be believed, once covered the Mediterranean with 100 ships, which, let them be of what size they would, was a very great naval force (2). The Vandals again had such a strength of shipping as enabled them to transport their whole nation into Africa, from whence they invaded Italy, in favour of Attila, with a fleet of 5000 sail. These nations cannot be supposed to have loft their attention to, or their skill in, maritime affairs, in countries abounding with ports, and happily situated for the command of commerce and of the sea. On the contrary, though we seldom read of their fleets, yet whenever they are mentioned, we find them described as numerous and powerful (3). It was by being superior at sea, that the Vizgoths established themselves on the coast of Mauritania, which they held long after the Vandals became powerful on that element, as well as at land, as appears from their struggles with the Greek emperors, and from the conquests they made in the Archaeophytes. Yet, before the conquest of Spain,


(2) Saaedra Corona Gothica, Pellicer, Mondesir.

(3) Zosimus, lib. 1.


(5) Rod. Toletan. de rebusHIPAN.

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as far as our abilities will permit, answer the reader's expectation, and shew him all the steps by which so many kingdoms, partly by alliances, but chiefly by conquest, came to be united in the Spanish monarchy, which once threatened to extend its influence at least, if not its power, over the greatest part of Europe.

S E C T. IV.

The revival of the Christian power in the Asturias, with the foundation and progress of the kingdom of Oviedo and Leon, through that succession of princes who governed this as a distinct monarchy.

The difficulties attending the partiality of the historians, and the method to avoid them.

This period of the Spanish history, as the critics of that nation justly observe, may, with great reason, be styled perplexed; since, as many passages in the former sections remain, through want of proper information, not a little obscure; so in this the variation, confusion, and contradiction, visible in writers of different nations, opposite religions, flourishing in different ages, many of them plainly partial, none free from prejudices, and all of them prone to fable and superstition, account sufficiently for that embarrassment into which most who have treated this history have fallen; and others, to avoid their misfortune, have tripped so lightly over it, that we can scarce discern any marks of their passage. We will follow better guides, and, by separating the threads which heither, for the sake of conciseness, more especially in general histories, have been wrought up together, we will exhibit to the reader's view each of the Christian kingdoms in Spain, in the same order in which they rose; and referring whatever might perplex the narration to the notes, we hope to render our relation succinct, without prejudice to its peripetcy.

We have, in the last section, shown how much of the Christians in Spain, including under that general name the descendants of the ancient Spanish nations of the Romans and Suevians, as well as the Goths, who preferred liberty, and the unrestrained exercise of their religion, to the precarious possession of their properties of every kind, fled into the mountains, and, forgetting every other care, fought only to provide for their safety and freedom. We have likewise shewn, as far as the difference of opinions would permit, who was Don Pelayo was, that, by the nobility of his birth, distinguished courage, and superior capacity, recommended himself, in this disordered state of things, to the choice of his countrymen, who, according to their antient constitution, elected him for their prince; and, by that election, laid the foundation of a new government in a country so well fortified by nature, that it afforded them leisure to take those steps, which, if it had not done, the Christian power in Spain must have been absolutely supprest, and that country have remained, perhaps, till this time, in the hands of the Mohammedans. At what time, or in what manner, this election was made, the reader will easily perceive it is impossible we should fix with any degree of certainty (A). Let it suffice then to say, after one of the most methodical of the Spanish historians,

(A) There are some very learned writers who retell the title of king to Don Pelayo (1), because they find no mention made of him by Isidore bishop of Barjas, who is indeed the oldest and most authentic writer extant in relation to those times; but, notwithstanding this, such an exception is very unreasonable, for many reasons, but more especially because, in the fifth place, besides that work of the author which has been published, he wrote two others that are lost; one concerning the wars of the Muslimians in Spain, and the other of his own times; and who can say what might be contained in them concerning this great man (2)? In the next place, he is as silent in relation to Don Faduyl, whose monument is still remaining in the church of Santa Cruz, and Alonso the Catholic, who succeeded him; so that if the objection taken from his silence will prove any thing, it will overturn all that the best writers in the next age have written; and we must believe that Don Alonso the Great was not acquainted with his own defects; that the Chronicle of Abayada, that of the monk of Silos, and the Annals of Gapuzela, hitherto regarded as exce

(1) Pelllicer, Anales de la Monarquia de España. Pt. de Marca, Marca Hispánica.
(2) Nicolás Antonio Biblioth. Antiq.
(3) Don Gregorio Mayans y Bifaro en la Prehistoria de las Obras Chronológicas del Monarca de Montes

Trinidad.
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a historians, that it is highly probable this great event happened towards the close of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 718 \(^d\) (B)

The news of this election was no sooner carried to Albam, the Moors governor-general of Spain, who, at this juncture, had taken up his winter-quarters in Gaul, than, foreseeing at once the consequences that must necessarily follow, if this new power had any time allowed for its establishment, he directed an army to be drawn out of the garrisons in Spain, and, as soon as the message would permit, caused a great part of his own to repel the mountains, giving the command of all these forces, which were very numerous, to Albam, a Moors officer of great experience, and who had served in Spain from the beginning of the war \(^1\). On the other hand, Don Pelayo, perceiving clearly that the loss of a battle must be attended with the loss of all, exhorted his subjects first to address themselves to God for protection, and next to apply themselves with all imaginable precaution to defend their country against these implacable enemies to their faith and their freedom \(^1\). In order to do this more effectually, he distributed his troops, which were sufficiently numerous, every subject being a soldier, along the sides of the precipices, with strict injunctions to conceal themselves with the greatest care, and not to give the enemy the least annoyance in their passage, but to refuse themselves for one great general effort, when he should be attacked by the Moors in his head quarters. These he placed in the cavern of Santa Maria de Cazadora, on the side of a mountain prodigiously high, and overlooking a long valley edged with precipices on both sides, and into which there was no other passage than over the mountain Atayeb, Alba.

c man having provided his army with all necessaries, puffed the Río Buena, and began to advance slowly through the valleys, taking with him the famous false pretate Don Oppas, at the head of a body of Gothic cavalry in the service of the Moors. At first they moved with great caution; but meeting with no resistance, they marched more briskly, till having traversed the mountain Atayeb with some difficulty, they poured their numerous forces into the valley, where they had very soon intelligence that they were not far from Don Pelayo \(^2\). Upon this, archbishop Oppas was sent to offer him terms. We will not trouble the reader with the speeches on both sides, though nothing can be more elegant than those inserted in his history by Mariana. For our purpose it is sufficient to say, that they were rejected with contempt; and that Don Pelayo declared plainly that he and his subjects would live or die free \(^3\).

\(^d\) Ferreras, Hist. de Hilfianis, p. iv.  
\(^2\) Vales. Hilfianis. Chron.  
\(^3\) Tudens. Chron.

Theodorir and Pelayo, or Pelayo, were the same person, in which he has been followed by father Oriente \(^4\). Yet whoever considers attentively the exploits performed by the one, and the great actions done by the other, the times when, and the places where, they were done, will easily perceive that this notion cannot subsist.

\(B\) It is a point of some importance to have a right notion of the beginnings of Don Pelayo's kingdom, which, though we can no otherwise describe than by mentioning the provinces under their present names, yest we must at the same time remember that they were not Circumscribed exactly then by the same bounds that are now. We are told in all the Spanish histories, and very truly, that Don Pelayo was first acknowledged for a sovereign in the Asturias \(^5\). Yet we cannot imagine that he became at first master of that whole country, nor ought we to believe that in process of time, and after he had gained many victories over the Moors, his territories extended no farther; neither of which were laid the foundation of his government was the little province of Licanu, which is about nine leagues in length, and four in breadth, the moor inland part of the country, full of mountains of most enormous height, and, in a word, a place so fortified by nature, that inhabitants are at all times capable of resisting almost any number of invaders \(^6\). It was from hence that, in process of time, under the special protection of God, and by the value of his generous subjects, for he reigned over none but those who, despising both property and ease, preferred their own freedom, and the liberty of their pettorney, like wise and good men, to all other considerations. By their affiance, then, he defended into the lower and better part of the country, where he made himself master of the strong town of Gijon, seated in a peninsula, which was his first capital, and from which he borrowed his original title of King of Gijon \(^7\). Afterwards he became master of all the Asturias, which word is a plural in the Spanish language, because it is divided into two parts, Sanillana and Oviedo; but the name common to both Asturias is taken from the river Afura, which runs by the walls, and beholds an appellation likewise on the city of Aftures \(^8\). The inhabitants of this principality, which is always the title of the heir apparent to the crown of Spain, value themselves at this day on the purity of their blood; and some of the best families in that extensive monarchy acknowledge, or rather boast, themselves to have proceeded originally from that country \(^9\); but the dominions of Pelayo stretched themselves east as well as west, and comprehended the whole of the life of Depe, or the ancient Cantabria, from whence came his son-in-law Alfonso the Catholic, and, as the reader will perceive in the text, comprehended gradually other countries likewise, in proportion to the success of his arms made room for multitudes of dispersed Christian to come and settle under his protection \(^1\).
The preparations for a general attack were quickly made, and the Moors began the onset with great fury; but by a miracle, as all the Spanish historians say, perhaps through the special providence of God in bringing this important point to be decided in such a place, the darts and javelins of the Moors rebounding from the rocks fell back upon themselves, which threw them into some confusion, out of which Don Pelayo did not suffer them to recover; but pursuing his troops that God fought for them, inflicted from his post with such impetuous valour, that the Noblemen, unable to sustain the charge, began to recoil; upon which the troops placed in ambush on each side of the valley rolled down the fragments of the rocks upon their places; and the slaughter ensuing upon this victory flewed the valley, where it was gained, with the dead bodies of 12,000 infidels. Alcman him self fell amongst the first, and Don Oppas, being taken prisoner, met with a death which would have been cruel, if he who suffered it had not been a traitor to his country. The poor remains of this army repelled the mountain Aseba as fast as they were able, and defending likewise the narrow passages of Asera, entered the territory of Liébana, and, beginning to coat the river Deva, thought themselves safe from the arms of the Christians; but here they met with a new misfortune, which might be justly filled miraculous; for part of the mountain overlooking that river fell down upon them, and partly overwhelming, partly stopping the channel, raised the waters so high that the rest were drowned.

Don Pelayo's second victory over the Moors in the valley of Olaltes.

The news of this dreadful defeat being carried to Munuzas, who commanded the next Moorish garrison established at Gijon, he judged that the wild step he could take was to march out with his forces, and endeavour to recover some post of greater strength; but before he was able to do this, Don Pelayo, with his victorious army, fell upon him in the valley of Olaltes, three leagues below the place where the city of Oviedo now stands, and cut the greatest part of these troops to pieces. By this victory, and the right use he made of it, Don Pelayo cleared the Asturias effectually from all Moors, whom he did not reduce into a state of slavery, and established such a reputation as, during the remainder of his reign, served him instead of an army. He did not, however, as too many conquerors do, become either insolent or indolent in consequence of his victories; on the contrary, he employed the leisure they procured him to great and glorious purposes: he built some towns in convenient places; he restored others that were almost ruined; he repaired many that were but inclining to decay, and founded and rebuilt churches in them all. But if there are instances of his being a good prince, we shall produce an omission that will demonstrate his refined skill in policy: he walled none of his towns, he fortified no passes, he did not erect a castle throughout his dominions; for he knew, that, while his people were brave, their country would be safe, and he was unwilling to pave the way for the loss of virtue, by providing for their security.

There was indeed another circumstance that contributed not a little to the tranquillity of his territories. The Moorish governors perceived the great risk they ran in leading numerous armies into so rough a country; and being also satisfied that there was nothing to be got if it was conquered but rocks and mountains, a few homely hamlets and pauperty villages, they thought it better to employ their arms against Gaul, which humour continued, or rather was augmented, by the repeated checks they received in those attempts; the providing for which obliged them to levy such heavy taxes in Spain as proved the cause of frequent insurrections, and at length of civil wars among themselves. All these contributed to leave Don Pelayo in quiet; and he improved this season so well in the restitution of the ancient government in all its branches, that great numbers of Christians retired privately out of the Moorish provinces, in order to put themselves under his protection; by which his new towns were quickly peopled, and this too by persons of the better sort, because they were more exposed to hardships and ill usage from the vices, caprices, and misfortunes, of the Moorish governors, who, as they knew they were not to remain long, were always in great haste to be rich.

Don Pelayo also discovered great prudence in the settlement of his family. He had by his queen Guadix two children, the prince Favela and the prince Ormifinda. He procured the former to be appointed with him in the government by the consent of the nobility, and gave the latter in marriage to Don Almiza, the son of Pedro duke of Cantabria, descended, as the Spanish writers affirm, from king Recared. However that matter may be (for indeed there ought to be no great weight laid upon their genealogies in these times), he is universally allowed to have been a person of great accomplishments, and to have merited the honour done him by Don Pelayo by his services both in peace and in war. That monarch having

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The manner in which that great prince settled and improved his dominions.

His family, death, and place of interment.
attained to a good old age, and having governed the remains of the Christians in Spain, with uninterrupted prosperity, for nineteen years, deceased, as the Spaniards writers say, September the 18th 717, and was buried in the church of Santa Olalla de Velada, in the territory of Cangas, which was of his own foundation, and had the satisfaction of leaving his people in as happy and flourishing a condition as, the late considered in which he found them, he had any reason to expect or desire, leaving behind him a reputation that will last at least as long as that of his monarchy, the bals of which was laid by his valor and virtues (C).

Don Favela, who had for some time shared the administration with his father, succeeded him without the least opposition, and held the reins of government but a very little time. He has a very different character given him by the Spanish historians, particularly Mariana, and Ferreras. The former says he was a light, indolent, and luxurious prince, having no resemblance to Don Pelayo, who kept his dominions through the ill management and inactivity of the Moors, rather than through any prudence or other great qualities of his own.

The latter affirms, that his courage was great, and his conduct equal to it; that he was the worthy successor of his noble father; that he defended his dominions gallantly against the Moors, and governed his subjects with mildness and discretion. The truth of the matter is, that we have no just foundation either for these or for any other character of this prince; all we know of him is, that he lies buried in the church of Santa Cruz, in the territory of Cangas, of which he was founder, and where there is an old inscription remaining that tells poverty thus much; and further, that his wife's name was Frelexa, by whom he had several children; but either they died before him, or Mariana was mistaken in saying that he left no issue.

His end was very unfortunate, for, while he was hunting, a bear rushed upon him, and gave him a mortal wound, before any of his attendants could come up to his assistance. This melancholy event happened in the year of our Lord 739. His corpse was interred in the church beforementioned, and the peasants have put up a croos on, or at least near, the place where he received his wound.

The nobility, upon his demise, made choice of Don Alonso, the brother-in-law of the Don Alonso deceased monarch, and the son-in-law of Don Pelayo, a prince of an heroic spirit, and born to repair the losses of his country. In the third year of his reign, perceiving that the Moors were extremely weakened by their civil wars, which had continued long, and were not likely to cease in half, he assembled an army, and, with his brother Freila, passed the mountains, and fell into the northern part of Galicia, where finding no considerable resistance, he carried all before him till he came to Lugo, where the infidels made some defence; notwithstanding which he soon made himself master of the place, and, in this jingle campaign, recovered the whole of Galicia. The next year he fell with his army into the plains of Leon and Castile; and, before the Moors could assemble a force capable of looking him in the face, he reduced Allarogas, Leon, Salamanca, Montes De Oca, Ameja Alava, and all the country at the foot of the mountains, in which expedition his army amassed a prodigious booty. The year following he was in the field again, and pursued his conquests as far as the frontiers of the country now called Portugal; and, in his next campaign, ravaged all the country as far as the mountains that separate the two Castiles. If his activity and success in war procured him justly the title of a great captain, he had an equal claim to that of a confidant politician, from the manner in which he improved his victories.

(C) This refector of the Christian monastery in Spain was so eminent for his virtue, wildness, and piety, that we find him filled a saint by some very antient writers. Mariana speaks of his will, by which the succession was limited to his son in law Don Alonso, and his daughter Orsinda, in case his son Don Favela died without issue; but for this he cites no ancient author; and as it is directly contrary to the ancient constitution of the Goths, which, as it appears clearly from the current of the history, still prevailed, we ought to regard it as a fiction. The French translator of Mariana censures him, however unjustly, for altering positively, that Don Alonso was the son of Don Pedro duke of Cadiz, as if he had advanced this of himself, and a little inconsiderately; yet, whatever becomes of the fact, our historian defends no blame in that respect, because we find it in the chronicle of Alfonso the Great, from whom it is derived to other historians. We may, however, collect, from the manner of his coming into the service of Don Pelayo, and the respect paid him, that he had been before at the head of a body of independent Spaniards in the mountains of Diisp. and united his territory and people to those under his father-in-law, who seems also much strengthened by this accession, since we find him from that time defending into the plain, and making excursions on one side into what was afterwards called the kingdom of Leon, and into the fruitful country of Galicia on the other. It may be these excursions were chiefly made under the command of Don Favela and Don Alonso, and that Don Pelayo, the old and infirm, referred to himself chiefly the civil administration, and the care of reviving the ancient form of government: for which reason he resided chiefly in the Alhama.

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He was tolerable that he wanted strength sufficient to preserve the flat country, and therefore he ruined and destroyed it, obliging all the Christians that were settled there to retire into his dominions, into which he carried many thousands of Moors, whom he made slaves; and leaving behind him a country unpeopled and destroyed, the harvest failed, and the infidels found enough to defend themselves against famine at home, without attempting to follow him into his dominions. But when he had availed himself sufficiently of these maxims, and found his country thoroughly peopleed, and his subjects in a condition to occupy and defend part of the flat country which he had reduced, he suffered them to extend themselves pretty far into Galicia, and also to rebuild Leon, Añorga, and some other places; so that, at the time of his demise, he left his territories much extended, and his subjects in a far better state than at his accession to the throne. He deceased in the year 757, and was buried near his queen Ormininda, in the monastery of Santa Maria de Cangas, leaving behind him two sons by that princess, Don Freila and Don Bimaranu, and a natural son by a Moorish woman, who, for that reason, was called Mauregato. This monarch, for his great zeal in building Christian churches and destroying mosques, obtained the surname of Catholic, which, from the time of Reccared, had not been used by any of his predecessors.

The nobility held themselves so much obliged to their late king, that they made no difficulty of raising his son Don Freila to the throne, who, at the beginning of his reign, is said to have distinguished himself by his zeal for religion, though his future conduct shewed that he had left of that than any of the three princes who had reigned before him. It seems he was scandalized at the thoughts of having any to serve in his church but married clergyman; and therefore, whether with or without the consent of the bishops does not clearly appear, he compelled those who were married to separate from their wives, and forbid their entering into the state of matrimony for the future under severe penalties. This edict, Ferreras affirms us, procured him the blessings of all honest people, and the hatred of the far greater part of the clergy. But while he was thus employed, and perhaps because he was thus employed, the inhabitants of Alava and part of Navarre, which his father had subdued, took up arms; but he quickly reduced them, and punished the ringleaders. Among the prisoners he found a young lady exquisitely beautiful, whom Mariana calls Monina, and makes her the daughter of the duke of Aquitaine, which is not very agreeable to history; but other writers content themselves with condemning her person, without acquainting us of her family or name. This lady, however she was, the king married, and had by her Don Alonzo, of whom we shall have much to say. About this time the disputes that had so long disturbed the Moors were composed, or rather removed, by Aderrobraban's establishing himself as an independent monarch, and fixing the seat of his government at Cordova, which event could not but prove very prejudicial to the Christians.

This prince assumed the title of Almir Ammonim, which the Spaniards commonly, though corruptly, call Miramanelin, the son of which is, commander of the faithful: a title implying his claim to the khalifat, or Mehemmed's lieutenant, by which he pretended not only to the sole and absolute dominion over all the Muslims in Spain, but expected a like submission from the Christians, whom he considered only as rebels, that had hitherto maintained themselves in a state of independency, through the divisions that reigned amongst their masters. He caused therefore a great army to assemble in that part of Portugal which was under his obedience; and having given the command of it to Huanar, directed him to reduce Don Freila; with which view he invaded his territories that lay nearest to him. The Christian monarch had not been a supine spectator of the great military preparations amongst the infidels; on the contrary, he had drawn together the force of his dominions, and having suffered the enemy to advance into Galicia, as far as a place called Ponteua, he there attacked them with such vigour and judgment, that he gained a complete victory, killed 54,000 men upon the spot, and, having taken their general prisoner, caused him to be put to death.

This victory was as wisely improved as it was courageously obtained; for the king employed the greatest part of that wealth which was found in the enemy's camp, and raised in contrib-

(D) When we find a writer to tell us, that the infidels were so weak that they could not resist the advance of the Christian army, we must be careful, that notwithstanding his general knowledge in the antiquities and history of this country, he could find no positive authority to support it. We have therefore a right to say, that the clergy of old in Spain had the legal authority of a king and general council in favour of their marriages; whereas they were deprived of that liberty by the arbitrary act of a tyrannical prince, who, in this instance, set up his will against the common voice of his subjects, as we shall presently prove.
but ions after the defeat, in building the city of Oviedo, which he resolved to make the capital of his dominions, in order to be in a better condition to defend the flat country, which he now determined to people (E). He there erected also a bishop’s see, and covered the place, till it was in a state of defence, with such a force as prevented the Moors from giving him any disturbance. Abderrahman, in the mean time, turned his arms against those Moors provinces that had revolted upon the defeat which his forces had received from the Christians, and in the course of several years, not without a great effusion of blood on both sides, reduced them at length under his obedience. At this, having a numerous and victorious army under his command, he made an irruption in person, on the side of Crevils, into the territories of Don Fraila, who suffered him to advance till he began to enter the rough country, and then gave him so severe a check, that Abderrahman was inclined to conclude a truce with him, being thoroughly convinced that it was to no purpose to attempt the conquest of a country fortified by nature, and defended by a numerous and martial people. Upon the first appearance of this invasion, Don Fraila had summoned the Galiots, amongst the rest of his subjects, to march to his assistance, which they neglected; and having now leisure to make them feel the weight of his resentment, he directed his march into that country, defeated and dispersed the rebels, and afterwards made so many and so severe examples, as not only frightened the inhabitants of that province, but raised an universal discontent amongst his subjects; so that nothing was more visible than that they obeyed him not through reverence or affection, but merely from fear.

At his return to Oviedo, Don Fraila could not help perceiving to how great a degree he had loft the hearts of his people; and as this increased the natural fierceness of his temper, so he could not help seeing with regret the different conduct of his brother Don Bimaran, and the universal spirit of affection which it produced. This by degrees raised such a tempest in his bosom, that, forgetting his own dignity, the ties of nature, and the dictates of religion, he went to the palace of that young prince, and, under pretence of conferring with him upon matters of importance, flabbed him to the heart with his dagger, and left him dead upon the place. This unnatural and brutal act alarmed the nobility to such a degree, that, believing none could be safe under a prince of such a fustigious and sanguinary temper, they resolved, for their own security, to remove him out of the way; and, having concerted this design with the utmost secrecy, it was not long before they found an opportunity of executing it. As he had flabbed his brother, so some bold affianz flabbed him at a private audience, and the people, instead of avenging their sovereign, congratulated each other upon their being delivered from a blood-thirsty tyrant. Thus fell Don Fraila, in the prime of his life, when he had held the reins of government somewhat more than eleven years, and was buried in the church of Oviedo, which he founded in the year of our Lord 768. All the Spanish historians agree that he was a prince of invincible courage, very zealous against the Mohammedans, and endowed with many excellent qualities; but Mariana goes beyond them much in extolling his piety; in proof of which he inflicts chiefly upon his inflexibility with regard to the married clergy, his severity in exterminating the Moors, as far as it lay in his power, and his many religious foundations, which, with him, sufficiently excuses all his other failings, and even that spirit of cruelty and resentment which certainly could not be pleasing in the sight of God: for it rendered him universally odious amongst men, and, as we shall see hereafter, excited such an apprehension of a like disposition in his son, as hindered that prince, though, in reality, one of the best and most amiable of any that flourished in his time, from ascending the throne so soon as otherwise he might have done. It exposed the whole nation to those loaves and inconveniences which are commonly the lot of people divided into factions, and who, in reality, pursue private interest under the plausible pretence of a zealour regard for the public good. This can never be so effectually secured as by a reciprocal affection between a legal sovereign and his subjects, the one zealous only of his people’s happiness, and the other regarding from thence the glory and prosperity of the crown as an advantage accruing to themselves, from a persuasion that the extension of the royal authority must contribute to augment their felicity.

The nobility, upon this vacancy of the throne, placed thereon Don Aurelio, whom some historians make the brother of the deceased prince, but who, with greater probability, is held his cousin jure.

* Luc. Tudenf. Chron. R. Tole. de Rebus Hsp. lib. iv. 4 Luc. Tudenf. Chron. var. Antiq. 4 Luc. Tudenf. Chron. R. Tole. de Rebus Hsp. lib. iv. 4 Chron. var. Antiq. 4 Hil. General de Espana, lib. viii. 4 (E) It is generally believed that this city was raised upon the ruins of places known in the time of the R. by the names of Afigum, Lusum, and Ovidiagum; it stands very pleasantly, five leagues to the south of Oviedo, between the rivers Ovo and Dusse, from whence its modern Latin name Ovatum, as well as its Spanish, Oviedo.
to be no nearer related to him than being the son of his father’s brother "Jrosia." Some like-a
wife say that he was at the head of the conspiracy, as to which others are silent. It appears
have been a prince either naturally of a mild and sweet temper, or prudent enough to take
warning from his predecessor’s misfortune. His first care was to renew the peace with the
Mirammanolin, in which he found no great difficulty, for this measure was as necessary to that
monarch’s affairs as to his own; and this once done, he addressed himself with great application
to regulate the interior of his dominions. But while he was thus employed, himself and
his subjects fell suddenly into the most imminent danger, from a cause that had never pro-
voked so much as a suspicion. The Meori[1] slaves, with which their victories had furnished
them in great numbers, and who had been hitherto very kindly treated, revolted all at once,
and assembled together in arms. This rebellion had certainly been attended with fatal con-
sequences, if it had been delayed till the martial temper of the Christians had been a little soft-
ened through prosperity and peace; but falling out at this time, when there was a perfect
understanding between the sovereign and his subjects, they were quickly defeated and subdued;
so that it proved most fatal to themselves, as they were deprived by law of those indulgences
which hitherto they had enjoyed, and which they had so ungratefully abused. This was the
only remarkable event of the reign; for Don Aurelio having no children of his own,
and his brother Don Bermudo having taken deceas’s orders, the chief object he had in view
was to pass his days quietly; in order to which he cast his eyes upon Silo, the wealthiest
and most powerful of the Gorbiic nobility, to whom he gave his cousin Adofina in marriage, and
admitted him to a large share in the administration, which had, though that seldom happens,
the desired effect, and kept him free from disturbance during the remaining part of his reign.

He breathed his last in the year of our Lord 774, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and was
buried in the church of St. Martin’s, about fifteen miles from Oviedo, which was of his own
foundation.

According to his own plan, the late king was succeeded in the throne by Don Silo, who
had married his relation. This prince is thought to have descended from the Meori, because
of a remark in an old chronicle, that, on the score of his mother, the peace with the king of
Cordova was without difficulty renewed. He professed the same scheme of government
that had been introduced by Don Aurelio; while queen Adofina, with a laudable vigi-
lance, superintended the education of Don Alonfo, her cousin, whom she regarded as a prince
that ought one day to wear the crown, and whom she therefore endeavoured to render worthy
of it, by appointing him proper masters, and by giving him very good instructions herself.

But while all was quiet at court, the Galicians, for what cause is not recorded, took up arms;
upon which Don Silo marched against them with a numerous army, and though they had taken
care to entrench themselves strongly on the top of a high mountain, yet he attacked and forced
their camp, dispirited their army, made them put a few of their chiefs to death, and returned
in triumph to Pravia, which he had made the capital of his dominions. He passed the remain-
der of his days in quiet, if we except some heresies that sprang up in the church, with which,
notwithstanding the bad example of some bishops, the court remained uninfluenced. He
founded the church of St. John de Pravia, in which, after having worn the crown for nine
years, he was, at his decease, interred in the beginning of the year 783, without leav-
ing any issue (F).

On the decease of her husband, queen Adofina, with the consent of some of the principal
nobility, caused her nephew Don Alonfo, now in the 18th or 19th year of his age, to be
declared king. But, notwithstanding the personal good qualities of that young prince, it very
soon appeared that the people in general had an aversion to him, from the dread they were
under that he might one day prove of the same disposition with his father; which was so arti-
fully heightened by his uncle Mauregate, that, with very little difficulty, he supplanted him
in the throne, Don Alonfo himself declaring that he would never reign over an unwilling people;


(F) What we have said in the text of his place of residence and interment, is supported by good authori-
ties, and yet the current of historians agree, that he built the splendid church of San Salvador in Oviedo;
and that his tomb stands at the entrance near the great gate, with those three words inscribed thereupon, "Ann. Sila Princps fuit, in to quom est, ipse in amys." (F) is written a manner, that it may
be read two hundred and twenty ways. At the bottom of this tomb stand the following capitals, "S. T. L. which implies, His statu e Sit. Si fit, terra
i iuus; that is, Here Sila stood and carried upon him light. It seems, as when there was no sign of his life-time, he was
deadly for distinguishing himself at his death by this
tomb and inscription; and yet it is probable he changed
his mind, and directed his corpse to be buried in the
class of the church of St. John at Pravia, which was likewise
of his foundation.

and
and retiring to his own estate in Bifeg, the populace, who had rejected him for their king, insisted that he should be left there in safety and in peace; neither does it appear that his uncle, though he was not either a good man or a good king, ever attempted any thing to his prejudice, but rather wished he might prove his successor. The new king, in support of his title, had brought an army of Moors into his country, and lived always in such intelligence with the Miramamelin, as rendered him suspicious and despised by his subjects. Some historians afford, that he became tributary to him, and yielded the Miramamelin annually one hundred beautiful virgins for his seraglio, which, as it has very much the air of a fable, so the most judicious critics are of opinion that it was really such, and had no other foundation than his encouraging marriages between Moors and Christians, of which, if we consider his own birth, we may easily discern the spring. How muchsoever they disliked, his subjects were afraid to disobey him, because of his close alliance with the Miramamelin; and therefore he remained in quiet possession of the throne to the time of his decease, which was in the month of July, in the year of our Lord seven hundred eighty-eight, in the sixth year of his reign, much less regretted than any of his predecessors.

Upon this vacancy of the throne, the nobility, who doubted what the consequence might have been of restoring Alfonso, made choice of Don Bermudo, who, though he had received the deacon's orders, was married, and had children. It is however highly probable, that this step was taken with the approbation, it may be at the desire, of Don Alfonso; for, as soon as news came to Don Bermudo was seated on the throne, he sent for that prince, brought him into his councils, and, when he saw the distaste of the people gradually fobside, intrusted him with the command of the troops. It was not long before an occasion offered to shew the virtues of that young prince in a proper point of light. Islem, king of Cordova, either prompted by ambition, or displeased at finding in the new king much less complaisance than in his predecessor, invaded his territories with a numerous army of Moors, against whom Don Bermudo marched in person, accompanied by his cousin Don Alfonso. The armies met at a town called Bireba, in the neighbourhood of Burgos; and an obstinate engagement ensued, in which at length the Christians were victorious, and the Moors defeated with great slaughter. As the prince Don Alfonso distinguished himself extremely upon this occasion, he was not only complimented at his return by the nobility, who were ever well inclined to him, but received with universal acclamations by the people; which the king no sooner perceived, than he declared his resolution to abdicate in his favour; and, the nobility having approved this measure, he publicly resigned the crown; but his successor would never permit him to leave the palace, where he lived as a private man, but in the strictest friendship with the king Don Alfonso, to the time of his death.

Don Alfonso, the second of that name, who, from the great prosperity of his life and manners, was furred El Cafro, or the Chief, was declared king by election, on the voluntary abdication of his predecessor, September the fourteenth, Anno Domini seven hundred ninety-one; and in a short time after transferred the court to Oviedo, where he repaired and beautified the church which his father had founded, applying himself with great diligence to correct the defects that had in process of time crept into the government, and labouring to the utmost of his power to make his subjects all of ranks and conditions live quietly and happily, in a manner agreeable to their station. In the third year of his reign, Islem, king of Cordova, thinking his friendship neglected, and hoping that his veteran and victorious army might enable him to recover part at least of the flat country from the Christians, ordered a numerous army to assemble in Portugal, with instructions to march at a proper season of the year into the territories of Don Alfonso. Accordingly, under the command of Maebet, an experienced general, they entered Galicia, as they thought by surprize, because they met with no Christians to oppose them. But when they had reached Lodos, and found themselves entangled in a morass, they were quickly attacked by Don Alfonso and his troops, who, by their perfect knowledge of the ground, as well as by their superior valour, gained a complete victory, in which there were sixty thousand either killed upon the field of battle, or drowned or choked in the bog, which gave such a damp to the spirit of the infidels, as prevented them from giving Don Alfonso any trouble for several years afterwards, which enabled him to finish intirely those regulations which he had so happily begun, and which contributed not a little to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects.

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a Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv.  
b MARIANA Historia Gen. de Espaňa, lib. vii.  
c MARIANA Historia General de Espaňa, I. vii.  
d MARIANA Historia general de Espaňa, lib. vii.  
e MARIANA Historia General de Espaňa, l. vi.  
f MARIANA Historia general de Espaňa, l. vi.  
g MARIANA Historia general de Espaňa, l. vii.  
h MARIANA Historia general de Espaňa, l. vii.
The history of the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo. Book XXIII.

Upon the death of Iñiñ, king of Cordova, a new civil war breaking out among the Moors, the succession of his son Albacen being contested by his two uncles, Don Alonzo did not let slip this favourable opportunity, but employed it in repeopling the city of Braga. While those he brought to inhabit it were occupied in rebuilding it, he made an incursion with his forces into the territory of the Moors, and, having beat their forces, advanced as far as Lisboa, which he took by storm, and then returned to Braga with a very rich booty, and a great multitude of slaves. The very fame year he sent a most splendid embassy to the emperor Charlemagne with very rich presents, amongst the rest a magnificent tent, eight mules very richly harnessed and adorned, and eight slaves, who were appointed to conduct them. The embassadors were most honourably entertained, and the presents they brought very kindly received, the emperor promising to give their matter upon all occasions marks of his esteem and confidence; which assurances were so much the more welcome, as this monarch had made great conquests upon the Moors, and was at that time master of several very important fortresses in Spain. As a farther mark of his piety and generosity, Don Alonzo erected, in the great church of Oviedo, a noble crosb of gold, and thereupon inscribed the date of the year, which, as it is still remaining, is considered as a venerable monument of antiquity by such learned Spaniards as are addicted to that study. Ferreras, amongst others, affirms us, that he went thither on purpose to see it, and that he found the date of the Spaniard era to be D.CCC.XXXVI, though it had been otherwise reported by Morales.

An obstinate and bloody war breaking out between Lewis, king of Aquitain, son to the emperor Charlemagne, and the Moors, in which the former attacked Barcelona, which was not only gallantly defended, but a powerful army sent to its relief by Albacan, though without effect; to repair which disgrace, those forces, passing up the Ebro by Saragozza, fell suddenly into the dominions of Don Alonjo, and committed great ravages in Biscay, and in the mountains of Burgos; upon this the king marched against them with a considerable army, and, having forced the Moors to a general engagement, obtained a complete victory, but as human prosperity is ever deceitful, so this gleam of good fortune proved but the prologue to an unexpected calamity. There still remained in his dominions a large number of malecontents, who, upon this occasion, had taken arms, and made the greater part of the king's forces, and they, immediately after the victory, turned upon their sovereign, and endeavoured to seize his person, in which, by their superior forces to those who were well affected, they succeeded, and, having deposed the king, carried him to the monastery of Alceda, into which they thrust him as a prisoner. This account is indeed dark and perplexed, which must be excused, since there is no better to be had, because the Spaniard historians are, of all others, the least inclined to perpetuate the memory of rebellions.

This defection, however great, was not general: and though, the rebels, by managing their design with great secrecy, and being first in arms, appeared very formidable, yet when those, who were loyal to their prince, came to recollect themselves, and saw plainly, that, though the people submitted to, they took no pleasure in, this revolution, it induced them to contrive in their own minds a new change of affairs. Amongst those who were in these honest and honourable sentiments, was one Thoies, an officer of great quality, whose numerous alliances created him a general influence over his relations and neighbours. He made use of this to persuade them, that it would be no difficult thing to take the king out of the monastery where the rebels had placed him, and to set him again upon the throne. As they concluded upon the first motion, the thing was executed almost as soon as concerted; and the people riling in multitudes, as soon as they appeared in arms, they brought the king out of the monastery, and carried him in triumph to Oviedo, where he resumed the regal dignity, and, by his clemency towards the conspirators, extinguished at once a faction that might have proved very troublesome, if he had treated them with severity. The war continuing between the French and the infidels, by sea as well as land, Don Alonjo took occasion from thence to execute all the designs he had before formed in their utmost extent, by which his dominions were very much improved, and the force of the monarchy rendered much greater than at the time of his accession. But a peace being at length made between the two nations before-mentioned, Albacan took that opportunity of razing a great army, which, under the command of Almacan, paffed the Duero, and fell into the territories of Don Alonjo, whose policy never offered him a chance of fillowing some alteration; for he no longer permitted the Moors to ravage a country which he had been so much pains to people, but gave them battle as soon as possible, in which he gained a glorious and most important victory. The very next year another army, under...
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a. The command of Omar, again entered his dominions, and were again beaten, upon which a truce ensued, which gave Don Alfonso leisure to pursue his wife and pious designs for the securing his dominions, and gaining new advantages, to his subjects.

The true design of this collision, on the part of the infidels, was only to gain an opportunity of surprising the Christians, as appeared plainly by an irruption of theirs under the command of Abdalarrin, in the year ensuing. After waiting the adjacent country, he formed the siege of Calahorra, a place of great consequence, and of which he was in hopes of becoming master, before Don Alfonso was in a condition to give him any disturbance; but in this he found himself mistaken; for the place made a vigorous defence, which gave the king sufficient time to march to its relief; and, upon this, Abdalarrin, not caring to trust the issue of a battle, raised the siege and retired. All these repeated disappointments discouraged Alhacan, king of Cordova, so much, that he remained quiet for several years. At length he resumed his design of recovering at least some part of the country which had been taken from him. To facilitate this design, he divided his forces into two considerable armies, one under the command of Albez, the other under that of Mestre, both near relations. They entered Galicia by different routes, destroying the country without mercy. These disorders, however, did not last long, for the king, at the head of one army, and his cousin Don Ramiro, at the head of another, quickly gave a check to the infidels, and gained two signal victories on the same day, which soon delivered that province from the fury of the infidels, and left the king at liberty to proceed in his care of civil and ecclesiastical concerns, and to provide for the cultivation and settlement of those districts which he had so gallantly and successfully defended.

A new civil war broke out amongst the Moors upon the death of Alhacan, king of Cordova, Don Alfonso, and, amongst others who revolted from his son Abdarraban the second, was Mabanut, governor of Merida, an officer of great valor and experience, who, having a numerous garrison, believed it possible for him to render himself independent. Abdarraban, either from some ambition of Melida, who had treated him with respect, or from some other motive, determined to drive him from his strong hold, and sometimes also with considerable advantage, yet perceiving his troops gradually diminishing, and knowing that he had no resource if the place was once invested, he threw himself with all his adherents into the dominions of Don Alfonso, and demanded his protection, which that monarch, knowing him to be a brave man and an able officer, readily granted him, and appointed him and his troops to defend the frontiers of Portugal, without taking any umbrage at their remaining Mohammedans. After he had acquired himself with great honour for near seven years in the discharge of this trust, Mabanut set on foot some intrigues for reconciling himself to Abdarraban; suspecting, that, if he would furnish him with a sufficient number of troops, he would infallibly put into his hands the whole province of Galicia. This proposal was too advantageous to be rejected; and the troops being furnished that he desired, Mabanut put himself at the head of them as well as his own, and marched directly to the cattle of St. Christina, which is within a very small distance of Lugo, by which all the adjacent country was put under contribution.

On the first news of so extraordinary an event, the king dispatched his orders to the prince Don Ramiro to throw himself immediately into Lugo with all the troops under his command, which he accordingly performed. The king soon after this joined him with a much more considerable body of men; and, immediately after this juncture was made, they marched with their whole army against the infidels, Mabanut was much superior in number, made a fine disposition of his troops, and received the Christians with great firmness and intrepidity: but being slain in the very beginning of the action, and his head presented on the point of a lance to the king, the infidels soon fell into confusion, so that in the battle, and in the pursuit, they left fifty thousand men. The cattle also was immediately surrendered, in which they found spoils to an immense value. The king was also victorious in some other engagements, which effectually quelled the spirit of the infidels. Don Alfonso, finding himself weak and infirm through age, and the great fatigues he had endured, summoned an assembly of the states, to whom he recommended his cousin Don Ramiro for his successor, and, upon his election, resigned to him the administration, when he had resigned, after his last accession to the throne, near forty-four years. He survived, after this, to the year of our Lord eight hundred forty-two, and then expired, at the age of seventy-seven, universally regretted by his subjects, and with the highest reputation of any monarch of his time.
At the time of the old monarch’s decease, Don Ramiro was in the country of Alava, which afforded an opportunity to count Nepotian, an artful and ambitious nobleman, to persuade several persons of high distinction, to whom he made large promises, that, with their assistance, he could maintain himself upon the throne, and thereby defeat the former election of Don Ramiro, and the late disposition in his favour by king Alfonso. They, being seduced by his fair speeches, gave him the title of king, and raised an army with an intention to support his title; but Don Ramiro, as soon as he had intelligence of this defection, hastened into Galicia, and assembled a good body of forces at Lugo, and from thence marched towards the frontiers of the Afturias. Count Nepotian, having, partly by money, partly by violence, drawn together a great number of troops in the neighbourhood of Oviedo, began to move very readily, in order to give the king battle, at as great a distance as might be from the capital. When the two armies were in sight, he quickly discerned how much he had deceived himself with respect to his interest in the army; for the troops defected to Don Ramiro in such numbers, that, seeing himself on the point of being abandoned, he placed all his hopes of safety in his flight; on which too of the great lords, who had been deep in his treason, purloined, made him prisoner, and brought him in that condition to the king, who ordered that, his eyes being first put out, he should be confined for life in a monastery; and thus, the rebellion being entirely crushed, Don Ramiro entered in triumph into Oviedo.

Don Ramiro found himself obliged to begin his reign with some necessary acts of severity; for, on the one hand, the roads were diffused by robbers, and, on the other, many in the villages, through an excessive superfluous, abandoned themselves to forcery. As to the former, as fast as they could be taken, he condemned them to lose their eyes; and the latter, as they fell into the hands of justice, were committed to the flames. These intestine troubles were succeeded by an unexpected foreign invasion. The Normans, who at that time infested all the maritime provinces of Europe, made a decent at Corunna, and began, according to their usual custom, to waffe all the adjacent country with fire and sword. But Don Ramiro, marching against them with a potent army, took his-measures with so much prudence, that he routed these barbarous invaders with a prodigious slaughter, took great numbers of them prisoners, and burnt the whole part of their fleet; which reception so frightened these barbarians, that, though they long troubled those parts of Spain that were under the dominion of the Moors, they never ventured to make any descent on the territories of Don Ramiro, which gained him great reputation and respect amongst his neighbours; yet this could not secure him quiet at home, where two great lords, honoured with employments of high importance, and who had daily access to the king’s person, formed a conspiracy against him, and, upon its being discovered, broke out into an open revolt. However, through the courage and conduct of the king, they were quickly subdued, the former being punished with the loss of his fights, and the latter, with his seven sons, all suffered death, not by the sole will and pleasure of the king, but by the solemn judgment of the states.

Abderrahman, the second, king of Cordova, believing, or pretending to believe, that Don Ramiro had excited the Normans to those frequent descents on his dominions, having intelligence of the troubles that had broke out in the Afturias, invaded the dominions of Don Ramiro with his whole force. The king, who had just vanquished his rebels, and had a numerous body of forces in the field, would not allow the enemy much time to make conquests, but, marching directly towards them, engaged and defeated them with prodigious effusion of blood. In this glorious action his brother Don Garcia, and his son Don Ordonez, were present, and distinguished themselves exceedingly, which gave the king an opportunity of recommending the latter to the favour of the nobility, who, to reward his courage, and to give the king the highest proof of their affection and esteem, elected that young prince his coadjudt and successor. Ferreras places the conspiracy of count Pinola after this election, which he supposes to have been his chief motive; and, if this be admitted, it will account for that difference in punishment which this unhappy man and his family sustained, inasmuch as the king's clemency was now quite worn out. It was not long after this that Abderrahman made another interruption into the territories of Don Ramiro, in which war that illustrious monarch gained the most signal victory in his whole reign, and this, as some modern historians assert, in the plains of Clevijo, with the assistance of St. James, the great patron of Spain, who not only encouraged the king in a dream before the fight, but was also present on a white horse; and they likewise pretended, that the king made a vow upon this occasion, by which he charged all the lands in Spain with an annual tribute to the church of that apostle at Compostella; but wiser writers of

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a that nation have not erup'ted to acknowledge, that all this is mere romance, and that it may be proved so from those very charters and records to which the patrons of this tale refer us for the most authentic proofs of its veracity. The reader will excuse our omitting passages of this sort fortimzies; but this was so remarkable, and has occasioned so many and so high disputes, that it would not have been pardonable to have passed it over in silence.

The king, now far advanced in years, was attentive chiefly to his domestic concerns, establishing ecclesiastical and charitable foundations, conciliating thereby the affections of the clergy, nobility, and people, in order to pave the way for Don Ordagno's quiet possession of the kingdom when, in the midst of these labours, death relieved him from his troubles, on the 9th of February, in the year of our Lord eight hundred and fifty. His body was interred in the church of Santa Maria in Oviedo, together with those of his queens Paterina and Urraca, and his brother Don Garcia, after having governed with great glory to himself, and no less advantage to his subjects, seven years complete, leaving them in a state of perfect tranquillity, as well as in a condition that left them little or nothing to fear from any of their neighbours. He had therefore just reason to expect, that, in gratitude for these services, as well as out of respect to his son's merit and their own late age, they would admit him to the peaceable enjoyment of the kingdom, though, from what had passed in his own reign, he was fully sensible there was a very strong party who disliked hereditary succession, though it took place in consequence of there being an election, and who waited only for a favourable opportunity to set it aside, by placing one of their own faction upon the throne, in hopes such an example might bring in a new regulation.

Don Ordagno continued the administration of the regal dignity, after his father's death, in his own right, and the nobility seemed to be very well satisfied with his accession; some of them, however, excited the Gascons in the province of Alava to take up arms, and, which was still worse, to call in the Moors to their assistance. The king was no sooner informed that they were in motion, than he marched against them with a small body of choice troops, and arriving sooner than they expected, easily defeated them. But when he was upon his march back to his capital, he had intelligence that the Moors, who had promised them their assistance, had entered the province, and were about to take possession of it; upon which he marched back with so much swiftness and secrecy, that, surprizing them in their camp, he cut off great numbers, and forced the remainder to make a precipitate retreat. At his return to Oviedo, he found that a new civil war was broke out in the kingdom of Cordova; and that Musa, an officer of great courage and experience, but of still greater ambition, had revolted, and was endeavouring to make himself an independent prince. As this war was favourable to his interests, he, as a politician, took care to keep it alive, and sent also a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the people of Toledo, who had likewise taken up arms against Mahamud, king of Cordova, who, by a stratagem, drew them out of their city, and not only beat their forces, but also shote one by Don Ordagno, of whom there were eight thousand killed, and twelve thousand of the people of Toledo, which enabled the conqueror to raise several pillars of heads, as a triumphant though barbarous manner of celebrating his victory, a cruel and indecent custom, practised long before amongst these people, and which in Africa is still in use.

This misfortune did not hinder Don Ordagno from continuing his assistance to the people of Toledo, who still persisted in their revolt; and while, by this method, he provided full employment for the Moors, he fortified the chief cities in his own dominions. He particularly walled those of Leon and Asturias, and established an episcopal see in each. But while he was thus occupied in these cares, he received information that Albadarte, bishop of Compostella, was guilty of a most heinous sin, equally contrary to his nature as a man, and to his duty as a Christian, and, without considering that this was charged on him only by flaves, he suffered his passion to rise so high on that prelate's appearing in his presence, that he turned loose upon him a bull which happened to be then baiting; but the beast, instead of destroying Albadarte, approached him gently, and without doing him any hurt, which the king and the nobility about him looked upon as a certain proof of his innocence. The bishop, however, took this opportunity to heavily, that he quitted his charge, and spent the remaining part of a long life in a hermitage, as if, after such an escape, he thought it safer to pass his days amongst beasts than men. Soon after the king received intelligence, that Musa, whom we have before mentioned, who, though defended from the Geibs, professed the Mohammedi religion, and had chosen Saragossa for his capital, had begun to fortify the town of Albayda, upon the frontiers of king Ordagno's territories, with a view to cover himself from any incursions on that side.

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e Chron. var. antiqu.  
4 MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. vii.  
FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, P. iv.  
MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espane, 1. vi.  
VASARI Chron.  
Chron. var. antiqu.  
5 LUC. Tudenf. Chron.  
RODERIC Toletar.  
Hist. Arabam.  
6 LUC. Tudenf. Chron. VASARI Annal.  
CHRON. var. antiqu.  
VAS.  
MOD. HIST. VOL. VII.  
7 O  
but
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but the king, who had given him no occasion for this precaution, took it in another light, believing that he meant thereby to have a door open to make it read at his pleasure into the adjacent country. Don Ordoño, therefore, resolved to demolish this new fortress, and marched with a numerous army for that purpose; of which as soon as Musa had intelligence, he put himself in motion with all his forces, in order to cover the place. This brought on a battle, which was obstinately fought, but in the end the king gained a complete victory, Garcia, the son-in-law of Musa, with ten thousand men, being killed upon the place, and Musa himself, being much wounded, narrowly escaped being made prisoner, to die of those wounds a few days after in Saragossa. As for the fortresses of Alhaya, it submitted to the king, who dismanhted it as he intended; but, for all these advantages, he faw, when it was too late, that the king of Cordova, without sharing at all in the danger, had gained more by the defeat of Musa than himself, most of the places which that rebel held having submitted to that king upon his death.

Mahamut, king of Cordova, being thus delivered by one enemy from another, raised a formidable army, in order to reduce Toledo; and, notwithstanding they received some succours from Don Ordoño, yet, in consequence of a long blockade, they were forced to submit upon the best terms they could obtain, after Abelopez, who was at the head of the revolt, had defected the place, with such as followed his fortunes. In all probability Don Ordoño was hindered from supporting him, as he intended, by the appearance of the Normans upon the coasts of his dominions, which obliged him to send most of his forces to Don Pedro, who commanded in Galicia, and who was thereby enabled to defeat those plunderers, and to burn a part of their fleet. Yet such was the repentance of the king of Cordova for the share his neighbour had taken in the defence of Toledo, that he sent one of his sons with a numerous army to invade his dominions, which however turned more to his prejudice than to that of the Christians, since Don Ordoño obliged them to retire with great loss. The inhabitants of Toledo were no sooner informed of this, than they recalled Abelopez, and revolted again, with a settled resolution to shake off the yoke of the Moors; and, on the other side, Don Ordoño gave them repeated assurances of affording them better assistance than he had done heretofore. He likewise intended to have succoured Merida, which, after the example of Toledo, had revolted against Mahommed; but that monarch was too quick for them, and, having reduced the place, built a citadel to restrain the inhabitants within the bounds of their duty in time to come.

However, Don Ordoño took Salamanca and Corte, the former by storm, which he demolished, the latter by composition, and then returned into his own dominions with a prodigious booty, and a large number of slaves, which procured him a joyful reception by his subjects of all ranks.

The king took advantage of this disposition in his people, and proposed the association of his son Don Alfonso, who had distinguished himself highly in these wars, and they came into it with a very good grace. It was not long before he had a farther opportunity of raising the prince's credit and his own; for the king of Cordova making an effort with the whole force of his dominions for the reduction of Toledo, Don Ordoño disappointed that design; and when, in revenge of this opposition, he invaded his dominions on the side of Portugal, he also defeated the forces of Mahamut in several actions, so that his war ended highly to his advantage; and though some writers tell us, that a great fleet, equipped by the Moors, in order to make a descent upon Galicia, was disquieted and destroyed by tempests, yet an ancient chroniclet, written in those times, affirms, that they were beaten by the Christians; and therefore we have reason to believe that Don Ordoño not only extended his dominions upon the continent, but raised a maritime power likewise, which never had been attempted by his predecessors. Thus, covered with glory, and somewhat advanced in years, Don Ordoño, to the universal regret of his subjects, died of the gout, with which he was much afflicted, May the seventeenth, in the year of our Lord eight hundred sixty, and was buried in the royal sepulchre of the kings of Oviedo. With his reign ends the chronicle of his son Don Alfonso, or, as he is commonly called, Don Alphonso the Great, a work, in which, point of facts and dates, we have hitherto chiefly followed, as that which in all respects deferred the greatest credit.

The nobility, who had sworn allegiance to the prince Don Alfonso, at the age of fourteen, received him in his eighteenth year for their sovereign, with great acclamations; and the young monarch, who had not the least doubt of their fidelity, gave most of them personal marks of esteem and affection, so that all things seemed to wear the face of the most perfect harmony.

The victorious battle of Cordova was a milestone in the struggle of Don Ordoño against his rival, the Umayyad king Mahamut. The victory secured the independence of Cordova from Moors, and laid the foundations for the future expansion of the Leonese kingdom. As a result, Don Ordoño not only extended his dominions but also raised a powerful maritime force, strengthening his position against future challenges.

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*Luc. Tudenf. Chron.*
*Roderic de Santillana纪行.*
*Chron. var. antiq.*
*Toel. Hist. Arabem.*
*Chron. var. antiq.*
*Santiss. Hispa. P. iii.*
*gen. de Esp. L. vii.*
*Ferreris, Historia de España.*
*Mayenne Turquet, Histoire generale.*

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Chap. 1. The history of the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo.

a yet on a sudden they had intelligence at Oviedo of the march of Don Frulio, who was at the head of the army in Galicia, towards that capital, with an intent to dethrone the king. Some of the lords, who were nearest his person, advised him to retire into Castile, as he had no troops about him to oppose the usurper, and offered, as an indubitable proof of their loyalty, to share in his disgrace. The young prince yielded to this, and it had a good effect; for the usurper, irritated at the cold reception he met with, began to act the tyrant, and behaved so ill towards those with whom he had been formerly familiar, that, by a conspiracy suddenly formed against him, he was assassinated in his palace almost as soon as he had seated himself on the throne.

b Don Alonfo, as soon as he received the news of this event, returned with his friends to Oviedo, and was received with the general acclamations even of the usurper's army. His dominions, and even after his death, still resisted in the neighbourhood of the city of Leon, the castle of Sublancha, which is the place now called Sellancia, in order to cover the Alarics from the irruption of any enemies; at the same time he peopled the town of Gra, and built there a very strong citadel with the very same view. While he was thus employed, he was informed of the revolt of Count Eylon, in the province of Alava; upon which he marched thither with a numerous army; but, upon his approach, the rebels laid down their arms, threw the fault upon their chief, whom they brought prisoner to the king, who, granting them a general pardon, returned with his forces to Oviedo; yet he was scarce arrived in his capital, before he received intelligence that they were in arms again; which obliged him to march into that province a second time, where having easily reduced the obstinate people, he was, notwithstanding the natural leniency of his nature, in a manner compelled to make some examples, to prevent future disturbances, and that he might have leisure to pursue those important designs he had formed for the benefit of his subjects. He also, at his return to Oviedo, made a present of a noble shrine of silver to the cathedral church, for the more convenient holding of their relics, which is still preferred, and, by an inscription thereon, the time of his accession to the throne is clearly ascertained.

As soon as Mahamud, king of Cordova, had intelligence of the great affinity with which Don Alonfo fortified the chief places on his frontier, and the methods he employed for keeping up a regular militia in every part of his territories, even in the time of peace, he concluded, that, as soon as these defences were achieved, he might be in danger from a double force, and to prevent a neighbour and therefore he held it policy to begin first, and to endeavour, while part of the country was still open, to make some impression upon the Christians. He had at that time a very numerous army on foot, to which notwithstanding he added some new levies, and, having divided the whole into two bodies, gave the command of one to his brother Abulmunder, and the other to an officer of great reputation, whose name was Akanatul, with instructions to penetrate into the dominions of Don Alonfo at the same time, one on the side of Leon, and the other through Galicia. The news of this double invasion reached the king's ears while he lay at no great distance from Leon, with a small army, but composed chiefly of troops that had served long under his father. He took his measures directly, and, marching with the utmost expedition to Leon; he attacked Abulmunder unexpectedly, and, after a short but very bloody contest, defeated his forces with great slaughter. He marched next against Akanatul, over whom he obtained a more complete victory, the far greater part of his troops being killed on the field of battle or in the pursuit of his camp taken and plundered, and the poor remains of his army so thoroughly disintegrated, that Don Alonfo ravaged the provinces of Tierra de Campos, and the districts of Simancas, Toro, and Zamora, in all which he left not a Mahammedan, but carried into slavery all that he found there.

The very same year he espoused the celebrated Ximena, Ximena, or Chimeena, from the illustrious house of Navarra, and, in consequence of that marriage, entered into several places league offensive and defensive against the Moors, which, as soon as the rejoicings for the marriage were over, was followed by another campaign, in which he waisted the territories of the infidels through a vast extent, brought away an incredible multitude of slaves, and a booty of immense value. The winter he spent in his own territories, and in examining how far the designs which he had proposed for the benefit of his subjects were carried into execution. At the return of the spring he was again in motion: and, having passed the Duero, he advanced as far as Lamango and Viposa, and, finding them still in the same situation as they had been left in by his predecessor Alonfo the Catholic, continued his progress to Coimbra, which he took and dismantled. His victorious army having as much plunder as would fill a whole castle.
they were able to transport, and as many slaves as it was possible for them to bring away with safety, he returned to Oviedo, where he gave audience to the embassadors of the king of Cordova, and granted them a truce upon very advantageous terms. His next care was to restore and repeople the cities of Aurenja in Galicia, and of Braga and Porto between the Duero and the Minho, dividing all the adjacent lands amongst those whom he sent thither. The following year he repaired Lamego and Vigeiro in the same manner; and upon this occasion it was that the tomb, in which lay the remains of Don Rodrigo, the last king of the Gótus, was discovered. He caused likewise Coimbra, or Conimbriga, to be re-edified in the same manner, directing it to be strongly fortified, as intending to make it his frontier on that side. By this prudent method he secured the interior of his territory from the ravages of the infidels.

The king of Cordova, as soon as the term for which he had concluded the truce was expired, renewed his hostilities, with an intent to disturb Don Alfonso in his project of repeopling the flat country which he had subdued. But this was attended with no better success than in his former war, Don Alfonso being constantly victorious in every action, and carrying his arms as far as the city of Merida. The king of Cordova, having recruited his forces, and obtained some supplies from the most distant parts of his dominions, assembled a much better army than he had the year before, under the command of Abubalet, a very gallant officer, and of established reputation; but though it was in the power of this monarch to change his captains, it was not within the reach either of him or them to change the fortune of the war; for, coming to an engagement, on the frontiers, with some of Don Alfonso’s generals, who commanded his army in his absence, the Moors were defeated; and Abubalet, having taken prisoner, was sent to the king at Oviedo, who agreed with him for his ransom, and consented to take one of his sons, two brothers, and a nephew, as hostages for the payment of it. This last defeat served only to enrage the king of Cordova, who, withdrawing most of the forces he had in Andalusia, and having promised great privileges to those districts which he had subjugated with him, men, assembled early in the spring a greater army than he had the year before, which he put under the command of his son Almanzar, joining, with him one of his eldest generals, whose name was Tengannik, promising them great supplies, which should join them on their march. These forces, having advanced into the neighbourhood of Leon, began to think it necessary to wait there for the reinforcements that were promised: but Don Alfonso, having likewise intelligence of the march of those succours by the river Orbigo, marched with a strong detachment from his own army, and took possession of an eminence which overlooked the narrow country between the rivers Orbigo and Ezla, and, as soon as the succours, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men, had passed Polvoro, he attacked them in front and on the flank with such success, that the greatest part of them were killed upon the spot, or drowned in the rivers, and the rest took the best measures they could to reach home in safety. The victorious monarch, desiring to add one conquest to another, marched with all possible expedition to attack Almanzar; but the young prince, having intelligence of his friend’s defeat, decamped in the night, and with much speed and diligence recovered his father’s dominions, from whence he sent a polite message to Don Alfonso to declare a truce, which, at his request, the king granted for three years. At his return from this campaign, he set up a crook of gold, as the monument of his victory, in the cathedral church of Oviedo, as the year before, he had sent a crook of the same metal to the church at Compostella, that his piety might not seem inferior to his courage.

While the truce subsisted, Abenlope Abdalla, the son of Muza, revolted from the king of Cordova, and found means to make himself master of Saragoza, in which his father had given that monarch so much trouble before, notwithstanding the participation of Don Alfonso, who, as soon as the truce was expired, made an irruption into the territories of Mabamui, paffed the Taquis, and afterwards the river Ana, not far from which he defeated the Moorish army, and killed, some fifty, some forty, others fifteen thousand men. While he was thus employed abroad, the city of Oviedo, by his order, was walled and fortified, and a palace built for his reception at home, to which, after his glorious campaign, he returned in triumph. The next year the war continued hot between Mabamui and Abdalla. The latter had once broke his faith to Don Alfonso, and attempted to reconcile himself to his old master; from whom he revolted again, and laboured to conclude a new treaty with Don Alfonso, who was unwilling to trust him any more; and who, notwithstanding the Moorish prince Almanzar had made an incursion into his country, sent Dulcidius, a priest, at the request of king Mabamui, to Cordova, where he negotiated a truce for six years, on terms equally honourable and advantageous for his master.

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a The king, now grown in years, was inclined to repose, and to spend the remainder of his days in embellishing and improving his dominions. With this view he sent instructions to Don Diego, count of Castile, to repair and fortify Burgos, which he performed so effectually, that it afterwards became the capital of that country*. The next object of Don Alonso’s attention was to reform the seces of Braga, Porto, Lamego, Viseo, and Coimbra, in Portugal, and those of Orense and Mondoñedo in Galicia. He was not less provident with respect to the civil government, which he reduced into so good order, and gave the common people such marks of his attention and affection, as highly disburdened some of the nobility, who could by no means digest the limitation of that authority which hitherto they had executed without control; and this seems to be the most probable cause of those seditions which disturbed and disfigured the b remaining part of this great monarch’s reign, notwithstanding all that he had done, and all that he was willing to do, for the common benefit of his subjects.

The first that broke out were in Galicia, where a great lord, whose name was Año, had entered into some dark designs; which being discovered, he was punished by the confiscation of his estate. Another nobleman, whose name was Hermegilde, by the assistance of his wife Iberia, a woman of an active and intriguing temper, raised great disturbances in the neighbourhood of Coruña; but the king, sending a formidable army into those parts, quickly dispirited them and their adherents; and the chiefs, being soon after taken, were put to death, and part of their estates given to the church of St. James. The king, having now some reprieve from foreign wars and domestic disorders, completed his pious and charitable foundations, and particularly the pompous church of Saint James, which he caused to be consecrated with great solemnity. Soon after a new rebellion broke out in Galicia, under one Whitza, more formidable than any of the former; which however was quickly suppressed, and that traitor sent prisoner to the king. This was followed by another, to which an end was put in the same manner; but of those there is no notice to be found in any history of those times; and they would have been totally unknown to posterity, but for the records of the convulsions and confiscations that attended them, which records, however, avert the facts, and the times in which they happened, and may be of very great use, in case any more of the chronicles in cathedrals or convents should be made public.

c All the seditions and revolts that had hitherto happened in Galicia, were but trivial in comparison of that raised by Froila and his brethren, Noguez, Verdun, and Odoair, whom Maria* will have to be brothers also to the king; which is directly contrary to what is asserted by a contemporary historian, who affirms us, that Don Alphonso was the only son of Don Ordoño. However, it was quickly suppressed, and Froila and his brother fled towards Castile, but were overtaken by some of the kings troops, and brought back prisoners to Oviedo, where they were condemned to have their ears put out, and to remain in a dungeon for life. Verdun, however, soon after made his escape, took shelter in Astorga, and not only raised all that part of the country in his favour, but obtained also a body of troops from Abdalla, the grandson of Mabanut, king of Cordova. Don Alphonso pursued him in person, and invaded the city of Astorga, which he defended obstinately, in hopes of being succoured by an army that king Abdalla sent to his relief; upon the approach of which he boldly marched out to join them, and, in conjunction with the infidels, offered his battle. Don Alphonso, grown old in arms, and followed by troops that had been ever victorious under his command, attacked the rebels and their infidel allies with such vigour in the plain of Graja de Ribera, which is watered by the river Euca, that they were quickly routed, and the greatest part of them slain or drowned, the few that remained fled with blind Verdun into the dominions of the king of Cordova, who soon after sent an embassy to Don Alonso, to persuade him to renew the truce, which with some difficulty was granted.

The public tranquility thus restored, the king returned, as usual, to the cares of domestic government, and more especially to works of piety, and such as might contribute to the glory f of his kingdom, and the honour and happiness of his subjects. It was with this view that he summoned a general council of his clergy, and a general assembly of the states at Oviedo, with the consent, as the generality of the Spaniards writes, of the pope; but however, their best critics allow, that the acts of this assembly, as they are published in the general assembly of the Spanish councils by cardinal Aguirre, are forgeries; and, if we take our notions of what passed from the historians nearest the time, we shall find it not to have differed much from the like assemblies in the times of the Gotic kings.* In a word, the monarch opened to the

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The history of the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo. Book XXIII

members of this venerable assembly the motives upon which they had been called together, in a conformance of which they elected the bishop of Oviedo, as the court bishop, metropolitan, ordered the ancient canons to be strictly observed, and for the greater ease of holding regular synods at Oviedo, each of the bishops had certain rents or revenues assigned him there, sufficient to defray his expenses, while he attended to discharge the duties of his sacred function. This (though many others have been assigned) seems to be the true reason why this was called the city of bishops.

As the king saw with pleasure the good effects that had already followed from rebuilding and fortifying such places of conformance as he had recovered from the Moors, and was determined to adhere steadfastly to that salutary maxim, he undertook to preside in person at the reparation of Zamora, antiquately called Scientia, while the care of rebuilding Toro was committed to his son Don Garcia, and that of restoring Simancas and Duena to two great lords of the court, with a view that the river Duero might, by the help of these strong places, be rendered an impenetrable barrier against the infidels. Abdullah, king of Cordova, was so much disturbed at the news of these proceedings, foreboding that these new cities would be all sore peoples at his cost, that he sent over several ministers to solicit the princes of his religion in Africa for succours, representing the interests of the Mohammedans in Spain to be in danger from the designs of Don Alfonso; by which he obtained such large supplies, as enabled him to march a numerous army directly towards Zamora, and, with the general who commanded it, he sent Alaman, a plausible enthusiast, who endeavoured to raise the courage of the soldiers by his vehement harangues. But Don Alfonso, who covered the works he was about with a considerable army, did not suffer them to approach near enough to disturb him; but, having made a proper choice of the ground, advanced, attacked, and defeated them, with prodigious loss, and amongst the slain was their preacher, who had promised them such mighty things in the name of his prophet. This blow kept the infidels quiet for two years. Then Don Alfonso, having intelligence that they began to be in motion, marched with a numerous army into the kingdom of Toledo, and, fetching a compass over the mountains that divide the two kingdoms of Galicia and Asturia and demolished some of the best towns, and having taken and dismantled a fortress which the Moors had built to cover their territories, he returned in triumph to his own with immense riches. It was at the end of this campaign that a new conspiracy was detected, into which one Adalpbin and his sons had entered, for which they were justly punished with death.

The next year, after gaining so much fame abroad, and being delivered from such danger at home, the good old monarch found himself in a situation so much the more unfortunate, as it was both unnatural and unexpected. His son Don Garcia, who had married the daughter of Nunez Fernandez, one of the greatest noblemen in his dominions, formed the cruel design of depopulating his father, and feasting himself upon the throne; which however could not be carried so secretly, but that it came to the old king’s ears, who, marching with a strong detachment of forces to Zamora, seized upon his son’s perfidy, and sent him prisoner to the castle of Genuza. How just, how necessary forever this step might be, Don Alfonso found that it gave great offence to those to whom it ought only to have given sorrow. In short, the queen Chimene, who was excessively fond of her son, forgetting the cause of his confinement, spoke of it as an act of excessive severity, and solicited the king for his release, which he in plain terms refused; and then the father-in-law of the young prince became first importunate, and then undutiful. However, Don Alfonso was not to be moved either by persuasions or threats; at length, in the third year of the prince’s confinement, his brother Don Ordonez, governor of Galicia, joining with the queen and Nunez Fernandez, began to dispense the news of the people everywhere to revolt, alleging, that while the king gave them fair words, and promised to consider their petitions, the prince was growing old in a prison. The wife and brave old king perceiving that a civil war was on the point of breaking out, summoned an assembly of the states, which was held in the year of our Lord nine hundred and ten, in which the majority endeavoured to engage the king to set his son at liberty, as a step necessary to his own safety, and which would be highly obliging to his subjects. The king thereupon summoned all the grandees to his country palace at Bordes, now called Bidas, in Asturia, and, having produced both his sons before them, he made a short speech, in which he observed, that having studied through a long life, and a long reign, to do always what might be best for his people, he would not alter his conduct at the end of it; and was therefore content to gratify their wishes, by resigning the crown to Don Garcia, and the province of Galicia to Don Ordonez. The two princes, who were far from expecting such a revolution, threw themselves on their knees at their father’s feet, and intreated his pardon for what was

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\[\text{Roderic Santii Hist. Hifpan. P. iii.} \]
\[\text{Luc. Tudenf. Chron.} \]
\[\text{Luc. Tudenf. Chron.} \]
\[\text{Roderic Telitan de reb. Hifpan. lib. iv.} \]
\[\text{Chron. var. antiqu.} \]
\[\text{Roderic Telitan. de reb. Hifpan. lib. iv.} \]
\[\text{Chron. var. antiqu.} \]
\[\text{Roderic Telitan. de reb. Hifpan. lib. iv.} \]
\[\text{Luc. Tudenf. Chron.} \]
\[\text{Roderic Telitan. de reb. Hifpan. lib. iv.} \]
\[\text{Chron. var. antiqu.} \]
\[\text{Vasori Chron.} \]
\[\text{Roderic Telitan. de reb. Hifpan. lib. iv.} \]
\[\text{Chron. var. antiqu.} \]
\[\text{Roderic Telitan. de reb. Hifpan. lib. iv.} \]
\[\text{Chron. var. antiqu.} \]
The history of the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo. 607

Chap. 1.  

a past, which he readily granted; and immediately after, by the consent of the altes, Don Garcia was declared king (G). This transaction, as far as can be collected from the best historians happened in December, in the year before mentioned.

The new king was solicitous to begin his administration with certain actions that might appear Don Garcia both popular and praiseworthy; and accordingly he first founded and endowed a monastery, and then assembled a numerous army, in order to march against the Moors, who had been free from incursions during the last three years. The king of Cordova, having intelligence of his movements, made the best provision he could for his reception, and put at the head of his forces Ayuela, an officer of great repute for conduct as well as courage. He seems, however, to have acted this campaign upon the defensive, and to have aimed only at preventing Don Garcia from penetrating into Castile; but the king, who was eager and active, as well as personally brave, forced the Moors into a battle, in which he not only gained a complete victory *, but also took their general Ayuela prisoner, who, in the return of the army into Asturias, had the good fortune to make his escape. This victory, and the vast riches which the soldiers obtained, raised the character of Don Garcia extremely with his subjects.

At his return from this expedition, his father met him at Astorga, where they conferred The old king, together on the operations of the next year; and Don Alonso took a great deal of pains to dwell with the con-

him, that incursions and conquests figured little, if they were made with no other view than to enrich the soldiers, and to gain applause. He therefore advised him to assemble a numerous army the next year, of which he would himself take the command ; at least of the van guard; and that in the mean time due care should be taken to repair and repeople the places that yet lay open and in ruins along the river Duero, particularly Rueda, Oftena, Corunya, and Coca. Don Garcia thanked his father for his advice, and promised to follow it exactly. Accordingly, having charged two of his principal nobility with the care of restorvig the places before-mentioned, he assembled his army in the spring of Don Alonso taking the campaign, swept all the country beyond the Duero; and, having made a glorious campaign, with very little resistance on the part of the Moors, he returned, with his army laden with spoil, in the winter, to Zamora *.

In a short time after he came to that city, he found himself much indisposed, and, perceiving Death of Don that his end drew on, he sent for his old friend the bishop of Astorga to assist him in his last mo- Alonso. ments. Having bestowed all the money he had, which Ferreras says amounted to about five hundred piastres, on the church of St. James, he breathed his last, December the twentieth, in Compeñada; the year of our Lord nine hundred and twelve, two year after his dedication, forty-nine years from the time of his being associated in the government with his father, and when he was about the age of sixty-three *. In recording the principal events of his reign we have sufficiently drawn the character of this excellent prince, than whom none of those who bore it better deserved the title of Great. He was not only unaffectedly pious, and a great patron of learning, but, for the times in which he lived, a prince of great learning himself; for, having been intreated by Sebajian, bishop of Orense, who had been either his chaplain or his predecessor, to confide of some means for preferring the memorials of times past, of which, from the reign of King Wamba, there were scarce any records worth reading, he undertook (G) We have some circumstances, relating to the abdication of Don Alfonso the Great, from Mariana, that defer the reader's notice. He affirms, that, in order to execute his projected scheme of adorning the chief places in his dominions with public structures, he chose decayed towns, and fortifying his frontiers, he found himself under a necessity of imposing new taxes upon his subjects, which, as he observes, is always to be avoided as much as possible, because it never fails, unless the necessity be very glaring, to make those who are to pay them uneasy. In the pre-


* Historia de Espana, P. iv. A.D. 911.

* Chron. var.

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mitref as the thought herself in politics, it seems she had not considered the affection of the army, which interposed, and prevented the revolution which would otherwise have happened. But, after her son's imprisonment, she confided with the count of Castile the means of repairing this mistake, and encouraged him to raise a civil war, which lasted two years: it was this circumstance that determined the old king to a refig-

nation. He abhorred, or rather he disdained, reigning by force; he could not bear to see the effusion of Christian blood in such a quarrel; and, above all, he was unwilling to have that great scheme of government he had formed, defeated and subverted by his enemy's dubity. He chose, therefore, to place the crown upon his son's head; and, having, by that means, regained his affections, he soon made him comprehend how clearly the nature and importance of his plan, that Don Garcia (G) hardly embraced it; and, if Providence had spared him a longer life, would in all probability have thewn, that, except the short interval in which he was milled by feminine and fickle counsels, he was not the unworthy son of one of the best and wisest princes, and
and composed that chronicle which has been mentioned more than once, beginning at the death of the king Recessintha, and ending with that of Don Ordengo, his own father, which, after having been long covered with dust and oblivion, was published to the world under the name of the bishof at whose request it was composed; but the most learned and judicious of the Spanio critics have long ago declared themselves satisfied that it belonged to the king himself; and indeed this is evident from the performance, though very incorrectly published by Sandeval, and not so perfect as could be wished in the later editions.

The same year, but some months before Don Alfonso died another Spanio monarch, viz. Abdallad 3; king of Cordova, and was succeeded by Abedrraban III. the son of king Mohomed, against whom Don Garcias prepared to act vigorously; but this expedition was retarded by some finiter designs that he formed against his brother Don Ordengo, as being not at all well pleased that he should hold in his own right so considerable a province as that of Galicia, of which therefore he was inclined to deprive him 4; but as his brother was a very brave prince, much beloved by his followers, and who prepared to meet him with a gallant army, Don Garcias was content to admit of the interposition of the queen his mother, and some of the nobility, by whose endeavours their quarrel was composed, and they acted jointly, and with great cordiality, in their expedition against the Moors, which was begun and ended with all the successes they could desire 5. While they were in the field, Donna Ximene, or Chimene 6, ended her days, and, according to her desire, was interred at Aftorga by her husband. At the close of the campaign, Don Garcias repaired to Leon, in order to enjoy some repose after his fatigues, and to confer with his nobility; and, before the winter was ended, he fell into a disease that proved fatal to him, when he had worn the crown, which he took from his father's head, somewhat less than three years 7, the left regretted by his subjects, upon account of a certain sternness in his disposition, so much the more remarkable, as it was the very reverse of the affability of Don Alfonso and of the open and cheerful temper of his brother, who was generally beloved and esteemed.

Don Ordengo was in his own province at the time of his brother's decease; of which however he was no sooner informed, than he repaired with all the expedition possible to Leon, from whence the body of his brother had been transported to Oviedo, where it was interred in the tomb with his predecessors. The bishops and nobles made no scruple of admitting him to the throne, and, in consequence of their election, he was declared king in the month of February nine hundred and fourteen 8. His first care was to imitate his predecessors, in making an expedition against the infidels. Having accordingly made an incursion into the territories of the king of Cordova, he found his prospects flocked by the town of Talavera de la Reyna, the governor of which, contrary to his expectations, absolutely refused to surrender, upon which he invested the place 9, and made several vigorous attacks; but it was so well fortified, and the Moors who commanded therein defended himself with such spirit and resolution, that, notwithstanding the bravery of his troops, and his own presence, he made but a slow progress in the siege. While he was thus employed, Abedraban, who was very desirous of giving a check to this martial monarch at the beginning of his reign, sent a good corps of troops, under the command of one of his most renowned officers, to the relief of the place 10. Don Ordengo was no sooner informed of this, than, leaving a small corps before Talavera, he marched with the rest of his army, and gave battle to the enemy, who defended themselves gallantly till their general was killed, and then fled 11. After this victory, he took Talavera by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and, having dismantled the place, returned in triumph to Leon 12. There he found the bishof of Aftorga, who had been prevented by the late king from paying Don Alfonso's legacy, who informed him, that he was then going with it to Compostella. It seems that, at these times, was so considerable a sum, as to be worthy even of a monarch's notice; and therefore Don Ordengo proposed to the bishof of Aftorga, and to the bishof of Compostella, that they should give him the money; instead of which, he offered to grant to the church of St. James the town of Cornilina, on the river Lima; which was accepted, and it is from this concession, which is still preserved, that the date of this monarch's accession is put out of all doubt 13.

The very next spring we find Don Ordengo again in the field, and again victorious over the infidels, whom he routed with great slaughter near the castle of Albanges, which place he took by storm, and put the garrison to the sword; which induced many of the neighbouring towns to surrender, and others to remain themselves at the expence of very large sums, fo

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1. Marques de Mondejar Advertencias, p. 9.
2. Ferreras, Historia de Espana, P. iv.
3. Marq. de Mondejar, Don Gregorio Mayans y Sisicar.
11. Chron. var. antiquitis.

8 that
that this campaign was equally glorious and gainful to the Christians. But these losses
funk so deep into the breach of the kingdom of Caria, that he had again recourse to the
princes in Africa of his own religion. He represented the distress he was in, and the
ambitious views of Don Ordonez in so strong a light, that they cheerfully contributed, ac-
bammed Almotauf, then lord of Cenla, went in person to his assistance 4. Abderrahman
prince of Saragossa, under the command of Ablapaz. This united army of the infidels
mounted in the whole to eighty thousand men, and, marching directly towards the frontier
of Don Ordonez's territories, began to make dispositions for passing the river Duero, being
already arrived within sight of St. Stephen de Gormace. There Don Ordonez stopped their ca-
and, after a most obstinate and bloody action, defeated them, their generals Ablapaz and
Mohammed being both killed upon the spot 6. After this glorious victory, he returned with
prodigious spoils to Leon, where he built a noble cathedral, as a monument of his piety and
gratitude for the divine favour; and having thus made it a bishop's see, he next, in regard to
the beauty and convenient situation of the place, made choice of it for the capital of his do-
minions, and, as his predecessors had been styled kings of Afurias, then of Oviedo, so himself
and his successors took from this time the title of kings of Leon 7.

The war was still carried on between the Moors and Christians with equal eagerness and Marches to the
relief of the
Ordonez was glad to continue the battle till it was dark, and then to make a retreat without victorie; and
still meditated revenge against the Christians. In order to effect this, he, not without great difficulty, affronted a more numerous army than he had hitherto brought into the field, com-
piled in a great measure of new supplies from Africa, which he sent under the command of one
of his generals into the territories of the king of Navarra 8. Don Sanchez, who then go-
cered that country, demanded the assistance of his nephew Don Ordonez, who, with a body of
choice troops, marched to his relief. Having joined his army under the command of prince
Garcia, the allied army engaged the Moors in the valley of Junquera, where, after a long and
d bloody dispute, they were beaten 9, and Don Ordonez returned with the remainder of his
forces, not without some difficulty, to Leon. The Moors, elevated with this victorie, and
the conquest that attended it, committed an accountable act of infidelity, and, instead of
professing their advantages as they might have done, made an irruption into France, where
they were able to do nothing. In the mean time Don Ordonez, having recovered his spirits, and
recruited his army, made several successful incursions into the dominions of the king of
dordena 10.

At his return from this campaign, the king received the news of the death of his queen Donna Elvira, whose body he caused to be interred in the royal sepulchre at Oviedo 11, and the domestic af-
cial of that year following (eloped Argonta, who was descended from one of the principal families in the
province of Castile, but soon after, moved by some wicked calumny, or ill-grounded suspicion, he repudi-
at ed his new queen, who retired to a monastery, and there spent the remainder of her days in
delevation 12, and the king too, being convinced of his fault, is said to have become finally penitent. At this juncture, having some suspicion of the fidelity of the counts of Caffi, he
went thither slyly attended, and summoned them to meet him, which they neglecting, he
returned without seeming to take any offence, and, having raised a very powerful army, went
once more into Caffi, and summoned them a second time, when, through fear of their destroying
their country, they appeared ; upon which the king feigned and carried them to Leon, where
some time after he caused them to be strangled in prison 13. We find this act represented by
most historians as a piece of injustice and cruelty; whereas others affirm, that these lords had
been in rebellion, and suffered no more than they deserved; but this is an event which we
shall be obliged to mention more than once in the course of the history (H).

The king of Navarre and his son Don García having demanded the assistance of Don Álvaro
Ordoño, in order to recover some places that were yet in the hands of the Moors, he marched
accordingly into their dominions with his forces, did for them what they defined, and, at the
close of the expedition, married Donna Santía, the daughter of Don García, and the
granddaughter of the king, with whom he returned into his own territories, where he died very
soon after, and was buried in the cathedral of León, leaving by his first queen, two sons, Don
Alfonso and Don Ramiro, after he had reigned seventeen years and some months, and was not
exceedingly regretted by his subjects. As for his new-married queen, she returned again into
Navarre. The princes his sons, being too young to form any pretensions to the crown in an
elective monarchy, his brother Don Freila repaired immediately to León, and, by the consent
of the bishops and great lords, was without difficulty received as his successor in the
throne.

Don Freila II., his brother, raised to the throne, and died after a short uneasy
reign.

Don Freila the second, king of Oviedo and León, is represented as a prince of great
force and cruelty. He understood that the sons of one Olungus, a great lord, had endeav-
oured to hinder his election; and the crown was hardly placed upon his head before he put
them to death; his brother Fronimo, bishop of León, having intimated, that, notwithstanding
his youth, Don Alfonso, the eldest son of the deceased king, might be enabled to govern
with the assistance of a regency, he caused him to be banished; which alarmed his subjects to
the highest degree; and in all probability his reign would have been attended with continual
troubles, as it opened so unhappily, if, in the judgment of the writers of those times, Prov-
ience had not interposed; a thing indeed not rashly to be credited. However, in this they all
agree, that, being struck with a leprosy, he was in the space of a few months was brought
with much sorrow and pain to his grave, when he had borne the title of king only a year and
one month. His body was interred in the cathedral church of León, near that of his brother Don
Ordoño the second. It has been generally believed, that the people of Castile, provoked by
Don Ordoño’s cutting off their counts, and being apprehensive of still worse ulage from a
prince of Don Freila the second’s temper, revolted in his time from their obedience to
the crown of León; and appointed two judges, one of whom they intrusted with the administra-
tion of the civil government, and the other was to have the command of their forces. But this,
as will be shown in another place, seems to be very uncertain at least, and improbable, if not
altogether groundless. However, it must be acknowledged, that in so short a space as twenty
days, from the reignation of Don Alfonso the Great, his dominions had very much altered
their aspect, and his subjects had just reason to regret their impatience and ingratitude to that
wife and prudent monarch, who, they now plainly saw, was much better acquainted with the
dispofition of his children than those who were so desirous to rage them to the throne in his
life-time; the nobility also, remembering the proposition that had been made by the bishop of
León, upon the lat vacancy of the throne, resolved to embrace his scheme, and rather trust
the public affairs in the hands of a young prince, of a mild temper, and virtuous dispo-
fition, than run the hazard of placing upon the throne a prince of the same disposition with
him they had lately lost, or rather from whom they were so happily delivered.

Don Alfonso, or Don Alfonso the son of Don Ordoño the second, succeeded his uncle
upon the principles before mentioned, and, immediately after his accession, recalled Fronimo,
bishop of León, by whose advice he was chiefly directed during the short time he sat upon the
throne. He was, as we observed before, a prince of a sweet and moderate temper, which, it
must however be acknowledged, did not so well qualify him for a throne; and, therefore, on
the denunciation of his queen Donna Urraca, he formed a resolution of abdicating in favour of his
brother Don Ramiro, who at that time commanded on the frontiers of Portugal, and was a

Histoires de France, P. iv. 8 Mariana, Historia generale d’Espagne, l. vii.
Histoires de France, P. iv. 8 Mariana, Historia generale d’Espagne, lib. vii.

pudification of his wife as an act of scandalous injustice; and yet, with respect to the counts of Castile, he vin-
dicates him clearly, and says, they were punished as rebels. We shall have occasion in another place to men-
tion this matter again; but it may not be amiss to ob-
serve here, that though Mariana takes this opportunity of entering into the history of Castile, that he may the
better apprise the reader of the true nature of this
transfamation, yet his deduction does not by any means agree with his conclusion; for he makes it plainly ap-
pear, that the counts of Castile were feudatories to the kings of Spain, and only owed their power and
honours to the protection of those princes; and there-
fore, till such time as they were released from this ho-

mage, they were bound to fulfil the obligations they
were under from it. It is not consequently a thing to
evident as he would make it, that these noblemen were
at once put to death; and the only circumstance fa-
orable to his censure is, that no mention is made of
their being condemned by the justices; which however
they might be, for any thing we know to the contrary,
since no good account can be otherwise given why the
king brought them to León, and kept them prisoners
there for some time, since, if he had been such a ty-
rant as Mariana makes him, and had put them to death
only from reasons of state, he might have done that
with a better grace when he first seized them.

young
young prince of great spirit and capacity; which resolution has been thought the more extraordinary in Don Alfonso, as he had a son living by his beloved queen, whose name was Ordogna. However, he was either so much inclined to a private life, or so sensible of his want of talents for the right administration of civil and military affairs, that, persisting in his resolution, he sent for his brother from Viseo to Zamora, where he then was, and, in the presence of the principal nobility, having made a full and sensible oration on the qualities requisite in a great and good king, and freely acknowledging that some of these were wanting to him from nature, he voluntarily resigned his crown, and advised them to place it on the head of his brother. This happened, according to the chronology of Ferreras, in the year of our Lord nine hundred twenty-seven, though some historians place it four years later.

b Don Ramiro the second was no sooner placed upon the throne, than he resolved to signifi- b c e 4

Don Ramiro's reign was spent in military expeditions, and was notable for his military campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula. He was known for his military prowess and his ability to lead his army to victory. His reign was marked by numerous battles and military campaigns, and he was successful in expanding the territory of the kingdom. He was also known for his charity and his support of the arts. Don Ramiro's reign was a time of prosperity and cultural flourishing for the kingdom.

Despite his success, Don Ramiro's reign was also marked by political tensions and conflicts. He was known for his authoritarian rule and his desire for absolute power. His reign was marred by several rebellions and uprisings, which he was able to suppress with great force. His death in battle in 929 marked the end of his reign and the beginning of a new era for the kingdom. His legacy was one of military success and cultural flourishing, and he is remembered as a great king of the kingdom.
of his brother, who were both of the same names; and because the epitaph of this prince, a
remaining on her tomb in the royal chapel of Oviedo, fixes that chronology which we have
followed, and indeed puts it beyond all dispute.(I).

Who makes two successful incursions upon the Moors.

As soon as Don Ramiro found himself in peaceable possession of his dominions, he exe-
cuted with great spirit and vigour that expedition which he had so long meditated against
the Moors, penetrated as far as Madrid, which was then fortified, and, after taking it by storm,
proceeded to infilt Toleda, one of the strongest and greatest cities in the hands of the Moors;
after which he returned in triumph with his army loaded with spoils, and bringing with them
a multitude of slaves b. At his return, he found his brother Don Alphonso the fourth, sur-
named, from his misfortunes, the Monk and the Blind, dead in the monastery of St. Julian;
to whose remains he caused all those honours to be paid that were due to his dignity c. The b
king, however, had very little leisure to repose; for Abderraman, king of Cordova, incensed
at the incursion he had made into his dominions, raised forces in every province of his king-
dom, and sent to Aben Abaya, who governed in Saragossa, but was his vassal, to march with
all the forces that he could raise, and to take the command. These preparations being known
to Don Ferdinand Gonzalez, count of Caffile, he gave immediate notice of them to the king,
who kept his army together in the neighbourhood of Leon, and, as the season of the year
advanced, caused them to be reinforced with several corps of fresh troops, and, as soon as he
had intelligence that the enemy were in motion, marched directly towards his frontiers. He
found the Moors encamped in good order within sight of Ojina, on a spacious plain, which
gave them an opportunity of ranging themselves to the best advantage. Don Ramiro, tho"
inferior in numbers, charged them with great vigour and resolution, and, notwithstanding
they behaved with great courage, and rallied several times, yet in the end they were totally
topped with a prodigious slaughter d. At his return from this victory, the king was wel-
come by the universal acclamations of all his subjects, and, as a mark of his piety, con-
ferred the privileges and donations granted by his predecessors to the church of St. James of
Compostella*(K).

In the beginning of the next year, the king held an assembly of his estates at Astorga, at
which time the bishop of that see demanded that certain places should be annexed to his
diocese, that had been conquered from the Moors, because they made a part of it before they
came into Spain; of whose proof being made, the bishop's demand was complied with; d
which we mention as a proof that the king retained in part the ecclesiastical supremacy that

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*(K) It is very strange that Mariana should conceive, that, upon the score of the assistance given him by the
king of Leon, Don Ferdinand Gisofolck, count of Caffile, paid him extraordinary subsidies, who but a little
before had triumphed over and killed in battle Don Sanchez Abatera, king of Navarre; and it is still more
strange that Father Chavest, who translated his book into French, should think of correcting his author, by
saying, that we are probably the counts of Caffile, from this time, became feudatories to the kings of Leon all
which is apparently false, and irreconcilable to true history. As for Mariana's tale of the grandeur of Don
Ferdinand at this time, it is a mere dream, as we shall shew in its proper place. With respect to his translator's
remarks, Don Ferdinand Gisofolck was indeed feudatory to the king of Leon in virtue of the lands he held in
Caffile; but he was so far from being the first of those counts who became feudatories, that, by the time this
discussion continued, he had already been regulated. He projected and attempted a
revolt in the reign of this very monarch, who humbled and made him prisoner. He took up arms against
king Ordego, the son of this king, though he had married his own daughter; but was reduced to a state of
penitence and humility, which lasted only till he had an opportunity of breaking out again, and
completing his project, under the reign of Don Sanchez, though not without incurring much danger and dis-
grace before it could be effected. It was after this glorious victory at Ojina that Don Ramiro confirmed the
privileges granted by his predecessors to the church of St. James at Compostella; and, from this time, it is
told that he manifested a particular respect and devotion to this holy spoil.
Chap. x. The history of the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo.

a had been in his predecessors'. At the rising of this assembly, the king formed a considerable army, with which he made an irruption into Aragon, in order to punish Aben Abaya for the share he had in the last campaign, and, by the rapid progress he made in the conquest of that country, alarmed him to such a degree, that he offered to become his feudatory also, and to pay him the same tribute that he did to Abderraman, which he readily accepted; and some strong places having revolted, in resentment of this submilion, he reduced them, and, together with those he had before conquered, restored to his new vassal*. Before his return from this expedition, he concluded a marriage with Donna Tberis, sister to Don Garcia king of Navarra, and returning into his own dominions, passed the next year with his new queen in quiet*. The year following, Aben Abaya sent deputies to Abderraman, king of Cordova, to inform him that he had submitted to the Christians only through fear; and that if he would assemble a new army, sufficient to deliver him from any future apprehensions of Don Ramiro, he would join it with all his forces; to which the king of Cordova readily assented; and having drawn together a sufficient body of troops, made an irruption on the territories of Leon, and reduced the town of Seteoucas, supposing to be that now called Covarrubias, where he made a great slaughter of the Christians†; but whether this was in consequence of any victory gained does not appear, though, from what follows, it may seem more than probable, since we hear nothing of Don Ramiro's being in the field; and yet we can hardly suppose that he was a tame spectator of his subjects sufferings.

b The king of Cordova was very far from being satisfied with this small advantage; but, having made use of all the reputation it gave him, increased the number of his forces, and having procured considerable supplies from Africa, and given Aben Abaya notice to join him likewise with all that he could raise, he drew together an army of 150,000 men. Don Ramiro, perceiving that his enemy had no less in view than the conquest of the kingdoms of Leon and Oviedo, and driving him back to the Asturias, assembled all the forces that he could collect in his own dominions, or procure from his allies; but as this required time, and the Moors were in the field in the month of May, they had time to reduce all the country beyond the Duero, since it was the beginning of August before the Christian army was in a condition to look them in the face. At length the king, having first made a vow at the altar of St. James of Compostella, put himself at the head of his forces, and marched directly against the enemy, whom he found encamped in the plains of Simancas, at the confluence of the Pisuerga and the Duero. In this situation he attacked them on the 6th of August, notwithstanding they received him with great courage, and made a most obstinate resistance, yet they were defeated early in the afternoon, and the king continued the pursuit with vast slaughter, till it was quite dark, and, as all the historians agree, the infidels lost in this defeat no fewer than four-score thousand men. After this glorious victory, by which his army was prodigiously enriched, the king was on the point of returning to his own dominions, when he was informed that Abderraman had begun to collect the remains of his broken army, and had established his head quarters a little beyond Salamanca; upon which he marched with great celerity, and attacked the Moors so unexpectedly, that he gained another victory as complete as the former, and at a much cheaper rate. At his return to Leon, he caressed the traitor Aben Abaya, who had been in the first battle, to be flung up in a tower, and threatened to punish him as a rebel; and, as soon as he had refreshed his troops, dispersed them into quarters in the country beyond the Duero, having taken a resolution to extend his dominions as far as that chain of mountains which divides the two Castiles, intending to form a double frontier, one along the territories still possessed by the Moors, and the other of the great towns situated upon the Duero 0.

The principal source of that constant prosperity which hitherto had attended these monarchs was, in a great measure, derived from their great abilities, as well in the cabinet as in the field, and their steady pursuit of the true interests of their subjects. But notwithstanding this was rewarded with repeated victories, and in a manner attended with perpetual success, yet the indigistant disposition of these princes, and that vigilance and activity with which Gordon and they acted in times of peace as well as war, as the motives of their conduct were not explained, proved by no means agreeable to many of their subjects. Thus when the king, in order to form the interior barrier before-mentioned, sent his orders to some of the principal nobility, such as count Nuño Nuñez, to repair Ofina, count Ferdinand Gonzales to restore Sepulveda, Don Gonzalez Fernandez to put Ciudad, now Corogenam, in a state of defence, as also St. Stephen de Gormaz and Riosa, all of which seemed to have been ruined by Abderraman, in the beginning of the last campaign, they performed these orders

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indeed, but they did it with regret. When, therefore, fresh orders came from that monarch to these lords to raise their respective forces, and to be ready to take the field with him against the Moors, they declined that service; by which, for the present, the king's intentions were defeated; which he took ill, that, with the army he had assembled to act against the common enemy, he fell upon them, and, having safely subdued, brought count Ferdinand Gonzales and count Diego Nuñez prisoners to Leon, and from thence sent the former to the castle of Carden, and the other to that of Luna.

It appears very evidently from hence, that however potent these counts might be, yet they were not hitherto independent of the crown of Leon, and served with Don Ramiro in his expedition as allies, and not as subjects, as Mariana, and most of the Spanish historians, would persuade us; but, at the same time, it must be confessed, that from hence it is no less apparent they were inclined to be. We cannot omit observing in this place, in order to the reader's forming a true notion of the policy of Don Ramiro, and of other princes of his spirit, that, exclusive of their notions of piety in making war upon the infidels, or of their ambition to extend their dominions, they had very just motives to act as they did; which is the reason that we commend their behaviour, and condemn the conduct of those who opposed them. For if we consider attentively the situation they were in, and the great power of the Moors, we cannot help perceiving, that, notwithstanding all their victories, and in spite of all their success, the pulsation of their dominions remained full precarious, and it was simply impossible for them to render their subjects secure by any other methods than those they employed. As they were now masters of a flat and fruitful country, those maximis that were highly reasonable, and very conducing to their interests, while their subjects were confined to a mountainous and inaccessible country, were entirely superceded, and waiting and fortifying the great towns they had recovered was become as necessary, and to the full as requisite, as, in respect to the hamlets and villages in the Asturias, it would have been needless. On the other hand, there was no trusting to a peace with the Moors, which was what the king of Cordova sought, and to whose counts of Caffile before-mentioned were inclined; for that, as experience showed, was only giving them time to compare their differences, to form alliances, to procure succours from Africa, and to put the very being of the Christian principalities, that were now established, to the rigue of a single battle, whenever they were in a condition to break, as they never failed to do when they were in a condition, these insidious truces, and to march with such prodigious armies, as, by these methods, they had time given them to collect, in order, by one decisive blow, to bring the Christians in Spain into the same wretched state in which they found themselves after the defeat of Don Rodrigo. Whereas, by employing part of their subjects in fortifying their frontiers, while the king was at the head of an army in the enemy's country, these mischiefs were evidently avoided; and however tiresome and fatiguing this plan of power might be, it was feasible, it was prudent, because it was the only method practicable for their preservation against the common enemy.

The reader, it is very likely, will consider this as a long digression from the proper business of this history; and yet it is highly probable that it is, in fact, the prosecution of it, for though the succinct chronicles of these times leave no traces of such difficulties, yet nothing can have more the appearance of truth than supposing that, during their confinement, the king caused remonstrances of this sort to be made to these noblemen; and, upon their acquiescing in his reasons, and promising obedience for the future to his commands, set them at liberty, and, which is more, restored them to their favour. That he did this is very certain, from a general concurrence of great authorities, and very soon after married his son Don Ordoño to Donna Urraca, the daughter of count Ferdinand Gonzales by Donna Sancho infanta of Navarre, than which there could not be a more convincing testimony that all former disputes were absolutely buried in oblivion. It is also probable that the king conferred to a truce with the Moors for seven years, during which time he caused several monasteries to be erected, repaired the fortifications of most of the great towns in his dominions, and held a general council of the clergy at Astorga, for reforming disorders that were crept into the discipline of the church, which was opened on the first of September, in year of our Lord 946, at which he assisted in person; but the acts of which are long since lost.

As soon as the truce was expired, the king, with the concurrence, in all probability, of his nobility, immediately entered the dominions of the Moors, and, having passed the mountains of Avila, advanced as far as Talavera, near which he met with a numerous army sent against him by the king of Cordova; upon which a very warm action ensued, and the king, though not without some difficulty, at length obtained a complete victory, 12,000

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a. Moors being killed upon the spot, and 7000 taken prisoners, with whom, and a vast booty, he returned with his army to Leon. There he repose himself for some days, and then went to Oviedo, where, finding himself indisposed, he returned presently to Leon, and there, perceiving that his end approached, he resigned his crown, and, soon after expired, universally regretted, January the 5th, in the year of our Lord 950, after he had reigned 19 years and very near three months, leaving by his first queen the prince Don Ordóñez, and the princes Dona Elvira, and, by his second, the prince Don Sanchez. His body was interred in a monastery of his own foundation, and where the princes Elvira was a nun.

Don Ordóñez III. succeeded his father by the unanimous consent of the nobility, and the king, his father, and his brother Don Sanchez made a very unreasonable request. He pretended that they were joint heirs of their father, and that therefore he ought to have some part of his dominions assigned him; to which Don Ordóñez would not agree; concluding that, as the consent of the nobility was necessary to his election, he could have no right to divide dominions that were confided to him entire for the common benefit of his subjects. Don Sanchez, however, was supported by the king of Navarre, his uncle, who had a desire to set a crown upon his head; and, which was very extraordinary, by count Ferdinand Gonzalez, whole daughter the king had married, and who, notwithstanding, desired to see his power increased, that he might be more on a level with him, and in less danger upon a revolt. Don Ordóñez having no regard either to plausible arguments or to menaces, Don Sanchez retired to his uncle; and his protectors having levied a great army, resolved to execute the scheme they had formed by force; but, upon approaching the territories of Don Ordóñez, they found his frontiers so well secured, and his forces so judiciously disposed, that, being unwilling to risk their own countries by an unsuccessful attempt, they very wisely thought proper to retire, without committing any hostilities at all; and thus the excellence of his father's maxims, and the rectitude of his own conduct in pursuing them, appeared to his new subjects in their true light. Yet, as the very best kings are still but men, this success was followed by an action that spoke more resentment than one could have expected should reafe in the breast of so wise and so magnanimous a prince.

The Confederates had no sooner withdrawn their troops from the frontiers of his dominions, and, as some writers say, in consequence of their inglorious campaign, fallen out amongst themselves, than king Ordóñez repudiated his wife Donna Urraca, the daughter of count Ferdinand Gonzalez, and sent her back to him; adding another circumstance to this affront, still more provoking, which was, that he immediately married Donna Elvira, the daughter of some man of great quality in Galicia, by whom, the year following, he became the father of a prince whom he called Don Bermudo. As his divorce was the sequel of a foreign, so his new marriage was the cause of a civil war; the relations of the new queen presuming so much upon that honour, as to behave in such a manner to their neighbours, that it produced an insurrection. Don Ordóñez laboured all he could to pacify his revolted subjects by fair means; but finding these endeavours unsuccessful, he advanced to the frontiers of Galicia with a considerable body of troops; but, before he proceeded to action, proclaimed a free pardon, and promised to redress all their grievances: upon which, those who were in arms, immediately marched towards him in force of battle, and their chiefs having first waited upon the king, who received them very graciously, ranged themselves under the royal standard, and entering the territories of the Moors, penetrated as far as Lisbon, which they took and demolished, and then returned with immense riches, and a prodigious multitude of slaves.

At the very time that Don Ordóñez threw himself into the enemy's country, count Fernand Gonzalez, with the forces of Castile, made a like irruption into the kingdom of Cordova on the other side, which, with respect to the event of the war, had the same effect as if he had done it by the king's command. However, on his return into his own dominions, he failed in his intention, but count Ferdinand Gonzalez prevented things from coming to extremities, by prefenting himself before the king, intertacting his pardon for what was past, insisting upon his late service, and securing Don Ordóñez that the Moors were preparing to invade Castile. The king was so well satisfied with this submision, that he not only laid aside all his rancour against that noble

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\(^{a}\) Ros. Tolot. Hist. Arabum. \(^{b}\) Chron. var. antiqu. \(^{c}\) Ros. Tolot. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv. \(^{d}\) MURIANA. Hist. general d'Espagne, lib. vii. \(^{e}\) LUC. TUCENT. Chron. Vascon. Hispaniae Chronicon. \(^{f}\) Chron. var. antiqu. \(^{g}\) ROB. SANTI, ubi supra. \(^{h}\) Chron. var. antiqu. \(^{i}\) ROB. SANTI, ubi supra. Chron. var. antiqu.
man, but likewise provoked him supplies, in case the king of Cordova persisted in his intentions; and it was with their affillitation that count Ferdinand Gonzales acquired soon after a glorious victory over the common enemy. About the middle of the summer, the king making a journey from Leon to Zamora, found himself very much indisposed, and shortly after died, about the middle of the year 955, when he had discharged the regal function with universal applause for five years and near a half. Upon his demise, the queen and her young son retired to some of her relations in Galicia, being feasible that he had no interest amongst the nobility capable of raising her infant to the throne.

Don Sanchez, quitting his retreat at the court of Navarre, hastened immediately to Leon, on the news of his brother’s death; and notwithstanding his long absence, and the circumstances that attended it, the nobility foreseeing less inconvenience from that than from any other step they could take, proclaimed him king. He is commonly called Sanchez the Cross by some, and by others, though very improperly, Sanchez the Fat; this surname being given him on the score of a dropply. He was a prince of no great parts, and of less activity; however, he might probably have ruled quietly enough, if some finer methods had not been taken to disturb the peace of his government, which were entirely owing to the animosity of count Ferdinand Gonzales, who, still aiming at independency, took his measures so quietly and so effectually for inflaming the disputes between the king and his subjects, that at length he raised them to his height, as frightened Don Sanchez into a second retreat to the court of his uncle the king of Navarre, by which the kingdom of Leon was left in a kind of anarchy, and consequently count Ferdinand Gonzales without a matter, which, in some measure, anwedered his purpose. But, however, this did not satisfy his ambition; for, not content with being released from vassalage, he now aimed at nothing less than becoming protector of the kingdom of Leon, by substituting a new king in the room of Don Sanchez.

The prince upon whom he fixed his eyes was Don Ordoño the son of Don Alfonso IV. named the Monk, or the Blind; and, as the price of promoting his election, he obliged him to marry Donna Urraca his daughter, who, by this means, had a second time the title of queen of Leon. The nobility were by no means willing to venture upon a measure, the ill consequences of which were so apparent; and though by his interests it was at first accomplished, yet it was not with a good grace; and the new king began in a little time to act in a manner so inconsistent with his dignity, that they fixed upon him the surname of Don Ordoño the Wicked. As for Don Sanchez, finding himself grossly worse and the king with the drooply, he resolved, by the advice of his uncle the king of Navarre, to go to Cordova, in hopes of receiving that relief from the Moorish physicians, which the most skilful in the court of Navarre were unable to afford. Thither accordingly he went. Abderraman, proud as he well might be of seeing a king of Leon take shelter under his protection, received him with great kindneds, and the Mahomedan doctors, whether by skill or by lucky chance, freed him from his malady entirely. As instances of good or ill fortune seldom come alone, so he was scarce recovered from his diseasre, before it was inuninated to him by some emissaries from Leon, that his subjects were heartily tired of the tyranny of Don Ordoño; and that if he could appear with but a small force on the frontier, he might be assured he would meet with no resistance. Don Sanchez, relying on the generosity of his protector, communicated this news to Abderraman, who very kindly offered him his assistance, but at the same time advised him to demand that likewise of his uncle the king of Navarre; and this he no sooner did than it was promised him whenever he should have occasion for it.

The proper measures being concerted between the two courts, the Moorish army, under the command of Don Sanchez, marched towards the frontiers of Leon, at the same time that the king of Navarre, with the whole force of his dominions, approached those of Castile. As for Don Ordoño, finding himself forsaken by all his subjects, who reviled him for his cruelties, he fled into the remotest parts of the Alairias, so that Don Sanchez was restored without any difficulty; and, having gratified the chief officers of the Moorish army, dismissed them perfectly satisfied. On the other hand, Don Garcia, king of Navarre, having defeated count Ferdinand Gonzales, and made him prisoner, carried him with him into his own dominions. Ordoño, understanding that the people of Alairias intended to seize and deliver him up, fled from thence to Burgos with his queen, where that princes was received with all imaginable respect, but they would have nothing to do with Ordoño; who thereupon retired to the Moors in Arazon, where, defied by the infidels, and hated
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a by the Christians, he soon after died in a miserable manner. Don Sanchez, thus deliverd from apprehensions, as well as enemies, thought proper to marry, and very wisely made choice of Donna Teresa, the daughter of one of the most considerable of his own nobility, which gave his subjects in general great satisfaction. The rejoicings for this marriage were hardly over, when the king received some mortifying intelligence from Galicia, where the Normans had landed unexpectedly, ravaged the country, and carried many of the inhabitants into slavery. This gave a pretence to Sifemund, bishop of Campohella, to declare he would have to wall and fortify that city, for the security of the cathedral, which, for those times, was already become exceedingly rich; and this permission, which was readily granted, he quickly abused, by levying large sums upon the people for the expense of these works, and various other acts of oppression and extortion, of which complaint was made to the king.

All things being now in a tolerable state of quiet, the king of Navarre released count Ferdinand Gonzales, at the interdict of his wife, who was that monarch's sister. About this time also died Alfonso, king of Cordova, and was succeeded by his son Albacan, to whom Don Sanchez immediately sent ambassadors, to congratulate him upon his succession, and to renew the treaties of peace subsisting between the two kingdoms. He then made a tour into Galicia, to inquire into the conduct of bishop Sifemund, which came in very good time; for that prelate, offended with a message that the king had sent him, was meditating a rebellion; but upon the approach of Don Sanchez, the people everywhere rose to execute the royal commands; so that the bishop being made prisoner, the king deposed him, and placed one Rosendo at the head of that church, who, when the Normans made another descent in that neighbourhood, put himself at the head of his people, and, falling upon these pirates sword in hand, made such a slaughter, that they visited the coasts of Galicia no more in his time. This prelate, for his virtue and his valour, has been since his death revered as a saint. Count Gonzalez, who was nearly related to bishop Sifemund, being intrusted with the government of the frontier, boldly betrayed his trust, and revolted against his sovereign; upon which, Don Sanchez marched towards him with an army, and the rebel, finding himself abandoned, came and threw himself at the feet of the king; upon which the king pardoned him, and the traitor soon after took an opportunity to poison him, of which he died the third day after, extremely regretted by the better part of his subjects for his mildness, moderation, and clemency.


I. The whole of this reign of Don Sanchez is related but very confusedly in Moravia. It is true he complains of want of lights; but it is also true that he has not made the best use he might have done of those that were in his power. Don Ferdinand Gonzales was his heir, and he finds nothing but that is commendable in his behaviour towards Don Sanchez. It falls out in consequence of this, that he solicits to him the taking away of Donna Urraca from Don Ordoñez the Wickel, and obliging him to take shelter among the Moors, at the same time that he fays not a single word of the king of Navarre's afflicting his nephew in the recovery of their dominions, of his defeating the court of Cistile, or of his carrying him prisoner to Pamphonia, which was the true reason that the Cistiles would not receive the tyrant of Leon, but obliged him to seek a retreat among the infidels. He gives us the strange story of the horse and the hawk, by which Don Ferdinand bought off the homage of Cistile from Don Sanchez; which is indeed to be found in some ancient writers, and is steadily adhehsi to by most of the moderns, though there can be nothing more impertinent, more incredible, or more absurd. It is, however, a proof that the cause of Cistile, after a long and hard strugle, carried the great point of his independency in this reign, which was the only reason we mentioned it here. As to the manner in which it was obtained, we shall have occasion to give the reader some farther account of it in another place.

(M) In these early ages very great regard was paid to the appearance and behaviour, as well as to the temper and administration of princes. As Don Sanchez had the misfortune to be devoid of it, he made it in the former part of his reign, indolent and inactive, which induced his subjects in general to conceive a mean opinion of him; insomuch that they derided his person, and despised his understanding. But finding the prince who supplanted him addicted only to mischief, and making no other use of his power than to torment the sons who were subjected to it, they rejoiced at Don Sanchez's return, who, though now free from the droopy, and in a condition to take the field whenever occasion required, was still the same humane, affable, debonnaire prince, which rendered him infinitely beloved. Yet, from a foible incident to all men of that character, he was too early to be reconciled, and wanted that degree of subjection, which is useful to every man, and which is necessary to princes. Gonzales had been his favourite, and, out of a personal esteem, he raised him to the government of Portugal. Provoked at this rebellion, he marched with an army to reduce him; but he no sooner saw him at his feet than he forgave him, which was great, but he restored him likewise to his former familiarity, which was not becoming a wise prince. It was this that gave that pernicious man an opportunity of preferring him some fine fruit, amongst which was a poisoned apple, which the king, who thought gratitude must be the effects of mercy, was without fear, and paid for it with his life: having probably never heard that wise observation, that, though religion enjoins us to forgive our enemies, it does not require us to trust them.

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The nobility were no sooner informed of the king's death, than they assembled in order to a new election, and, after mature deliberation, they declared his son Don Ramiro III. a king, though but five years old, and appointed his mother the queen dowager, and his aunt Donna Elvira, regents b, who immediately dispatched instructions to the ambassador then resident at the court of Cordova, to renew the treaty of peace with Albecear, in which he met with no difficulty. c Sifnand, the deposed bishop of Compojuele, finding means to make his escape out of the tower in which he was confined, returned to that city, and, by force of arms, reinfated himself in the bishopric; Refinando, who had fought so bravely against the Normans, declining any resistance in his own cause. But not long after, those barbarous invaders, having intelligence on the coast of what had happened, landed in great numbers, and marched directly to Compojuele. Sifnand, confiding in the numbers that he had about him, and desirous of equaling his predecessor in reputation, drew out the inhabitants to give them battle; but, being killed in the beginning of the action, his people were so dispirited, that they were quickly routed, and cut to pieces. The Normans, elated by their victory, ravaged all the country as far as the mountains of Castele; and having by this means amassed immense wealth, began to retire towards their fleet; but, in their passage, were met by Don Gonzales Sanbelez, whom the regents had sent with a considerable body of troops to repel these bold invaders. The dispute was very obstinate and bloody, but at length Don Gonzales gained a complete victory; upon which the people rose everywhere in the neighbourhood, and killed or made slaves of all that were left, while Don Gonzales, by a stratagem, burnt their fleet.

When Don Ramiro entered his 17th year, he married, with the consent of the regents, a lady of a great family, whose name was Donna Urraca, and soon after assumed the reins of government. This young prince, in a short time, became so xuxious, that, flying the advice of his mother and his aunt, he confined entirely in the relations of his new queen, who highly disoblige the nobility, and particularly those of Galicia; who, being lardel from the seat of government, were, in all probability, the worst treated. The consequence was, that, on conferring amongst themselves, and observing that the prince Don Bermudo, son to king Ordagen III. who had been bred up amongst them, had all the qualities requisite to form a great and good prince, they unanimously declared him king. This was so well received by the people in general, that they found no difficulty in raising an army numerous enough to support their choice; neither did they shew themselves dispirited at all upon the approach of Don Ramiro, who came with a great army to reduce them. Their forces met upon the frontiers, and the dispute was so obstinate and bloody, that more were lost in this battle than in any against the Moors; and yet they were parted by the night, so that neither side claimed the victory. However, Don Ramiro thought it best to return to Leon, in order to recruit his forces; and, while he was thus employed, he died suddenly, in the latter end of the year 982, in the 15th year of his reign, and when he was about twenty years of age. He was buried near his grandfather Don Ramiro II. From whence, by the command of Don Ferdinand II. he was removed to Astorga.

Don Bermudo II. was immediately acknowledged upon the decease of his competitor, and began his reign with very favourable circumstances. He observed that all ranks and degrees of his subjects were extremely degenerated; that the nobility were luxurious, haughty, and oppressive; that the common people copied their betters; and that the clergy, instead of reproving the vices of the laity, were become equally vicious themselves. He began his reformation with them, because he found that several of the bishops were men of licent, morals, and wanted only to be supported by authority in correcting their inferiors, and because he saw that this was acceptable to the people, as the laity, however vicious, have an abhorrence for all excesses among the clergy; and besides he made no doubt that a thorough reformation in the church would have a great effect upon the morals of the people in general. But while he was thus occupied, the Moors, who confedered themselves as divedged from all treaties by the death of Don Ramiro, under the command of Almamur, Albaghur, or prime minister, tovizig king of Cordova, made an irruption into his dominions, and formed the siege of Simancas, a place well fortified; the inhabitants of which made a gallant defence, which might have preferred it, if the king had been in any condition to relieve them; but so many had fallen in the fatal battle at his accession, that he found it absolutely impossible to bring

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an army into the field; so that, after a long siege, the Moors became masters of Simancas, and carried all the people who were left therein into slavery, and acquired also a prodigious booty.

There is no doubt but the king must have been grievously afflicted with the consideration of a disgrace beyond any that had happened to his predecessors; but as the Moors turned their arms against other Christian principalities, without profecting the war against him, he contented himself with the pursuit of his former measures, labouring as much as in him lay to make his subjects comprehend the necessity of resuming the frugal and industrious manner of life for which their ancestors had been distinguished. He took care likewise to second his exhortations by his example, and was always more indulgent to the meaner than the better sort of people. Don Pelagio, who was of the same faction with Don Sifonis, and who succeeded him in the bishoprick of Compostella, having flighted the king's admonitions to relinquish his vices, and to behave with more moderation to the people, Don Bermudo went thither in person, and deplored him; upon which that false prelate, with many of his adherents, retired to the Moors, who had a little before taken the city of Zamora, and treated the inhabitants with as little mercy as they had done those of Simancas. If the king had not been a prince of true piety, and of the most steady resolution, these misfortunes must have induced an alteration in his conduct; for the Moors were continually victorious, himself in no condition to oppose them, and the numbers of his subjects, who preferred ease and a disolute life to all considerations of honour and religion, daily deserted him, and fought in the service of the Moors.

Mohammed Almanzor, perceiving that the frontiers of Leon lay now open, assembled a very numerous army, and took the field early, with a settled intention to penetrate into the heart of the country. Don Bermudo foresaw this, and had prepared in the best manner he was able for his reception. His army, however, was much inferior to that of the infidels; but the king confiding in providence and the courage of his troops, ventured to give them battle on the banks of the river Ezela, and, after a brisk dispute, put them to flight. But Mohammed Almanzor, when he saw his army in confusion, dismounted from his horse, sat himself down in the field, threw his turban upon the ground, and, laying his arms across his breast, declared he would remain there, since his army was defeated. The king, knowing the temper of the man, and the superiority of his forces, ordered whatever was valuable either in the city or in the churches to be removed. He likewise caused the bodies of the kings to be transported into Afterias, and having repaired the fortifications, placed a strong garrison in Leon, he retired with his family, and most of the pretates and nobility, into the same country.

Mohammed Almanzor, in the beginning of the spring, invested Leon with a more numerous army than the Moors had ever brought into the field; and, having carried on the siege in form till a large breach was made, he caused it to be attacked and carried by assault; after which, he demolished it in effectually, that, except a tower which he left to mark the place where it stood, there did not remain one stone upon another. He proceeded next to Afterias, which immediately capitulated. Supposing he should have the same good fortune where-ever he came, he entered the Afterias, and attacked the castles of Gondomar and Lina; but as they were well fortified, and had good garrisons, he was repulsed with loss upon which he returned to Cordova. The next year he entered Portugal, made himself master of Coimbra, Viseo, and Lamego; into which he put good garrisons, and from thence proceeded to Braga, which, making some resistance, he demolished, after it fell into his hands, and sent the people into slavery. He pulled this torrent of successes so far as to ravage Galicia also; and, by the assistance of that perfidious prelate Don Pelagio, and his father count Rodrigo Felix, he entered into Compostella, which he likewise destroyed; and would have proceeded still farther, if the flux had not prevailed among his troops, which obliged him to retreat. The king Don Bermudo ordered his generals to follow him, who made a dreadful slaughter amongst his people, which provoked him to such a degree, that, with dreadful blasphemies and imprecations, he threatened to come the next year, and complete the ruin of Galicia (N). In order to

(N) According to Mariana's manner of relating this the Christians by N Laureano Almanzor happened in the history, the several inquisitions into the territories of life of Don Rami.., and while Don Bermudo was post-
to this, he not only drew together the whole forces of his master's kingdom, but procured a likewise great supplies from Africa; and as all this could not be done without the knowledge of the Christians, so the very terror that he took so much pains to spread, was that which turned most to their advantage; for Don Bermudo, coming in person into Galicia, laboured all he could to revive the spirits of his subjects, at the same time that he sent some of the most venerable prelates in his kingdom to solicit Don García's king of Navarre, and the Castilians, notwithstanding they had thrown off all allegiance to the crown of Leon, not to defeat the common cause of the Christian faith, at a time when it was in such apparent danger; and these negotiations were happily conducted with as much success as he could with, and very probably with more than he expected.  

This triple alliance thus concluded, all the princes used their utmost efforts to render their troops as complete as possible, and resolved, as the only effectual means to make any resistance against so formidable an enemy, to unite and bring but one army into the field, and this upon the frontiers of Castile, where the count Don García Fernandez encamped first with his troops, and was speedily joined by the king Don Bermudo, though he was so inform that he was carried into the field in a chair. Don García, king of Navarre, brought a considerable army to the assistance of his allies; and their troops were scarce united, before the Moors, under Mohammed Almanzor, advanced towards them, and took post in 'the neighbourhood of Ofina. The confederate princes reviewed their troops, and, after putting up solemn prayers to God, made no scruple of acquainting them with the true situation of things, and that the being of their respective governments, the freedom of the Castilians in Spain, and, in short, all that was dear to them, either in regard to honour or to their faith, depended on their valour. The reason of this declaration was to deter the temper of the troops, and from thence to determine on the measures that were to be taken. After a short silence, the army unanimously demanded to be led to battle; and the princes, who had made the necessary dispositions, instantly began their march. They encamped within sight of the enemy, and Mohammed Almanzor, presenting himself next day in order of battle, the Christians gallantly received, and vigorously returned the charge. The dispute lasted the whole day with such resolution, that both armies seemed invincible; but, as night came on, the Moors retired to their camp; but the confederates remained in the field in the midst of dead and dying men, whose princes using their utmost endeavours to collect and disperse the remains of their troops (for they were, in comparison of what they had been, but very few), in the belt order possible; and then recommending themselves to Providence, and bequeathing God either to render them his instruments in the protection of the Christian faith, or to grant them mercy for the sake of their endeavours. As the day began to break, they were amazed to see nothing of the Moors; and, having ordered some fagots and reeds to reconnoitre their camp, they were full more amazed that all things were as silent there. After remaining some time in suspense, they advanced in good order, and found it totally abandoned; and, upon his

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a retreat, Almanzor found his loss so great, that he ordered those who were left to shift for themselves, and, retiring himself to Medina Celis, obstinately refused food, and died for want of sustenance; which, considering his impiacable enmity to the Christians, was a confirmation as favourable as the victory.

This victory, however, was as glorious as it was decisive. It is affirmed, how incredible it is to believe, that the infidels lost an hundred thousand men upon the spot; the plunder of their camp enriched all the christian armies; and, separating soon after, they returned to their respective counties. Don Bermudo, being in a very precarious state of health, a great nobleman in the Asturias, flattering himself with vain hopes, endeavoured to murder the infant Don Alphonso, this monarch's only son; for which he was punished as he deserved, and his estate given to the church of Oviedo; which grant is the sole memorial of this extraordinary fact. A very short time after, Don Bermudo, who, from his being grievously afflicted with that distemper, was surnamed the Gouty, departed this life, in the year of our Lord 999, in Galicia, and was buried at a place called Velbeneda. Don Pelaya, bishop of Oviedo, who flourished in the twelfth century, and wrote a history of his reign, has extremely blackened his character, with what view it is impossible to discover; but that this is the fact, appears by the comparison of his writings with those authors who were contemporaries with this monarch, as well as from certain circumstances he relates, and which cannot possibly be true; and yet from this chronicle many things have been inadvertently borrowed by other historians.

c The nobility assemled soon after the king's death, and elected the infant Don Alphonso, Don Alphonso, son of a child, appointing his mother Donna Elvira regent, and continuing the care of his person to Don Melendo Gonzales, with whom the king had hitherto intrusted him. Abdaline, a heathen, who succeeded his father Almanzor, as Abagid, or prime minister, to the king of Cordova, took the field with a considerable army, in order to lay waste the kingdom of Leon; but the queen dowager demanding the allegiance of Garciat of Castile, to whom the likewise sent a body of troops, he fell upon the Moors, and defeated them. The disputes and civil wars, that afterwards broke out in the kingdom of Cordova, proved very favourable to this minority; during which the regency not only governed wisely at home, but negotiated the restitution of the little country of Alava, which the count of Castile had taken from the family of La Vela, who, by sheltering themselves, with their adherents, in the territories of Cordova, had been the chief promoters of these wars, and had furnished Almanzor with several Christian corps, from whom he had received great service. But, upon this restitution of their patrimony, they quitted the infidels, and, returning home, quickly drew from them their adherents, which proved of great advantage to the Christian cause.

d There have been few instances of a regency better conducted than this, during the minority of Don Alphonso V. of Leon, who was educated with such care, that he became one of the wisest and best princes of his time; and, as a proof of his gratitude to Don Melendo Gonzales, his governor, he married, with the consent of the queen his mother, and of the principal nobility, his daughter Donna Elvira, a princesse whole great virtues, and more especially her humility, made her universally beloved. Upon her son's marriage, the queen dowager retired, with her two daughters, into the monastery of St. Pelaya, at Oviedo; and Ferreras has very clearly proved, that the strange story told by Pelagius bishop of Oviedo, whom we have before mentioned, of Don Alphonso's forcing his sister Donna Teresa to espouse, against her will, a Moorish prince of Toledo, is an absolute falsehood, notwithstanding the credit given to it by many eminent writers. From the time of his marriage the king governed his dominions without assistance, and gave such encouragement for rebuilding the towns that had been destroyed, and repopulating the country that had been abandoned, as had all the effect he could desire, at the same time that it prompts the nobility to follow his example, and procure him the esteem and affection of all hissubjects. It is true, that the civil wars amongst the Moors afforded him the leisure to do all this; and the flight of the Christians out of their dominions, who, in such times of confusion, were plundered by all parties, furnished him with the means (Z).

Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. P. iii. 9
Rod. Tol. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv. 9
Rod. var. antiqu. 9
Chron. General de Espans, lib. viii. 9
Ferreras Historia de Espana P. V. 9
Mariana, Historia General de Espana, lib. vii. 9
Chron. var. antiqu. 9
Chron. Tuden. Chron. V. 9
Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. lib. iv. 9
Chron. var. antiqu. 9
Historia de Espana, P. V. 9

(Z) We find in Mariana the story mentioned in the text, of Don Alphonso forcing his sister Donna Teresa to marry Abdulla the Moorish king of Toledo, with the pathetic speech made by that princess at the time that threatened to marry Abdulla the Moorish king of Toledo, with the
At length his dominions having, in a great measure, changed their appearance, the king solicited his nobility to assist him in the rebuilding of Leon, which they readily promised, and as cheerfully accomplished, the king in person presiding over that important work. When it was in some measure finished, the king summoned an assembly of the states, which was opened on the first of August 1020; at which time the cathedral church was consecrated, and many new regulations made for restoring the discipline of the church, and for promoting industry and frugality among the people. Four years afterwards he caused the city of Zamora to be repaired; to which he also gave particular attention, on account of his design to render it the strongest place on his frontiers; and when he once saw it in a state of defence, he thought it time to accustom his subjects to make incursions into the territories of the infidels.

The next year he passed the Duero with a considerable army, and marched to Viseo, where, having a good garrison, the place made some defence; so that he was constrained to besiege it in form. The weather being very hot, the king rode without his cuirass, in order to determine where the breach should be made, and, by this imprudence, he was mortally wounded by an arrow from the walls, and died in his tent, May the 5th, 1027, in the 28th year of his reign, and the 34th of his life. His body being removed to Leon, was interred in the church of St. John the Baptist, resignedly rejected by his subjects, by whom, for his piety, liberality, and courage, he was universally beloved. He left by his queen two children, the prince Don Bermudo, and the infanta Donna Sanchea.

Don Bermudo III. succeeded his father under a regency.

The nobility made no scruple of declaring Don Bermudo king, in the room of his father; and the disturbances continuing, and even increasing, among the Moors, afforded the queen dowager, and the principal lords intrusted with the regency, time to establish the tranquility of the kingdom, not a little disturbed by the unexpected death of the late monarch. The king of Navarre, who had the principal care of Don Garcia's count of Caffile, gave the clearest assurances to the young king of Leon of his esteem and respect, as well as of his resolution to perform punctually the engagement into which he had entered with the king his father; all which gave great satisfaction to the nobility, who likewise fawn with pleasure a sedentary and an activity in their young monarch, not to be expected at his years. Don Sanchez king of Navarre, conceiving it high time to marry his ward, applied himself to the court of Leon, and represented the great advantages that would redound to the common cause of the Christians in Spain, and to the kingdom of Leon in particular, by the marriage of the young count Don Garcia of Caffile with the infanta Donna Sanchea; which being indeed apparent, the king, the queen-mother, and the nobility, were equally ready in embracing the proposal. A little before the time prefixed for this marriage, some affairs of importance obliged Don Bermudo to repair into the Asturias; but he promised to return to Leon against the day appointed for their marriage.

At this juncture, Roderic, Diego, and Inigo, the sons of the count de la Vela, were meditating, from a principle of revenge, the death of the innocent Don Garcia's count of Caffile, and, concluding that the absence of Don Bermudo might facilitate this, they resolved to put their wicked delinquents in execution at Leon. Accordingly having conveyed themselves into that city, the very night that Don Garcia arrived, they took an opportunity, as he went next day to church, to stab him in the street; and though they were immediately attacked by the nobility of Caffile and Leon, who were about him, yet, being well attended and well provided with arms, they carried their point in making their escape. They found means afterwards to surplice the town of Moscon, in the neighbourhood of Palencia, where they doubted not but to be able to defend themselves till they could be relieved by the Moors. But in this they threatened him with the divine vengeance, in case he persevered in his design of gratifying his passion. But whereas Don Prigio affirms, that this monarch violated the princes by force, and fell soon after into a mortal disease, upon which he sent back the infants with prodigious rich presents, who retired immediately into a monastery, where she past the remainder of her days; Mariana suggests that he recovered, because he found that this Abdulla, king of Toledo, was taken prisoner, and put to death, by Hifien king of Cordova. However, a little attention to the facts mentioned in the paragraph above, will put it beyond all doubt, that this story is not true in any particular circumstance, but in the whole a groundless fiction, because Abdulla was taken and killed, Anno Domini one thousand and thirty-five; whereas don Alphonso did not assume the government of his dominions till the year after. There is the more reason to correct this error, because, as Mariana followed the bishop of Oviedo in his strange tale, so a celebrated French writer has made no scruple of following Mariana; so that, unless it be prevented by the timely expedition of so base and injurious a falsehood, it may, out of deference to such authorities, be transmitted and propagated through other nations, as has been the case of other fabulous narrations.
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a were mistaken; for Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, followed them with such expedition, and prosecuted the siege with such vigour, that the place was very quickly taken by storm, and all the garrisons put to the sword, except the three attains, who, by order of the king, were delivered burnt alive.

This monarch was now succeeding powerfully, as having added many fair provinces to his hereditary kingdom of Navarre, to which he now annexed the county of Cafile; Don Bermudo therefore applied himself to this great king, in order to obtain the daughter of count Sanchez of Cafile, whose name was Donna Urraca Teresa. That monarch, desirous of uniting him to his interests, yielded very readily to his request, and the marriage was solemnized towards the close of the year with great splendor and magnificence. The next b year there happened some flirs in Galicia; and the queen was delivered of a son, baptized by the name of Alonso, who did not live many days. The commotions in Galicia being again renewed, and the malecontents under another chief, having broke out into open rebellion, Don Bermudo, who was a prince of great vivacity, marched thither so speedily with a body of forces, that these plunderers abandoned their country, to prevent falling into the king’s hands, who confiscated their estates, and gave them to the church of St. James at Compostella. About the same time, he deposed and imprisoned the bishop of that see for his bad behaviour and immoral life; a clear proof, not only of the virtue and spirit of this young prince, but likewise of his preferring that prerogative which had been exercised by his predecessor the ancient kings of the Goths; for, notwithstanding the paces before this time had begun to c extend their authority over the clergy in Spain, yet it is plain they had not begun to question the royal power in reforming ecclesiastical as well as temporal abuses, because, in all probability, they had not hitherto a fair opportunity.

Don Sanchez king of Navarre, having given orders for repairing the cathedral and city of Palentia, which he considered as a place belonging to his country of Cafile, Don Bermudo between him and the king of Navarre, expressed great resentment thereat, affecting that it belonged to his kingdom of Leon; and, notwithstanding all the reasons that could be offered to dissuade him from it, declared war against him, upon which Don Sanchez, at the head of a numerous army, made an irruption into his dominions, and in a short time became master of all the countries between the rivers of Pisuerga and Cobla, and, before the close of the campaign, besieged and took the city of Astorga.

Don Bermudo saw this with grief and resentment, as not having an army sufficient to hinder it; and therefore retiring into Galicia, he spent the winter in recruiting his forces, and, in the spring, marched with a numerous army to recover what he had lost. But Don Sanchez, being determined to preserve his conquest, had likewise assembled the forces of Cafile, and prepared to give him battle, which was prevented by the interposition of the prelates who attended them both. These represented the consequences of this dispute in so strong a light, that a peace was at length concluded, by which Don Bermudo made a cession of the country of Leon, between the two rivers, as the portion of his sister Donna Sanchez, and the king of Navarre gave Cafile to his second son Don Ferdinand, who, it was agreed, upon expelling the infidels, should assume the title of king.

This marriage was accordingly celebrated at the time prefixed at Leon; and Don Bermudo, to shew the sincerity of this reconciliation, or rather to dissimile the insincerity of it, put himself to such an expense as in those days amazed all the beholders, and in that respect very probably answer’d his purpose.

This conjunction of interests was equally acceptable to the people of Navarre, Cafile, and The king of Navarre divided his dominions, and Leon; who, from thence proceeded against all apprehensions of the Moors, who were at this juncture involved in numberless quarrels among themselves, and split into so many principalities, that they were far less terrible to the Christians than in times past. One would have imagined that, having this example before his eyes, and being, as he really was, a very wise and penetrating, as well as great and good king, Don Sanchez would not have been guilty of the same error, or have taken, at the end of his days, a resolution of putting, as far as was in his power, the Christians on a level with the Moors in this respect; but his paternal affection for his four sons overcame all other considerations; so that, at his decease, which happened in the succeeding year, that is, in 1035, he divided his extensive dominions amongst them, and so made them all kings. Don Garcia had Navarre, Bisbay, and the province of Rieja; Don Ferdinand kept the kingdom of Cafile, which had been beffowed upon him in his father’s life-time; Don Gonzalo had the counties of Sobrarbe and Ribagorsa, with the title of king.
and Don Ramiro, Arragon. This power, which had been so formidable in the hands of one, became far less so by this division; and as at first sight the consequence might be apprehended by reason, so it was immediately afterwards justified from experience, in many instances, of which we shall have occasion to speak in their turns; but at present our business lies only with the first, the consequences of which were very considerable.

Don Bermudo had yielded very unwillingly a considerable district, for the sake of peace, and because he found his subjects were not inclined to support him in a war against the king of Navarre; and though at last he seemed to come into this with a good grace, by that magnificence with which he celebrated his sifter’s wedding, yet he retained the remembrance of that disgrace, and the desire of wiping it away, whenever a favourable opportunity offered; so that we need not at all wonder that he took the advantage of Don Sanchez’s death, and the division he had made of his territories, to recover the country he had lost. It is certain that he used but little ceremony on this occasion; for marching immediately with a considerable body of troops into the territories of his brother-in-law, he besieged and took the city of Pelatia, which had given rife to the first dispute. As the inhabitants of the adjacent places were willing to return to their old master, and as Don Ferdinand did not think fit to take the field in their defense, the king of Leon did his business in a single campaign, and then returned in triumph to his capital, without attempting anything farther; and it might be with an opinion that a small force of even less effect than this had been acquired; yet in this, as it often happens to princes of greater experience than Don Bermudo, he found himself absolutely mistaken, and that the measures which he had ascribed to timidity, or a sense of former injustice, were in reality the effects of policy and a superior understanding (A).

Don Ferdinand had raised a considerable force, in order to cover his country, if the king of Leon had attempted to push his conquests any farther; but, instead of sending to interest a peace, as was expected, he applied himself to his brother Don Garcia, and demanded supplies from him, upon a supposition that Don Bermudo meant to annex his kingdom to his own. Don Garcia, either out of fraternal affection, or from a just apprehension that Don Bermudo would become too formidable a neighbor if he should re-annex Cartile to Leon, marched with a strong body of his father’s veteran troops to join those of Don Ferdinand that were encamped in the neighborhood of Burgos. The king of Leon had no sooner intelligence of the motions of the two brothers, than he drew together the force of his three kingdoms, Asturias, Leon, and Galicia, and, with an army far superior to that of the kings of Navarre and Cartile, entered into the last-mentioned kingdom, and advanced as far as the valley of Tanara, near Fronjia. The two brothers, seeing that nothing was to be expected but force, put their troops likewise in motion, which brought on a decisive battle near

(A) We find in Mariana a great disposition to represent this last monarch of Oviedo and Leon as a prince of a very mild and pacific disposition; one whom the misfortunes of his father, killed at a siege, made extremely cautious, and who was therefore ever watchful and ill-natured. The great Sargento de Graces, through the invasion of his country unexpectedly, and without cause. This, however, from a comparison of what is paid by our old historians, seems a little remote from the real temper of that young prince, and from the nature of the facts. Don Bermudo was very far from being either a weak or a tame prince; he knew very well when his just rights were invaded, and had spirit enough to resent such an injury. But Don Sanchez believed, or pretended to believe, that Pelatia belonged to Cartile, and consequently devoted to him the rest of that country. He apprehended that his great interest with the clergy would be of high use to him upon this occasion; and he judged that a district of country would be of more value to him than the whole of the city he was now about to rebuild. Don Bermudo seems to have understood this perfectly well, and to have acted with all the spirit and caution that to critical a conjunction demanded. But when he came to act, the clergy, who had also a great influence over the nobility, restrained him from going to extremities, and projected a peace upon very plausible, if not very equal terms. For tho’ King Bermudo did not recover what he judged to be taken from him, yet his right feems he had been acknowledged by its being accepted as the portion of his sifter. We may also, without difficulty, perceive, that

such as invented this expedient might very possibly have a good intention, and believe that they did none of these princes wrong. As for Don Sanchez, he was an old thorough politician, and a very potent king; so that it might be deemed a point of right policy rather to gratify his wishes and moderate the tumult, than to divide the benefactors with so sad a spectacle as Christians destroying Christians, in a quarrel about little or nothing, if compared with the consequences resulting from such a war. In the next place, it restored the equality of these princes, and, in that light, might serve to take away the apprehensions that Don Bermudo might be under from the rapid growth of his neighbor’s power; and, lastly, it was well contrived to unite the three crowns against the common enemy. Upon these principles the preliminaries and nobility added a part confident with their characters, insomuch as they seemed to prefer the general interest to the personal quarrels of princes. We may add to all this, that, according to their constitution of government, if they were disposed to make such a cession for the sake of peace, the king had no right to oppose it; and it is very far from being improbable that he submitted to these reasons, though there is nothing clearer than that he submitted against his will, and with a view only to gain time; which is another mark that he was by no means so gentle and compliant a temper as Mariana represents him: but whether this detracts from or raises, his character, we shall not now decide. We aim at is to give the reader a thorough and complete view of a nation, upon which it is indubitable that the fate of this king and kingdom depended.
The history of Castile, from the time of its being recovered out of the hands of the Moors, to the time of its being erected into a kingdom, in favour of Don Ferdinand, the son of Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, and also married Donna Sancha, sister and heir ess of Don Bermudo, the third king of Leon.
The history of Castile.

Chapter XXIII.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE NAME AND OF THE SITUATION OF THIS COUNTRY; WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF WHICH, A WHAT IS TO FOLLOW WOULD BE BUT IMPERFECTLY COMPREHENDED; IN THE DISCUSSING OF WHICH POINT, IF WE SHALL APPEAR TO LEAVE THINGS SOMEWHAT LOOSE AND UNDETERMINED, IT MUST NOT BE ATTRIBUTED TO A WANT OF DILIGENCE IN OUR ENQUIRIES, OR OF A DESIRE TO COME AT CERTAINTY, IF IT HAD BEEN POSSIBLE, BUT TO THAT OBSCURITY, WHICH, IN SPITE OF THE ENDUDES OF MANY LEARNED MEN, STILL HANGS OVER THIS PERIOD, AND HINDERS US FROM SEEING IT CLEARLY AS WE COULD WITH: A CIRCUMSTANCE WHICH, HOW LITTLE CREDIT EVER IT MAY BRING US TO CONCEFS, WE NEVERTHELESS HOLD IT OUR DUTY NOT TO DISFIBBLE.

TO BEGIN THEN WITH THE NAME OF THIS COUNTRY AND PEOPLE. SOME HAVE AFFERED, THAT IT IS TO BE REFERRED TO A CERTAIN OLD SPANISH TRIBE, OR NATION, CALLED BY THE ROMANS CASTELLANI, WHO ARE SUPPOSED TO HAVE INHABITED HERE AS WELL AS IN CATALONIA; BUT, PERHAPS, EVIDENCE WOULD NOT BE EASILY FOUND TO ESTABLISH THIS POINT, IF IT SHOULD BE CONTROVERTED. THERE WERE, INDEED, A PEOPLE CALLED CALACETS IN CATALONIA, BUT IF THE BEST CRITICS IN ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY ARE TO BE RELIED UPON, THE PRINCIPAL IF NOT THE ONLY NATION IN THIS PART OF SPAIN, WERE THE VASCOS; AND IT WILL SURELY BE NO EASY MATTER TO DERIVE ANYTHING FOR OUR PURPOSE FROM AMONG THEM. OTHERS IMAGINE THAT THE ORIGIN OF THIS NAME IS TO BE TAUGHT NO HIGHER THAN THE RECOVERY OF THIS COUNTRY OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE MOORS; AT WHICH TIME, SAY THEY, THERE WAS A STRONG CASTLE BUILT FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIER, IN WHICH THE COUNT, OR GREAT OFFICER OF THE PROVINCE, RESIDED, FROM WHENCE IT TOOK ITS NAME AND ITS ARMS. THERE IS SOMETHING PLAUSIBLE AT LEAST, IF NOT PROBABLE, IN THIS, ONLY THE LATTER PART OF THE ARGUMENT SEEMS TO BE A LITTLE DEFECTIVE, IF WE MAY RELY ON THE BEST JUDGES OF HERALDRY, AS TO THE ANTIQUITY OF SUCH KIND OF BEARINGS.

HOWEVER, AS WE ARE NOT LIKE TO MEET WITH A BETTER ACCOUNT THAN THIS, WE MAY, PERHAPS, RECONCILE NICE CRITICS TO THIS NOTION, BY OBSERVING, THAT IF THE NAME OF THE PROVINCE WAS REALLY DERIVED FROM SOME SUCH CASTLE, THIS MAY WELL BE SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN SUPPORTED BY TRADITION, AS LONG AS THE TIMES IN WHICH ARMS WERE AFFIDED; AND THEN IT WILL VERY WELL ACCOUNT FOR THE ASSUMING A CASTLE, BY WAY OF ALLUSSION TO THAT ANCIENT FORTELS. BUT PERHAPS WE MAY HAVE STILL A BETTER ACCOUNT OF THIS MATTER FROM WHAT WE ARE GOING TO RELATE, CONCERNING THE MEANS BY WHICH THIS COUNTRY WAS RECOVERED OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE INFIDELS, AND ANNEXED TO THAT MONARCHY, WHICH THE CHIRHILLANS HAD FORMED IN ASTRURIAS. FOR IN SUCH ENQUIRIES, ONE PAPERSHEET THROWS LIGHT UPON ANOTHER; AND IF, TAKING ALL THINGS TOGETHER, THEY APPEAR TO HAVE AN EASY AND NATURAL CONNECTION, IT IS THE BEET PROOF THAT CAN BE HAD THAT THEY ARE CONSIDERED WITH TRUTH, OR AT LEAST A LITTLE REMOVED FROM IT; WHICH, IN SUCH CASES, IS AS MUCH AS CAN WELL BE DESIRED, AND MORE THAN CAN OFTEN BE MEET WITH.

WE COME NEXT TO DESCRIBE THE PROVINCE OF OLD CASTILE, SO CALLED, BECAUSE IT WAS RECOVERED FROM THE MOORS LONG BEFORE THAT WHICH IS MENTIONED THE NEW. AS IT FLOODED IN THE TIMES OF WHICH WE ARE WRITING, IT WAS SEPARATED FROM THE KINGDOM OF LEON BY THE FOLLOWING LITTLE RIVERS, CARRION, PUJERO, HEU, AND RAGAMON; AND, ON THE OTHER SIDE, IT WAS BOUNDED BY THEmountains of SIEGOVA and AVILA, LYING IN THE MIDDLE BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOM OF OVIEDO AND LEON, AND THE MOSLEM SOVEREIGNTY OF CORDOVA. AS THIS COUNTRY WAS EXTREMELY FERTILE IN CORN AND WINE, ABUNDANT WITH EXCELLENT PASTURE, AND WAS CONSEQUENTLY WELL FLOCKED WITH WOLVES, AND THE BEET WATERED OF ANY PROVINCE IN SPAIN, WE NEED NOT WONDER THAT BOTH NATIONS WERE DESIROUS OF BEING ITS MASTERS. WE ARE TOLD BY AN EMINENT AND ELEGANT HISTORIAN, THAT, EVEN WHILE IT REMAINED UNDER THE DOMINATION OF THE MOORS, THERE WERE SEVERAL GREAT LORDS WHO MAINTAINED THEMSELVES IN THE POSSESSION OF CERTAIN DISTRICTS, AND WHO, BY DEGREES, INCREASING IN WEALTH AND POWER, AT LENGTH SHOOK OFF THE Yoke OF THE INFIDELS, AND PUT THEMSELVES, AS IT WAS VERY NATURAL FOR THEM TO DO, UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE KINGS OF OVIEDO. IF THIS ACCOUNT BE TRUE, AS AT LEAST THERE IS NO AUTHORITY TO PROVE IT OTHERWISE, WE MAY VERY WELL BELIEVE, THAT THESE LORDS HAD EACH OF THEM A WELL FORTIFIED MANOR, OR CASTLE, WHEREAT, AT THE EMMANIPULATION OF THIS PROVINCE FROM THE Yoke OF THE MOORS, IT MIGHT WELL RECEIVE THAT NAME BY WHICH IT HAS BEEN EVER SINCE KNOWN. THE SAME HISTORIAN TELLS US, THAT THESE LORDS, SUPPORTED BY THEIR NEW PROTECTOR, WERE NOT ONLY ABLE TO DEFEND THEIR FRONTIER, BUT TO EXTEND THEIR LITTLE TERRITORIES BY THEIR EXCURSIONS AGAINST THE MOORS, AS OFTEN AS ANY FAVOURABLE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED ITSELF; AND THAT FROM HENCE THEY ASSESSED THE TITLE OF COUNTS; AND, BEING REGARDED AS FEUDATORI OF THE MONARCHS BEFORE-MENTIONED, WERE FURRIIONED IN TIME OF WAR TO REPAIR WITH THEIR VAELS TO ATTEND THE KING'S STANDARD, AND IN TIME OF PEACE WERE CALLED TO THE ASSEMBLIES OF THE ESTATES (A).

(A) We find counts distinguished by the ancient SPANISH writers into those of the palace, who had that title and dignity in virtue of their offices about the person of the king, and counts who were appointed to have
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Don Rodríguez is the first of these counts mentioned by name in the Spanish histories; and he flourished in the reign of Don Alfonso el Cabeza, or the Chatte, whom he assisted in his wars against the infidels. Some ancient writers say, that he was the father of Don Diego Porcellos, who is thought to be the same that, as we have already shown, received the king of Oviedo's orders to rebuild and fortify Burgos. There is, indeed, another account of this matter, which is, that one Nuño Belchide, a German lord, making a pilgrimage into Spain to the tomb of St. James, being kindly entertained by this count, resolved to remain with him, and to assist in defending the country against the infidels. Don Diego was so charmed with the generosity of this stranger, that he gave him in marriage his only daughter Donna Silla Bella, and, by his advice, collecting the people together out of the straggling villages, he brought them to live in a town, which he surrounded with walls, and gave it the name of Burgos, from the German word Burgt. It must be admitted, that this has so much the air of a fable as not to deserve any credit; but then to infer from hence, that the counts in Castile were not hereditary, seems to be carrying the matter too far; since, rejecting the fable, we may retain the history, and allow Don Diego, the son of Don Rodríguez, to have built the city of Burgos, not by the advice of this fon-in-law, but by the order of Don Alfonso the Great.

What seems to render this probable, and to give some degree of evidence to the before-mentioned account of the origin of these nobles, is our finding that there were many of them at the same time; such as the count Don Fernando Ansiles, Don Almondar el Blanco, or the white, and Don Nuño Fernandez; which plainly intimates, that they did not receive either their authority or titles from the kings of Oviedo, but were indebted to them only for their protection.


3. Mariana.

have the government of certain provinces (1). The privileges or prerogatives of both sorts of counts were precisely the same; that is to say, they had a vote in the election of kings, a seat in the assembly of the fates, and were not liable to any inferior jurisdiction. On the other hand, these counts were bound to perform their offices in the palace, to raise the forces of their provinces at the king's command, and to repair to the assembly of the fates, when and wherever it was summoned (2). We may easily collect from hence, that if a nobleman associated with, and submitted himself to, a prince to whom he was not born a subject, he must take upon him the duties of such an officer at the same time that he acquired the prerogatives; so that, except the hereditary position of erelate, and it may be title, which, as the king did not give, he could have no right to take away, this associated count feudal is just the same point of light with all other counts; that is, did like homage to the king, and owed the same service to the crown. It must be acknowledged, that the same would be very hard, if we were obliged to make out every circumstance here advanced by indistinguishable authorities; and yet this does not in the least detract either the force or the credit of what is advanced, because, while it is in our power to throw the general form of this government, it concludes clearly as to all that has been offered concerning this dignity. The kings of Oviedo and León were elective and limited in their power, and therefore so much their companions as, in which sense, according to the natural meaning of the Latin word Comes, the best Spanish lawyers have understood the import of this title (3). But as the king was no longer confederate in that capacity than while he governed according to the laws, so we may be sure that these counts were under the like retributions; and, though they were the king's companions, they were not his masters, or privileged to dispose of these orders, which, in virtue of his dignity, the king, whom themselves had elected, had a right to refuse, for the benefit of the state.

(8) We may more clearly apprehend what is advanced in the text, if we consider the meaning of the Spanish word Castellano, which is derived from Castillo, or, as it was antemly wrote, Castillo, which we find thus defined in the dictionary of the royal academy: A separate territory, in the manner of a province, independent of any other; in which its particular laws are observed, and which has a jurisdiction over all the places dependent on its capital (4). This clearly points out what kind of authority these lords had; who, upon the general wreck of the Gothic monarchy, seized upon whatever they were able to keep and to defend against the common enemy. It is, therefore, very probable, that, as they were independent of each other before they joined themselves to the kingdom of León, they remained so for some time afterwards; and that it was not long before Don Fornando González, who threw off this yoke of hommage, as he esteemed it, that single person assumed the title of count of Castile, but at the same time his ancestors first became eminent. It is at least not repugnant to probability to suppose, that they might be introduced with a superiority of power by the kings of León, which, setting them above those who were as good as themselves at home, made way for their notion, that there could be none better abroad; and thus pride might easily suggest the desire of receiving, in their own right, the respect paid them as representatives of their master (5). As to the city of Burgos, it was raised out of the ruins of the ancient town of Avila, or Oca, from whence the adjacent ridge of mountains is filled Securus y Oca (6). The air of this capital is very sharp; the inhabitants of that, and of all the fifty towns, hamlets, and villages, under its jurisdiction, are hardy, industrious, and robust (7); and it is universally allowed that the Spanish language, or, as called by themselves, Lengua Castellana, is spoken, with greater purity here than in any other part of his catholic majesty's dominions (8). It contends with Toledo, the capital of New Spain, the precedence in the fates, and upon all public occasions; and it is thought the dispute will not be speedily ended.

(1) Las Partidas del rey Don Alfonso I. cit. lib. ii. division regia Gathurni commentarius, cit. Comment.

(2) La Divina Historia generale d'Espagna, vol. i. p. 251.

(3) L'avaro et projet de l'Espagne, liv. i. p. 467.

(4) De Tour through Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap Rys, p. 40. Ludovitii Natti Hispania, cap. iv.
In order to form a clearer idea of this, we are to consider, that the counts, to whom the great lords, one came to be filled the count of Castile.

The king of Leon impri-
forns, and puts to death some of those lords as rebels.

A.D. 922.

Upon which, as is commonly believed, the Caftilians re-
vocals, and set up judges.

According to the general current of history, the fife which the Caftilians had of this act of severity, joined to some new hardships, they sustained under the reign of Don Freiia, who compelled them to retire to Leon for the decision of all disputes, provoked them to withdraw their allegiance from such tyrannical masters, and to set up a new form of government amongst themselves. This constituted in choosing two persons of quality, who were filled judges, and in whom the supreme power was vested. The two first, they say, were Don Nuno Rofura and Don Layn Calvo: the former of these was the fon of Don Nuno Bel-
cedeis, a man in years, of great experience, and of a mild and equitable temper: the latter, younger, married to Nina Bella, the daughter of his colleague, very brave and active. Don Nuno, therefore, was the legislator, and Don Layn the general of this new commonwealth. They generally rendered justice together, seated on the same tribunal; and, as a proof of this, they show the remains of what they called the judgment-seat at the village of Bijdue, two leagues from Medina de Pomar, as a decisive evidence of the matter of fact, asserting, that it was built for their use. We are also told, that the laws by which their sentences were regulated made up the contents of an ancient volume, intitled, El Fuero de Caftilla, which continued in force to the reign of Don Alphonso the Wife, by whom these laws were aboli-
ished, and a new code introduced. It is, however, admitted, that nothing farther is known of the transactions of these magistrates; how long they remained so, or who were

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Hence, among the great lords, one came to be filled the count of Caftile.

In order to form a clearer idea of this, we are to consider, that the counts, to whom the government of certain districts, disposed things in such a manner as their sons succeeded them, yet always with the consent of the crown. But, with respect to the counts of Caftile, we find no traces of their being appointed by the kings of Oviedo or Leon; and if they had, there would probably have been but one count; and whenever that dignity became hereditary, it would have been in his family; whereas we have as much certainty as can be had of anything in these times, that it was not so; but that, from the time of their being a province to the kingdom of Oviedo, there were several great lords, though it is not at all improbable that one of them might have the precedence in virtue of the king's appointment for the better government of the province; and also, that Don Diego might hold that dignity, when, by the command of Don Alfonso, he built and fortified Burgos, which became afterwards the capital of the province, and the place where the king's count or governor resided.

If we consider things in this light, it seems highly probable, that Nuno Fernandez was the principal count and chief governor of Caftile, at the time that Don Alfonso the Great consented to a match between his eldest son, the prince Don Garcia, and the count's daughter, which, as we have already shewn, was attended with unhappy circumstances; since that prince aspired to the crown in the lifetime of his father, by which he drew upon himself the king's displeasure, and a long imprisonment. In these family quarrels the count of Caftile not only contemnenced his son-in-law, but also supported the queen Ximena and the prince Don Ordoño, governor of Galicia, and the younger brother of Don Garcia; so that at length, by their cabals, the good old king found it requisite to resign his crown to Don Garcia, who behaved more dutifully afterwards than he had done before; and it seems highly probable, that when, after the death of that prince, Don Ordoño came to be seated on the throne, he disapproved his brother's conduct and his own towards their father; and, on this account, retained a dislike to Don Nuno Fernandez, to whom he might implore those councils by which they were milled. However that may be, it is certain that, having summoned that nobleman and the rest of the nobles at Caftile to meet him at Burgos, in which they failed, he resolved to chastise them; but directing his intentions, and directing them once more to meet him at a little town called Regular, he cauethem all to be arrested, and carried prisoners to Leon, and there put to death. This Don Rederico, bishop of Zonedal, represents as an act of tyranny, and a very foul stain on the administration of that king, who was otherwise a prince of great virtues. Don Lucas, bishop of Tay, barely relates the fact without any cenfre; and yet Mariana, and most of the modern historians, have followed the archbishop, and treated the king as a tyrant for this very act; but Sampaio, bishop of Aforga, who had much better opportunities of knowing the truth, is directly on the other side, jutifies king Ordoño's severity, and speaks of these nobles as rebels. But how just or foever his motives might be, the manner of his getting these great men into his hands can never be defended; and therefore we need not wonder that the people of Caftile were generally disoblige; or that heats and heart-burnings were hereby kindled between the two nations.

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\* Morales, Mariana.
\* Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. iv.
\* Mariana, Ferreras.
\* Chron. var. antiq.
\* De reb. Hisp. lib. iv.
\* Luc, Tudenia, Chron.
a their immediate successors. The truth seems to be, that the name of the village, and the ruins of something like a tribunal, together with the darkness of these times, inspired some fertile imagination with this history, that the birth of him who was really the founder of an independent sovereignty in Castile, might appear sufficiently noble: and to leave the reader in as little doubt as may be upon this head, let us intreat his patience for so much more of this story as will bring us down to this illustrious person, and we shall then diminish these fabulous relations, which, however, he will find have palled for very good history with some very great men, as indeed what would not pass under an easy natural drefs, which Mariana * gives to every story he tells.

Don González Núñez was the son of Don Núñez Raga, and some say that he also be-
b came one of the judges: but be that as it will, he is reported to have been a peron of most extraordinary natural endowments, improved by more learning than in that age laymen usually acquired. He married Donna Ximena, the daughter of the count Núñez Fernández, who was put to death by Don Ordoñez, and who was also a lady of exemplary virtue, and a most comformate understanding. These excellent persons, having nothing so much at heart as the good of their country and the glory of the Castilian nation, bred up most of the young nobles of Castile in their own family; by which they acquired, as no doubt they well deserved, the universal esteem and affection of all ranks and degrees of people. This illustrious couple were the parents of that great hero we mentioned, Don Ferdinand González, of whom we are now to speak, as of the real and indubitable founder of this principality, and whose actions were in themselves too great, and his character in all respects too noble, to stand in need of any allusion of this kind; which, as it ever does, only obscures what it should illustrate, and renders that doubtful and suspected that would be otherwise sufficiently conspicuous in its natural and proper point of light (C).

c For, after all, it is morally certain, that no credit is to be given to this genealogy, but that it is infinitely more probable this great man was the son of Don Fernández González, lord of Lara in Castile, and who, from authentic records, appears to have been the founder of the monastery of St. Peter de Alácia, from whom his title and estate descended to this son, who, by his excursions against the Moors, by his hospitable and generous way of living, by his courage in war, and conduct in peace, raised himself to such an extent of power, and to so high a reputation, that he married the infant Donna Sancha of Navarre *, and governed Castile in the same absolute manner almost as if he had been the legal master of it; but, notwithstanding this, he took care to preserve measures with the king of Leon, upon whom himself, as well as his predeccessors, depended; though it is highly probable, that, as they increased in power, they endeavoured to make that yoke as light as they could; and, on the other hand the great service they did, sometimes by making diversions, at others by joining their forces to the armies of Leon, made those monarchs less inclined to differ with them than otherwise they would have been. At the famous battle of Simancas * he was in the army of Don Ramiro, the second king of Leon, and had a large share in obtaining that glorious victory, notwithstanding that Mariana * and other writers affirm, he did not bring up his troops till after the battle was over, and that then purifying the enemy with his forces fresh and unfatigued, he did prodigious execution. But it is sufficient to destroy the credit of all that laboured relation, that he makes him found the monastery of St. Peter de Alácia in consequence of this victory, and of a vow that he made before it; which monastery, as we remarked, was certainly founded many years before; and, as there is just reason to believe, by his father. However, by him, if any credit be due to the charters and privileges by which it was produced, it could never be founded.

e In the following year he thought fit to disobey the monarch's orders, with respect to fortifying the frontier; and, as some writers say, entered into a confederacy against him with the Moabmedans; which is not at all probable, since we find that the count Ferdinand González and the count Diego Núñez, were the next year reduced and brought to Leon, from whence the king sent them to two separate castles, and kept them some time in captivity; but at length, by the interposition of the nobility, and very probably of the king of Navarre, whose sister Don Ferdinand had married, he was set at liberty, reconciled to the king.

f He disobeys the king of Leon's orders, or he goes thence to Castile, and the count Diego Núñez, were the next year reduced and brought to Leon, from whence the king sent them to two separate castles, and kept them some time in captivity; but at length, by the interposition of the nobility, and very probably of the king of Navarre, whose sister Don Ferdinand had married, he was set at liberty, reconciled to the king.

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* Historia general de Esfana, lib. viii. cap. ii.
* Roderic Tolosan, lib. viii.

(C) When we attribute these stories in a very particular manner to Mariana (4), it is by no means to be understood, that he is chargeable with the mention of them, but that the honour he did them, by affording them a place in his history, has intitled them to a credit with modern historians; at which, without his allusion, they could never have arrived.

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(4) Historia general de Esfana, lib. viii. cap. 2. and

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and the prince Don Oviedo married to his daughter. At this time there is nothing clearer, than that Don Ferdinand and Don Diego both were feudatories to the king of Leon; for had it been otherwise, no doubt but the king of Navarre would have sent them assistance, and prevented his brother-in-law's disgrace; but he was too great and too wise a prince to protect him from the jilt renunciation of his sovereign, otherwise than by an interposition of good offices in his favour, which we see had the defined effect, and produced a reconciliation, at least for the present.  

But, without all question, Don Ferdinand was inclined to render himself independent; and there is nothing more probable, than that the king, by marrying his son to Donna Urraca, the count's daughter, meant to divert him from that design, and to fix his and his successor's fidelity to princes that were of their own blood. Count Ferdinand Gonzales, however, was too great a politician to be governed by such a consideration, and therefore the king was no sooner dead, than he joined with his brother-in-law of Navarre to prescribe terms to Don Oviedo, who had married his daughter, and this with a view of making his brother Sancho king of Cetinica, by which the power of that monarchy being divided, he might, with safety, have set up for himself. Yet when he saw that this scheme, though well contrived, was not easy to be executed, he did not care to run the hazard of a battle, though joined with the forces of Navarre; and this made a coldness between him and Don Sancho, in whose favor he took or pretended at least to take up arms. He bore also the intitle offered him, by the leading back the queen of Leon, with great seeing patience, which was purely the effect of his policy, since it afterwards sufficiently appeared that he was sensible enough of the affair. His interest governed him then, and indeed upon every other occasion: the great point he had in view was to render himself independent; and this he pursued indifferently, till at last he attained it, as we shall show in its proper place. But this character of him, founded on facts, renders some stories of him by Mariana altogether incredible (D).  

He put his diffimulation still farther: and, upon Don Oviedo's making an irritation against the Moors, he likewise took a share in the war, and made a seeming diversion in the king's favour, though at the same time it answered a great purpose of his own; for the infidels had built a strong fort at Corriaza, on the frontiers of his country, which was a great thorn in his fides, and which he took this opportunity to remove and. Some writers say, that he gained at the same time a great victory over the infidels; but that seems not a little doubted, or rather it is confounded with another victory, of which we shall speak hereafter. It is, however, certain, that he took and demolished the fortresses of Corriaza; and though by this he did apparently serve his own turn, yet when the year following, Don Oviedo, at the head of his numerous and victorious army, was on the point of entering Castile, he went boldly to that prince, pleaded the service he had done in the preceding campaign, and, by promising a steady adherence to his duty for the future, diverted that thorn by which he must have been otherwise overwhelmed: and when the Moors, in revenge of this action, invaded his territories, he demanded and received such assistance from Don Oviedo, as enabled him to gain a victory at St. Stephen de Gormez which entirely broke the force of the infidels, and left him nothing to fear on that side for many years to come. The king of Leon, he so much dreaded, dying soon after, he set on foot those intrigues against his brother and successor Sancho, whose ally he had formerly been, as forced him to quit the throne.  

(Lucan Tudensis Chronicon. Vasaii Chronicon.  
Chron. var. antiq.  

(D) Instead of troubling the reader with those strange and improbable exploits which are attributed by Mariana (1), and those who have copied him, this great man, we will content ourselves with transferring a very judicious remark from Ferret, which will give him more light than without his assistance we could have pretended to afford. The valiant actions of this brave man, says he (2), are so interlarded with fables and impostures, that it is very difficult to distinguish between the true and the false, as is acknowledged by Sandeval, with whom, in this point, all the critics agree. Gonzalo Fernandez has written a history of this hero, which some persons, for want of judgment, have considered as containing a detail of facts; whereas all that he intended was to afford proper instruction to a prince, under the colour of writing the life of Ferdinand Gonzalo, which induced him to take the liberty of inventing therein whatever appeared requisite to inspire a monarch with heroic sentiments, in the same manner that Maupin long ago composed his work of the education of Cyrus, as is well known to the learned. For this reason, continued he, I omit whatever is mentioned in that book that is not supported by such authorities as manifest the truth of the history. We now see the true source of many of those strange things that have been already related, and, it is also hoped, sufficient reasons for our declining to infer any more, as we willingly inform without fatiguing our readers (3).
and retire for shelter into the territories of the king of Navarre. Yet not satisfied with this, he took part with Don Rodrigo the Wicked, son to Don Alphonso the Blind, advanced him to the throne of Leon, and by that means restored his daughter to the title of queen.

In the quarrel of this prince, the worst of which ever sat upon the throne, he broke with his brother-in-law Don Garcia king of Navarre; and, being defeated and taken prisoner by him in the battle of Arvilia, was carried by him to Pampeiana, where, it is highly probable, that monarch, in order to engage him to be quiet, prevailed upon his nephew Don Sanchez, king of Leon, to release him from the homage due to him in that quality; and having, by this means, provided in the best manner possible for the security and good correspondence of all the Christian powers, he, at the request of the counts of Castile, his sister, set the count Don...

Ferdinand at liberty, and sent him home.

About four years after he involved himself in a new war with the infidels, by fortifying Sepulveda; which provoked Alfonso, king of Cordova, that he sent Mohammed, his Alhagib, or vizir, who afterwards acquired the name of Almanzor, with a powerful army to demolish it.

The count Don Ferdinand, knowing the extent of the place, suffered them to invest it, by which their army occupied so great a space of ground, that, by making a quick march, he fell upon them with an inferior body of troops with such impetuosity, that he forced the: puls he attacked, divided one part of the army from the other, which made way for a total defeat, wherein they lost fifteen thousand men, and all their baggage.

It is observed by Ferreras, as a circumstance subject to some doubt, that at this time the infidels were at peace with Don Sanchez, king of Leon, who notwithstanding took no umbrage at their invasion of Castile, from whence we may collect with certainty of what has been before advanced, that Don Sanchez had relinquished the sovereignty, and no longer considered count Ferdinand Gonzales as his valet; which is a much better reason for his conduct than that which, in most of the general histories of Spain, is very gravely ascribed.

We draw now towards the conclusion of this great man's life, who, as we have observed more than once, ought to be regarded as the true author and founder of this principality, and though it cannot be denied, that, as well in point of courage and military conduct as that kind of count-craft and cunning which too often obtains the name of policy, he was one of the most distinguished persons in his time, yet many of his actions were such as no thing but ambition could suggest; so nothing but a confidence rendered callous by a frequent repetition of crimes could have borne. As for instance, at the time he projected the deposition of Don Sanchez, king of Leon, amongst other great lords whom he sought to draw into a confederacy against that unfortunate prince, one was the count de la Vela, who seems to have possessed the little fruitful country of Alava, on the same terms that Don Fer- dinand Gonzales originally held his territories in Castile (E). The count, however, resisted all

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(R) This little province, or county of Alava, has on the exit the kingdom of Navarre, Old Castile on the north, and the country of Biscay on the north-west. It is in shape a long square, extending one way about 22 miles, and about 18 the other. At different times it has been accounted part of each of the countries beforementioned, first of Navarre, on account of its being conquered from the Navarre by Don Sanchez, with an intent to make it his frontier. As a part of Biscay, the kings of Osorio and Leon claim to be lords paramount, as descendants from Don Pedro, duke of Cantabria, to whom the whole country belonged; and lastly, count Ferdinand Gonzales acquired it at this time by conquest.

The truth seems to be, that, with the assistance of their neighbours, the family of la Vela had induced the inhabitants to throw off the yoke of the infidels, and to live sometimes under the protection of the crown of Navarre, and sometimes under that of Leon. They feem to have been subjects of the last mentioned power at the time that the old count de la Vela and his three sons were expelled by the count of Castile, to whom it is not impossible that Don Ordunio the Wicked, his son-in-law,

might transfer his right to this country by way of composition for the great assistance that he had given him (4). But be that as it will, there be nothing clearer than that, under fome pretence or other, the count Don Ferdinand actually added this rich country to his dominions. Murriana intimates, that it was in repayment of several frictions made by the family of Vela into Castile (5), which, if true, must have been in the reign of Don Ordunio the third, and by his orders, at the time of his repudiating Donna Urraca (4). This old count, taking shelter at Cordova, grew there into great intimacy with Don Sanchez, king of Leon, who was an exile as well as himself; and by the help of these unfortunate princes and their adherents, who were all determined enemies of the count of Castile, the infidels received to good intelligence of every thing in that country as rendered them infinitely more able to harrass the count Ferdinand than they had ever been; in a most of which executions, such is the force of imputable hatred, the counts, at the head of the infidels, came in conjunction with their new allies, and were the chief instruments of the mischief done by them on all occa-

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1 Delecta del Epagoge, por Don Juan Alvarez de Colonzar, 1595, p. 93. 2 Ferreras Historiae de Epagoge, p. iv., fiel. X. 3 Historiae de Epagoge, lib. vii. 4 Roderic Toletan de rebis Hispan.
all his foliations, and remained firm in the interests of Don Sanchez, even after he was constrained to abandon his kingdom and retire into Navarre. The count Don Ferdinand, provoked at this, and at the same time perceiving how commodiously the country of Alava lay, if he could get it into his hands, resolved, as soon as Don Ordoño was placed on the throne of Leon, and had married his daughter, to make an expedition with all his forces against that excellent lord, and oblige him to pay for his loyalty no less a price than his whole dominions; in which, not without a great struggle, he prevailed, but could not get the person of the count into his power, who, with all his family, and the best part of his dependents, made their escape, and took refuge in the court of Abderraman, king of Cordova. He was there received and entertained in a manner suitable to his quality; and, at his interference in succouring times, most of those dreadful incursions were made that sometimes reduced both Leon and Castile within a hair's-breadth of ruin. Notwithstanding this, and the repeated intercessions, as well of the kings of Navarre as of Leon, he never could be prevailed on to do that nobleman justice, but kept the county of Alava till the day of his death, which happened in the month of July, in the year of our Lord 970, when he left his territory free in all respects, very much extended, and the frontier well fortified, and a great corps of intrepid and well disciplined troops, to his son, a prince of great hopes, and highly esteemed by his neighbours.

The name of this young count was Don Garcia Fernandez, who, from the time he became possessed of the father's dominions, turned his thoughts entirely upon the improvement of the country, and the emolument of its inhabitants; by which he deferentially raised a very high reputation, and obtained not only the confidence of his own subjects, but of his neighbours. He seems to have passed the first seven years of his government in peace, owing chiefly to the age and infirmities of one king of Cordova, and to the indolent temper of another; but this last having made choice of Mohammed Abenamir for his prime minister, who was a man of great abilities, and of an active and martial disposition, he readily listened to the repeated applications of the count de la Vela, and set on foot a numerous army, commanded by Orduan, one of the most experienced officers in his service, in order to restore him to his dominions, with whom went the count in person and most of his partisans. As soon as count Garcia had intelligence of these formidable preparations, he strenuously solicited the assistance of Don Ramiro the third, then king of Leon, but without effect; for that prince, being at peace with the Moors, refrued to break with them upon his account. But his cousin Don Sanchez Abarca, king of Navarre, declared frankly in his favour, and began to arm immediately with the same zeal as if it had been in his own quarrel. Orduan, general of the Moors, entered Castile on the side of Ofna and St. Stephen Gormez, wasting the country with fire and sword; but as soon as the troops of Navarre had joined Don Garcia he attacked them with so much vivacity, that they were quickly routed, and with the loss of a considerable body of men, as well as of their baggage, were constrained to make a precipitate retreat into the territories of Cordova, which gained count Garcia Fernandez great reputation.

As the infidels were highly provoked by this defeat, they levied the next year an army very far superior to that which had been beaten, and Mohammed Abenamir, named afterwards Almanzar, took the resolution of commanding it in person. The count of Castile, solicited, as before, both kings in his favour; but the one granted him none, and the other very small succours, under pretence that the former campaign had been very expensive. The count Don Garcia, therefore, found himself so much inferior to the enemy, that he durst not hazard a battle; yet he seemed often disposed to hazard it, and by marches and counter-marches harrassed the Moors so much, that their general was excessively provoked, and at length contented himself with besieging St. Stephen de Gormez. This place was so well fortified, and defended by fo strong a garrison, that his army suffered exceedingly during the

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a siege; which induced him, when the place was taken, to put the garrison to the sword, the rather, because his forces were so much diminished and fatigued, that he found himself in no condition to undertake any thing farther, and was therefore obliged to defer the bloody vengeance he threatened to take till the next year 4. The next campaign was, notwithstanding, less favourable to the infidels than the former, though Don Garcia had not a better army in the field; but his fortresses were so well provided, and the Moors had so little room to besiege, that, after moving up and down the open country which they ravaged, they found it expedient to retire, and the next year they either did nothing, or employed their arms elsewhere 5.

About four years after Almanzor made a new irruption into Castile, took Sepulveda after a long siege, and several other places; from whence we may conclude, though there is no mention made of it in the Spanish histories, that he gained some advantage over the count Don Garcia, who otherwise would not have been a tame spectator of the injuries his people felt 6. The resolution taken by the Moors next year to act with all their forces against the fortress of Leon procured the Castilians some relief, which the count employed in repairing his fortresses, and recruiting his troops. Three years after Almanzor made a new invasion, and brought with him the sons of the count de la Vela 7. Don Garcia was now afflicted by the kings of Leon and Navarre, but not in any proportion to the number of his enemies, who besieged and took Alcañiz; which, however, put an end to their progress for that year 8. The next was rather more unfortunate; for the count having but a very small army in the field, they ravaged and destroyed the country at their pleasure, but without undertaking any siege. The year following Almanzor invaded Castile again, and, after endeavouring to no purpose to force Don Garcia to a battle, he, in the month of August, besieged and took Oviedo, after a long resistance 9.a. This war was in a good measure subsided for the three following years; during which, however, the count Don Garcia was exceedingly perplexed with some disputes that arose between him and his cousin Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, which ended not but with the death of the latter.

When the infidels renewed the war, they made a greater impression upon Castile than they had ever done, and not only took but garrisoned Corunna and St. Stephen de Gormez, which they held for several years 10; and it is highly probable that they might have pushed their conquests much farther, if they had not, at this time, meditated the destruction of Leon, which they effected soon after. It was the loss and ruin of that important place that saved the Christians in Spain from being undone, by opening their eyes to the necessity of uniting, and produced that league between the kings of Leon and Navarre and the count of Castile. This first gave a check to the arms of the infidels, by the glorious victory obtained over them in the plains of Oviedo, where all the three princes acted in person, and where, after the Moors were defeated, the pursuit was committed to the count of Castile, who executed it with such vigour, as drew upon him the particular repentment of the infidels. As soon as they were able to gather another army, they resolved to employ it solely against his dominions; but Don Bermudo, king of Leon, dying in the interim, engaged them to alter their intention, and to make an irruption into that kingdom, where the Moors, under the command of Abdalmelch, was thoroughly and shamefully beaten by the confederates, commanded by Don Garcia, count of Castile 8.b. The year following died Don Garcia, king of Navarre, and was succeeded by Don Sanchez, afterwards furred the Great; and the same year Don Garcia, count of Castile, conferred that the sons of the count de la Vela should be restored to their patrimony, and that a general pardon should be granted to them and all their adherents (F).

(F) The propriety of the Spanish writers to give place in their general histories unto the incidents contributed to raise the fury of particular families, has diverted them from such enquiries as would have been of infinitely more use: so that it is difficult to say whether they deserve more blame for giving place to feigned histories, or for omitting such circumstances as might have illustrated what is true (1). According to Mariana's account, there was a kind of war between Leon and Castile during the first part of Don Garcia's administration, which he infers from the Moors continuing to infest Castile, without any diversion made, or any opposition given, by the kings of Leon (2). This, however, seems to be carrying things too far, and yet there is a ground of truth at bottom. Don Sanchez, king of Leon, and his son, were under such obligations to the king of Cordova as would not permit them to act against the Moors, on account of their incursions into Castile, which was now become an independent principality, which was a great misfortune to Don Garcia. On the other hand, when the Moors attacked the kingdom of Leon, the people of Castile were so enfeebled by the long war which they had sustained, that they were in no condition to yield assistance to their neighbours, which

(1) Monarca Notitia y Judicio de los mas principales Historiadores de España. (2) Historia general de España, lib. viii.

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7 Y brought
The young king of Navarre being arrived at an age in which it was fit for him to marry, caft his eyes upon Donna Elvira, the daughter of Don Sanchez, and the grand-daughter of Don Garcia, count of Castile, whom he soon after demanded in marriage by his embassadors, to whom the young lady being readily delivered, the marriage was soon after solemnized with great splendor at Pampluna 8. The great joy occasioned by this event, which was indeed very favourable to the Christian cause, was very soon damped by the ill conduct of this young queen’s father, who, listening to the advice of count Garcia Gomez, and some other flatterers, began to form cabals against his parent and his prince. The count Don Garcia laboured all that was in his power to convince his son of the folly of his proceedings, but to no purpose, for the prince was as obstinate as he was unconsiderate: so that at length his countenance of Castile, who was grown old in fighting against the infidels, was obliged once more to draw his sword, in order to chastise his son 4. Don Sanchez pushed things to extremities, and would not suffer their differences to be any other way terminated than by a battle, in which, it is on all hands agreed, he was thoroughly beaten 5; and though Mariana 6 and some other historians say, that he kept up the contest notwithstanding till his father’s death, yet authors 7, who lived nearer these times, assert, that he was wise enough to submit to the pardon of Don Garcia, and not only to receive it, but by signal marks of repentance, and a sincere return to his duty, effaced the very memory of his crime, which delivered the Castilians in time from a civil war, that might otherwise have rendered them an easy prey to the infidels, who, as it was very natural, began their preparations to invade Castile on the first news of this disparity.

ABDERAMA succeeded his brother Abdilellez in the post of general, or commander in chief of the forces of Cordova; and being exceedingly desirous to signalize his entrance on that great office, by revenging his father’s death and his brother’s disgrace, he assembled a very numerous army, with which he invaded Castile 8, and, as several of the best fortresses had been ruined, and two of them were still in the hands of the Moors, there seemed to be nothing more easy, than with superior forces to ruin and destroy the country, if not to make an absolute conquest. The count Don Garcia perceiving the enemy’s design, and knowing no other way to preserve his country from ruin, assembled as many troops as he could, and with them marched to give the enemy battle. The Moors, who looked upon this step as very favourable to their design, did not at all decline an engagement; so that, on the 28th of July, an action ensued between the towns of Alerce and Berlanga, in which the Castilians had at first the advantage 9; but the count Don Garcia, penetrating at the head of his cavalry too far, was surrounded by the Moors before his infantry could come up, and most of his troops too being killed, and himself dangerously wounded, was taken prisoner 10 after which his army made a precipitate retreat: but by the desperate charge made at the beginning, the infidels found themselves so much weakened, that, except burning some of the places that were nearest them, they did nothing more that campaign. As for the gallant Don Garcia, he died, partly of his wounds, and partly of grief, two days after the lofs of his liberty and of the battle; that is, on the 30th of July, in the year of our Lord 1005, and when he had governed Castile thirty-five years completely. The Moorish general Abarfana sent his body in triumph to Cordova, from whence, being redeemed for a sum of money, it was brought back into his own dominions, and buried in the monastery of St. Peter de Cerdagna, universally regretted by his subjects, and by the Christians in general 11.

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4 Roderic Sanchez Historia general de Espana, lib. viii.
5 Roderic Toletan Histor. Arabum.
6 Lucce Tudensenis Chronicone.
7 Roderic Sanchez Historia Hifpan., p. iii.
8 Roderic Sanchez Chronicone.
9 Valeti Chron. Roderic Sanchez Historia Hifpan., p. iii.

brought destruction upon the people of Leon; but at length all the Christian princes opened their eyes, and saw, what they might have seen long before, that the drolls of one would very quickly become the destruction of all, and they united but just time enough to prevent it (3). All these mischiefes were the effects of Don Ferdinand Gonzalez’s ambition and false politics; and therefore his son very wisely contented to feal the family of Veja, who, during their exil, had sufficiently revenged the injury done them of defrauding them of their country of Alerce (4); to which it is doubtful whether they were now restored. But, however, the bringing back them and their partisans from the Moors proved of great consequence to all the Christian powers (5), who, from the beginning of the eleventh century, began to recover that superiority which they had lost for many years; and thus we have taken the liberty, by confederacy, to remove, in some measure, that obscurity in which this period is involved (6).

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(4) Verreros Historia de Espana.
(5) Mariana, Mayeneus Turquet, Ferreras.
(6) P. Merri insinuaciones hisparricas de las antiquo de al Rey de Navarra, lib. ii. c. viii.
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a Don Sanchez Garcia succeeded his father, the ransom of whose body was the first act of his administration; and, as soon as he had paid his last devoirs to it, he applied himself with inexpressible diligence to recruit his forces, that he might be in a condition to avenge his death upon the infidels. Several accidents contributed to facilitate his design; his neighbours, the kings of Leon and Navarre, lent him considerable succours, multitudes of his own people, being afraid to till their lands, bestowed themselves to arms, and before he could take the field, a civil war broke out in Cordova. Don Sanchez, finding his army more numerous, and the conjunction more favourable, than he expected, disposed all things very wisely, in order to make the most of his advantage; for first he blockaded up the Moorish garrisons in his own country, that they might give his subjects no disturbance in his absence, and then passing b the mountains that separate the two Castiles with the rest of his troops, he fell into the open country behind them, and having burnt three or four small places, he thereby so terrified the inhabitants of all the great cities and towns, that they immediately sent deputies to his camp, even from places at a great distance, and agreed to deliver him wine, provisones, and money, upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe. Having thus spread terror throughout all the enemy's dominions, and fully indemnified his subjects for their want of a harvest that year, he repassed the mountains in the middle of autumn with his army, covered with glory and laden with riches. c

His good fortune did not end here. Those who had revolted at Cordova from Almabadi, Zuleiman, a who then bore the title of king, could not agree amongst themselves whom they should place in the throne of the crown of Cordova, either because of his adherents were victorious in this action, or was Zuleiman, d who becoming master of the person of his rival, kept him closely confined; but this success, which freed him from one opponent, rendered him much less able to contend with the other; for, notwithstanding those who revolted at first were strong enough to depose Almabadi, if they could have agreed, yet the remains of both parties found themselves manifestly too weak. In this situation Zuleiman very wisely drew off his forces from the neighbourhood of the capital, that they might be less liable to be debouched; and having fixt upon certain places, where for the present they might remain in safety, he sent his e embassadors to count Don Sanchez, to propose a firm and constant alliance between them, promising him great advantages, if, by his assistance, a passage could be opened to the throne of Cordova, and accompanied these offers with presents of great value. f

The count of Castile received these embassadors kindly; and having maturely weighed Don Sanchez what they proposed, accepted the offers that were made him, and affured Zuleiman, that he f would join him with his troops as soon as the feason would permit him to take the field. Accordingly he not only assembled his own forces, but procured auxiliaries from the kings of Leon and Navarre, who saw with great pleasure so fair an opportunity offer of employing the Moors in the service of the Christians, and in weakening themselves. He passed the mountains with as good an army as he had led in his last expedition, and in conjunction with Zuleiman, who e received him with great joy, advanced directly towards Cordova. Almabadi with the a assistance of his Alhagib Alamaner, had drawn together a numerous body of troops, with which he proposed to defend the city, which, as it was extremely well fortified, he looked upon as very practicable, even if the enemy had been stronger they were; but, upon the approach of the confederates, Alamaner, who had the confidence of the troops more than his matter, formed a resolution of marching out and giving them battle, in which he perished, notwithstanding all the reasons Almabadi could offer. This design he executed with the same spirit in which it was formed, but had the misfortune, notwithstanding, to be defeated by the confederates, and constrained to retire into another part of the kingdom, while they continued their march and invaded Cordova, into the furbors of which the count of Castile entered with his forces, f whom he inticed with the plunder. Almabadi found it impossible to defend himself, and therefore made his escape; upon which Zuleiman was received without opposition, who rewarding the count of Castile and his forces even beyond their expectation, sent them home perfectly satisfied, and recommended to them the reduction of Alamaner, who had withdrawn himself to the frontiers of Castile.

At the return of the count Don Sanchez, his comfort was delivered of a son, who after-wards succeeded his father in his dominions. The next campaign the count made himself master of the fortres of Al terme, which was in the hands of Alamaner. Having dismanted it, he returned to the reft of that country, and then returned into his own dominions, being perhaps dow, by

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unwilling
unwilling to march again to the affiance of Zuleiman, because the count of Barcelona, and a
other Christian lords, had engaged themselves on the part of his competitor, and he was unwilling to see Christians destroy each other in fighting the battles of the Moors. For want of his affiance Zuleiman was dethroned and expelled, which constrained him to retire into
Africa; and this, in process of time, afforded Hifsem, the grandson of Abderrahman, who
was the lawful monarch of Cordova, and had been long kept in prison by different usurpers,
an opportunity to mount the throne. He found, however, very great difficulty to keep
possession of it; for Abdalla, the son of Almabadi, who perished in these troubles, had got pos-
session of Toledo, where he assumed the title of king. On the other hand Zuleiman, returned
from Africa, and bringing with him considerable reinforcements, created new disturbances, and
sent a fresh embassy to the count of Castile to demand his affiance once more. But Don b
Sanchez, who made no scruple of afflicting one tyrant against another, made a scruple of ar-
ming against Hifsem, whom he took to be a lawful prince. He therefore sent an agent to
Cordova, to prop of the king, that, if he would order the Moorish garrison to evacuate St.
Stephen de Gormez, Ochina, Coruña, and other places, he would become his firm ally, and
afflict him with all his troops. Upon mature deliberation Hifsem accepted this offer; in con-
sequence of which the count of Castile began to levy troops. Hifsem, to show his confidence
in the faith of that prince, honestly performed his part of the agreement, and, having given
up to him all the places that he demanded, fomented the count of Castile to the performance
of his promise.

DON SANCHEZ, equally ready to do what he had stipulated, marched, at the request of his
country, to Toledo, where the troops of Hifsem were already arrived; and, as soon as they
had notice of the count’s approach, invested the place. Don Sanchez, perceiving it to be
very large and well fortified, and being also informed that it was very populous, advised
the Moors to blockade it very strictly, as not only the surest but the most effectual method
of becoming masters of it. They took his advice, and had no reason to repent it; for in
a few days the inhabitants, finding themselves oppressed by famine, feigned upon the perf
of him whom they had fled their prince, and surrendered the place. After which the count
of Castile, having fully made good what he promised, returned again into his own dominions.
The civil war still continued between Hifsem and Zuleiman, but it does not appear that the count
of Castile took any father share therein on either side, but remained quiet in his own territories,
where he governed his subjects with great equity and justice. Yet a body of Moors, suppos
ed to belong to the garrison of Saragossa, made an irruption into his country, reduced Cardona,
and put the inhabitants there to the sword; upon which Don Sanchez put himself in arms;
but found they had quitted his dominions, and retired to a place of safety, whither he held it
improper to follow them (G).

(G) Among other privileges which this famous and fortunate count of Castile granted to his nobility, there is one that deserves to be particularly remembered, which is thus represented by Mariana; all the lords of that
rank, small and great, were obliged, as vassals to their count, to march, with such numbers of men as
they could raise, whenever he summoned them to attend him in the field, without expelling any other
recompence or satisfaction than what they were able to carve out for themselves at the expense of the enemy.
This service, it is said, he took away, and engaged for himself and his successors, that they should have a certain
consideration, proportionable to the number of men that each of them commanded, and the length of the
campaign. Of the truth of this the French translator of Mariana seems to doubt, and we find not a word of
it in Ferreras. As the military services in all the Catholic governments were much the same, it is not easy to
conceive either how or why he should attempt to change them; more especially as there is nothing said of any
equivalent, or of the method by which he was to raise that pay, which it is said he undertook to give them. Besides,
it does not appear that he was ever in any such circumstances as could render it advisable or expec-
tive for him to do this; or, indeed, that, upon the whole, such a privilege would have been advantageous
to his nobility, since they were as much interested as he in the defence of their country, and had therefore
no reason to desire, that the only effectual means of defending it should be laid aside. It is therefore highly
probable, that the cause was no more than this: He made two expeditions out of his own dominions as an auxi-
liary to Moorish princes; and it is very possible, as well as very reasonable, that he might exempt his nobility
from attending him in such expeditions at their own expense, and engage to indemnify them out of the
recompence or subsidy that he was to receive. It may indeed be said, that, while they were thus employed,
they were in the service of their country as well as of their prince; but, at the same time, this was a kind of
service to which they were not subjected by their

(7) Jeaniti Psatler Hispamni Chronicon. Mariana Historia general de Espaia, lib. viii. Petri Paulini de affilit
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Aboult this time Don Sanchez found himself under an absolute necessity of doing what he took to be an act of justice. The three sons of the count de Vela had, from the time of their return, been treated with great kindness and respect, and the count of Castile had pushed this so far, as to make choice of the eldest, whose name was Don Roderic de Vela, to be the godfather of his son and heir apparent. But whether these lords still retained their old resentment, or whether it proceeded from the natural feroceness of their disposition, it was, that they behaved in such a manner to the Christians, that the count received perpetual complaints of their excesses, which in the end provoked him to such a degree, that, forgetting how fatal their former exile had been to all the Christians in Spain, he drove them a second time out of his dominions.

Upon this Don Alonso the fifth, then king of Leon, apprehensive of the ill consequences that might ensue, if they shoul again take shelter among the infidels, offered them a retreat in his dominions, and actually gave them lands sufficient for their subsistence, at the foot of the mountains, with which for the present they seemed to be very well contented; but, as the reader hath seen in another place, these were very far from being the real entitlements, as clearly appeared after the death of the count Don Sanchez, when an opportunity offered of glutting their resentment by the murder of his son, and by the extinction of the male heirs of the counts of Castile. But at present our business is to continue the thread of our history, by relating the remaining achievements of the count Don Sanchez.

The count Don Sanchez, having now an interval of peace, took great pains in correcting whatever errors had crept into his government during those fiery times, when justice is generally speaking, silent. He repaired those fortresses that were proper to make a part of his frontier, and demolished others, that, through an irruption of the Moors, or insurrections at home, might have proved nuisances of his dominions. He took this opportunity also to regulate with the king of Navarre the boundaries of their respective territories, to prevent any disputes in succeeding times between their descendants. He likewise facilitated the endeavours of Don Alonso, king of Castile, in repairing the places ruined by the Moors, and more especially in restoring such churches and convents as they had demolished.

Actions that flew to have been a wife, active, and magnanimous prince, and therefore not likely to have proceeded with so much rigor, as is reported, against his mother. However, as the fact is related by more than one historian, and is represented as having given rise to more than one custom that still remains in general use in this country, it is not fit to hide it from the reader's knowledge, however improbable it may appear, as indeed there is hardly any thing that can wear an aspect more fabulous, or more incredible. The countess dowager of Castile, it is said, forgetting her birth, her honour, and her religion, cast her eyes upon a Moorish lord, with an inclination to have married him; but being apprehensive that this would have been displeasing to her son, who might have considered such a marriage as deriving discredit on himself, she resolved to remove that obstacle to the gratification of her passion by depriving him of life. With this view she prepared a violent poison, which she put into his drink, and which she afterwards offered him with her own hands; but the count, having received information of this black design, first desired, and then obliged her to drink it herself, and thereby turned the effect of this cruel project upon its author. But, says Mariana, how criminal soever the countess might be, her death, nevertheless, tarnished the reputation of her son, because gentler means might have been used to escape the intended evil, to punish the countess, and to put it out of her power to make any future attempts of the like kind. Some authors assert, that from hence arose the practice in Spain of the ladies drinking first. It is also alleged, that the count himself, regretting the severity, built the noble monastery ofOua as an expiation of his crime. But, with much greater probability, others assert, that it was erected to gratify the desire of one of his daughters, who was inclined to quit the world, and became the abbess of this new foundation.

As the civil wars amongst the infidels still continued, when the count had adjusted all his domestic concerns, he was willing not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of extending his dominions; and therefore taking the field, with a complete corps of well disciplined troops, he professed himself before Penafiel, which, after a short siege, he reduced. After taking Ma
duero and Montijo, he at length invested Septuveda, a place strong by nature, and even then somewhat afflicted by art, with a good garrison, which enabled it to make a great resistance; however, being a place of consequence, a mark of triumph in the infidels, a thorn in the sides of his subjects, he pulled it to vigorously, that at length it fell into his hands, which enabled him to clear all that neighbourhood of the Moors, and to take such precautions as might, for...
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The future, put it out of their power to harass his subjects as in times past. He seems to have been thus employed, when he was seized with that distemper which brought him to the grave, to the great regret of his subjects, who loved him as he deserved, since few princes have been either more fortunate or more indulgent. He deceased February the fifth, in the year of our Lord 1522. Mariana 6, and indeed some other writers, place his death six years lower, but without any great appearance of reason, because it is not reconcilable to the current even of their own narrations. His body was interred in the monastery of Oña (4) which he founded, and, at the time of his decease, he left behind him four children, Don Garcia Sanchez his successor, and three daughters, Donna Nogna Elvira, who married Don Sanchez king of Navarre, Donna Urraca Theresa, who succeeded afterwards the confection of the king of Leon, and Donna Frigida, who was abbes of the monastery before-mentioned.

Don Garcia Sanchez succeeded his father under the tuition of Donna Elvira his mother, and the protection of Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, his uncle. There is a general concurrence of the Spaniards writers to raise this young prince into a kind of miracle, with respect both to his person and his parts, but at the same time they are very much divided about his years, since most of them make him but nine, whereas we, following the other computation, esteem him then to have been about fourteen; the rather, because we find, that, on the 25th of May 1025, his mother died, and recommended him to the care of Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, who very soon after thought of marrying him. Besides, the person and the parts of a child of nine years old, though they may raise hopes, hardly excite admiration; whereas at fourteen, if he was really of such a superior genius, there is nothing absurd in supposing, that it might be discerned and distinguished even by foreigners as well as his own subjects; and as this was actually the cafe, it serves greatly to fortify that notion. However, notwithstanding the pregnancy of his parts, and the respect due to his father's memory, there wanted not some among his subjects, who were willing to take the advantage of his youth, and to disturb the peace of his dominions. The chief of these was Don Ferdinand Gutierrez, who made himself master of the castle of Moncon, and is reported to have had some connection with the infidels.

But Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, under colour of providing a proper match for his nephew, made a tour into Castile, and brought with him, by way of escorte, a considerable number of troops, with which, and the forces about the person of Don Garcia, he quickly reduced Don Ferdinand, and some other great men, to reason. This and some other affairs requiring his presence, Don Garcia, who was inclined to shew his passion for the princes Donna Sancha, proceeded, with a few Castilian noblemen that were about him, to Leon, which circumstance is omitted by Ferreras, though there is nothing in it improbable, and it seems to account for the absence of Don Bermudo from his capital, which could hardly have happened, if his intended brother-in-law had not arrived there before he was expected. This eagerness of his seems also to confirm our opinion as to his age, since it is natural enough in a young man of twenty, but not altogether so probable of a boy of fourteen. Upon his entrance into the kingdom of Leon, the three counts of the family of Vela made great demonstra-

1 Rodricus Sancti Hist. Hispan. P. iii. 
2 Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. 
3 Luc. Tudenis Chronicon, Vasaeri Chronicon. 
4 Mariana, Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. 
5 Ferr. Historia de Espana, P. iv. 
6 Materiae Turquet, Historia genera de Espanja, lib. vii. 
7 Chron. var. antiqu. 
8 Rod. Sancti Hist. Hispana, P. iii. 
9 Rod. Tudenis, Chron. Vasaeri Histae Chronon.

(1) This monastery of Oña, in which Don Sanchez and his family are interred, was of his own foundation, at the desire of his daughter Donna Frigida, who chose to quit the world and to embrace a monastic life, in the year of our Lord 1011, that is, about seven years after the decease of his father (5). Some historians indeed are very positive that he founded this religious house upon a very different occasion, and with an intention to aone for the putting of his mother to death, a circumstance capable of putting that fault all out of doubt; for, if that monastery was not built till the time before mentioned, and that he had a daughter of age to take the veil, we cannot but believe him near forty years of age, which does not very well agree with the wantonness affixed to his mother, who, loosing all the names by which she was called in other parts of the history, is now said to have no other name than Oña (6). The tomb of the count is near the high altar; not far from it stands that of his own wife Donna Urraca, who died three years after him (7); and, at no great distance, that of his son Don Garcia, whom the monumental inscription is said to make no more than thirteen (8); which agrees but very indifferently with the facts mentioned of him in history, and yet is far more reconcilable to them than the computation of a French historian, who makes him but nine. (9). It must be acknowledged, that even the best historians differ about the year in which Don Sanchez died, (1), and about the time that his son survived him; but the chronology of Ferreras being probable, free from all absurdity, and at least as well supported as any other, we thought ourselves obliged to follow it for the sake of perpictity (2).

5 P. Marca, in Appendix. 
6 Mariana, Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. cap. 11. 
7 Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v. febr. xi. 
8 Maralen, Salaman. 
9 P. Orlandi, Reales. de Espana. 
11 Histoire de Espana, p. v. febr. xi.
The History of Castile.

The author concludes that, if we consider, that the eldest of them was his godfather, and might very well pretend an inclination to be reconciled to make his peace with a prince, whose father he had acknowledged for his sovereign. This will still be the more probable, if what some historians say be true, that he gained the opportunity of flabbing him, by pretending to kneel to kiss his hand. The circumstances of the murder he have given before, on account of its being committed at Leon; but we are constrained to mention it here again, as this unfortunate prince was the last count of Castile of his race. His corpse was first interred in the church of St. Isabell at Leon, where a tomb was erected to his memory, but it was afterwards removed to the monastery of Ona, where there is both a tomb and an inscription to his honour.

b Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, who had married his elder sister, took possession of Castile, in her right (1). The reader will perceive, from what has been related, the reason why the affinities of Don Garcia made choice of the count of Montaf for their retreat, because it belonged of right to Don Ferdinand Gutierrez, who might be inclined, upon the death of the count, to excite new troubles; and lying near the territories of the Moors, might afford them an opportunity of contributing by their assistance to raise new troubles. In all probability this scheme might have succeeded, if Don Sanchez had been in his own kingdom, and the malecontents in Castile more at liberty; but, as it was, the king presently invested the count, and took it, before either the discontented Castilians or the Moors had any time to discover their inclinations. However, his vigour in purging, and his severity in punishing, the counts of la Vela and their adherents, of whom not one escaped, could not but be pleasing to the bulk of the Castilians, who retained a just respect for the memory of their young prince and his father, and might very probably contribute to that facility with which he was admitted to the possession of that noble country, in which it does not appear that he met with the least opposition.

c Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, and count of Castile in his wife's right, was very justly furnished with the sword and mantle of a prince. He was advanced in years when he made this great acquisition; and, that he might govern both countries with equal convenience, he fixed on the pleasant town of Najara in Old Castile, but near the frontiers of Navarre, for the place of his residence, and applied himself with diligence to conciliate the love and esteem of his new subjects, though Mariana alleges, that his heart was entirely taken up with his ambition, and that, from the moment he had joined Castile to Navarre, he had in his intention the annexing Leon, Galicia, and Asturias, likewise; and to this alone he attributes the war between him and Don Bermude III. whereas Ferreras and other writers seem to lay the blame of that affair upon the young king of Leon. In all probability the want of proper lights on both sides has occasioned this difference; though, to lay the truth, probability seems rather to be on the side of Mariana. The source of that war

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(1) As far as any thing can be known with certainty in relation to the ancient form of government in these states, that role out of the ruins of the old Gothic monarchy, the rule in Castile was that of succession. The counts were originally equal; and what were their private estates in the days of King Redivir, became so many lordships or principalities, when themselves and their vassals defended them with their swords against the Moors (1). It is also clear from their history, if any thing is so, that these lordships defended to heirs female (2). As to the pre-eminence of this family, not to lay any weight on the fabulous history, it arose plainly from the active ambition of Don Ferdinand Gonzalez, who, as count of Castile, rendered himself independent; and the rest of the lords by afflating, or at least acquiescing, under what he did, and which he could not have done without them, from being his equals, became his vassals (3). In his line the succession was without all doubt hereditary; and in this light the claim of the king of Navarre, in right of his wife, the eldest daughter of Don Sanchez, the grand daughter of Don Ferdinand Gonzalez, and the filler of the young count Garcia, was regular and just (4). It may be, however, that the troops he had brought with him into Castile might contribute to prevent any opposition on the part of the nobles, and that signal severity with which he had punished the affinities of his late prince, recommended him highly to the people (5). It is however asserted, that his queen, Donna Nauza, induced that she had a power to dispose of this country which she brought, in favour of which her parts she pleased (6); and it was in virtue of this, that it was given to Don Ferdinand; but as to the motives upon which it was thus bestowed, as derived from the story told in the text, we ought to consider them as false and flagrant, and such as were never heard of till above one hundred years after the decease of that great prince, whose memory has been aspered by them, when, in fact, she was governed in her choice merely by her maternal affection (7).

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was the king of Navarre's ordering the city of Valenti a to be rebuilt, on account of a miracle which happened to him near that place; for as he was hunting the wild boar, the beast ran suddenly into the wood, and took shelter in a subterraneous place, to which the king immediately followed: but, as he lifted his arm to strike the boar, he found it without motion, and soon after perceived an altar and the statue of St. Anthony; upon which he made a vow, that if, through the intercession of that saint, the use of his arm was restored, he would build a church upon that spot in honour of that saint; and being afterwards informed, that this subterraneous place made part of the ruins of the ancient Valenti a, it made him so much the more eager to perform his vow. But it seems Don Bermudo either did not credit the miracle, or did not apprehend the piety of inciting others to do other peoples rights in order to perform a vow; for Valenta now is, and it may be presumed was then, esteemed to lie within the dominions of Leon. Moriana indeed cuts the matter short, and, without taking any notice of Don Bermudo's resentment, affirms the war to the king of Navarre's invading Leon with a formidable army, and making the conquest of a considerable tract of country, before Don Bermudo, who had no suspicion of his design, was in any condition to oppose him. Be that as it will, it seems that the king of Navarre had a better interest in the clergy than his antagonist: for it was clearly by their influence over the peoples minds, that Don Bermudo was forced to make a peace, and to yield a considerable district by way of dowry to his father, who married Don Ferdinand, the second son of Don Sanchez, who thereupon, with the consent of both monarchs, took the title of king, instead of count of Castile; and the cession made to him of this country by his father seems to be the only point of the treaty that was in reality acceptable to Don Bermudo, as it freed him in some measure from the apprehensions he was under in having a monarch of Navarre for his neighbour.

We may consider, from what has been related, so just an idea of the motives which engaged the king of Navarre to bestow Castile upon Don Ferdinand his second son, that there can be no reason for having recourse to that very strange and incredible story, which, moved by the credit of Don Roderic, archbishop of Toledo, most of the Spanish writers have inferred as truth. The substance of this story is, that while this great monarch was engaged in the war against the Moors, his eldest son, Don Garcia, piqued at his mother's rejecting him a horse, upon Don Pedro I's representing to her, that the king would be displeased with her, gave the king an account, that his mother and Don Pedro lived together in adultery; upon this Don Sanchez returned from his expedition, cau ed the matter to be examined by the states, who, upon the testimony of Don Garcia, condemned the queen to be burned alive. Don Ferdinand it seems was passive in this business; but Don Ramiro, who was the king's natural son by Donna Caya, a lady of the court, undertook the queen's defence, and offered to fight with her in support of her innocence. But, before the day of trial could be fixed, a certain hermit prevailed upon Don Garcia to own the accusation false, and to declare the true grounds of it. The queen being upon this fet at liberty, defied that Castile, which was her patrimony, might not be given to Don Garcia, but to her second son Ferdinand; and that Ramiro, who had so generously flaked his life in her quarrel, might be rewarded with the kingdom of Arazon; which requests, say they, were complied with; and Don Garcia also made a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to obtain abjuration from the holy father for becoming the false accuser of his mother. The whole has been so clearly refuted by a great writer, that we should not have mentioned it, but for the sake of giving the reader a hint whence many of these ridiculous fictions arose.

The truth is, that, after beftowing on his son Don Ferdinand the country of Castile, the good old king took care to make many regulations that were equally wise and popular, with a view of gaining to his sons the affections of his new subjects; such as directing, that a new road should be made through Navarre and Castile, for the convenience of such pilgrims as went to St. James at Compostella, repairing the principal places on the frontiers, that the Moors might not be able to enter, as formerly they had done, with impunity, and contriving to bring the inhabitants into the places that he had either founded or rebuilt; which accounts so well for the time he lived after this transacti on, that we have no need of supposing a war with the infidels, of which there is nothing said in the best authors, purely to fill it up. Authors are very far from being agreed, either as to the time or manner of his death. Ferreras seems to be in the right as to the former, and therefore we have followed him; but, with regard to the latter, he is silent; however, some writers attest that, going in pilgrimage to Oviedo with a small retinue, he fell into an ambuscade that was laid for him on the road; and, after following and long and
a glorious a reign, was basely and barbaraously murdered; which induced a suspicion, as sup-
posing the fact true it very well might, that some of the neighbouring princes, who were afraid of
his power, were concerned in this treacherous act.

If we consider how soon after the death of this monarch, Don Bemudo, the third, king of
Leon, entered the country of Castile with an army so much superior to that of the king Don
Ferdinand, that, though he was a prince of great courage and spirit, he judged it not at all
for his best interest to hazard the whole of his dominions by a battle in the first campaign, we may
come to some reason of futility, that he was not ignorant of that detestable design, or at least that he
drew the same advantages from it as if he had been in the secret; but if he was, he quickly re-
ceived the just reward of so black a contrivance, as the reader has seen at the close of the last sec-
tion; for being, as we have there shewn, killed in battle, Don Ferdinand not only recovered the
country that he had taken from him, but succeeded likewise to the kingdom of Leon in right of
his queen Donna Sancha, by which he became the most powerful of all the Christian princes in
Spain. It is true that the Galitians gave him some trouble when he first entered into pos-
session of that kingdom (K), but this was quickly over; and these people, as well as the inhab-
itants of Leon and Asturias, very soon found that it was their interest to submit to a monarch
whom Castile was again united to their crown; and consequentlv their security as well as their
grandeur visibly increased. On the other hand, if they had proceeded to a new election, this
must have produced a war, the event of which was uncertain, and a civil war too, of
which this country must have been the seat; besides, when they came to consider this, they
could find none more fit to wear the crown of Leon than the husband of Donna Sancha, the
sole heir of that glorious race of kings, who, by their valour and virtue, had preferred the
Goths from being extirpated, and were left the principal authors of the progress which the
Christians had already made towards the recovery of all Spain. We need not wonder therefore
that Don Ferdinand met with so little resistance, or that those, who were inclined to oppose
him, were so splendidly supported.

The civil divisions, the violent commotions, and frequent revolutions, in the kingdom of
Cordova, of which the reader has had an account in its proper place, having shaken that
which was by far the most considerable monarchy of the Moors to such a degree, that, except
an empty title of pre-eminence, it scarce preferred any thing more than the rest, there arose
almost as many sovereignties as there remained cities in their dominions; so that, notwithstanding
such as held them assumed the title of kings, yet we cannot, with any degree of justice, allow
very little district they possessed the title of a kingdom. Amongst those of which we shall
have occasion hereafter to speak, the most considerable was the king of Seville, next to the
king of Toledo, and in the third rank we may reckon the king of Huelva, though perhaps
the king of Saragossa might be thought to deserve it as well. As for the rest it will be time
enough to mention them as occasion requires.

At this juncture, that is, at the opening of the eleventh century, we may conceive the
A perfect of the state of Spain at the
beginning of the eleventh century.

(K) It will, in all probability, afford the reader some satisfation, if we enter a little into the reasons which
induced the inhabitants of Galicia to be so much more tractable upon this occasion, than any of the other
provinces of the kingdoms of Oviedo and Leon. It would appear rather an evasion than an answer, to
allege that they were always mutinous, or to appeal to his own observation, that there were more insurrections
here than in any other part of Christian Spain, and in many crowded within those realms (1). The real cause was, that they differentiated their situation as a province, and were desirous of
becoming a separate state. The source of this desire was, their being richer and in better circumstances; for Gal-
icia, though but one hundred and fifty miles in length, has near three hundred miles of coast, being washed by
the ocean on the north, and on the west has more, and those too better parts than any other part of Spain; which
drew thither a very considerable trade, even in those times (2). The country in itself is also fruitful,
pleasant, populous, and excessively whitened by the ressort of strangers from all parts of Europe, by land as
well as sea, to the tomb of St. James at Compostella, the very bishops of which city lived in those days with
splendor, and in their power fell little short of princes. These circumstances rendered this country
almost at all times a seat of faction, and inspired its inhabitants with a restless passion for a prince and court
of their own; and, in all probability, it was a prospect of arriving at this, whenever a favourable opportunity
should offer, with the assistance of the Moors, that induced count Sifonand to take shelter amongst the infidels,
rather than submit himself to a prince, who, independent of all his different claims, had as much per-
fonsal merit as might have intitled him to dominions even superior to those which he possessed. We shall
see, that this wise and prudent prince concluded it, at length, the most effectual way to render these people
loyal to his policy, to gratify them in this favour, which expedition however was not attended with suc-
cesses (3).

(3) See in the course of this history the fates of Don Garcia, king of Galicia.

MOD. Hist. Vol. VII. 8 A Were
were happy in having allies of their own religion and temper at their back; but in this the Christians seemed to be more fortunate, as they had no feud between them, but might at any time receive whatever supplies were sent, or whatever auxiliaries were hired without the bounds of France; whereas the Moors had the Mediterranean between them and their countrymen in Africa. The dependence of both upon these foreign succours was alike precarious, as being equally unwilling to invite, and equally inclined to grow jealous of such auxiliaries. In point of wealth, and real power by land and sea, the Moors were much superior; but this was more than balanced by the Christians being better connected. The kings of Leon, Navarre, Sobrarbe, and Aragon, were all brothers, and the count of Barcelona nearly allied to them; which, though it did not restrain them from quarrels, or even from wars, yet it hindered them from being pursued with rancour, or for any length of time. We may add to this another great advantage, which was the rough mountainous countries in their possession; such as Asturias, Biscay, Navarre, Guipuscoa, and even part of Old Castile; where a sharp clear air, a soil not over fertile, and the continual labour necessary to their subsistence, furnished them with convenient supplies of men naturally hardy and robust, and consequently very capable of undergoing the fatigues of war. Whereas the Moors, though naturally more indolentious, enjoying a warmer climate, provinces abundantly more fertile, and having likewise the benefit of foreign trade, were, generally speaking, rich, luxurious, and vehemently addicted to sensual pleasures; circumstances that gradually made way for their destruction, and had already brought most of their principalities to decline.

These few general remarks will be of singular use towards understanding the following sections, in which we are to describe the contentsions between these people, the ebbs and flows of their respective power, the ues both fides made of their advantages on certain occasions, and their neglect of them on others; with those accidents that in a course of years made such defects irreparable on one side, as might have been easily corrected if they had been seen in time, and threw no much weight into the scale of the other, as enabled them at last to oppress their antagonists with a superiority of force, that could be only restored so long as it was by despair, and that spirit of knight-errantry, which made men in love with danger, through an overweening fondness of praise; and which did not long survive those gallant infields among whom it was bred and cherished, and of whose vast efforts it was the sole support.

S E C T. VI.

The history of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, from their first conjunction in the person of Ferdinand the first, to their perpetual union in that of Ferdinand the second.

A L L the authors of Spanish history, ancient and modern agree, that few princes have been blest with greater talents, or the value of these left abated by vices, than him of whom we are going to speak, Don Ferdinand*, the first of Leon, and the second of Castile. It may perhaps pass for a kind of proof of this, that, for almost seven years after he came into the possession of Leon, we find little or nothing undertaken by him, that could be properly the subject of history. He very well knew, that the acquisition of a kingdom was sometimes less difficult than the keeping of it. He perceived that the bulk of his subjects were dissatisfied with the change of masters; and that though he had been very sparing of blood in the reduction of Galicia, yet he held that province rather by conquest than by any other title*, than which nothing could be more disagreeable to a prince of his disposition. He found it requisite therefore to spend a great deal of time in correcting gradually these mistakes, and recovering his subjects from all their prejudices and prepossession. He spoke always with great clearness of the rights of the queen, and never permitted any claim to be mentioned but that of her descent*. He visited all the provinces, and indeed almost every great town, cared for the nobility exceedingly, paid a profound respect to the clergy, but made it a part of that respect to see that such were severely punished as were a disgrace to their order. He prosecuted his predecessor's plan of redressing grievances with indefatigable diligence; and, by enlarging the privileges of the people in Galicia, he in a great measure acquired their affection, and lifted the power of their nobility by increasing their number. He took left care of the frontiers of his hereditary crown of Castile than his predecessors had done; but he kept up greater garrisons, and by that means covered his territories in a great measure, and yet not so thoroughly, but

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Chap. i.  

The history of Leon and Castile.

a that the Moors 4 had sometimes opportunities of making incursions, which they were sure not to neglect, and which did not answer theirs better than it did the king’s purpose.

When he saw the interior of his dominions in perfect order, his subjects well united and unanimously well affected to his person and government, he began to applaud the conduct of his father-in-law Don Alphonso the fifth, who had rightly distinguished between the having no frontier, and the being obliged to defend one of a large extent; to avoid both which inconveniences, the only method was to follow his plan, and, by recovering the lost part of that country, now called Portugal, to arrive at natural boundaries of mountains and rivers, with plains of almas. —

b A.D. 1047.

Another expedition, the Moors being taken, was immediately carried into execution, and he marched with a very numerous army directly towards Zamora. The fortress of Xena was the first place of strength that lay in his way, which he caused to be carried by assault, in which the greatest part of the garrison were put to the sword, and the rest made slaves. This had the effect he expected from it; all the little places in the neighbourhood surrendered on the first summons; so that he met with no farther opposition till he came to Pipo, which was naturally strong, had been fortified with great care, was defended by a numerous garrison, and had in it besides almost all the rich people of the adjacent provinces, who had fled thither with their best effects.

c Don Ferdinand acted with caution; he caused the place to be battered by his engines, that threw stones of a vast weight, for three weeks, and then caused a general assault to be given, by which he carried the town, notwithstanding an obstinate defence. Here, amongst other prisoners, a cross-bow man was taken, who discharged the arrow by which Don Alphonso the fifth was killed. Don Ferdinand ordered his hands to be struck off, and some fray his feet also. 5

He pushed his conquest this campaign as far as the river Moña; and, having put good garrisons into the best places, he returned to Leon, and was received with loud acclamations, after such a series of conquests he did small a space 6 (A).

The very next year the king was in the field again. He had cast his eyes upon Coimbra or Co. Bezegues in

nimbra, and considered it as a place of great consequence to his design of forming a strong barrier; for which reason he resolved to reduce it with as little prejudice to the place as possible. Instead therefore of investing the city with his army, he contented himself with posting his troops in or Coimbra, and such a manner as hindered them from receiving provisions; and, after some months, drew nearer, and threw up lines round the place. The besieged acted with great courage and constancy, and at length tired the king so much, that he had thoughts of raising the siege; but the monks in a Christian convent at no great distance, prevailed upon him to proceed in his design, furnished him with provisions, and acquainted him with the enemy’s diffrays, by which at last the Moors were brought to capitulate, and were allowed to quit the place 7.

All the Spanish writers, however, ancient and modern, take the honour of so important a conquest both from the king and from the monks, to befell it upon St. James 8. It seems that count Sifienba had quitted the party of the Moors before the war began, reconciled himself to the king, who, in reward of his services, and as a mark of his favour, made


4 RODRIGUEZ Toletan Hispán. Arubam. 5 RODERIGUE SANTI História Hispán. P. iii. LUCEx Tuded. Chronicon. 6 RODERIGUE Toletan Hísp. Arubam. 7 LUCEx Tueden. Chron. 8 ALPHONSO Carthagena reg. Hisp. Auncaphelaeos TARIAN. de reg. Hispánia. var. antiqu. 9 LUCEx Tueden. Chron. (A) It is absolutely necessary that we should give the reader here some account of the chronology that we follow; because it differs from almost all the writers of Spanish history, except Ferreres. Some of the best old historians place the war between Don Ferdinand, king of Castile, and his brother Don Garcia king of Navarra, before the expeditions of the former against the infidels (1); but that is contrary to the order of time in which those events happened is evident from authorities more authentic than history. In the fifth place it is evident, from the canons made in the council of Canosa, that the war with the infidels was then over; and, as there are records, they ought undoubtedly to be decisive as to this point (2). It is no less clear from public monuments, mentioned in particular histories of Navarre, that the death of their king Don Garcia did not happen till the fourth year after that council (3). Mariano, though he was far enough from being exact in point of chronology, was aware of this, and has accordingly placed the conquests made from the Moors before the sultan with the king of Navarre; notwithstanding which he has placed those conquests some years before they happened; and this, very probably, because he did not think it probable, that a prince (4) of Don Ferdinand’s active temper should, in the beginning of his reign, spend so many years in peace; and therefore he places all those futile regulations, mentioned in the text, some years later than they really happened (5). But we hope the reader finds them here in their natural order, from whence many advantages arise; and, whether chronology in either of its forms or fables, the facts related will appear either contradictory or perplexed, though ever so elegantly related; if essential a thing is true, and if impracticable it is rendered history pleasing without it.

The history of Leon and Castile.

Book XXIII.

him governor of this city; in which office he acquitted himself with great reputation. The following year he swept the frontiers of his hereditary kingdom of Castile, demolished all the little fortresses the Moors had erected, drove them beyond the mountains, and established strong garrisons to cover each of the passes; but adhered to the old policy of Don Blayo, erecting no fortresses on this side, that the martial disposition of the Castilians might not be abated.

In his fourth campaign he ravaged all the country about Medina Celi, visited all his conquests, and, having enriched his army with plunder and slaves, returned in triumph to the city of Leon. The next spring, when he came to assemble his troops, he found them more numerous than they had been in any of his former expeditions, which induced him to invade the dominions of the king of Toledo, at this time one of the most powerful of the Moorish princes; and, after he harried and despoiled the open country, he met and besieged Alcalá; which, though a place of great strength, was at length reduced to such straits, that they sent to Almon, then king of Toledo, to inform him, that, if they were not speedily relieved, they must be obliged to surrender. That monarch, finding himself in no condition to oppose Don Ferdinand by force of arms, took the best part of the riches that were in his treasury, and, attended by a small guard, went directly to the Christian camp, and presented himself before the king, treating him to deft from hostilities against his subjects, offering to become his vassal, and pay him an annual tribute, and at the same time threw himself and the treasures he had at brought at the king’s feet. The principal officers in the army were of opinion, that this was only done to gain time, but Don Ferdinand was so touched with that prince’s distress, that he granted him all he desired, and retired with his troops into his own dominions. He proposed the next year to have carried the war into the territories of the Moorish king of Saragossa, of which the latter no sooner received intelligence, than he sent embassadors to offer the like submission that had been accepted from the king of Toledo, and thereby diverted the intended expedition. And of this vainglory he afterwards availed himself against another Christian potentate.

As the kingdom of Castile and Leon enjoyed at this time a profound peace, the king thought no time too proper for holding a general council, which he summoned at Gayancs, in which there was no legate from the pope present; and in which thirteen canons were made, most with respect to ecclesiastical, but some of them likewise respecting civil affairs. The year following his brother Don Garcia, king of Navarre, fell dangerously ill at Najara, on the frontiers of Castile, of which Don Ferdinand was no sooner informed, than he resolved to pay him a visit. He went thereto accordingly, and was received with all possible demonstrations of affection and respect. It seems, however, that two kings can never be long safe together in the same place; for, in a short space, he was informed, whether truly or not is a point historians have disputed, that his brother intended to secure his person; upon which, taking a hasty but civil leave, he retired into his own dominions, extremely nettled at this real or supposed injury. On the fifth of November, in the year of our Lord 1052, died the queen dowager Donna Elvira, widow of Don Alphonso the fifth, and mother of the queen Dona Santa; her body was interred in the dormitory of the royal family at Leon. The year following she deceased the old king of Toledo, and was succeeded by Ali Beymen, who seems to have remained tributary to Don Ferdinand, as his power was not in the least diminished, and as the Mohammedan princes were as far as ever from living upon good terms among themselves. These short scenes of mourning seemed to be the preludes of more afflicting calamities which quickly ensued, and which proved extremely fatal to the Christians in Spain, who were generally the authors of their own misfortunes.

Don Ferdinand, falling dangerously ill in the succeeding spring, his brother Don Garcia, to manifest an equal affection, came to see him; but the king, who could not forget the informations, true or false, that had been given him at Najara, though he received him at first with all the marks of joy and fraternal kindness possible, yet cauiled him to be soon after arrested, and sent prisoner to the castle of Cea, at that time the strongest place in his dominions. But notwithstanding the strictest injunctions possible were given for preventing either his escape, or his giving or receiving any intelligence; so it was, that he found the means of conveying an account of the usage he had met with to some persons whom he could trust in his own dominions, and whom he directed to be at a place appointed at a certain time. They came accordingly, and brought some of the fleets from Navarre for the king’s use; and he, by what contrivance


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Chap. 1.

a is unknown, was equally punctual, having found his way out of the castle in spite of all the care that could be taken. His flight was so sudden and unexpected, that he was safe in his own dominions by that time the news of it reached the ears of Don Ferdinand at Leon 5. The king foresaw the mischief that would attend this accident, and it may be, in his own mind disapproved that conduct he had purposed. However, when he heard that Don Garcia, with a great army, was on the point of invading Castile, he went thither in person and assembled another, superior in troops as well as in number; he was notwithstanding very defterous, if possible, to avoid effusion of blood; and, with this salutary view, sent some of the clergy, who were about him, to propose terms of accommodation to Don Garcia, offering at the same time whatever satisfaction he could derive, explaining the motives upon which he acted, and b offering to bury in silence all memory of either event 4. The chief of the nobility about Don Garcia, and such ecclesiastics as were most in his esteem, concurred with the ambassadours of Castile, and laboured to reconcile him to his brother. All persuasions were vain; Don Garcia's breast was wholly occupied by his resentment: he would hear no proposals, but obstinately persisted, that all disputes between them should be decided by a battle 5. Don Ferdinand did all he could to decline it, acted wholly on the defensive, and resolved not to fight, unless his brother was the aggressor.

Don Garcia, being informed of this, entered into the kingdom of Castile, and advanced directly towards Burgos; and notwithstanding Don Fortunio Sanchez, an antient nobleman, who had been his governor, laboured all he could to divert him, he fixed the first of September as the day of battle, about nine miles from Burgos. Don Ferdinand, who was much the better officer, ordered a corps of Castilian cavalry to charge the army of Navarre in flank, which they did with such success, that they penetrated to the north where Don Garcia commanded in person; and one Sanchez, a trooper, or, as antient history reports, an officer 4, to whom that monarch had formerly offered some insult, plunged his spear into his breast. The nobility about his person prevented his being taken, or wounded a second time; but that was of little consequence, since the stroke he had received was mortal. Inigo, abbot of Ona, came to him in his arms, afiilted him with his prayers in his last moments, and supported him till he expired 4. A column was afterwards erected in the place where he fell 5.

As this misfortune could not be concealed from the army, and as it affected the minds of the soldiers to such a degree that they lost all courage, the dispute was soon at an end, and the flight became general. Don Ferdinand would not suffer his troops to pursue; but, perceiving a large body of Mohammedan auxiliaries, he caused them to be surrounded and cut to pieces, only their generals, being excellently well mounted, made their escape 4. The king made no use of a victory that he regretted; on the contrary, he suffered his brother's body to be interred in the monastery of St. Mary at Najara, which he had founded, with royal honours, and returned himself to Leon, not in triumph, but with all apparent marks of the most sincere grief 4.

We find in some historians 4, that this war was continued, and that the king, Don Ferdinand, a general council held in the apostolic church of St. James 4, availed himself of his superior army, to the prejudice of his nephew, the king of Navarre; but this is not supported by any of the antient authors 4, and may be presumed from thence a gross misrepresentation. Indeed the king of Leon and Castile seems to have been a monarch of great mildness and moderation, and who made no other use of his superior power than for the benefit and protection of his subjects, by preferring peace on every side; and, while that subsisted, letting slip no opportunities of improving the great cities, and encouraging his people to cultivate their advantage in their respective properties in all parts of his dominions. He A. D. 1055 removed the body of his father, Don Sanchez, from the monastery of Ona to the city of Leon 4, where, having made choice of the church of St. John Baptist, in compliance to his queen Donna Sanchea, by whose father, Don Alfonso the fifth, it was built for the place of his own sepulchre, he caused the old brick building to be pulled down, in order to rebuild it with stone 4, and with a degree of magnificence suitable to the power, and expressive of the piety of its founder. He caused a council 4 to be held the beginning of the year 1056, in the apostolic church (to the Spaniards title it) of St. James of Compostella, in which some canons were made for the support of the discipline of the church. Yet, notwithstanding this prudent and pacific behaviour, which it might have been presumed would have given all his neigh-

* Chron. var. antiqu.  1 ROMERICO TULENAX. DEB. HIPAN. LIB. VI. LUC. TUDENEN. CHRONICON.
% Chron. var. antiqu.  2 ROM. TOLEITAN. DE REBUS HIPAN. LIB. VI.
\* ANAL. COMPLUX. FERRERAS.
| Historia de Hipan, P. V. sef. XI.  3 B CHRON. VAR. ANTIQU.  ROMERICO SANTII HIPAN.
| HIPAN. P. III.  4 ALFONSII A CARthagena reg. Hipan. ANCEALPHAOSIS.
| FRANCISCI TARAPHE DE REG. HIPANIAE.  5 ROM.
| TOLEITAN. HIST. ARABUM.  6 ROMERICO TOLEITAN. DE REBUS HIPAN. L. VI.
| ROMERICO TOLEITAN. MARIANA, MAVENRI TURQUET, P. D' ORLEANI.
| CHRON. VAR. ANTIQU.  7 ROM. TOLEITAN. DE REBUS HIPAN. LIB. VI. LUC. TUDENAS. CHRON.
| ROM. TOLEITAN. DE REBUS HIPAN. LIB. VI. LUC. TUDENAS. CHRON. RODERICO SANTII HIPAN. P. III. ALFONSII A CARthagena reg. HIPAN. ANCEALPHAOSIS.
| CARD. D'AQUIRRE CONC. HIPAN. TOM. III. P. 199.

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S B
bours the utmost satisfaction, we find that Don García, king of Navarre, and Don Remiro, a king of Aragon, had an interview at the monastery of Leyre, under pretense of the dedication of the church, where they made a defensive league 1 for the reciprocal protection of their territories, in case either should be attacked by Don Ferdinand; who, it does not at all appear, meant them any disturbance, or took any umbrage at this precaution (B).

On the death of pope Nicholas the second there happened a schism; and one of the competitors, who took the title of Alexander the second, sent a legate into Spain, in order to derive all the help he could from that quarter. This may seem an immaterial point, but it is really a thing of great consequence; for this ecclesiastical was extremely offended with the old Gothic liturgy, and was for obliterating upon the Spaniards the Roman offices at once; with which, in their turn, they were equally displeased. At this juncture, indeed, there was nothing done in that matter, but it was this legate who laid the foundation of all that has been done since for, upon his return to Rome, he reported, that he believed the Spaniards could never be made good subjects to that see (and in that, no doubt, he was right) till the Gothic liturgy and their ancient usages were removed out of the way: and this being thoroughly comprehended, the indefatigable spirit of the church of Rome never suffered the government of Leon and Castile to be at peace, till they had got the better in this respect; which was not, however, till some years after, as will be shown in its proper place; and then it was in consequence of their having prevailed in other Spanish principalities before.

Let us now return from ecclesiastical civil history, and observe how strange consequences were of this legate's doctrine at the court of Leon, and how far, even under a wife and good prince, religious caprices operated upon the most important affairs of state.

The church of St. John the Baptist being finished, the queen Donna Sancho was deformed by enriching it, according to the superstitious humour of those times, with holy relics; and upon this there either came or was thrust into her head two virgins, St. Juana and St. Rufina, who were martyred, and whose bodies were interred at Seville. It was suggested, that the surest way of obtaining them was by force of arms. Upon this the ablest Spanish historians 2 boast of it to this day, Don Ferdinand made an irruption into the territories of Mohammed Alen Hakeb, king of Seville, without provocation, and without any Intimation of offence, murdered multitudes of Moors, drove vall numbers into slavery, and gave up the whole country to pillage, which brought the poor Mohammedians prince upon his knees 4 to Ferdinand, offering him all his treasures to ransom the bodies of his unhappy subjects, whom he wanted force to defend. The king of Leon and Castile insisted upon having the body of St. Juana taken up and sent to Leon, and that the Moorish monarch should do him homage and become his vassal. Mohammed submitted to all this very willingly and cheerfully. But when, some time after, three bishops and three counts came to Seville to demand the body of the saint, the poor king found himself in a very distressed condition, as not having the least knowledge where that saint was to be found. The Christian inhabitants professed themselves as ignorant as he 4. In the


(B) We are assured by Mariana, that Don Ferdinand was not so disinterested a prince as to ways to avail himself of this victory (1); but that he made himself master of Evrikos, the mountains of Oren, and so much of the country of Rioja as lay on that side of the river Oja next to Capiles; so that Don Sancho, the son of Don Garcia, had only Navarre, Biscay, the remaining part of the country of Rioja, Naraja, Logrones, and some other places left; and which is still more singular, he speaks of the countries now taken by Don Ferdinand, as if they had been the original caufe of the differences between the two brothers, in which he not only contradicts others but himself; and, indeed, the whole is incredible, because it is impossible. For if Don Ferdinand was desirous of professing himself of these countries, he would certainly have been the aggressor, which all historians agree he was not; and, on the other hand, that Don Garcia did not take up arms to recover those from his brother, is evident, from what Mariana says of their being taken from his son after his death. Upon the whole it is, perhaps, more than probable, that not only Mariana, but an ancient historian, in whom we also find something much to the same purpose, confounds the death of Don Garcia with that of his son Don Sancho, and speaks of what certainly happened after the death of the latter, as if it had fallen out upon the demise of the former; for thus much of the truth it must be acknowledged there is in the foregoing relation, that the countries therein mentioned were taken from Navarre, and annexed to Castile; but this happened many years after (2), upon a compromise between the kings of Leon and Aragon, at which time the river Ebro, into which the Oja falls, was made the common boundary of their dominions. (3) It is impossible, considering our plan, to discuss in this manner all the variations we have been obliged to make from the common manner in which the Spanish history has been flated in our language; but from a few influences we hope the candid reader will do us the justice to believe, that it is out of respect to proper authorities, and not out of an affection for singularities, that we are led to the same conduct in other places.

(1) Luis Tuyanos Chronicon. Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. (2) As the reader will find in the course of this history. (3) Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. viii. col. xi.
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Chap. i.

a midst of this perplexity, St. Isidore very kindly appeared to Alcitus, bishop of Leon, who was at the head of the embassy, and told him, it was not a proper time to remove the fairs of Juza and Rufina, but that they should take his body with them, and point out a cross to the place where it lay. This was accordingly done, and Alcitus himself dying in his return, both bodies were received with great reverence into Leon; the king, the queen, and a great number of the nobility going out a considerable distance to receive them; and the corps of St. Isidore being deposited in the new church of St. John the Baptist, has, in some measure, changed its name.

While the king Don Ferdinand was employed in the war against Seville, Don Ramiro, king of Aragon, with a formidable army, invaded the dominions of the Moorish prince of Saragossa, who, being tributary to the king of Leon, immediately sent embassadors to his capital to implore his assistance; they finding him absent, applied themselves to Don Sancho his son, who sent them instantly back to their master, deferring to himself to assemble all the troops he was able; and assuring him, that he would forthwith march with a strong body of forces to his relief, which he accordingly did. The Infant Don Sancho having for his lieutenant the famous Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid, no sooner joined the Moors than he proposed marching to give the king of Aragon battle, who, on his side, raised the siege of a town before which he lay, and marched to meet them. The little was long and bloody; but at length the victory declared on the side of the Infant, the unfortunate Don Ramiro being killed upon the spot, as most of the Spaniards writers agree; though there are some who affirm, that he died some time after in his bed; and there are also others who assert, that he was not only killed, but that his body fell into the hands of the infidels, who cauht it to be fed; the probability of which will be discussed in another place; at present it is sufficient to observe that the Infant Don Sancho, having relieved his father's vassal, returned with his victorious troops to Leon.

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(C) There is something very dark and difficult in this piece of history. Mariano (1), Poronelli (2), and most other writers, place the death of Don Ramiro four years later, that is, in the year 1067; and, upon that account, place the war in the reign of Don Ferdinand but of Don Sancho, which is not easy to comprehend, more especially as it appears from the monument of this prince, in the monastery of St. John of the Peña (3), that he died on the 5th of the ides of Mars, and also on the 5th of the day of the week; but upon examination this will be found not to agree with the year 1067, but with the year 1065, where it is placed in the text (4). The infant Don Sancho therefore must have commanded the troops of his father, which joined those of the Moorish prince of Saragossa, and with him went Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid, to whom this remarkable victory is in a great measure attributed. It is not a little strange, that not only this particular fact of the king's death, but the whole war has been represented as false and fictitious by some very good critics (5); notwithstanding which we must, if we agree with them, give up those rules that have been hitherto looked upon as the fault and blemish in judging of history, since we have contemporary writers who affirm it, and upon their authority it has been received by the bell historians of that country (7). Mariano, who, as we have before observed, places this event in the reign of Don Sancho, acquaints us, that it was looked on as an ill omen to his administration, that it began with the death of his uncle (8); but it is as probable, that this omen might be applied as well to his first campaign; for we can scarcely imagine, that the Infant Don Sancho had commanded in person before this time. There is little regard due to omens; but without doubt Don Ferdinand must conceive it a great misfortune, that two of his own brothers, and his wife's brother, should fall in the field by his arms; but, however, he might comfort himself with this, that in each of these actions they were the aggressors, and his forces only employed in the defence of his own subjects or of his allies. It is an inexcusable fault in Mariano notwithstanding, that he places the death of Don Ramiro four years later, to mention bulls directed to him by pope Gregory the Seventh, who was not elevated to that dignity till the year of our Lord 1073, which shews how very little attention he paid to chronology, which is indeed the capital fault in this history.

(1) Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.
(2) Resumen. Tempor. Suec. l. xix.
(3) P. Moret.
(4) Ferrovius Historia de Espana, p. v.
(5) P. Moret.
(6) Pedro de Letran de locho. Historiar.
(7) Lucar.
(8) Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.
to the council of Montae", which was held by pope Alexander II. where they produced the Gothic offices; and, upon perusal, the council unanimously declared, that they were orthodox and pious; so that they have this testimony of a learned council, with a pope at its head, in favour of their antient liturgy, if that could afford it any sanction. Some *, indeed, say, that the pope only approved the offices they sent, without suffering any to examine them but himself; and if so, then surely very little respect is paid to his decree, by those who speak so harshly of these venerable monuments of the doctrine and discipline of the truly catholic Christian church among the Goibs.

The Moorish kings of Toledo and Saragossa were not long before they took advantage of this impolitic division of the territories of the king Don Ferdinand, which, perhaps, they might attribute to the weakness and infirmities of old age, and from thence incline to hope they might be able to shake off the yoke and recover their independency. Yet how plausible soever these notions might be, they drew them into a haughty and fatal resolution. For having refused to pay their annual tribute *, Don Ferdinand assembled a numerous and well disciplined army, with which, before they suspected any such thing, he swept the frontiers of both kingdoms, wafting the country with fire and sword, and carrying multitudes into slavery 1. He advanced with his victorious army into the neighbourhood of Valencia, the suburbs of which city he burnt, and perhaps had done more, but finding himself indigested, and his disorder increasing, he thought it time to retreat, and accordingly returned to Leon in the beginning of winter. His health still declining, he caused himself to be carried into the church of St. Isidore, where he performed an act of public penance for his sins, and died the very next day 2, which was the twenty-seventh of September one thousand sixty-five. Besides his sons before-mentioned, he left behind him two daughters, to the elder of whom, Donna Urraca, he gave the city of Zamora, which he had strongly fortified, with other lands, and to the younger, Donna Elvira, Toro, and some other places by way of appendages, that they might live in a manner suitable to their high birth, and without being dependant upon any of their brethren.

Don Sancho, king of Castile, though he submitted to the disposition which his father had made, looked upon himself as extremely injured thereby, from an opinion, that priority of birth gave him a just title to all the three kingdoms; but so long as his mother Donna Sanchoa lived, he did not suffer his discontent to appear, because her title to Leon, the Asturias, Galicia, and Portugal, seemed clearer than his own, and he was perfectly satisfied that what the king had done was through her persuasion. He reigned therefore quietly at Burgos, and applied himself with indefatigable diligence to render the kingdom of Castile as flourishing as possible. But that princes dying 3 on the 7th of November in the following year, he found himself more at liberty, and perhaps would have discovered his real intention sooner, if he had not been involved in a war with the kings of Aragon and Navarre, both of his own name, which most writers place two years sooner, and in which, it is said, that he met with a total defeat. But as the causes and consequences of this war are very obscurely expressed, and as it is much more probable it happened after the death of Don Ferdinand, we have followed the example of Ferreras *, and placed it here, though we are not able to acquaint the reader in what manner it ended. It may be the confederate princes, satisfied with their victory, and believing they had done enough for the security of their own dominions, were willing to give an example of moderation in their own conduct; or it may be they differed between themselves, which hindered them from pursuing their successe farther. But whatever the motive was, this war came to a very speedy conclusion; and for any thing that appears in authentic historians, Don Sancho might have enjoyed the kingdom bestowed upon him by his father in quiet, if the turn of his own mind would have permitted it.

Don Alphonso, king of Leon, was a prince of a very humane and gentle disposition, in consequence of which he had stood highest in his mother’s favour, by whose counsels he was chiefly directed while she lived, and after her decease had great regard to the advice of his sisters, who were princesses of uncommon parts, and which was still more rare having nothing of jealousy or intrigue in their tempers. One of the first acts taken by this monarch after his accession was to conclude a treaty of marriage with a princess of England, whose name was Aguda, the daughter of William the first, surnamed the conqueror, whom he espoused by proxy, and who, in her passage to Spain, died at sea. Her corpse was landed in France, and interred in a monastery there. This misfortune was succeeded by another; for Don Sancho, King of Leon, invaded his dominions with a formidable army, notwithstanding that the two princesses his sire’s had laboured all that in them lay to prevent things from coming to extremities. Don Alphonso opposed him with troops superior in number, but not equal in courage, or at

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* Concill. tom. iv. p. 1179.  
** Chron. var. antiqu.  
* Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xxii.
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The battle was fought on the 10th of July, at a place called Lantada, in which Don Alphonso being defeated, fled to Leon, and made the best disposition he could there for his defence; but, through the interposition of the princes, a siege was prevented, and Don Sancho engaged to return for that year into his own dominions upon certain conditions; of which we have very indifferent accounts, and this probably because the agreement was now concluded did not last long.

While the realms of Castile and Leon were in such confusion, and the concern of their inhabitants turned upon each other, the arms of Don Garcia, king of Galicia, were in very little better condition. He had a favourite, to whom he confided without reserve the management of all his affairs: the chief of his nobility had represented to him frequently the ill-consequences of such a behaviour, and the bad use this man made of his unlimited authority; but as this had no effect, those great lords had recourse to rougher measures, and cut this insolent favourite to pieces, almost in the presence of his master; after which they thought fit to retire into the dominions of Leon, where they met with protection and favour. The reader has been informed, that the inhabitants of Galicia were of a very mutinous disposition; and besides this, which is indeed a sufficient proof, there happened another in that country within a few months; for Gudexo, bishop of Compostella, having some disputes about the rights of his church with Don Froila, a nobleman of great authority, and his near relation, the latter found means to enter the apartments of the prelate when in his bed and fast asleep, and stabbed him to the heart with his dagger; notwithstanding which, the government was in such confusion, that for any thing that appears in history, he escaped with impunity.

The peace between Don Sancho, king of Castile, and his brother Don Alphonso, king of Leon, had been with difficulty prolonged for somewhat more than a year, when Don Sancho had again recourse to arms, without pretending any other motive than that of deposing Don Alphonso of his territories. The latter had assembled a numerous and well-disciplined army, towards which his brother Don Garcia contributed, by sending him a considerable body of auxiliaries. The two armies met and fought on the fourteenth of July; when, after a long and bloody dispute, Don Alphonso remained victorious. If he had pursued his advantage, he might very probably have put an end to the war; but the mildness of his nature, and his unwillingness to shed the blood of his father's subjects, restrained him. Don Sancho had with him the Cid, who rallied his army, and encamped not far from the field of battle. He afterwards prevailed both upon the king and the troops to fall upon the victorious army about an hour beyond midnight; and taking them by surprise, it was rather a slaughter than a fight, since they met with little or no resistance. The king Don Alphonso mounted the first horse he could find, and fled to the first church, which was that of St. Mary de Carrion; but Don Sancho pursued him with such agility, that he was presently taken, and sent prisoner under a strong guard of horse to Burgos.

The princes, Donna Urraca and Donna Elvira, upon Don Sancho's coming to Leon, obliged to abdicate in behalf of their unfortunate brother, and were very earnest in persuading the count to accept the crown, by Don Froila, monk, and retire to the abbey of Sabagon, who, however hard and inglorious, Don Alphonso was forced to accept, and is said to have taken a religious habit in the house before-mentioned; but an historian, who lived near those times, tells us, that Don Sancho inflicted only upon his quitting his dominions, and laying aside the royal title (D). However that may be, Don Sancho found no great opposition in affublish-

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(D) As it contributes not a little to enlighten history, when we have the character of the principal persons mentioned in them drawn with fidelity and judgment, it may not be amiss to chierve here, that Don Pelbas, bishop of Oviedo, tells (1) us of Lunsancho, that in his father's life-time he drew the respect and veneration of the people by the many beauty of his person, which, though considerably beyond the common size, was perfectly well proportioned. His countenance was open and pleasant, his air majestic, active and full of address in martial exercises, and he had such uncommon vigour, that he derived from thence the surname of Don Sancho the strong. He was very brave, and in his own nature generous and beneficent; but he had one great foible, which was, that he loved praise, and them from whom he received it. Martens (4) says, that quarrels had arisen between Don Alphonso and Don Garcia before Don Sancho made his first irruption into Leon. The archbishop of Tolede (3) affirms positively, that Don Sancho spared his brother's life upon no other terms.


(2) Hystoria general de Espana, lib. ix.

(3) De reb. Hispian.

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effecting himself on the throne of Leon; and, indeed, in the situation things were then in, it was not a great wonder. As ambition excludes content, so Don Sande could reap no joy in the possession of his brother's crown, while there was yet a claim upon the head of another; and therefore as soon as the people of Leon had submitted and sworn allegiance to him, and he had received large reinforcements from Castile, he entered Galicia with his victorious army. If the people had been in any degree united, his conquest might have been at least disputed; but their want of a good understanding with their sovereign and each other, disabled them from making any considerable resistance; and the favor with which Don Sande treated all who opposed him, was another circumstance that facilitated his conquest. As for Don Garcia, his chief care was to avoid falling into his hands, and therefore, as soon as he found his affairs desperate, he threw himself, with such as remained firm to him under his misfortunes, who were but a few, into the dominions of the king of Seville, who, by the conquest of Cordova and Murcia, was become the most considerable of the Moabite monarchs in Spain, by whom he was very kindly received, and honourably protected.

While Don Sande was employed in the conquest of Galicia, Don Alphonso was contriving how to recover his liberty, and to escape out of the monastery in which he was confined into the dominions of some foreign prince. He found means to inform the prince of his intentions; and Donna Urraca prevailed upon three lords of the family of Aljures, to run the hazard of facilitating his escape. They accordingly supplied him with horses; and, having drawn him safely out of the monastery, conducted him with the utmost expedition to Toledo. He acquainted Ali Maynon, who was then king, with the situation of his affairs, and the reasons he had to have recourse to his protection. That monarch not only promised him all he asked, but provided for him, and those who retorted to him, with royal bounty; and, as he knew that he was extremely fond of hunting, he assigned him a district where he might enjoy that diversion, and where none were allowed to hunt but Christians. The sweetness of Don Alphonso's temper prevailed so much upon his protector, that he visited him almost every day, and they lived together in the most strict and intimate friendship. Don Sande, at his return to Leon, quickly gave his sisters reason to believe, that he refrained in a very high degree their attachment to Don Alphonso, by signifying to them, that, having now united his father's dominions, it

A.D. 1072.

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A was no longer require that they should remain in the toasts in which he had given them; but, upon their resigning these into his hands, he would assign them a maintenance suitable to their rank. They represented to him in vain how unworthy it was of so great a prince to think of oppressing two feeble women, and those too of his own blood. However, they called together their valets, and acquainted them with the king's intention, whose haughty, morose, and cruel temper, having rendered him universally obnoxious, those, who depended upon the princes, dreading nothing so much as to become his subjects, freely offered to defend the places of which they were possesed to the utmost extremity; and this proposition being accepted, they took their measures accordingly.

The king was exceedingly provoked at this conduct, which he did not expect; but, on the contrary supposed, that their valets would either have prevailed upon them to submit, or provided for their own safety by submitting themselves. As soon as he found himself deceived in that hope, he assembled a very numerous army, which he commanded in person, and had for his lieutenant general Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid. He first attacked Toro, which belonged to Donna Elvira, and took it rather by the flame than the force of his army, which pleased him exceedingly, and gave him great reason to hope, that he should find his next expedition attended with little difficulty. But he very quickly found the contrary; Donna Urraca had flouted herself up in Zamora, which was very well fortified, and had a numerous garrison, whom he could not intimidate by menace, and by whom his troops were repulsed with great loss in several assaults.

There was a nobleman in the town, Don Abris Gonzalez, A D. 1077, who acted as general and prime minister for the princess Urraca, and he acted so well in both capacities, that the troops did their duty with spirit, and were well supplied from the magazines with every thing they did want; so that at length the king of Leon, notwithstanding the superiority of his forces, found himself obliged to retire to a greater distance, and to turn his siege into a blockade. This appeared to be a certain method of reducing the place; for as they had no succours to expect, so famine within the town would quickly bring them into greater distress than was in the power of an army without; and, indeed, all things considered, Donna Urraca and her subjects had great reason to look upon their condition as desperate.

It was not long before some in the town began to think it so, and to communicate their thoughts to their neighbours, who producing a kind of general murmur, a council was called by the townsmen to know whether they should not demand a capitulation. After some very warm debates, one Ataulphus stood up, and affixed them, that if they would have a little patience, he would undertake to deliver the place. Upon this the council broke up, and Ataulphus, at his own request, was permitted to go out of the city; he proceeded directly to the camp of the king of Leon, and having asked and obtained a private audience, he gave him an account of the council that had been held, affixed him, that he was the only person who proposed a surrender; upon which they fairly turned him out of the town. At this he expressed great resentment, telling him, that if he would advance with a party of horse near the place, he would discover to him a peril that might be easily forced; and the city taken by storm. The king was extremely pleased with this intelligence, and at the request of him who gave it, kept it a secret from his officers. A few days after he advanced with a part of his cavalry, and when they were within sight of the walls, Ataulphus told the king, if he would dilate him would he show him the place, and him only. He readily complied with his request, but had not gone far before he found it necessary to escape himself; and while he was behind a bush for this purpose, Ataulphus struck him through the body with his javelin, and leaving him swimming in his own blood, made his escape. Thus fell the ambitious Don Sancho, king of Leon, Castile, and Galicia, on the fifth of October one thousand seventy two, when he had reigned almost seven years. The greatest part of his army separated immediately on the news of the king's death; but the Castilian troops retired in good order, carrying his corpse with them, which they caused to be interred with royal honour in the moat.

The

[Notes and footnotes]

(1) As singular and as extraordinary as the circumstances of Don Sancho's death may appear in the text, they might have been rendered out of comparison more wonderful, if we had paid any regard to what modern historians have made no scruple of inferring in their works upon this occasion (1). According to them,
The first care of Donna Urraca, when the blockade was raised, was to dispatch an express to Toledo, to desire Don Alphonso to make all the dispatch imaginable in repairing to Zamora. When he communicated this intelligence to those who were about him, they unanimously dissuaded him from acquainting the Moorish prince, from an apprehension that he would not suffer him to depart. Their arguments had no effect upon Don Alphonso. He said, that princes might indeed be justified from policy in dealing artificially with each other, but that such a behaviour was inexcusable between friends. He went therefore to Ali-Meymon, preferr’d to him his sifter’s letters, and desired his permission to return into his own dominions. That monarch received him with all imaginable kindness, concealing his own intelligence which was very near as early as Don Alphonso’s, he gave him the strongest assurances, that his pleasure was not greater than his own, and, having gently put him in mind of the kindneisses he had done him, requstted a continuance of his friendship towards himself and his eldest son Hifisun; which Don Alphonso having promised in the most solemn terms, he dismissed him with all imaginable marks of esteem, and under the efort of a strong party of horse, by whom he was safely conducted to Zamora, where he was received with all possible testimonys of affection and duty, as well as with the greatest tendernes, by the princeis Donna Urraca, to whose firmness and fidelity he owed his restoration.

The principal nobility of Leon and Galicia repaired very cheerfully to Zamora to congratulate Don Alphonso upon this happy turn in his affairs, and to assure him of their fidelity. The Capitlanis, however, were not altogether so happy, but they acted with as much prudence, and perhaps with more dignity; for after some deliberation they sent deputies to Don Alphonso to acquaint them that they were willing to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and were for this reason dehous of his presence as Burgos; but knowing, as he did, that their late king fell by the hand of a traitor, they expected he should purge himself by oath of all privity or participation in that action. Don Alphonso readily accepted the crown on this condition, and went to Burgos as he was desired; but when it came to the issue, none of the Capitlan nobility had courage enough to require the king’s oath. At length Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid, administered it, which was certainly very laudable; but not contented with this, he obliged the king to repeat it twice more, which he did, but resented it so much, that Don Rodrigo could never after recover his good graces. This being over, the king took possession of the government, to the greater joy and with the general satisfaction of the Capitlanis.

As soon as the news of Don Sancho’s death, and Don Alphonso’s being quietly admitted to the succession, reached Seville, Don Garcia subjected the Moorish monarch, with whom he had taken shelter, to permit him to return into his own dominions, which he did with great readiness. What reception he met with from his subjects, or how he behaved towards them, we cannot with any certainty affirm. It is as little in our power, and therefore as little in our will, to suggest, that he meant to give his brother any disturbance. Ferreras, indeed, says it, but without proof; and we must not supply facts to support characters. Don Alphonso, being informed of his refusing the government in Galicia, invited him to a conference; upon which he very readily came to Leon, and though at first received with all outward testimonys of kindness, was in a short time arrested by the advice of Donna Urraca, and sent prisoner to the castle of Luna, where he spent the remainder of his days.

It is alleged, that he was of a mutable and yet of a violent temper, which obliged his brother to have recourse to this method of treating him for his own security. We
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a write the history and not the apologies of princes: the reader will judge of this action for himself; but certain it is, that the more antient historians are not so complaiant to the memory of Don Alphonso in this particular as the moderns*. We pretend not to determine the controversy, but we fairly report the facts. Their king being a prisoner, the Galicians readily and perhaps willingly submitted to Don Alphonso, who thus united once more the dominions of his father, and became master of Castile, Leon, and Galicia*.

The divisions among Christian princes were the true source of the papal power, which began now to extend itself in Spain. Don Alphonso found the Roman service introduced in the neighbouring kingdom of Aragon, and the emnifiaries of the pope used all their arts to engage the king's inclination to have it introduced also throughout his dominions. Gregory the seventh had succeeded Alexander the second; and having received some complaints of the behaviour of his legates in the other principalities of Spain, he made choice of cardinal Hugo, surnamed the White, to repair these mistakes, and sent him with special recommendations to the court of Leon, with instructions no doubt to make himself as agreeable there as he possibly could. He proved an active and an able minister, as appeared from his success; for after a short stay he prevailed upon the king to suffer his ambassadors to accompany him to Rome, to assure the holy father of his obedience, and to solicit the establishment of the Roman offices in all the churches throughout his territories; and this notwithstanding his predecessor had declared, that there was nothing in the Gothic liturgies but what was perfectly agreeable to the orthodox doctrines of the catholic church; so that what the king now asked as a favour to himself and subjueets, was in reality a favour only to the Roman pontif; and having thus explained from their own historians*, and without the least exaggeration, the manner in which this objection of this church and state to the fee of Rome was obtained, we will return to what is more immediately our province.

Don Alphonso had once been married without ever seeing his wife, and believing that the safety of himself and subjueets depended in a great measure upon his leaving povertie, he judged it high time to think of a second marriage; to which it may be he was instigated allyo by the legates. The lady upon whom he cast his eyes, or rather who was recommended to him, was Donna Agnes, daughter of the duke of Guene, and count of Poitiers, and their marriage was quickly after concluded and celebrated. The rejoicings upon this occasion were interrupted by the news of a war, in which Don Alphonso thought himself obliged to take a part. Ambition prompted Mohammed Alen-Habet, king of Seville, who had already united three Moorish principalities, to attempt the conquest of a fourth, and it was with this view that he assembled the whole forces of his dominions; but as this could not be done without Don Alphonso's knowledge, and as he knew not where the storm would fall, he likewise assembled an army; and upon receiving advice that the king of Seville had entered the dominions of the king of Toledo on one side, he without any ceremony entered them on the other. All-Maymon, as soon as he had intelligence of Don Alphonso's irruption, sent embassadors to put him in mind of the old friendship that had passed between them. Don Alphonso waited at the gravity of their haunrage, and assured them, that it was no other than the want of that obligation that brought him thither, and that All-Maymon might rest satisfied, that his own subjueets would not serve him more cheerfully than the forces under his command*. This made a speedy and strange alteration. All-Maymon, who had fortified Toledo, understanding the approach of Don Alphonso and his intentions, instead of expecting a siege, marched out and joined himself with all his forces; and, as some authors say, attacked and routed the king of Seville in a general engagement; though others affirm, upon the junctiion of the armies, it thought he expedition to retire into his own territories, and soon after made a peace with the king of Toledo upon equitable conditions; but, however, it is on all hands agreed, that Don Alphonso had the honour of putting an end to this war, and of expressing, in the most honourable manner, his gratitude and affection towards his royal protector.

f We have more than once observed, that it is dangerous for the princes even in communion with Rome to shew any extraordinary respect or deference for those who file themselves as the avance in pope successeors of St. Peter. We have a most amazing instance of this in the conduct of Gregory VII, the seventh, who, having received the embassadors of Don Alphonso, king of Leon, Castile, and Galicia, and the report of his legate cardinal Hugo, who by the way has an extreme bad character in history, judged it proper to make him a suitable return; which, however, is thought Spain.

* Mariana Ferreras, Mayner Turquet.
* Roderic Toletan Hif. Arabum.

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of all the Christiant princes in Spain; which strange title was suggested to stand upon as strange a foundation, that is, on a commissary granted to Eblon, count of Rouffy, to conquer countries in the hands of infidels, which he was to possess and enjoy for his pains, yielding an annual tribute, and acknowledging himself feudatory to the holy see of Rome. When or where this great conqueror lived does not at all appear, or what this commissary to him had to do with the crowns of Spain. Ferreras seems to suggest, that the argument drawn from hence was analogical. The count de Rouffy, in cafe he conquered lands from the infidels, was to hold them from the see of Rome, and to pay an annual tribute; therefore, according to this precedent, all territories conquered from infidels were to be held from the see of Rome by an annual tribute. A very wild title this; and from an error in the date of the pope’s letter one would be glad, for the credit of these bishops, to suppos it counterfeit: but even in this we shall not find ourselves much relieved: for this pope did not float at a single letter, to which Don Alphonso and the other princes seem to have given no immediate answer, because they knew not well what answer to give, but repeated and insisted upon his demand, at the same time that he enjoined the kings of Leon and Navarre (for in Aragon it was already in use) to lay aside the Galicke service, and to receive that of the Roman church. This at last obliged Don Alphonso to answer plainly, as the other princes likewise did, that they were independent princes, and would own no superior upon earth. As to the other part of the injunction, the king of Leon was inclined to grant it, and did as much as he thought convenient to do; but some of the bishops in his dominions peremptorily refused to quit their ancient liturgy; and others, in obedience, or rather in compliance to the king, introduced the Roman service.

But as much as the pope interfered in this, we find no traces of his interposition in another great affair, where it might have been more reasonably expected. Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, being murdered by one of his brothers, and some others of his family being suspected of cunning at it, his subjects absolutely refused to obey any of his race or line. Upon this the Infant Don Ramiro, one of the brothers of the deposed king, called in Don Alphonso, who possessed himself of Bisay and Rioja, while most of the nobility declared for Don Sanchez, king of Aragon, who got possession of the rest. Don Alphonso took the infant Don Ramiro, and the Infantas Donna Urraca, Ximena, and Mayoa into his care; but what became of Don Garcia, the king’s son, unlesse he died in his infancy, does not appear. If ever the interposition of Rome was necessary, it was in such a case as this, to prevent orphans and innocent persons from being injured, but of this we hear nothing. Yet the next year a council was called at Burgos to force the Roman service upon the people; and upon this occasion, it is said, that the contest between the two offices was put upon the issue of a duel, and that the Galicke knight prevailed, and that both the services being thrown into the fire, the old book escaped without hurt; but notwithstanding this, the king perjured the major part of the ecclesiastics to make a canon, enjoining the use of the Roman service, which was attended with great murmurings and heartburnings among the people (G).

The year following came a legate from the pope, who found or made a great deal of business at court. The king it seems had a mind to part with his wife; and he had an ecclesiastical favourite Robert, bishop of Sabagon, who had made himself some enemies by reforming that monastery, and who, being addicted to the old service-book, could find no passage there that would countenance kings parts with their wives when they had a mind to it. The deposed king of Navarre’s family, for whom Don Alphonso made provision, were his brother the Infant Don Ramiro, his sisters Donna Ximena, Donna Urraca, and Donna Mayoa (5). Mariana will have Don Ramiro to be the son of the deceased monarch, in which he is certainly mistaken, but, however, he is right in supposing that he married the daughter of Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid; Donna Urraca married Don Garcia Ordanchez, of the royal family of Leon, and Donna Mayoa the count Marcon in France (4). By the treaty he made with the king of Aragon both crowns were great gainers. The noble country of Bisay was again annexed to the Aljucar, and all the territories lying south and well of the river Ebro were incorporated into the kingdom of Old Castile; and all this without any effusion of blood (5).


legate
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a Jegate was much an abler man; he did the king's business and his own with great facility; he found out that the queen Donna Agnes was some way related to the king's first queen Agueda; who, as the reader will remember, he never saw; and upon this pretence of consanguinity he dissolved the marriage. He likewise excommunicated abbot Robert, and sent him back into France from whence he came: in his room came another French ecclesiastic, whose name was abbot Barnard, who, before the close of the year, negotiated a new marriage for the king with Donna Constanza, daughter of Robert the first duke of Burgundy. The poor repudiated queen likewise found afterwards another husband in the life-time of the king; such was the purity that attended the new discipline, or rather such were the conveniences that accompanied the submission to the holy see, and such the arts by which the pope's legates raised themselves into the favour of princes.

b The good old king of Toledo, and Hisseo, his eldest son, being dead within little more than the compass of a year, Hifaya, the younger son of the one, and brother to the other, was seated on the throne, and proved, as the Spaniards say, a very great tyrant; insomuch that the people of Toledo solicited Don Alphonso to make himself master of that city and kingdom; but if we advert to facts, we cannot help perceiving, that the conjunction was extremely inviting. The ambitious and all-grafting king of Seville had already attacked the unfortunate monarch of Toledo; the king of Aragon professed hard upon other Mohammedan princes; so that this unlucky king had not either an ally or a protector, when Don Alphonso made his first irritation into that which is now called New Castile. We have no very perfect account of this war; but from the memorials still preserved, it is apparent, that it lasted full four campaigns, during which Don Alfonso wafted all the country, and took every place of importance in the neighbourhood of Toledo; by which, having prepared all things for the reduction of the place, he came the fifth year with a very numerous army; and, having first blockaded the city till the inhabitants began to be in want, he at length turned that blockade into a siege. It is allowed, that Hifaya defended himself with great courage and firmness, and that Don Alphonso loft abundance of men before the place, which induced some of the citizens to represent to Hifaya, that it was better to capitulate in time than to expost them to certain death by famine or the sword. That prince clearly perceived, by the manner in which this advice was given him, that he had nothing to do but to follow it; for that otherwise the authors of it were like to treat for themselves. He therefore demanded terms from Don Alphonso, and obtained such as would not have been given, if there had been any great probability of Toledo's being taken by force. In fine, it was agreed, that the king, and such as would share his fortunes, should have leave to go where they pleased; that the inhabitants should enjoy their religion and laws, and not suffer the final injury either in their persons or properties. The city being surrendered, Hifaya retired with his followers to Valencia, where he established the feat of his government, and passed the remainder of his days in the peaceable possession of a small principality; which seems to render it plain, that he might have reigned as quietly over his hereditary kingdom, if he had been happy in having better neighbours (H).

c The kingdom red city of Toledo. conquest.

D. 1030; it becomes the capital of Castile.

d While Don Alfonso was employed in the preparations for his great design of conquering Toledo, some of the detachments which he had sent to spoil the country advanced towards the frontiers of the territories held by the Morisco prince of Saragossa; and as he had not the least conception of the king's real intention, he judged his own dominions to be in the utmost danger; and as he had no forces capable of withstanding those of the king of Leon and Castile, he had recourse to a trystament that succeeded in part, and was very near being attended with all the success that he could expect from it. The trystament was this: he ordered Alen-Falax, one of his principal commanders, to enter into a secret treaty with Don Alfonso, in which he gave him to understand, that he had received such ill-treatment from his master as had determined him to quit his service, and at the same time to make himself master of the castle of Rueda, near the river Xalon, five miles from Saragossa, which, as he was apprehensive he could not defend with his own troops, he was willing to give it up to the king of Castile, provided he would come thither in person to accept of his homage. This was accordingly executed, with so much cunning and address, that Don Alfonso readily embraced it, and promised to do all that was expected or desired from him (1). Some, however, of the nobility were not so easily deceived, either because they knew the character of Alen Falax, or had some secret reason for disdaining his insinuations. However that was, they prevailed upon the king not to go in person, but sent a body of troops, who summoned the Moor to the performance of his promise (2). Alen Falax trifled for a time, and pretended that he would give up the place to none but the king. However, finding this would not do, he at length prevailed to surrender it to such persons of distinction as the king should please to charge with his commission; upon which Don Alfonso, dearest of having the place, which was of great consequence, sent the Infant Don Raimond of Naravon, the Infant Don Sanchez of Nararvon, the count Gonzales de Salavador, the count Don Nuero de Lara, and some other persons of great rank, with full powers to promise, in his name, what the Moors should require; who

(1) Anual Complut. Anual Felician.
(2) Redicr T item de rebus Hispans. lib. vi.
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This city was surrendered to the Christians on the 25th of May 1085, after it had been in the possession of the infidels three hundred and seventy-two years. Don Alphonso, who knew the importance of it, resolved to make it the capital of his dominions, and to people it as soon as possible with Christians, of whom he found many, and some illustrious families that had lived there from the time of the conquest by the Moors, and were, for that reason, as we have shewn elsewhere, titled Mozarabians: there were likewise abundance of Jews; and the number of Mohammedans who chose to remain under his protection was very considerable. There remained, however, room for many new inhabitants, and it was not long before they were supplied, the example of the king, and of the nobility attending upon his person, being a kind of irresistible motives. On the other hand, Don Alphonso omitted nothing that might render perons of different nations and different faiths easy under his government; and it very quickly appeared that he acted in this as a very wise and prudent prince, capable of foreseeing and providing against dangers that might otherwise have proved fatal to his interests. This shews that there are some natures that are improved by prosperity; and that as we frequently see men’s understandings weakened and lost through unexpected successes, so in the present case we cannot but differ, that the genius of Don Alphonso expanded itself with his fortune, and that no two princes can be produced in this history more different from each other in their characters, than this monarch from himself before his expulsion, and after his restoration. These remarks are so natural, that they may at least be thought excusable.

The Mohammedans were aponified when they saw Toledo in the hands of the Christians, and the greatness of their loss was evident from the effects of that impression it made upon them, since they immediately composed their differences, and entered into a league against Don Alphonso. The principal powers at the head of this confederacy were the kings of Seville and Badajoz, who at the same time sent ambassadors to the princes of their religion in Africa, imploring their immediate assistance; alleging, that they were now engaged in a religious war, and that Don Alphonso had nothing left in view than to extirpate all who professed the faith of Mohammed. These preparations and intrigues were no secret to the victorious monarch of Castile and Leon; and that he might not appear wanting in his own defence, he assembled a numerous army in the spring, and at the same time appointed a council to be held in his new capital the Christmas following, in order to the choice of an archbishop of that metropolitan see, which he had so fortunately restored to the Christians, and which he very justly regarded as the most considerable event of his reign, and it may be as the most glorious.

As soon as the seaon would permit, he marched with his forces into the territories of the king of Badajoz, that he might convince him of his temerity in putting himself at the head of a league against so powerful a prince, and with this view he ravaged the country of Esreamadura with fire and sword, and at length, meeting no resistance, besieged, and in a short time made himself master of Coria. But the two Mohammedan kings, having by this time assembled a numerous army of harry and well disciplined troops, advanced to give him battle; and accordingly, on the 23rd of October, the armies met between Merida and Badajoz, where, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, Don Alphonso was defeated. Some authors say, that he was wounded in the leg, and that, having on his return to Coria reprimanded some of the nobility very sharply, they went over to the Mohammedans. Whatever truth there may be in these facts, we find the king in the beginning of November at Toledo, where he held a council, in which Don Bernard, abbot of Sabagon, was elected archbishop of Toledo, and the nobility gave the king their advice as to the most effectual means of raising a new army, numerous enough to repair the loss they had lately sustained, and prevent the infidels from acting, as it was evident they would otherwise do, offensively, as soon as the season would permit; and on this head gave him the strongest assurances of their fidelity and assistance.

The king, though he relied much on these assurances, and not a little on the high rate at which the Moors had bought their late victory, yet he was resolved not to trust entirely to

had no sooner prevailed upon them to enter his forterres than he caused them to be murdered. The king, upon hearing of this infamous act of treachery, came with all his forces, in hopes of reducing it, and of punishing Alon Fadon; but the place was fo completely fortified, the garrisons fo numerous, and the magazine fo well supplied, that, after several assaults to little or no purpose, he was obliged to retire, and to furnish the relations of the circumstance that was slain with a sum of money to ransom their bodies, which were interred with great pomp in the monastery of Najara and Ona (3).

the strength of his own dominions, extensive as they were. On this account he wrote to Philip the first, king of France, deferring his assistance, and to the great lords of his kingdom, amongst whom count Raymond of Burgundy and count Befanjon went in person, at the head of a considerable body of troops, to the relief of the Christians in Spain against the infidels. But before their arrival the war was at an end, for Don Alonso having drawn together the whole force of his dominions, and marching towards his frontiers, that the infidels might see that he meant not to decline another action, the two Moorish princes, apprehensive of being overwhelmed by the foreign troops that they knew were raising, in order to pas the Pyrenees, entered into a negotiation; in which, as they were very sincere, and as Don Alonso found peace at that juncture very convenient to him, it was not long before terms were settled to their mutual satisfaction. Yet whether these Moorish princes became his vaillants, and agreed to pay him an annual tribute, as some historians say they did, is more than we can find sufficient authority to affirmt, and think it a point of too great confluence to be determined by base conjectures.

*According to the capitulation of Toledo, the cathedral, which the Mohammedans had converted into a mosque, was to remain in their hands, with which the king punctually complied. But the new metropolitan Don Bernard looked upon this as a reproach to christianity, and by his vehement declarations persuaded the queen to be of the same opinion; in consequence of which, while the king was in the field, they dispossessed the Moors by force of that noble structure, restored it to its former condition, consecrated and celebrated divine service therein, yet without great danger of raising an insurrection. The Moors, however, reflected very prudently, that as this was done in the king's absence, and without his knowledge, they ought, in justice to themselves and him, to try first what might be done in the way of expostulation. They accordingly sent deputies to meet Don Alonso, and to inform him of what had happened. The king, upon hearing of this flagrant breach of faith, which was at the same time the highest insult upon his authority, though he was naturally of a calm and moderate disposition, fell into such a transport of rage against the queen and the archbishop, as terrified the Moorish deputies to such a degree, that they left their camp, returned to Toledo, and made such a report to their brethren as induced them to go in a body out of the city to meet the king, and to beseech him to pardon the authors of this injustice, offering at the same time to depart from their pretensions to the cathedral, rather than become the instruments of confusion in a State where they were willing to live peaceably, and to enjoy the benefits of his royal protection. A very singular instance of prudence and self-denial, and which ought certainly to give us very high opinion of their morals and good sense. The pacification thus made, the king entered the city in triumph, with the universal acclamations of all his subjects; and on the 25th of October following, the cathedral was solemnly consecrated by the archbishop Don Bernard, in the presence of the king and queen, and with all the pomp and ceremony possible.*

As every thing was now quiet, Don Alonso resolved to take this opportunity of fortifying his dominions effectually, by repairing the many cities that were destroyed in the course of the war, and to repeople them with Christians. He began with those of Segovia, king of Galicia, and Salamanca, and committed the care of their restitution to count Raymond, who, in all probability, settled a great part of his own people in them. The king likewise determined to repair all the great towns between the river Duero and the mountains that separate the two Castiles; and by encouraging people to come and settle in them, he hoped to put the new kingdom he had conquered into such a condition, as, in case of fresh troubles, it might be able to furnish a strength sufficient to defend itself. In this like-wise he was so well seconded by count Raymond, that the several great towns of Medina del Campo, Aracel, Olmedo, Coca, Irur, Cuellar, Sepulveda, and Osuna, were restored, and filled with Christian inhabitants in the space of a few years. In return for these and other eminent services, as well as to attach him to the like for the future, the king bestowed upon Don Raymond his only daughter Donna Urraca, whom he had by the reigning queen. About this time, and chiefly through the mixture of foreigners that reforted into Spain, they quitted the old Gothic characters of writing, and began to make use of those that were common in other parts of Europe through all this monarch's dominions. Don Garcia, king of Galicia, after having worn out many years in captivity, died in the castle of Luna, on the 22d of May, Anno Domini 1093.

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11. Chron. var. antiqu. 
12. Chron. var. antiqu. 
15. Rod. Toletan de rebus. Roderic Toletan de rebus. 
17. Chron. var.
The history of Leon and Castile.

Don Alphonso extends his dominions on the side of Portugal at the expense of the Moors.

A.D. 1093.

His forces, in quality of auxiliaries, made prisoners before Huesca.

In the succeeding year died Donna Bertha, and Don Alphonso gave his natural daughter Donna Tereza, whom he had by Donna Ximena Nogeza, to Henry Bejafons, who had accompanied his son-in-law Don Raymond into Spain; and, as an establishment for his daughter, bestowed upon him all that he conquered in Portugal, with the title of count, to be enjoyed by him after his decease, with a reservation only of homage to his succours, as the Spaniards say; but, as the Portuguese writers affirm, without any such reservation at all. The next year the war broke out again between Don Pedro, the son of Don Sancho, king of Arragon, and the infidels, which called Don Alphonso's troops into the field as auxiliaries of his vassal, the king of Huesca; but Don Pedro, though his army was inferior in number to the confederates, gave them battle notwithstanding, on the 5th of November, in the plain of Altoraz, and, after a sharp and long engagement, totally defeated them, with vast loss on the side of the Moors; and as to Don Garcia, and the troops under his command, they were made prisoners.

Don Alphonso, either desirous of male issue, or weary of being longer a widower, and having heard wonders of Zaidé, the daughter of Mohammed Aben-Habot, king of Seville, esteemed the most beautiful and accomplished princess of that age, he resolved to espouse her, in case she would change her religion. The proposition was very agreeable to her father, and the princes making no difficulty as to the condition, the marriage was quickly concluded and celebrated; by which Don Alphonso acquired several places that were very convenient; and, on the other hand, restored, as a mark of his friendship, Santaren, Sintria, and Lijon, to the king of Seville; who, upon the whole, was no gainer by this marriage. Some writers speak of Zaidé as the concubine only of Don Alphonso, and a contemporary writer speaks of her in this light; but as he afterwards retracts this opinion, and acknowledges her for the lawful wife of Don Alphonso, there seems to be no reason to question this fact.

It was in consequence of this alliance that, by the perdition of his father-in-law, Don Alphonso entered into a negotiation with Jaffa, king of the west part of Africa, that is, of the kingdoms now known by the name of Fez and Morocco. The design of this negotiation was a very strange one. The
a kings of *Leon* and *Seville* mitigated the destruction of all the *Moorish* principalities in Spain, in order to divide their territories between them; and to effect this they demanded these auxiliaries upon certain conditions from this *African* monarch, who entered very readily into the treaty, and promised to furnish troops for the destruction of his brethren with all the readiness that the confederates could with.

But king *Jofeph* had very different designs in his head. He assembled a very numerous army and a large fleet for their embarkation, and landed them without any difficulty or opposition at *Malaga.* There he received embassadors from the little *Moorish* princes, who were to be the victims of this alliance, who represented to him, that *Mouhammad Aben-Habet* was a Christian in his heart, and intended nothing less than the total destruction of the Moors and the *Mohamedan* religion in Spain, which in all probability he would accomplish, unless accepting of their adherence, the king would deprive him, as he deferred, of his dominions, and condescend to become the protector of the faithful in Spain. This was in a great measure what king *Jofeph* designed. He accepted their offer without the least hesitation; and, marching directly to *Seville*, became master of the place and of the person of king *Mouhammad* without difficulty or dispute. Having thus acquired a great kingdom, he began to look about him, and to consider of the proper means of executing his own project in its full extent; and this it was that led him to affect a kind of neutrality towards *Don Alonso*, and to carry on the war against his own nation till he had reduced *Granada*, *Almeria*, and *Murcia*, and had forced some other lesser lords to acknowledge him for their sovereign; and, in the end, made himself master of the best part of the rich country of *Andaluzia* with little or no resistance.

It is necessary to say something here of the origin of this new people with respect to Spain, whom the historians of that country call *Amouvardes*. They were part of an *Arab* tribe that entered that district of *Africa*, which they now peopled near half a century before, that they might live more at their ease and in a state of retirement, as pretending to follow the disfaetres of their Khoran more closely than others of their sect, from whence they took the name of *Morabites*, from which, as we observed, the Spaniards borrowed the appellation of *Amouvardes*. The first prince or chief of this nation was *Abu beker-ben-Omar*, who, in *Spanish* authors, is commonly called *Abu-Tarshieh*; and to him this *Jofeph* had succeeded, under whose administration their affairs had prospered exceedingly. Whatever, therefore, he might pretend upon his first invitation, his real project was to make himself master of as much of Spain as possible, both at the expence of Christians and Moors, and the reason that he first fell upon the latter was, that his power might acquire a suitable augmentation before he run the hazard of contending with *Don Alonso*, whose reputation was very great, and of whose power all the *Moorish* princes were very apprehensive. But the king of *Leon* and *Cajstle* penetrating his design, sent an army, commanded by *Don Rodrigo* and *Don Garcia de Cabra*, to infest *Seville*; while *Jofeph* was with his troops in the kingdom of *Murcia*. He marched, however, to intercept this body of forces, and obliged them to fight in the neighbourhood of *Rueda* in *La Mancha*; where, after a brisk engagement, the Christian army, through the bad behaviour of *Don Garcia Ordonez*, was defeated, and a great number slain, and a still greater number made prisoners, which threw all the country adjacent into confusion.

The *African* monarch would, in all probability, have entertained a much higher notion of his victory, if *Don Garcia Ordonez*, and some of his adherents who went over to him, had not given him such intelligence as left him no room to doubt, that this would prove a matter of very little consequence with regard to the fate of the war, since *Don Alonso* would soon be at the head of another army, and, by commanding in person, prevent such accidents as that to which he owed his victory. The truth of this information quickly appeared, for on *Don Alonso* was indefatigable in raising forces through all his dominions, and deeming them as fast as possible to the frontiers of *New Cajstle*; and, as soon as the feast would permit, he took the field, and marched directly towards *Seville*, though he was informed, that his antagonist was at the head of a more numerous army. *Jofeph*, however, taking the advice of *Don Garcia*, acted wholly on the defensive. He saw clearly, that if he left the battle, it could never be repaired; and that, as things stood, he had not a force sufficient to deal with the king of *Cajstle* and *Leon*, and at the same time keep the *Spanish* Moors in awe; for this reason he took a resolution of returning to *Africa*, and sending over a fresh army, which he accordingly

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b Chron. var. antiqu.  
<sup>e</sup> Chron. var. antiqu.  
<sup>f</sup> Maria. Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. Ferreras, Historia de Espana, p. v. fec. xi.  
The history of Leon and Castile.

Book XXIII.

ingly executed; while Don Alonso, finding it impossible to force the enemy to a battle, after he had ravaged the country about Seville, and enriched his army with booty and slaves, returned into his own dominions, much less satisfied with the success of his expedition than those who attended him, as he had received certain information, that Joseph had in a manner extirpated Christianity in Andalusia, by transporting into Africa much of the Mozarabians as had not an opportunity of making their escape. An act of policy, or rather of violence, which proved afterwards a fatal precedent for the Moors, as will be seen in the course of this history.

The orders and persuasions of the African monarch were so cheerfully obeyed, and had so great an influence over his subjects, that, before the close of the year, he sent over incredible reinforcements to Spain, with orders to Alonso de Almohad Pintos, his lieutenant general, to push the war with vigour, and to make all the use possible of his superiority. He executed these orders with great punctuality, and took the field early, with so great an army, that Don Alonso was forced in his turn to retire into his hereditary dominions, and to summon all his nobility to join him under the highest penalties; yet, before this could be done, the Moors general had actually invested Toledo, which fife he carried on with the utmost vigour, and even made several assaults, in which he was not only repulsed, but suffered great losses. On the approach therefore of Don Alonso, at the head of all his forces, he found himself in no condition to venture a battle, and therefore retired in his turn, and contented himself with taking a place on the frontiers, that he might have a passageway open to renew his excursions whenever a favourable opportunity should offer. About this time died the Infanta Donna Elvira, the king’s sister; and this year was also fatal to that famous hero Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid, who with his own troops, and some affluence from Don Alonso, had taken Valencia from the infidels, and had gallantly maintained his conquest against several vigorous efforts that had been made to recover it, though far inferior in strength to the affluents.

In

(1) In the compas of this note we intend a facsimile account of that celebrated hero in Spanish histories, as well as romance, Don Rodrigo Díez de Bivar, surnamed the Cid, which in Arabic signifies lord (1). He was undoubtedly a perfon of very high quality in Old Castile; but we dare not pretend to give his genealogy, or even to warrant that found in Mariana and other historians (2): what we would represent fairly to the great actions of his life, which have been the objects of authentic history; and for that fabulous legend of incredible, and even impossible adventures, which have obscured, and confused his true fame, they were intended to illustrate, but not to be found in a multitude of histories; and we are sorry that we cannot refer to the Latin life of this celebrated person, composed in the reign of the emperor Charles the fifth by Ramiro Nogués de Gunman, and by him dedicated to the prince Don Philip, afterwards Philip the second, which has not, however, been published. The first time we find the Cid mentioned in the more ancient authors (3), is in the year 1065, when he assisted the prince Don Sancho, who marched with a large body of auxiliaries to the assistance of a Moors prince, when he had a large share in the battle of Grau, where Don Ramiro the first king of Arragon was defeated and slain. In 1068 and 1070, he commanded under Don Sancho, king of Castile, against his brother Don Alonso, as is very certain; but that he attended that monarch into Galicia, rescued him when taken in battle, and afterwards brought Don Gurrie prisoner, though related by some modern historians, is not so well established as to deserve intire credit. In 1072 he commanded, under his master Don Sancho, at the siege of Zamora, retired from thence in good order with the Castilian forces, carrying with him the royal couple, which he caufed to be interred in the monastery of Don. We have remarked in the text, that he alone, of all the Catalán nobility, was so hardy as to administer the oath of exaltation to Don Alphonso at Burgos, and, by the manner in which he did it, incurred his displeasure. Two years after, perceiving that the king’s resentment continued, he resolved to retire out of his dominions, notwithstanding that he had married a little before Donna Ximena Díaz, daughter to Don Diego Alvarares of las Almorávis; and accordingly, followed by all his friends and dependants, and by many of his relations, he went into Arragon; where, after ravaging and plundering the country adjacent, the length made himself master of the castle of Alcazar, situated at a very small distance from Calatayud. Thither referred to him a great multitude of malecontents from Calatayud and Leon, which enabled him to continue his inroads upon the Moors, with great successe. As he extended his conquest gradually, he penetrated at length into the district of Teruel, or, as some write it, Teruel, twenty-seven leagues south of Saragossa, where he fixed his residence in a strong fortress, called to this day Pena de Cid, that is, the rock of the Cid (4). It may not be amiss to observe, that there is not in all Spain, perhaps hardly in Europe, a more pleasant country than this, where the air is so pure, and withal so safe, that there is a kind of eternal spring; every little cope being enlaented with odoriferous flowers, that blow, flourish, and decay in all the months of the year. It was during his residence here, that he had intelligence of the execrable murder of the unfortunate Hugo, formerly king of Toledo, and then lord of Valenzia, traiterously slain by Álvar Téllez, who usurped his little principality. Upon this he sent to the king, Don Alphonso, to put him in mind of the obligations he was under to revenge that poor prince’s death, and to deprive, that he would send him a small detachment of troops, with which, joined to his own, he would try his fortune be-

(1) Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v. fect. xi. 
(2) Hidoria general de Espana, lib. ix.
(3) Chron.
The history of Leon and Castile.

In the first year of the twelfth century deceased Donna Urraca, who, as well as her sister the Infanta Donna Eutida, preferred her virginity during her whole life, and was buried with great magnificence in the church of St. Isidore 9. The city of Jerusalem being at this time taken from the infidels by the forces of the Christian princes, under the command of Geoffrey of Bouillon, several Spanish noblemen proceeded to Rome, with an intention of joining the succours that were about to pass into the Holy Land; but Pope Paschal the second very prudently interposed, and advised them to return home and deliver their own country from the infidels first. The Moors, as soon as they had intelligence of the death of the Cid, made very little doubt of their recovering Valencia; and therefore sent all their forces that way. Don Alfonso opposed to them a very numerous army, under the command of his son-in-law the count Don Henry, who, endeavouring to stop their paffage, gave them battle at Malagen, where, however, he met with a signal defeat 6; notwithstanding which Donna Ximena, the widow of the Cid, affixed by Don Alvaro Fanez the governor, defended the place with such spirit and obstinacy, that after lying before it a long time, and suffering great losses, the infidels were at last obliged to retire. This was a very feaonable check, and prevented the Moors from harrassing New Castile, which gave Don Alfonso time to regulate his domestic affairs, and to put the city of Toledo into a state of defence, by repairing the walls from the church of St. Stephen to the river. The very next year the Moors, with a great army, appeared again before Valencia, which was prepared by the succours sent by Don Alfonso over the mountains with very great difficulty, and with such expence, as determined him to quit that place; which, lying at so great a distance from the rest of his dominions, he believed would fall, sooner or later, into the hands of the infidels, with all the Christians who were in it, and who, at his command, withdrew 5.

Soon after this Don Alfonso loft his fifth wife Donna Isabel, who was buried in the church of St. Isidore with great solemnity, leaving behind her a son, Don Sanchez, who was considered as the heir apparent of all his fathers extensive dominions 7. (K). But, notwithstanding he had now an heir male, the king resolved to marry again; and Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, whom he had sent to the Pope, negotiated a match with the prince Beatriz, of the house of Este, very little to the satisfaction of the Infanta Urraca, and her husband Don Raymond. Soon after this he had the misfortune to lose a great battle against the Moors, in which, however, he did not command in person; but notwithstanding it is acknowledged that great numbers were slain, and many taken prisoners, yet by his prudence he had soon to formicable an army on foot that the Moors were not able to draw any great advantage from their victory 8.

Fore Valencia. The king applauded his design, granted him all and even more than he asked; and the Cid, in 1092, after a long siege, took the city, and defended it against the whole forces of the king who attempted to recover it. There he continued the remaining part of his life; and there, full of years and of glory, he died in 1099 (3), leaving his widow Donna Ximena in possession of Valencia, which he also defended with more than masculine bravery, till, in obedience to the king's orders, for reasons that are mentioned in the text, he thought fit to abandon it. As to his wars with the kings of Aragon, and the counts of Barcelon, they appear to be both so fabulous; and the fame things to be had of many of his expeditions against the Moors, at least as they are commonly represented; and as to the marriage of his daughters with the counts of Carrion, they have been already, by the judicious pen of Sancacel, shown (6) in their proper light, that is, of foolish and inconsistent follihoods.

(K) We have already acquainted the reader, that this Moors prince, to facilitate her marriage with Don Alfonso, at the time of her baptism, took the name of Maria Isabel, or Elizabeth, for they are the same name; and yet a strange mistake happened very early in relation to this Prince, occasioned by some obscurity in the inscription to her memory; whereas Don Pelay, bishop of Oviedo, has made her both the king's queen and concubine, by the title of Isabel, daughter to Lewis king of France, and his concus-

8 F

Mod. Hist. Vol. VII. 

The city of Valencia gloriously defended against the Moors by Ximena, widow of the Cid.
The royal family was increased on the first of March 1106, by the birth of the infant Don Alonso, son to Don Raymond count of Galicia, by the Infanta Donna Urraca, who was baptized in the apostolic church of St. James at Compostella, with respect to the birth of which prince, the annals of those times unanimously report, that a new and bright star was observed for thirty days together, before that in which he was brought into the world: which in those days was regarded as a very favourable prelude, and will be deferredly exploded in these; since, supposing the fact to be true, it could have no more relation to Spain than to any other country where that star was visible.

Joseph, king of the Almohadites, thought it now high time to return into Spain, having fully achieved all that he proposed in Africa, bringing over with him on board a numerous fleet, a much more powerful army of Muhammedans and Moors than had hitherto ever landed in that kingdom. As soon as he had incorporated them with those which he had already on foot in that country, he judged his power sufficient to undertake at once the conquest of the dominions of the king of Castile and Leon, with which view he assembled two great armies, and all the remaining princes of the Moors, to which he defined a third. Don Alonso was not a little alarmed at the news of these preparations; and, being too old to command an army in person, he sent for Don Raymond, his son-in-law, out of Galicia, who fell ill of a fever in his journey, and died upon the road; but the good old king had the satisfaction of viewing, and affording him all the consolation in his power in his last moments. He then made a progress through the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, in order to quicken the nobility in marching with their valets to form an army in the neighbourhood of Toledo, towards which city he forewarned the enemy would not fail to advance as soon as the feast would permit. He was not permitted in his conjecture; for king Joseph, having united his troops on the frontiers, bent his route directly towards the capital. Don Alonso, in hopes that it would give fresh courage to his army, which was composed of almost all the force of his dominions, sent the infant Don Sancho, though a child but of eleven years old at most, with his governor Don Garcia de Cabrera; but who had the chief command does not appear. On the arrival of the infant the Christians advanced to Ucles, where they met the infidels ranged in order of battle; the dispute was very obstinate, and they fought on both sides with the utmost intrepidity, till at length the Muhammedans pierced into the center of the Christians, and surrounded that body of troops where the young infant was, whose horse being killed he alighted on foot, and his governor Don Garcia covered him with his buckler, fighting with incredible bravery, though he was far advanced in years, till at length he fell, and bore down his pupil with him; when the Moors massacred all that body of troops; and the army being entirely broken, gained a complete victory, no less than seven counts dying in the field. This fatal battle was fought on the 29th of May 1108, and was the most heavy reverse of fortune the Christians had sustained since the loss of the city of Leon; but, however, the Moors bought this victory so dearly, that they were in no condition to reap any immediate advantage from it. The infanta Donna Urraca, with the assistance of the bishop of Compostella, having assembled all the forces in Galicia, advanced immediately into New Castile, received the scattered remains of the defeated army, and marched with so great a countenance towards the Moors, that they did not judge it convenient to venture another battle, but contented themselves with the reputation they had acquired, and retreated into their own dominions. The Christians took this opportunity of putting a strong garrison into Toledo, while the old king brought out of Castile a fresh body of troops, which enabled him to cover that city with a good army in the field (L).

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(L) There can be nothing more evident, from the account given us of this fatal battle, than that the infant Don Sancho was the legitimate son and heir apparent of Don Alonso; for otherwise it would have been an act of extreme cruelty, to have exposed a child of eleven years of age, to no purpose whatever. The heir of all was, or ought to be, the care of all; so that, in this desperate state of things, the king may be said to have acted wisely in sending young prince to the army; for, by this action he plainly shewed, that the safety of his people was dearer to him than the safety of his Children. He shewed also his courage and firmness of mind, in assembling fresh troops, and providing, notwithstanding this feint blow, for the future security of his dominions; which, in a prince, so broken with age and diseases, was so much the more laudable, as it was left to be expected.
The king Don Alphonso was, as we may well suppose, extremely mortified to find himself in this sad situation in his declining years, and when his bodily infirmities, as well as his great age, disabled him from doing what his prudence dictated in favour of his subjects. He did not, however, omit any thing that was yet within the reach of his abilities. Giulio, archbishop of Vienne in France, brother to the deceased Don Raymond, coming into Spain to see his nephew Don Alfonso, the king caused the young prince to be brought to Leon; to which city he directed all the nobility of Galicia should repair; and in his presence, as well as of the French archbishop, take an oath of fidelity to their infant sovereign, whom he appointed his sole successor in all his dominions, in case his daughter Donna Urruela should have no other male issue, having, in compliance with the desires of the nobility, contented to her marriage with Don Alfonso of Arragon and Navarre. He disposed the troops under the command of the viceroyal counts, who brought them into the field to judiciously on his frontiers, and gave his orders so properly for assembling a numerous army, in case the Moors should make any attempt, that they chose to carry their army into Catalunia and elsewhere, rather than attempt to purchase any more victories at so dear a rate as the Castilians were accustomed to sell them.

It does great honour to the memory of this prince, that, though for the space of eighteen months he lay in a weak and languishing condition, the civil and military affairs of his kingdom were preferred in so good order, that there neither happened any invasion from foreign enemies, or any tumult or commotion among the people; and in his capital city of Toledo Don Arcaro Fanes, whom he had appointed governor, disposed every thing to such advantage, that the inhabitants were not under the least apprehension, though they had every day fresh advices of the increasing strength of the Moors. At length the king, worn out with age, care, and sickness, departed this life on June the thirtieth, in the year of our Lord 1109, when he had enjoyed the regal dignity thirty-seven years from the time of his restoration, and forty-four from the death of his father. His sixth and last wife Donna Beatriz returned into Italy after his decease.

The demise of this prudent and potent monarch was indeed the epocha from whence might be dated the miseries of his subjects. Don Alfonso king of Arragon and Navarre, believing it impossible to acquire kingdoms without an army, entered Castile at the head of a numerous body of troops, to support his claim of the government in right of his queen; the flates quickly put an end to the troubles that this might have occasioned, by informing him, that they were not accustomed to see their sovereign at the head of foreign troops; that his army therefore might be better employed in his own dominions, since there was no need of force, where the right of the queen was not at all disputed. Don Alfonso received this message with the spirit it deserved; he said, he knew not the intentions of his people when he entered Castile in arms, but that he was ready to defend his army, which he did immediately, and to rely on their loyalty, which had been ever confucionous. He found it much more easy to deal with the flates than with their queen, who was so very fond of sovereignty, that she would willingly have reckoned her husband only the first of her subjects. The passion of her first husband count Raymond made him really so; the dignity, and it may be said the disposition of the king of Arragon forbade it. He laboured to make her sensible, by reason of the duty she owed to him, and she discovered by her behaviour, that the underfoot nothing of duty, but as others were bound by it to obey her will. An old Castilian nobleman, Don Pedro Alfonso, the companion of her father's exile, the favourite of his whole life, and who had been entrusted with her

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pefed [1]. Some historians tell us, that he did fill more, and they report the occasion of it thus: They lay that after this battle, discourseing with those who were most in his confidence, he expressed a strong persuasion, that this was a severe visitation from heaven for some particular sins; and that they had little hopes of a change of fortunes, till the necessary change was made in their manners; and how this might be effected he was at a loss to know, and would be glad to learn. One of his nobility took occasion from thence to obviate, that heaven punished them by the Moors, for having suffered too great an intercourse between them and his subjects, which had produced a great depravity of morals, and the fatal introduction of foreign luxuries, to which in former times the Castilians were utter strangers. The king received this admonition thankfully, and immediately published a prohibition of public baths, and of all kinds of spectacles and diversions, which, in imitation of the Moors, had been introduced at first among persons of distinction, and by degrees diffused through all ranks of people, which had a very good effect, and banished for a season that propensity to idleness, vanity, and pleasures, which are always both the causes and the symptoms of a declining state.

education, took the liberty of expostulating with her, and of setting her conduct in a true light; a which provoked her to such a degree, that the banished him the court, stripped him of his b employments, and confiscated his estates. c The king could not bear this; he took Don Pedro d into his immediate service, restored him to his honours, his employments, and his estate; declaring, that whatever injury was offered to him, from whatever hand it came, he would regard it as done to himself. f This naturally increased the disorder; which at length rose so high, that the king secured the person of his comfort, and made her prisoner in the fortress of Castellar, g from which she was speedily delivered by some of the nobles of Castile, and began to feel great trouble of mind on account of the relation between her and her husband, for they were second cousins; so that, to quiet her conscience, she was desirous the marriage should be dissolved. h

In the midst of these disturbances a civil war broke out in Galicia; Don Pedro Frolaz de Traba had been charged with the education of the young Infant Don Alfonso by his father, and confirmed in it by his grandfather; his conduct was irreplaceable; and this was the source of the war. Some of the nobility, headed by two brothers, Don Arias Perez and Don Pedro Arias, men of a moft turbulent spirit, invaded the castle where the young prince was; and, contrary to their faith given, tore him out of the arms of the counts Don Pedro’s wife, and imprisoned for a time the archbishop of Compostella, i who reproved them for their rudeness. j But the inhabitants of that city taking arms in behalf of their prelate, they thought proper to set him at liberty, retaining still the young prince in their custody, and pretending to colour all the violations they committed, with the specious pretence of loyalty to the child they kept a prisoner; k a sort of proceeding that put an end to the regular administration of affairs in that province, and threw all things into the utmost disorder and confusion. Such was the disordered train of events that fell out in the first year after the demise of that great king, who had raised the power of the Christians in Spain to so formidable a point of elevation.

Joseph king of Morocco, and of the Almoravides in Spain, died much about the same time with Don Alphonso the sixth, and was succeeded by his son Ali Jofeph, l who, for the sake of distinction, we shall call only Ali, and who had been for some years his father’s vice-roy in Spain; but at the time of his demise he was in Africa, from whence he speedily returned with a numerous army and a potent fleet. He had no sooner disembarked his forces, than he marched directly to Seville; and, having examined and given the necessary directions for repairing and augmenting this capital of his dominions, he issued his orders for a general rendezvous of all his forces at Cordova, to which city he repaired in person. Having made a general review, he concluded himself well able to accomplish what his father had only contrived; and, under a strong persuasion of this, grounded probably on the present state of the Christians, he proceeded directly towards Toledo, wailing all the country with fire and sword, and utterly demolishing two beautiful monasteries in his passage. m The city being completely invected, and no fear of disturbance from any army in the field, he proceeded vigorously in his invasion; and, by the help of the beef machines then in use, actually made a breach in the wall sufficiently practicable. He intended to have stormed upon the eighth; but on the seventh day of the siege, Don Alvaro Fanez, with the beef part of the garrison, paifed, by the help of wooden bridges, over the breach into his camp a little before the break of day, levelling his works, burnt his machines, and gave his troops such an earnest of the reception they were like to expect, that the king of Morocco, finding the had no stomach to the attack, very prudently raised the siege the next day, with a resolution to infult Madrid.

There was but a small garrison in the place, but the inhabitants were very numerous, and they defended themselves so gallantly, that he was obliged to retire from thence also; but, to make himself amends, he took another route into his own dominions; and, sweeping all the country before him, amased a prodigious booty, and carried many thousands of people into slavery. n All thence, together with the remains of the Christians who still lived peaceably in his territories, he caused to be shipped on board his fleet, with which he returned to Africa; and having carried his miserable captives up to Morocco, dispersed them in the country adjoining to that capital, to replace, in some measure, the inhabitants whom he had carried to Spain.

Thus the Christians of New Castile were left to supply the vaft loss they had sustained in the beef manner they could, by their private endeavours, as they had received so little assistance, and could scarce expect more from the condition of the people, which was so extremely unsettled, that it scarce deferved that name, as appears from no efforts being made, either upon a Roderic Toleyn de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. b Pelag. Ovst. liber Chronicon. c Roderic Toleyn, Hist. Arab. d Chron. var. antiqu. e Luc. Tudennis Chron. f Pelag. Ovst. liber Chron. g Roderic Toleyn, de reb. Hisp. lib. vi. h Mariana, Ferreres, Mayvene, Turc. i Roderic Toleyn, Hist. Arabum. j Luc. Tudennis Chronicon. k Roderic Toleyn, Hist. Arabum. l Roderic Toleyn, de reb. Hisp. lib. vi. m the
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a the irruption or the retreat of the insidels, when they might have been attacked with the greatest probability of advantage.

The nobility of Leon and Castile saw with inexpressible concern how low they were fallen, and how much lower they might fall: they therefore solicited the queen to consent to a reconciliation with her husband; and this, to satisfy their importurnity, she at last agreed. That it might appear an act of her own, she went to him, and was received, and they lived together again for some little time. But the coldness and contempt of Don Alphonso was too apparent to be borne by a prince of so high a spirit; and therefore the queen, believing that she had now given her nobility all the satisfaction they could expect, left him again, with a full resolution never to be reconciled to him more, which naturally increased their disorders, b that were too many and too great already. The king, on the other hand, depended upon the Arragonian lords, whom he had placed as governors in some of the belt towns in both the Castiles, and upon many of the Castilian nobility, who were also in his interest; for though he had conceived an impeccable aversion to the queen, he was by no means willing to part with her dominions.

The queen, though her affairs were so indifferent an aspect, did not suffer her spirits to sink at all; but by her affability to all the lords of Castile, who came to pay their respects to her, and by her gracious deportment towards the commons, drew over multitudes of all ranks to her party; and these at length came to entertain so good an opinion of her caule and their own force, that they summoned the Castilians, to whom the king had committed castles, to surrender them; which, generally speaking, they did, and threatened to reduce the Arragonians by force. Among the rest, Don Pedro de Almazan surrendered, whose which the queen had taken from him, and to which he was restored by the king's favour; but, as soon as he had done it, he went directly to Toledo, and having obtained an audience of the king, told him, as for the castles they undoubtedly belonged to the king his master's daughter, who having demanded he had yielded them, as he conceived it was duty; but that, if his majesty considered the thing in another light, he had brought his body to answer for the offence. At first the king was in great a rage, that, if some of his favourites had not interposed, Don Pedro's life would hardly have been safe; but as soon as that transport of passion was over, the king embraced him, and testified the highest admiration of his loyalty and virtue. From this moment the king discerned that his authority could no longer depend on any thing but succors; and therefore, having recommended the kingdom and capital of Toledo to Don Alvaro Fanez, who had flown himself firmly attached to his service, he marched with a small body of excellent troops directly into Castile, where he found the whole force of that kingdom assembled to impede his passage, which put him under a necessity of beginning the war with what had very much the appearance of a decisive battle; and as things were come to this extremity, he was a prince of too much courage to decline it; though without question he could not avoid discerning of how dangerous consequence these disputes were to the Christian cause.

The queen's army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Sepulveda, and, upon the king's The battle of ee troops advancing towards them, a battle ensued, which was fought on the 20th of October Campo de 1111, in a large plain called Campo de Espea, which in English we should call Thornfield.

The vanguard of the queen's army was commanded by Don Pedro de Luna, which was quickly broke by the square battalion of the Arragonese infantry, commanded by the king in person, upon which Don Pedro fled to Burgos. The second line, commanded by the count Don Gomez, made a gallant and obstinate resistance; and when they were at last broken, the count had the honour to die upon the spot, covered with glory and wounds. There fell likewise many other persons of great distinction, and a great number of private men. In consequence of this victory, the king became master of Burgos, Valencia, Carrion, Sabagon, and the royal city of Leon; all which he gave up to be pillaged by his soldiers, who plundered even the monastery of Sabagon, and the church of St. Jifere at Leon, the sacred dormitory of their kings, which filled all the adjacent countries with such terror, that some places in Galicia, seduced by his emissaries, declared for the king.

The queen, who was retired to a place of safety, published, to repair this loss, a proclama-Galicia de- tion, requiring all her subjects, capable of carrying arms, to take the field. In the mean while, the archbishop of Compostella, and Don Pedro Troles de Traba, prevailed upon young prince Pedro Arrizay and his accomplices to compromise their disputes, and to surrender the person of the young king Don Alfonso Raymond, whom the archbishop crowned with great solemnity.

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Book XXIII.

before the high altar in the cathedral church of St. James, and quickly after carried him, at the head of the best army they could raise, to join the queen his mother; but were attacked in their passage by the king of Aragoñ: and though the army was defeated, yet the archbishop found means to convey the young prince safely to the queen, who, as soon as it was in her power, retired with him back again into Galicia, where the immediately began to raise a new army; while the king of Aragoñ, with his victorious troops, belighted the city of Acora, in which were the remains of the archbishop’s army, who made a gallant and a long defence. The queen applied herself to count Henry of Portugal, who had married her sister, and intreated him to assist her, and the son of his friends, in this danger and distress. Count Henry advised her to march immediately to the relief of Acora, and promised to join her with a considerable body of troops, which he did. The great lords of Asturias likewise joined her with the flower of their militia; and the nobility of Castile about the same time attacked and defeated a body of Acora’s troops that were in full march to join their king; and that prince found himself in such circumstances, that he raised the siege of Acora in the night, and retired precipitately to Carrión. The queen followed him to clothe, that her forces invest the city almost as soon as he entered it; and in all probability he had fallen into her hands, if the pope’s legate, who was lately arrived in Spezia, and who appointed a council to be held in Palencia to judge finally of the queen’s marriage, had not prevailed upon her to suffer him to retire, upon his promise to deliver up all the places in her dominions that were in his possession; which, however, he absolutely refused to perform. The count Don Henry of Portugal, had scarce the pleasure of seeing the queen in Acora, before he died there, and was carried thence to Brega, where he lies under a splendid tomb. Mariana seems to have afterlaid his memory by mistake, in ascribing the loss of the former battle to his deserting the queen after it began.

A.D. 1112.

The war continued between the king and queen, of which the Muses take advantage.

The queen, Donna Urraca, finding herself deceived in her expectations, and under a necessity of having recourse to arms, in order to recover the city of Burgos, into which the king her husband had put a strong garrison, and cauèd a new castle to be erected for its defence, marched thither. She found this enterprise, however, embarrassed with far greater difficulties than the expected; for, on one hand, the lords of Castile were so displeased with her conduct towards Don Pedro de Lara, that they abated much of their zeal for her service; and on the other, the Galicians had their suspicions likewise arising from their affection to the young king; so that, if the archbishop of Compostella had not been indefatigable in his endeavours, the army could never have been brought before Burgos, which city soon opened its gates, but the garrison held out a siege of several weeks, but at length was obliged to surrender on the feast of St. John the Baptist. About this time the Moors made an irruption into the kingdom of Toledo, and advanced from thence towards the frontiers of Galicia; but, at the prefening infinances of the queen and archbishop, a numerous army marched against them; upon which they thought it more adviceable to retire with the plunder they had acquired, than to hazard a battle against troops that would otherwise be employed in their service, that is, in weakening the king of Acora.

The queen, to put an end to these troubles, that had so long disturbed and disquieted her subjects, called a general assembly of the states at Burgos; to which, at her request, restored Don Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, and Don Diego, archbishop of Compostella. The debates in that assembly ran quickly very high; for most of the Castilian nobility, and more especially the deputies of the city of Burgos, declared roundly for the queen’s being reconciled to her husband; and, upon the archbishop of Compostella’s infesting on the invalidity of the marriage, they were so exasperated, that he thought it prudent to withdraw; soon after which the assembly broke up, referring the decision of this difficult point to the council that was to be held at Palencia. This council’s, held in the beginning of the succeeding year, and in which the pope’s legate presided, declared the marriage null; by which an end was put to all the king of Acora’s pretensions; who, notwithstanding, raised by his emisaries a formidable rebellion in Galicia, which, but for the prudence and spirit of the archbishop of Compostella, might have been attended with very fatal consequences (M). About this time Don Alvaro Fanez, going on

A.D. 1115.

A council held at Palencia, in which the queen’s marriage is declared void.

(M) Those of the nobility, who now took up arms in Galicia, were Pedro Gudesleo, Rodrigo Nunez, Arias Perez, and Pedro Arias; against whom the bishop of Compostela quickly marched with forces so considerable, that the malcontents thought fit to separate. Pedro Gudesleo and Rodrigo Nunez retired to their castles, which lay by the sea-side, and invited an English body of troops on shore, who happened to pass at this critical juncture along the coasts of Galicia, on board their own vessels, and had sent to desire leave to purchase provisions. They complied readily with this invitation; and were no sooner on shore, than they began to spoil and lay waste.
on some occasion from Toledo to Segovia, an insurrection happened in the labent-mentioned place, in which he was unfortunately killed. He was succeeded in the government of Toledo by Don Rodrigo Nuñez; whether by the appointment of the king of Aragon, or by the choice of the inhabitants, does not appear; but by that time he was well fixed in his office, the city was invaded by a numerous army of infidels, under the command of Almazáldi; but the place was so well defended that he was obliged to retire. To make himself some amends he ravaged all the adjacent country, and Don Rodrigo Nuñez, with the best part of his garrison, attacking him in his retreat near Pueblap in hopes of recovering the booty, were thoroughly beaten for their pains. The next year Almazáldi returned with a great army of Moors into the neighbourhood of Toledo, when Don Rodrigo Nuñez had his revenge; for drawing his whole force out of the city, he gave the infidels battle in the field, and, after a long and bloody engagement, cut the greatest part of them to pieces, and their general Almazáldi among the rest.

Donna Urraca, devisor of reducing the places that still remained in the hands of the king of Aragon, went to Compostella, in order to procure the affittance of the Galician nobility and conceiving some jealousy of the bishop, who had done her so many services, would have feigned upon his person, if she had not been prevented by some of the lords who were his friends; after which a reconciliation was brought about, which enabled her to oblige Don Alfonso to retire into his own dominions, who was upon the point of making a fresh irruption into Castile. To this singular mark of his credit with the people, and loyalty to his sovereign, which prelate speedily added another, by causing a small squadron of galleys to be built and equipped at his own expense, which not only freed the coasts of Galicia and Asturias from the insults of the Morish pirates, who had pillaged and destroyed all the sea-coasts, but likewise made reprisals, by plundering their territories. Notwithstanding all this, the queen became again out of humour with him to such a degree, that she directed his friend Don Pedro Frolaz to secure his person; instead of which he gave him notice of his danger; and, after maturely weighing the many inconveniences to which they were exposed from the mutability of this prince's temper, they judged it most expedient to put the government into the hands of her son, at least the kingdom of Galicia, to which his right seemed unquestionable, even in the lifetime of his mother; which proposition was well received by all the nobility, and the design was put in execution, which occasioned new disturbances; for the queen assembled all the forces of Leon and Castile, and pretended to treat the bishop and his adherents as rebels, notwithstanding her son was with him and approved of all he did. At length, however, by the interposition of some of the principal nobility, things were compromised; when the queen had visibly the advantage, and might have treated those who adhered to her son with great severity, or at least have obliged them to abandon their country. But as there was nothing cordial in this reconciliation, so it did not last long, both parties retaining a deep resentment of what had passed; the queen looking upon the bishop and Don Pedro Frolaz as men who had seduced her son into a rebellion; and they regarding her as a prince besieged by flatterers, inordinately fond of power, and far from having those abilities that were necessary to govern so many kingdoms, in so critical and perilous a conjuncture.

The Moors were fo tempted by these intestine disturbances, to hope the recovery of Toledo, several attempts were made by them that they scarce failed either besieging or attempting to besiege it, every year. In this we are told, that Ali sent one of his generals, whom an ancient chronicle calls Acredella, with a numerous army, to ruin the country round about. But the Christian governor, whom the same author calls Abacel, foreseeing the consequences of such expeditions would be distressing the place by famine, marched out with his forces, engaged and beat the enemy, and killed their general upon the spot. The Moors, provoked at this defeat, and still anxious to avail themselves of the troubles among the Christians, speedily drew together a fresh army, and under Aben Hareth, a celebrated general among theirs, took the field, and marched directly towards Toledo. They found, however, their passage speedily stopped by the governor, and the

wade the country on every side. The bishop of Compostella had no sooner notice of this, than he directed some galleys, which had been built at his own expense to set against the Morish pirates, and which were laid up in the port of Padron, to be equipped, and embarked on board them some of his best troops, with orders to find out and engage the English. They executed his instructions very punctually, and made themselves quickly masters of the whole squadron, including some vessels belonging to the Galician rebels, the best part of the men being on shore. At their return the bishop purchased all their prisoners, that he might have an opportunity of-fitting the English at liberty; prattling the like generosity upon the reduction of the castles, which very quickly followed. As for Arias Peres and Pedro Arias, they were no sooner informed of the fate of their companions, than they quitted Galicia, and retired to Don Alfonso of Aragon (1).

(1) Histor. Compost., lib. i. which is a proper and sufficient authority to a full of this nature, though not supported by any other, as probably lying out of the way of other historians.
whole force of the garrison, who immediately gave them battle, and this with success not inferior to the former; since the Moors were entirely vanquished, and Alen Varet, being taken prisoner was sent to the castle of Toledo, while the governor, with his victorious army, ravaged the Moorish frontiers, and swept the places where he came to thoroughly of provisions, that it was impossible to assemble any third army there for that year, which, at that juncture, was indubitably a thing of infinite consequence to the cause of the Christians.

The compromise between Donna Urraca and those who declared for her son, was quickly violated by the queen's begetting Gomez Nunez in the castle of Taron, which he held for Don Alfonso Raymond, and the was soon after beheaded herself in Sevresa by Don Pedro Frolaz, at the head of the Galician army, affixed by the troops of Portugal, though that country was governed at that time by her sister Donna Teresa; but the great lords of Castile and Leon came with a potent army to deliver the queen, and clapped upon another pacification; soon after which the returned to the royal city of Leon. Some new disputes arising in Galicia, the enemies of the bishop of Compostella took advantage of them, and were on the point of securing his person; for, being a moderate and an honest man, this prelate had the honour to be very heartily hated by the bigots of both parties; so that, to provide for his own security, he was obliged to retire to Leon. The queen received him with equal kindness and respect, and he sent the populous of women, who were his friends in Galicia, to compose those disturbances, and put things into such a situation, that as he might with safety visit her son; which in a little time was brought about, and the bishop first, and the queen not long after, went to Compostella. The populace, supposing that there was a secret intention to punish them for the insults they had offered to their prelate, surprised him with the queen and the principal nobility in the cathedral, and, failing in their attempt to force it, set that noble structure on fire, crying vehemently, let the queen come out, and let the bishop and his adherents perish in the flames. The bishop, more concerned for her safety than his own, obeyed the queen to quit the cathedral, which she did, and retired to the church of St. Mary, loaded, in her passage, with all the foul language that an enraged mob could bestow; and after her departure, the bishop, not without great difficulty, made his escape in disguise. In the midst of these disorders, the inhabitants of Toledo took a very laudable resolution of recalling their natural prince; and accordingly Don Alfonso Raymond made his public entry into that city in 1117.

At this juncture there was a schism in the church of Rome; one party adhering to cardinal de Gayet, by the name of Gafus the second; the other, supported by the emperor Henry the fifth, to Maurice Burdin, archbishop of Braga, who assumed the name of Gregory the eighth, was soon after deposed, and ended his days in prison (N). The prelates of this (N) We have as hideous a picture of this Maurice Burdin, or Burdis, in various histories, as it was almost in the power of men to invent. Among other things it is said, that, being sent to Rome to solicit on behalf of Bernard archbishop of Toledo, he most unworthily traduced that prelate, to whom he had the highest obligations; and laboured assiduously to get himself raised to that dignity; which, upon the whole, however, does not appear to be true. He was a native of Logro in France, and was carried from Rome into Spain by the archbishop of Toledo, with whom he was in great favour. In the year 1108, he became bishop of Ciebris, or Cielmar; after which he made a tour to the Holy Land, and in his return flared some time at Constantinople, where he was very much embarrassed by the emperor Alexius (2). Upon his coming back to Portugal he was, in 1110, elected archbishop of Braga. It was in consequence of this, that he came to differ with his old patron the archbishop of Toledo, who, as the pope's legate and primate of Spain, required such submission from him, as he thought inconsistent with the dignity of his see, which had always contended the primacy with that of Toledo. In reference to this dispute he went to Rome, and pope Paschal the second thought him so far in the right, that by his letter to the archbishop of Toledo, dated November the third, he discharged him from the exercise of his legatine power within the province of Braga (3). As a further mark of his confidence in this archbishop, the same pope sent him with the character of his legate to treat with the emperor Henry, whom the archbishop ventured to crown in his absence; for which the pope excommunicated him in the council of Bremen (4). Gafus the second, his successor, was exactly of his sentiments; and the emperor, hearing that he had assumed the popedom without his leave, caused the archbishop of Braga to be elected by those of his party, March the 14th 1114, who thereupon assumed the name of Gregory the eighth; and was so acknowledged in some parts of Germany and England, whereas in France and in Spain they acknowledged Gafus, and in many countries they would own neither. Calixtus the second succeeded Gafus, made peace with the emperor, and then proceeded to Rome; upon which Gregory retired to Sutri, where Calixtus followed him, with an army, and made him prisoner in the month of April 1121. His soldiers mounted him upon a camel with his face towards the tail, with a sheep's skin new and bloody about his shoulders. He sent him prisoner to the monastery of Caesio, and from thence removed him to Fanula, whence his successor, Her- nioris the second, transferred him to Fumal near Auris, where he wore out the remainder of his days, and died in such misery and contempt (5), that the time is not known.

(2) Vita Mauriitii Burdini, archiepiscopi Logropensis, Scriptores Stephani Balduini in Hibberian. tom. iii. p. 471.
(3) Rod. a Cauna in traditio de Primo Procurentis Ecclpsa.
(4) Hispsoe de Pape, tom. ii. p. 528.
Chap. I.

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a age in general were certainly very extraordinary persons; for we find, that Don Bernardi, archbishop of Toledo, whose gratitude to the memory of his protector had kept him faithful to the interests of his family, and who, therefore, while the place was in the hands of the king of Arragon, remained under a cloud, no sooner regained his own authority, than he persuaded the people to make an attempt upon the strong town of Alcala de Henares, the same in which the antiquities are Complutum, and to which, from a conflux of waters, the Moors gave the name of Alcala, and distinguished it farther by the addition of Henares, the river upon which it stands; it was in all respects very considerable, but particularly in commanding a large district of country, well fortified, and had a numerous garrison; notwithstanding which, and that the Moors defended themselves gallantly, the archbishop reduced it, and immediately put it into the king's hands, who made a grant of it to the archbishops of Toledo, from which place it is distant about eighteen miles.

At the opening of the ensuing year died pope Celestius, who was succeeded by the archbishop of Vienne, uncle to Don Alonso Raymond, by the title of Celestius the second, for which reason we mention it. The queen, who at this time was upon good terms with her son, desired his assistance for recovering the places that were still held by the king of Arragon; and Don Alonso joined her with a considerable body of troops at Segovia, to which city she came with a numerous army, attended by most of the nobility of Leon, Castile, and Afturias. In a short time, however, after the king's arrival, disputes arose; for the nobility could not bear, that Don Pedro de Lara should put on airs of state and dignity in the presence both of his and their master, which excited murmurs in the army; till two of the principal lords cut things short, by feizing upon the person of Don Pedro, and carrying him prisoner to the castle of Mancilla; upon which the queen, in great discontent, retired to Leon. After her departure, the king, with the forces under his command, entered upon the proper business of the campaign, and reduced most of the places that were held by the king of Arragon, while those two lords of the queen's army, who had seised Don Pedro, followed her to Leon, reduced that city, befeleged her in the castle, which they constrained her to deliver up, and to be reconciled to her son. The new pope, at the request of a prelate who had delivered so firm a strict adherence to his nephew, raised the see of Compostella to the rank of an archbishopsprick, of which dignity Don Diego Gelimirez took possession July the 25th, on the feast of St. James, in the year 1120; and in the succeeding year he held a council there, in which he precided as the pope's legate, which gave no small offence to the archbishop of Toledo.

His cares were, however, unsuccessful, in respect to the preservation of the public tranquility; some of the nobility in Galicia remaining in arms under a great pretence, but with high pretensions of their fidelity to the king; which brought Donna Urraca thither, who had again drawn together a considerable army, by the assistance of the lords of her party in Galicia. The archbishop of Compostella received her with all imaginable marks of duty and respect, and, in obedience to her commands, endeavoured to reduce those of the nobility who were in arms; which, with some difficulty, he performed. The queen then declared her intention to act against her sister Donna Perera, on account of her having taken Tuy, and some other places which belonged to Galicia. The archbishop did all he could to prevent this war; but finding this out of his power, he passed the river Minho with his forces, and the rest of the king's army; but when Donna Perera, after having abandoned all the places in question, was besieged by the queen in the castle of Lanyafa, the archbishop was furious of retiring with his forces into his own diocese, which revived the queen's old resentment against that prelate, to whom the aforesaid moit of the disappointments she had met with in her violent projects. She dissembled, however, her disposition for the present, and give him leave to tend back his troops; but, under pretence of relying wholly upon his advice, would not suffer him to retire from about her person. She could not, however, take her measures so secretly, but that her sister Donna Perera gained intelligence of them, and gave notice to the archbishop of his danger, who was so much deceived by the queen's behaviour, that he considered this as an artifice to detach him from her service. He was very quickly convinced of his error; for, upon raising the siege, and the army repassing the Minho, the queen caufed this prelate and his three brothers to be arrested, and sent to different prisons, without the king's consent, though he was in the army; and at the same time seized upon several castles and lands that belonged to the archbishopsprick of Compostella. The queen's politics deceived her extremely upon this occasion; she imagined, from what had formerly happened, that this would have been pleasing to numbers of the Galicians; whereas it proved quite otherwise. The enemies of the archbishop were only so on account of his attachment to, and fears for her to the queen; and therefore the news of his imprisonment was no sooner divulged, than they were

were the loudest in their clamours; and those who would have burnt him in his church, now took up arms, or would have taken up arms, for his deliverance. It was thought more advisable to try fair means first; and therefore four prebendaries of the cathedral, and four deputies from the city of Compojella, were sent to know the reason why the queen had confined their archbishop, and met with a very ill reception. The queen went, however, in person to that city; and on St. James's day, proceeded in pomp to the cathedral, which she found entirely hung with black; and was met at the entrance by the principal persons of the city mourning, who very respectfully defied her, that she would hold this opportunity to set their archbishop at liberty; but the queen was inexorable; upon which her son Don Alonso left her, and went and incamped with his forces on the other side of the river, which riled the spirits of the people, and intimidated the queen, who at length perceiving her peril in danger, and that the people had seized John Diaz, in whose custody the archbishop was, the pretended suddenly to change her mind, ordered the archbishop to be released, declared she was satisfied of his innocence, and that she meant with the utmost severity to punish his accusers; but this had no effect; neither the populace thanked her for the archbishop's deliverance, nor could that be ever afterwards brought to trust her. So low even princes fall, when their articles are discovered.

In a short time after this, things were on the point of coming to an open rupture; the queen and her Castilian lords remaining in the field with one army, and the king Don Alonso, with the archbishop, Don Pedro Frolan, and most of the nobles of Galicia, at the head of another; but, through the indefatigable pains of the prelate, things were at length accommodated; and sixty lords of the queen's party bound themselves for the due performance of articles. But soon after all was in confusion again; Don Alonso, or at least the nobility about him, would have Galicia taken for a separate and independent kingdom, within which the queen should have no power; whereas the queen pretended, that her son held it in homage of her, and therefore very frequently committed therein most exorbitant acts of power. Some writers say, that, wearied out with these disputes and their conseqences, Don Alonso confined her; but the contrary is much more probable. At length on the sixth, as some say, on the eighth, as others affirm, and, as some again assert, on the tenth of March, in the year of our Lord 1126, she died at Saldaña, not far from Carrion, of the conseqences of a mifcarriage, as certain historians allege; though there want not those who affirm, that, having plundered the church of St. Isidore, she died suddenly as she came out, and was buried in the royal dormitory there, among the princes her ancestors, little regretted by her subjects.

The king Don Alonso came to Leon within two days after the death of the queen his mother, and was received with all possible testimonies of affection and loyalty by the nobility of Leon, Castile, and Asturias, who there swore allegiance to him; only the citadel of that place, being in the possession of the adherents of Don Pedro Lores, and his brother Don Roderic Gonzales, were hardly enough to refuse giving up that fortress to the king, surronded by his nobility. They were quickly made sensible of their fault; for many of the great lords, and more especially the archbishop of Compojella, had brought troops; so that, with the affittance of the towns, the place was presently invested, and in a few days carried by storm; when the king might have put the rebels to death, as well by the rules of war, as by the laws of the land; but he contented himself with banishing them his dominions. He next made a progress to Zamora, in order to receive the homage of the nobility in that neighbourhood; and this over, he went to Ricorado, which stands at the conflux of the rivers Orbigo and Duero, where he had a conference with his aunt Donna Teresa, and concluded a truce with her for a certain time; after which he returned to Zamora, to meet fuch of the Galician and Castilian nobility as had not hitherto sworn allegiance. But some there were, who, hardened by that spirit of anarchy that prevailed during the late troubles, absolutely refused to acknowledge him for their prince. These were Don Pedro Gonzales de Lara, and his brother Don Roderic, who kept, with their adherents, in the mountains of Santillana; Don Ximenez Iniguez, who held the town now called Valienda; Don Juan and Don Arias Perez in Galicia, where they had seized Cabra, Luparia, de Pena, de Cornara, and other places.

There were, besides these, some much more considerable places that still held for the king of Arragon; such as Carrion, Burgos, Villa Franca, among the mountains of Oca, Na-
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(a) jara, and some others; but this seems to have been chiefly out of pique to Donna Urraca; for, as soon as the king's accession was published, they most of them opened their gates, and the people of Burgos particularly compelled the king of Aragon's governor to retire into the citadel, which they reduced without any assistance, and then put both the city and suburbs into the king's hands. In Galicia the archbishop of Compostella humbled Arias Perez, tho' not without effusion of blood. Don Ximenes was constrained to surrender Valentiis, though he would not do it but to the king in person; so that, before the end of the year, the king found himself in full possession of all the dominions of his grandfather, except some few districts on the frontiers of Old Castile, which, however, troubled him more than all the rest, as the king of Aragon had some colour of title to them, which he appeared determined to maintain and make good by his sword. In the beginning of the succeeding year he marched with a numerous army, resolved to recover as much as possible, or at least to prevent what was still left; the king of Castile and Leon advanced towards him with the flower of both nations, and surrounded by the principal nobility and prelates of his dominions. When the armies drew near each other, neither of these princes discovered any great eagerness to fight. The king of Castile spoke very respectfully of his antagonist, and the king of Aragon could not help having a tenderness for a prince to whom he had been accustomed to call his son. The prelates and nobility on both sides saw this with great satisfaction; and the king of Aragon having been prevailed upon to send a message, importing, that in forty days he would order all the places in dispute to be evacuated, Don Alfonso Raymond demanded a personal interview, where all their differences were amicably determined, and the two kings parted perfectly good friends.

While the king Don Alfonso Raymond was at a distance from the frontiers of Galicia, Donna Theresa, Dona The- nia Termesia, who made no doubt that the war in Aragon would find him full employ- ment, caused the troops of Portugal to pass the Minho, in hopes of recovering Tuy, to which the pretended a right. Don Alfonso had no sooner notice of this, than he marched thither with the utmost diligence; and having obliged the enemy to repals the river, followed them into Portugal, where he began to lay the country waste with fire and sword; but at length, through the persuasions of the archbishop of Compostella, who accompanied him, he was prevailed upon to listen to an accommodation, and things were speedily adjusted between him and his aunt.

This was quickly followed by an alteration of government in that country, where the people were extremely dissatisfied with Donna Theresa's administration, and her too great regard for Don Ferdinand Perez, the son of Don Pedro Frolaz; and therefore proposed to Don Alfonso Henriquez, her son, that, laying aside his mother, he should take the government into his own hands, to which that high-spirited young prince readily consented, and caused himself immediately to be proclaimed sovereign of Portugal.

His mother, however, who was of a humour to part with her right so easily, and who had a good body of troops, under the command of her favourite, about her person, marched directly to reduce the prince and his adherents; but having the misfortune to lose a battle, and being soon after obliged to surrender a fortres, into which she had fled for shelter, she was constrained to do as her subjects would have her, and to leave the administration in the hands of her son; and as for Don Ferdinand Perez, he retired into Galicia (O).

(1) Manuel de Farias y Esfosa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iii. cap. 1.  
Don Alonso, king of Leon, having at this time peace on every side, and being full two and twenty years of age, thought it time to provide for the succession by a prudent marriage; and with this view cast his eyes upon Donna Berengara, the daughter of Raymond, count of Barcelona, a young princess of great beauty and distinguished merit; which marriage was concluded by the interposition of the king of Aragon, to the great satisfaction of all parties. The year following he held a council at Palentia, in which Don Raymond, who succeeded Don Bernard in the archbishopric of Toledo, presided; and in which many wholesome canons were made. Soon after this the king of Aragon, who had not been very punctual in fulfilling his promise, formed some pretensions upon Medina Celi and Moran, the latter of which he besieged; but the king of Leon marching with a numerous army to its relief, the king of Aragon raised the siege, and retired into his own dominions. The appearance of this war raised another rebellion for Don Pedro, count de Lara, and his brothers, attempted to engage the city of Palentia in a revolt, and not succeeding in that design, fortified several places in the mountains of Santillana. The king followed them hither sooner than they expected, invested the fort where Don Roderic Gonzales was, took it by storm, and made Don Roderic prisoner, who, knowing he deferred no mercy, did not expect it; but the king, having degraded and stripped him of his estates, gave him his life and liberty, but banished him his dominions; and not long after Don Pedro died of inflammations and a broken heart. His brother was no sooner informed of this, than he returned privately into Castile, threw himself at the king’s feet, and declared himself to live obsequiously in his own country, affording him, that he had not in his dominions a more faithful subject. The king, touched with his repentance and humility, restored him to his honours, estates, and his employments, which he more than merited by his future services. The king, perceiving that his forbearance would never procure the places that were still in the hands of the king of the Aragon, took the advantage of that monarch’s absence in France, to reduce them by force; but he contented himself with this, and did not offer any insult to that prince’s frontiers, or to his subjects. It is very possible he might have some political motive to this moderation in his conduct.

All this time a predatory war was carried on between the Christians in the kingdom of Toledo, and the Moors subject to the king of Seville; in which Don Roderic Gonzales, now restored to the king’s favour, had his share; and, though he behaved very bravely, had the misfortune to be beat; but, upon the arrival of Tenison ben-All, king of Morocco, things began to have a more serious aspect; for he privately issued his orders to his principal officers, to assemble a numerous army in the plain of Lucena, on the side of Cordova, looking towards Toledo, intending to have destroyed all the towns in the neighbourhood of that city. In the mean time the Christians, vexed at their late defeat, formed a body of a thousand excellent horses, and three or four thousand foot, passed the Tagus on the side of Talavera, and after that the Guadiana and Sierra Morena, with all the speed and secrecy possible, and at length threw themselves into the territory of Cordova, with no other intent than to plunder, and make a haughty retreat. There they received the first intelligence of the king of Morocco’s being on the other side of the city with a large army; upon which, giving themselves over for lost, they took a sudden and generous resolution; and, after a short repulse, began their march in the afternoon, continued it all night, and, before break of day, fell into the Montiel camp, where they made a horrible carnage; for the troops having not the least expectation of an enemy, more especially on that side, and, being attacked in the night, were in a thunder-struck, that they could make no resistance; the king himself, wounded in the thigh, got on horseback, and fled to Cordova, to which place as many followed him as escaped; the victorious Christians plundered the camp, mounted all their infantry on horseback, and, with immense riches, returned in triumph to Toledo, where the people were equally rejoiced at their successes, and at their own happy escape from a danger, of which they had not the least notion, till it came, attended with that of their deliverance. A circumstance that rendered their transports the greater, and did not recommend the governor the less.

The next year afforded the king of Castile and Leon troubles sufficient to exercise his courage and conduct. In the spring a rebellion broke out in the Aljama, at the head of which were the counts Don Gonzales Pelayz and Don Roderic Gomez; he marched immediately thither, and had the good fortune to make Don Roderic prisoner, whom he degraded from his honours and banished; but Don Gonzales, retiring into the city of Tudela, made there a long and vigorous defence; but, finding it impossible to escape, he submitted to the king’s mercy, who pardoned him freely; but by that time he returned to Leon had intelligence he had revoked all, and had made himself master of several strong places. His attention to this misfortune was called off by a greater, which was, the news that Don Alonso of Per-
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a. A.D. 1132; he was thus employed, advice was brought him, that the king of Morocco was on the point of invading the kingdom of Toledo with a numerous army; upon which he declared Don Roderic Gonzales governor of that city and kingdom. That nobleman raised a considerable body of forces; and having secured the capital, and heard that his master was advancing towards the king of Morocco, he threw himself into the kingdom of Seville, where he had the good fortune to defeat the Moors in a general engagement; and, having ravaged the country to the very gates of Seville, returned with his victorious army laden with plunder, and driving with them a multitude of slaves in triumph to Toledo. The king of Morocco, on the approach of Don Alonfo, after he had spoiled the open country, and taken and ruined some places of strength, thought proper to retire into his own dominions; where, meeting with a small body of Christians returning from an expedition, he surrounded them in the night, and the next day cut most of them to pieces.

The Moorish monarch Tezefin-ben-Alli, bearing still in his mind the importance of Toledo, Don Alonfo’s and that the recovery of this place was absolutely necessary to restore the credit and power of his nation, resolved to make yet another attempt, with an army more numerous than any he had before employed; but the king of Castile and Leon, being as early in the field as the Moors, marched directly towards that city, which the Moors had scarce time to invest, whereupon the Moors raised the siege, and withdrew into their own country. Don Alonfo having reviewed the garrison of Toledo, and considering that the city could be in no danger while they were in the enemy’s country, resolved to proceed forthwith into the territory of Cordova, by one passage, while Don Roderic, with the troops under his command, did the same by another, appointing the castle of Gallelo for the place of junction. There the armies being united, the king advanced into the neighbourhood of Cordova, wafting all the country before him, destroying their harvest, cutting down their fruit-trees, tearing up their olives by the roots, carrying off their cattle, burning their villages, ruining their moques, killing their priests, and driving their people into slavery; which, unless it was done from a principle of retaliation, and to prevent the continuance of such a method, was certainly extreme cruelty. He advanced in this manner to Seville, beyond it, and even to the sea-coast; in his return, however, with an immense booty, he met the van-guard of the Moors; but being at the head of his army, composed of Castilian cavalry, he charged them so briskly, and with such success, that the grofs of the army thought proper to retire into Seville; so that, without any further interruption, he returned in triumph into his own dominions, and at Taravera dismiffed his troops.

The brave old kind of Arragon was far from being so fortunate; his army being defeated by the infidels, and himself killed before Fraga. As he died without heirs of his body, it was claimed, and invaded with the title of monarch, and the people of Arragon elected his brother Don Ramire, though a monk, and the people of Navarre Don Garcia Ramirez, a descendant from their ancient princes, for their king. In the midst of these confusions, Don Alonfo marched with a numerous army towards Rigosa, where the inhabitants of Najara and Calaborra opened their gates to him, as did all the places of any consequence on the south of the Ebro, till he came to Saragossa, where he was met by Don Ramire, king of Arragon, and the chief prelates and nobility of his dominions, to whom Don Alonfo declared, that it was not through any motive of ambition, or with any views of conquest, that he came thither with his troops, but purely to protect them from the infidels. While he remained here, his brother-in-law, count Raymond, of Barcelona, repaired thither, and did him homage as his vassal; and his cousin Don Alonfo of Touloufe did the like. The king of Arragon, with the consent of his prelates and peers, yielded him the city of Saragossa; and the bishops having, in great ceremony, bestowed upon him their benedictions in the church of our lady of the pillar, he returned with his army into his own dominions. The new king of Navarre met him in his passage, and, being devious to obtain his protection, did him voluntary homage; after which he proceeded to Leon to keep his Whitfastide, at which feast he proposed to solemnize his coronation. They were then present together at this high feast the king and queen of Castile, the Infanta Donna Sanche, the king’s sister, Don Garcia, king of Navarre, with all the prelates, abbots, counts, and great lords of the kingdom. They met the first day in the cathedral church of that city, where they consulted of ecclesiastical affairs only, and of the means of restoring ecclesiastical discipline. The day following it was resolved to proclaim the king Don Alonfo emperor.

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b Roderic Tolet. His. Arabum.  
e Chron. var. antiqu.  
f Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. x. Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v.  
g fect. xi. Mayenne Turquet.  
i Chron. var. antiqu.  

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S I  
and,
and, accordingly, a deputation was sent to bring him from his palace to the church, where Don a
Raymond, archbishop of Toledo, assisted by the bishops, abbots, and clergy, waited for him. As soon as he entered, the imperial mantle was thrown upon his shoulders, he was conducted up to the high altar, where, the crown being placed upon his head, and the scepter in his hand, supported on the right by Don Garcia, king of Navarre, and on the left by Don Arias, bishop of Leon, the clergy sung a solemn Te Deum; after which followed divine service; and, as soon as this was over, he was proclaimed emperor, all the auxiliants crying with a loud voice, Long live his imperial majesty b Don Alonfo. This ceremony concluded, the emperor, with all who were present, returned to his palace, where a sumptuous feast was prepared (P).

We might reasonably, from the number of his vassals, and the good-will expressed to him b on all fides, more especially in regard to the last mentioned action, conclude, that no prince had less to fear from his Christian neighbours; but such is the nature of men, and too frequently of princes, that they oppress those that are weaker, and envy such as are stronger. Upon this principle it was that Don Garcia Ramirez, king of Navarre, and Don Alonfo Enriques, sovereign of Portugal, entered into a league against the emperor; the cause of which was, that the former was desirous of recovering the country of Rioja, and the latter was unwilling to render homage to the emperor for his dominions, by whom it was required. In virtue of this league, Don Alonfo made an irruption into Galicia, where he made himself master of Tuy, and some other places, partly by force and partly by corrupting the governors, who were entrusted with Turon and Limina. The emperor sent an army into Galicia, commanded c by some of the prime nobility, to expel the enemy, but they were unfortunately defeated. As for the king of Navarre, the emperor was no sooner informed of his behaviour, than he entered his dominions in person, at the head of a numerous army, and wafted his country, without being able to bring him to a battle *. In this expedition he had a conference with the king of Arragon, to whom he restored the city of Saragossa, upon condition that he should hold it as his feudality, and do him homage, which he very willingly accepted. (Q)

About this time the emperor, upon some recollection of old disfates, dismiffed Don Roderic Gonzales from his emploiments e, who thereupon went to the Holy Land (Q), and appointed

Don Alonfo
Enriques of


(P) In the assembly of the lords and prelates, which, upon this occasion, is not filled a council, probably because religious matters were not the subject of their deliberations, the following laws were made, or rather declared, for most of them seem to have been laws before, and to have received only on this occasion the sanction of the emperor, that his subjects might have the greater reverence for his new title (1). 1. The people shall henceforward be governed in the same manner, and enjoy the same privileges, as in the reign of Don Alonfo VI. grand father to the reigning emperor. 2. Churches and private persons shall be referred to whatever ecclesiastics they can prove any legal title to. 3. All towns and villages that have been destroyed during the late troubles shall be rebuilt and repopulated, and the country round them cultivated, by planting vines and fruit trees. 4. The judges shall try every where punish, with such severity as the law requires, malefactors of all kinds, without respect of persons. 5. Sorcerers and magicians shall be punished with death. 6. The alcaides of Toledo, and other frontier provinces, shall annually make excursions into the enemy’s territories, and waft the country with fire and sword. These were all the laws they passed; and it appears to have been the meaning of this law to oblige the Moors to put themselves under the king’s protection, or at least it had this consequence; for we find that, upon an expedition of this nature, about five years before, a certain Moor of great quality, whose name was Zafalola, defended from the ancient kings of Cordouan, and lord of Rhoda, in the province of La Mancha, sub-

mitted himself to Don Alonfo, put that place into his hands with its dependencies, and, retiring with his family into the kingdom of Toledo, had very considerable grants of castles, houses, and arable lands for his support; and as his cattle of Rhoda was given by the king to his new born son, it fixes the birth of the Infant Don Sancto a Don Domini 1112 (2), which is of some importance,

(Q) There does not appear the least trace of the motives which induced the emperor to entertain fresh suspicions of Don Roderic Gonzales. All we know of the matter is, that this great man, no sooner perceived it, than he demanded leave to take the crofs, as was common in those days, in order to make an expedition into the Holy Land, which was willingly granted him; and he went accordingly, accompanied by such as were either defirous of making that expedition, or inclined to follow his fortunes. He behaved in the wars against the Saracens with the same courage and conduct as against the Moors: built a fort near Alcalafell, which he fortified, and provided with every thing necessary for its defence; but being seized with a desire of leaving his native country, he made a prentice of it to the knights templars. On his return to Spain, he went first to the court of Don Raymond, count of Barcelona; afterwards to that of Don Garcia, king of Navarre; but it does not appear that he ever thought of entering Coflile: from whence we may conclude, that he remained still under the emperor’s displeasure. We have a farther proof of this, from his withdrawing out of Navarre, in order to put himself under the protection


(2) Annal Toletan. Chron. of
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a pointed Don Roderic Fernandez to the government of Toledo in his stead; who, at the first Portugal de-

manded his return to Toledo, which gained him great reputation. The next year the emperor went in

person against the Portuguese, and sent three of his principal nobility, with a numerous army,
to make head against the king of Navarre. As his army was more numerous than that of his
ancestors, he entered the kingdom of Portugal, and wasted the country with fire and sword. On the other hand, Don Alonso Enriguez, who acted on the defensive, being ex-

tremely chagrined to see his dominions ruined, and his subjects oppressed, fought, with the utmost diligence, how he might be revenged: and perceiving that Don Ramiro, who com-

manded a great detachment of the emperor's army, was at too great a distance to be succoured,
he threw himself and his forces between him and the emperor, and, attacking him with great fury, destroyed most of his troops, and made him prisoner. This check served only to irritate
the emperor, who endeavoured to force his cousin Don Alonso to a battle; who, upon in-
telligence received, that the Moors had made an irruption on the other side of Portugal, was prevaled upon by his nobility to fend a deputation to the emperor, who received them very obli-
gingly; telling the ambassadors there would not be much difficulty in making a peace; towards which there required no more than restoring the places and setting the prisoners at liberty taken on both sides. This was done on the part of the Portuguese at the return of their
deputies, and immediately after by the emperor, who then had an interview with his cousin,
c and parted for good friends, that Don Alonso Enriguez thought proper to order the counts Don
Gomez Nunez, and Don Rodrigo Velloso, who had given rile to the war, by betraying their
mater, to quit his dominions; the common reward of traitors which affected the former
so much, that he retired into France, and became a monk; as for the second, he went to the
emperor, and expreseed so much forrow for his offence, that he forgave him, and restored him to his employments. Don Roderic Fernandez made another successful expedition against the Moors this year; and the emperor's brother-in-law, Don Raymond, obtaining
the crown of Arragon by the marriage of the heiress, prevaled upon the emperor to restore
the places he had taken from that kingdom.

This war on the side of Toledo continued with pretty equal fortune on both sides; but the

d emperor, finding himself at ease from his neighbours, resolved to make a brisk effort with all his
forces against the infidels, which he accordingly did, by entering Andalusa with a numer-
ous army. A considerable detachment having passed the river without the emperor's leave,
out of a desire to pillage, there fell so heavy a rain in the night, that they found the stream altogether impassable, and the very next day were surrounded by the enemy, and cut to pieces in
fight of the emperor and his army, only one escaping by his great skill in swimming. This accident so disgusted the emperor, that he returned into his own dominions, resoluing to con-
clude the campaign with reducing Cordia, a place of importance, and which, being in the hands of the Moors, gave him a great deal of trouble. He besieged it accordingly; but the place being very well defended, and Don Roderic Martinez, governor of Leon, and one of the

emperor's principal generals, being killed upon the spot, the emperor caused the siege to be raised; and having beffowed upon Don Qoist, his son of Don Roderic, his father's employ-
ments, he returned to Leon; by no means pleased with the operations of the year; and re-
olved to employ the winter in preparing for a new expedition in the spring; to which he was not a little excited, by having advice, that Tesein ben Ali had caued the best part of the Christians inhabiting in his dominions to be transported to Africa; where he employed them as
soldiers, being well acquainted with their valour, and having no reason to distrust their fide-

lity, when fighting against as well as for infidels; which afflicted the emperor exceedingly; who knew well enough, that the principal motive to this ill uage they had shewn of becoming his subjects. He took pains, therefore, to settle, in the best manner he
was able, all disputes with his neighbours, and even to terminate such as had broke out between
themselfs, from a persuasion that, when they had no other quarrel on their hands, they

of the Moors, for what reason it is impossible to guess, gave him a poisonous draught, which threw him into a le-

prosy; and being by this means convinced that he could be no where safe in Spain, he returned again into the Holp Land, and there ended his days. A memorable

insane of the danger in digressing once from the right path, which it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to recover (1).

(1) Chron. Arias Imperat.
would naturally employ their arms against the Moors; and that, whether designed or not, a
there would be in effect so many diversions in his favour. His scheme, as it was well laid, was
prudently and happily executed, so that in the spring he found himself at full liberty to pur-
fur the plan of operation he had laid down, without any apprehension of being compelled by
new disturbances to alter his measures, which had hitherto been the principal cause that his
arms had not made so great an impression upon the infidels, as, from the superiority of his
power, in comparison with that of his predecessors, he had just reason to expect. He cer-
tainly reasoned very right upon this head; and if he could have prevailed upon the Sovereigns
of Navarre, Aragon, and Portugal, to have adopted the same principles, and to have pursu-
pued them steadily, the Moors had been much sooner driven out of Spain than they were.

The infidels had a very strong fortress at Oregia, which lay to the east of Toledo, from
whence they made frequent irruptions into the territories of that city; and the year before,
the Christians, not without great difficulty, had erected the castle of Atessa, in order to be a
check upon this place; but it seems this did not prove so effectual a remedy as the nature of the
cafe required: the emperor, therefore, resolved to open the campaign with the reduction of
Oregia, that his subjects might be once for all delivered from this thorn in their sides, with
which hitherto they had been continually troubled. Accordingly, Don Roderic Fernandez
inveigled it with the forces under his command, in the month of April, and the emperor joined
him soon after with a very numerous and well appointed army. The alcayde of Oregia was Ali,
estemed the best officer in the Moorish service; he had a very powerful garrison, and the
place was well supplied with everything necessary; so that, as his countrymen expected, he
made a very brave and well conducted defence.

At length he gave notice to the alcaydes of Cordova and Seville, that their out-works were ruined, his garrison much diminished, his mag-
gazines almost exhausted, and that, therefore, they must fend him an effectual and speedy
relief, if they expected he should keep the place. The alcaydes began to amass provisions,
and to raise forces, at the same time that they gave intelligence to Fezoun ben Ali, who was at
Morocco, of the situation things were in, and the apprehensions they were under; upon which
he sent over a fresh body of troops, and ordered them to leave nothing untried to force the
emperor to raise the siege.

Upon the junction of their forces, the alcaydes found themselves at the head of thirty thousand good troops, with a vaft train of wagons, laden with provisions and other necessaries. They resolved to march directly towards Oregia, and were so confident of success, that they sent instructions to Ali to make a vigorous fall on the Christians when they should begin to raise the siege.

The emperor, who had perfect intelligence of all their measures, determined to wait for them, and to give them battle if they persisted in their design, or to suffer them to besiege Toledo, if they proposed by that method to divert him from his enterprise.

In their march, the Moors took a small fort or two, and at length insulted the castle of
Atessa, where the empress lay with the ladies of her court. She sent a message to the al-
caydes, that the emperor waited for them at Oregia, which was the proper place for men of
their birth and breeding to signalize themselves, and that little honour was to be got by disturbing
a number of helpless women. The Moorish generals excused themselves for their ignorance,
and desired to have the honour of paying their respects to her imperial majesty. The empress,
granted them, appeared upon the ramparts with all her ladies richly dressed; and the alcaydes,
at the head of their troops, in order of battle, having paid her their military salute, retired with-
out giving her any farther disturbance. They tried every method they could devise to draw
the emperor out of his lines, or to force a passage for their succours, but to no purpose. At last
Ali sent to the emperor, and offered to surrender, if he was not relieved in a month, upon
condition that his garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was escorted safely to Cala-
trava. The emperor accepted the proposal, and gave him leave to send to the king his
matter, who returned for answer, that he might surrender when he would, for that it was not
in his power to relieve him. When they came to march out, himself and garrison were per-
fected skeletons; the emperor received them very kindly, entertained Ali at his own expense,
and ordered the garrison to be distributed thro' the camp. The alcayde expressed his surprise,
and desired he might march to Calatrrava. The emperor bid him be in no pain, that the articles
should be punctually executed, but that he could not part with so many brave men in such a
condition; and after feasting them for a month, sent them back very well satisfied with
their usage.

The fortress of Oregia was surrendered in the month of October; and, after

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Arab. Chron. var. antiqu. 3 Luc. Tudene. Chron. Adefons. Imperat. 4 Maza-
Chron. var. antiqu.
The history of Leon and Castile.

The castle was thoroughly repaired, and a good garrison put into it; the emperor marched in triumph to Toledo; where, after singing Te Deum, and receiving the benediction of the archbishop, he went to his palace, and lent for the empress and her court, extremely well satisfied with the success of this campaign (R).

Raymond, prince of Aragon, and count of Barcelona, relying on his near relation to the Don Garcia, endeavoured to engage him in a league against the king of Navarre, against whom the emperor wanted not some just causes of complaint; and, therefore, what the prince of Aragon desired was easily brought about, who made no question now that he should be able to reunite the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon, giving some places that lay convenient to the emperor for his affiance. But Don Garcia very judiciously set on foot a negotiation of Aragon.

b with the young king of Portugal, by which he was brought to discern how great his danger must be by any accession of power to the emperor, which engaged him to enter into a defensive alliance with Don Garcia. As soon, therefore, as the seafon would permit, the emperor and the prince of Aragon took the field; Don Garcia was sensible, that his forces were by no means sufficient to act against those of the two princes joined together; from whence he very wisely concluded, that it was his business to fight them separately, rather than fight the weakest. Accordingly, having put a strong garrison into Pampeluna, he left the rest of his dominions to the emperor's mercy, marching with the best body of troops he could assemble against the prince of Aragon. The emperor, meeting with no resistance at Navarre, advanced to Pampeluna, and besieged it; but the place was scarce invested,

c before he had the news of Don Garcia's having beat the prince of Aragon; and this induced him to release the garrison to give battle to the victorious army. Don Garcia, however, with his usual prudence, quitted the field, and threw his troops into the adjacent fortresses; upon which the emperor and himself obliged to retire into his own dominions, and to defer the prosecution of the war to the next season. In the mean time Don Garcia took pains to recall and strengthen his army in such a manner, that he quickly found it in his power to give the emperor battle; but upon that monarch's entering his dominions, the nobility and prelates on both sides interposed to efficaciously, that a peace was concluded. The emperor's eldest son, Don Sancho, espoused the Infanta Donna Blanca, daughter to the king of Navarre; and, as this prince was very young, he was sent to be educated at the court of Castile. The king of Portugal also, who had been extremely rudely handled in his invasion of Galicia, judged it expedient to make peace likewise; and by this means the ambitious scheme of the prince of Aragon was entirely defeated, and the peace of the Christians in Spain restored.

The war with the Moors continued all this time so hot as ever, and the alcazars, Almor. The Moors, by Aezel of Cordova, and Almor-Ceta of Sevilla, having united their forces, resolved to undertake an expedition of importance; the consequences of which might prove more favourable to their nation than those predatory excursions that were commonly the business of their summers. Accordingly, having taken all the precautions that they thought necessary, and assembled the utmost force of their respective governments, they directed their march, with as much secrecy as possible, towards the fortresses of Mara, between the rivers Guadiana and Tajo, and at no great distance from Toledo; a place of infinite importance, as it covered the Christian frontier on one side, and opened a passage into the Moorish territories on the other, where the Christian governor, Munia Alonso, through an inexcusable indolence, was so ill provided, that the place was easily surprised, and himself, with some difficulty, made his escape to Toledo. The Moors instantly furnished it with all things necessary, and a numerous garrison; and having recommended the support of it to the alcazay of Calatrava, to whom it served as a barrier, returned home in triumph. The emperor was very much affected.

(R) The emperor, after taking the fortresses of Goya, returned, as we have said in the text, in triumph to Toledo; where, as soon as the rejoicing for his successes were over, he applied himself during the winter to regulate the concerns of his civil government, to relieve grievances, to determine disputes among his nobility, and to make the proper provisions for feeding and securing his conquests. We mention this once for all in a note, that the reader may form some notion of this monarch's administration, who, at the three great feasts, but more especially in the winter, caressed his prelates and nobility to refer to his court; where, by his authority always, and very often in his presence, they heard and decided differences of every kind; and, when this was over, took the emperor's instructions with regard to the particular suits reported in them, as to their respective governments (1).

(1) Chron. Adefons Imperat.
affected at this news, and therefore sent immediate orders to build a new fortress over against that of Mora, and to place in it a good garrison, under the command of Don Martin Fernandez, to which new castle they gave the name of Piedra Negra, or the Black Stone. As for Muna Alonso, he was so much ashamed of his late disgrace, that, putting himself at the head of such forces as his friends were content to furnish him with, he made repeated inroads, in order to recover his reputation; and the emperor, who was naturally of a mild disposition, did not fend for him to reprimand him, as he expected, for so capital an omission, but willingly allowed him leisure to repair his fortune.

As the Moors had lately received great reinforcements, and seemed to threaten some expedition of importance, the emperor, being first well apprised of the strength of his frontiers, ordered Don Roderic Fernandez to make an excursion from Toledo, and with a good body of troops that were under his own command, and were intended for the war in Portugal, he suddenly invested Coria, which hitherto had defended itself against all attempts by the strength of its situation, and the care taken to keep the garrison always complete, and in good order. It was for this reason, perhaps, that they were less alarmed than otherwise they would have been at the news of this siege, which the emperor procured with great judgment, for, having made a breach on one side of the place, and finding the enemy numerous, and bent upon an obstinate defence, he remained quiet till famine had brought the Moors so low, that they offered to capitulate, in case they were not relieved in thirty days to which he consented. But the governor of Toledo, being informed of the situation that things were in, made his irritation just at this juncture, which put it out of the power of the alcaydes of Cordova and Sevilla to succour the place; which, at the close therefore of the thirty days, surrendered; upon which the emperor caused the breach to be immediately repaired, filled the magazines with provisions of all sorts, and, leaving a strong garrison, returned to Salamanca; and then sending for Muna Alonso, commended his services highly, and declared him lieutenant to Don Roderic Fernandez in the government of the city and kingdom of Toledo, rewarding his good, and passing by the ill consequences that had attended his imprudent behaviour.

This promotion inspired Don Muna Alonso with so warm a desire of signalizing his gratitude, as well as his courage, that, on the first of March, in the ensuing year, he made an incursion, with nine hundred horse and a thousand foot, into the territory of Cordova, where his troops acquired a great booty. But the alcaydes, Aben-Azuel and Aben Ceta, intending an expedition of the same kind, had just joined their forces, when they had intelligence, of Don Muna Alonso’s retreat, whom they followed with such diligence, that they quickly came up with him, and surrounded his troops, laden with booty, with forces far superior to those which he commanded. Don Muna divided his forces into two battalions, and, having recommended themselves to the protection of God, began the fight with great courage, which they prosecuted with such intrepidity, that the Moors were not only beaten, but both the alcaydes slain, and their heads carried in triumph to Toledo; where, after they had for some time been placed on the palace, the empress caused them to be taken down, and sent to Cordova in a silver box, that they might be restored to their wives, in remembrance of the civility she had received from those alcaydes in their life-time.

The emperor having assembled a numerous army, and being on the point of making an incursion into the enemy’s country, sent orders to Muna Alonso and to Martin Fernandez to put them selves, with a strong corps of troops, into the fortress of Piedra Negra, with strict injunctions to cover his own territory from the incursions of the enemy, and to hinder them from making any additions to the castle of Mora. On the other hand, Texefin ben-Alli, monarch of the Moors in Africa and Spain, had sent express orders for providing the fortresses of Mora with everything necessary, and for augmenting the works of that place; with the performance of which service, his vicerey charged Farax Adaili, alcayde of Calatrava, who, after making all the preparations necessary for that purpose, marched towards Mora with a numerous body of troops. Muna Alonso, in pursuance of the emperor’s instructions, joined with a small troop of horse from the fortress of Piedra Negra to scour the country, and by accident picked up a straggling Moor, who gave him intelligence of the alcayde’s approach. Upon this, advancing to an eminence, he met the van of the Moorish troops, and charged them so briskly, that he drove them back in confusion upon their main body; of which when he had taken view, he returned to the fortresses with his colleague. On his report, Martin Fernandez proposed marching out and meeting them in the field; to which Muna Alonso readily consented. When they had proceeded as far as the walls of Salamanca, they found the Moors drawn up in good order, whom they attacked with great spirit, and were received with much.
Chap. i.  The history of Leon and Castile.

a much firmness. The dispute was sharp, and by no means decisive, both parties finding it requisite to retire, in order to gain a little repose. But Mana Alfonso, perceiving that his colleague was wounded, advised them to retire to Piedra Negra, with such as were in the same condition, or had lost their horses, to take the necessary measures for the security of the place; while he, with the remainder of their forces, should endeavour to give a check to the Moors, in case they attempted to attack it by surprise.

Farax Adali, having received a reinforcement, marched speedily to find out the Christians; who, perceiving their great inequality in number, marched to an eminence, called Pegua de el Ziebro, where they might have some advantage of ground. The Moors quickly invested them; and, after haranguing them with distant attacks, set length charged on all sides with such fury, that, being already weakened and fatigued, they were quickly broken and cut to pieces; which, however, had not happened so soon, if their gallant leader had not been slain at the beginning of the general attack. The alcaide, as soon as his body was found, cau ed his head, his left arm, and his right leg, to be cut off, and sent to the widow of Aben Azazel at Cordova, who was to transmit them to the widow of Aben-Cata at Sevilla, by whom they were to be conducted to the king of Morocco; the rest of the dismembered body he restored to the Christians; who, with sorrowful solemnity, caused it to be buried at Toledo. The emperor received this unwelcome news at Talavera, to which city he was returned after a glorious campaign; which, however, did not console him for the loss of this gallant commander, whom he resolved to revenge, and repair the ensuing year, and gave orders that all his forces should assemble for that purpose early in the spring.

At the time Don Alfonso deliberated on the proper object of this expedition, his subjects complained to him, so loudly of the disturbance given them by the Moors' garrison in the fortes of Mora, that he determined with himself to pluck that thorn from their sides before he made an irruption into the enemies country; and, having accordingly invested the place, he proceeded to the siege in force; but the garrison, perceiving little or no hopes of relief, thought proper, by an early capitulation, to procure for themselves the best terms they could; by which means this place came again into the hands of the Christians. It was, in all probability, some intelligence that the emperor received during the time he was in camp before Mora, which induced him to alter his plan, and to assemble all the forces of Castile and Leon towards the middle of the month of May, in the neighbourhood of Najara, with a full resolution to reduce the monarch of Navarre so low, that it should not be in his power to disturb him, and his brother the prince of Arragon, in haite. But when he was on the point of entering that king's dominions, Don Garcia sent some of his prelates and nobility to inform him of his great respect for his person, his sincere desire to live with him upon good terms for the future, and his inclination to marry Donna Urraca, the emperor's natural daughter. This proposition disarmed the emperor, who, as he had nothing in view but to be quiet on that side, readily granted all he asked; and, having dismissed his troops, returned to Leon; to which city came the empress Donna Berengara, with most of the nobility of the two kingdoms of Castile and Leon; thither also came the princess Donna Sanchez, the emperor's sister, bringing with her her beautiful niece Donna Urraca; and soon after arrived Don Garcia, attended by the flower of his nobility. The marriage was celebrated with all imaginable pomp and magnificence, on the 24th of June; the emperor gave his daughter a large sum of money, made very rich presents to the king of Navarre and his nobility at their departure, and sent several perons of the first quality to accompany them to Pampluna. These rejoicings over, the emperor returned to Toledo; and, in the month of September, made an irruption with all his forces into the Moors territories, ravaged the country as far as Granada and the sea coast, and returned with an immense booty, and a prodigious number of slaves, to his capital, in the beginning of winter.

The affairs of the Moors at this time were in the utmost confusion; for Tevcsh-bin-Ati, Galiel, el-ABAD, etc., and great rebellion, amongst the Moors, fled in Spain.

f found himself to be diffused in Africa, that instead of yielding his subjects in Spain any assistance, he was continually requiring such supplies from thence as exhausted them; insomuch that the Spanish Moors determined at length to throw off the yoke, and to render themselves once more independent. It was with this view that they demanded of the emperor Don Alfonso, Zafra, dula his vassals, on account of his being defended from their ancient kings of Cordova, to whom they joined Mohammad, who was sprung from the same blood, and put them in possession of a great part of the country; while the viceroy, Aben Gama, could only preserve the castle of Cordova, the city of Sevilla, and two or three other places; and soon after one Haben Fandi, a pretended saint, seized Cordova and Calatrava; while Jaen, Granada, and Murcia, remained
remained to Zafadola; Seville, and the rest of Andalusia, to Aben-Gama; Mortala, Valencia, a Merida, and Tortosa, to Mobammed 2. Zafadola, not contented with his share, requested assistance from the emperor, who lent one of his generals with a considerable body of forces to his aid, with whom, after they had done him much service, he quarrelled, and attacked them with his Moorish troops, but was quickly beaten and taken prisoner; and the soldiers, not being able to agree whose prisoner he was, killed him to put an end to the dispute. Aben Gama took this opportunity to recover Cordova, which he did, and obliged H. ben-Fandi to fly to Andujar, and soon after delivered it up to the emperor Don Alonzo, from whom he received it again as his feudatory. That monarch also took the advantage of these troubles to beleaguer and render himself master of Calatrava, a place of great importance; and by which he acquired the command of the belt part of La Mancha, which removed the Moors so much farther from Toledo.

The distractions of the Moors induced the emperor to hope for success in an expedition of still greater importance, which was the reduction of the city, fortress, and port of Almeria, at that time by much the strongest place the Moors had in Spain; from whence their privateers, which were exceedingly numerous, not only troubled the coasts inhabited by their Christian neighbours, but gave equal disturbance to the maritime provinces of France, Italy, and the adjacent islands. But for the reduction of this place a maritime force, superior to that of the enemy, was absolutely necessary, which induced him to negotiate supplies from his brother-in-law the prince of Aragon, the duke of Montpellier, the republic of Genoa and Pisa, who gave him the strongest assurances, that if he took the proper measures for invading the place by land, their squadron should not fail to block up the port by the fleet of Aegypt; and Don Alonzo, relying on this engagement, was no sooner reinforced by the troops of Navaure, that he entered upon this great undertaking with all the forces of his dominions, and invaded Andalusia in the beginning of the month of May (S). He first of all reduced Banos and Carzana, and then proceeded to invest Badajoz, which made a vigorous defence, and did not surrender before the middle of June. He put into the place a strong garrison, commanded by Don Maurique de Lara, and, marching through the territories of the Moors, invaded Almeria on the land side completely by the fleet of Aegypt, his confederates, with four fine squadrons lying before the bay. The city being strongly fortified, having a noble castle, a numerous garrison, and being excellently provided with every thing necessary, made a gallant and glorious defence; but at length the emperor took it by storm, on the 17th of October 2, putting all the inhabitants to the sword who were found in arms; after which the victor distributed the best part of the plunder amongst his allies, whom he sent away thoroughly satisfied; and the Genoese particularly, who acquired here that emerald vessel which still remains in their treasury, and is esteemed invaluable; yet the emperor, who remained master of the place, and delivered his subjects from the continual apprehensions they were under from this nef of corsairs, was by much the greatest gainer, and very wisely looked upon this campaign as the most glorious, as well as the most advantageous, with which Providence had favoured his arms.

Thejoy which this important acquisition gave to the Christians, however great, did not at all exceed the forrow, vexation, and terror, with which the insulds were affected by so great a loss, but more especially Aben-Gama, who felt so sensible a regret on this account, that from the apprehension of the consequences that might, or rather must attend it, and despairing of any other method to balance it, he projected, contrary to his faith and duty, as he was his vassal, against the dictates of honour and the principles of religion, the murder

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(S) It is supposed by some, that the place, since called Almerin, role upon the ruins of the ancient town of Aldea; though others conceive, that Aldea lay somewhat farther to the east (1). It lies within a fine bay, at the mouth of a pleasant river, close to the sea shore, and was in those days all that is said to be in the text; and, upon its reduction under the power of the Christians, became a bishopric; whereas at present it is very little better than a village, but indifferently inhabited, and has nothing to tell of so much as the probability of its former greatness, except it be certain circumstances that cannot be told or related even by the indolence of the Spanish. What there are, an ingenious countryman of our own thus elegantly describes (2): ' Its climate,' says he, ' is so peculiarly blessed, that one really wants words to express its charms and excellence. Its fields and meads are covered with flowers all the year round; they are adorned also with palm, myrtus, plane trees, oranges, and olives; and the mountains and prominouts near it are as noted for their producing a great variety of precious stones, infinumuch that the next promontory to it is called the Cape of Gites, which is a corruption from the word agate, the hills therabouts are bounding in that fort of precious stones, as well as in emeralds and amethysts, granates, or coarse rubies, and extreme curious alabaster in the mountain of Felicea. And what is also very singular, there is a confederable river that runs directly under the town, and then immediately discharges itself into the sea.' Such is the fete of Almerin, which was once so strong and magnificent a place.

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(2) Tour through Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap
of the emperor. In order to effect this, he threw himself into the strong city of Jaén, and sent Don Alphonso a message with great secrecy, that if he would advance towards him with a small body of chosen troops, with as much privacy as possible, he would open the gates, and admit him into the city, as he done into Cordova. The emperor was very near falling into the snare; but some of his nobility, to whom he communicated this proposition, dissuaded him earnestly: so that he sent Don Manrique de Lara, with part of his garrisons, to demand of the Moorish chief the performance of his promise: and he had no sooner admitted that nobleman into Jaén, than he attempted to secure him, and those who attended him: but the populace, either not understanding his scheme, or fearing the resentment of the emperor, raised a tumult, in which Aben-Gama was stabbed, and Don Manrique, and those who were to have been the victims of his treachery, were either permitted to withdraw by the inhabitants, or found means, in the midst of this confusion, to open a passage for their escape; by which disappointments, and the death of the Moorish governor, the disturbances amongst the infidels were very much increased, as in some places there was scarcely any form of government left.

The year following began with mourning: for on the third of February died the empress Donna Berengara, extremely regretted by Don Alphonso and all his subjects; and her body was interred with all the pomp and ceremony due to her high rank in the apostolic church of St. James at Compostella. In the beginning of March the emperor held the great assembly of eftates at Leon, where he declared his sons Don Sancho and Don Ferdinand kings; the former of Castile, the mountains of Burgos, Biscay, and Toledo; the latter of Leon, Asturias, and Galicia, according to their ancient limits; which remarkable event some historians place earlier, and some later; but public inscriptions, and their signatures to privileges and charters by this new title, are the circumstances which have determined us to this date. The new dynasty of Almohades, which, after being detached from the Almoravides in Africa, had likewise gained most of the places they possessed in Spain, and particularly Cordova, treated the few remaining Christians in Andalusia, according to their bigotted maxims, with unrelenting severity; so that, in a very short space of time, all who worshipped God according to the lights of the Gospel, were either transported to Africa, or utterly extinguished; which crueltly, joined with the sending over several bodies of Moors, and the known ambition of the new conqueror of Morocco, obliged the emperor not to wait till the Mohammans were in a condition to attack him, but to prosecute those expeditions, by which he had hitherto so successfully weakened these implacable enemies.

As soon, therefore, as the assembly of the eftates was over, he gave instructions to his principal nobility to make their levies in the winter, and to bring their respective quotas into the neighbourhood of Toledo early in the ensuing spring. Count Manrique, who commanded the forces of that kingdom, in obedience to the emperor’s command, took the field in the beginning of the month of March, and was very speedily joined by the king Don Garcia, at the head of a chosen body of his forces; the count Ferdinand Perez de Trava appeared at the head of the Galicians; those of Asturias and Leon were led by Don Ramiro Frélaz, Don Gutierrez Fernandez was at the head of the Castilians; and Don Ponce brought the whole strength of the country of Esfremadura. The emperor put himself at the head of the army as soon as it was assembled, entered the enemy’s territories, and proposed to besiege Cordova; but received intelligence in his march, that the enemy had formed the like design


(T) We are assured by some eminent historians, amongst whom we may reckon Mariana, that the emperor had received a former specimen of the temerity and fidelity of Aben-Gama, who, at the time that he surrendered Cordova into the hands of that prince, suffered him, at the instance of Don Raymond archbishop of Toledo, to re-consecrate the cathedral, enlarged the front and finet in the whole kingdom; and this only with a view that he might not leave a garrison behind him, which might have put him under great difficulties. But when the emperor had once lost this opportunity, Aben-Gama doubtless had reason to regret it, by repairing the fortifications, and placing there the bulk part of his forces. He had, therefore, good reason to doubt his sincerity at Jaén; but as that all was of much importance, the emperor was exceedingly delirious of making the most of those confusions while they lasted; he was very near being made the victim of his own ambition. It is very uncertain how Don Manuel de Lara, and those who were with him, escaped, which, the nature of this adventure considered, we cannot think strange. Amongst the singular events, however, attending this enterprise, we may discern, in the death of Aben-Gama, that sooner or later fraud becomes fatal to itself; and that he, who is intent upon over-reaching his neighbour, finds himself, when he least expects it, the miserable contriver of his own destruction.

(1) Mariana, Historia general de Espafa, lib. ii.

§ L against
against Toledo, and, upon news of his invasion, were in full march to attack him. Don 
Alonso immediately made the proper dispositions to receive them; and it was not long before 
the Moors' army appeared, and charged the Christians with great fury. Their impetuosity 
at first occasioned some disorder; but as the troops of Don Alonso and Don Garcia were 
men accustomed to service, they quickly repaired this disaster; and perceiving that the 
enemy began to relent, attacked them in their turn on all sides with such firmness and intrepidity, 
that the Moors were quickly broke, and those in the rear began a precipitate retreat to 
Sancho's Cordova. 5. The emperor and the king of Navarre pursued them so vigorously 
that the whole army was obliged to have recourse to the same measure, and, not without very great 
loss, retired into that city, which the Christians quickly invested. But the emperor, perceiving 
that the siege would be long and bloody, and that when it was over his forces would not be in 
a condition to undertake anything of importance, and perhaps find it no easy matter to 
repose the place, he very prudently raised the siege. 6. He then marched to Jaen, which was 
in no condition to resist so great a force, plundered it, 7 and would have proceeded to Seville, 
if the French, who had promised to send him a fleet to assist him in the reduction of that 
city, had not obliged him to put an end to a campaign already sufficiently glorious. At his 
return to Toledo, he found the archbishop Don Raymond dead, who was succeeded by 
Don Jofre; and on the 21st of November, the same year, Don Garcia, king of Navarre, 
ended his life at Pampeluna, soon after his return thither, to the great regret of his 
father-in-law. 8

In the beginning of the ensuing year the emperor caused great preparations to be made 
for solemnizing the marriage, long before concluded, of his son the infant Don Sancho with 
the infanta Donna Blanca, daughter to the deceased, and sister to the reigning, king of Navarre; 
which was accordingly performed at Najara, on the 24th of February, 9 with very 
magnificent splendor. At the same time this marriage was celebrated, Donna Urraca, queen 
dowager of Navarre, returned to her father's court, and received from him the principality 
of the Almoravids, government of which she was to hold by way of appanage from the 
crown, for her usefulness, in a manner suitable to her birth; from whence we find her commonly 
written by the ancient Spanish writers, Donna Urraca the Almoravida. 10 There was the 
same year an interview between the emperor and the prince of Aragon; but those who infer 
from thence that a league was then made between these princes, for the destruction, or at 
least the conquest, of the kingdom of Navarre, seem to be mistaken; since, on the one 
hand, it is highly improbable that the emperor should meditate the ruin of a prince so nearly 
allied to him; and, on the other, it is not consistent with facts, since we find nothing of 
the execution of this league, either within the compass of this or the next year. It is indeed 
true, that the emperor left the Mohammedans undisturbed for about eighteen months, and then 
made an irruption into Andalusia, where the infant Don Alonso gained great reputation, by 
defeating a body of Moors, 11 who attempted to disturb the emperor in his siege of Jaen; 
which, however, he found so strongly fortified, and so well defended, that he was obliged to 
raise it; and, leaving the army, returned to Toledo, while his troops continued to harass 
the Moors, though without any remarkable successes, even in the depth of winter, which 
deluded them from making incursions in the spring, according to custom.

The emperor having judged it expedient to marry a second wife, and the king Don Sancho 
of Navarre, having dignified his desire of espousing the infanta Donna Sancho, the emperor's 
daughter, the town of Seria was made choice of as the most convenient for the celebration 
of both their nuptials. The princes, of whom the emperor had made choice, was named 
Rica, the daughter of Ladislaus the second, king of Poland, and the princes Inoz of Austria, 
who, being conducted thither, the emperor espoused her on the fourth of June, in the presence 
of the kings of Aragon and Navarre: the king Don Sancho, when he married the infanta, was, 
according to the custom of those times, made a knight by his father-in-law, and 
reconciled to Don Raymond of Aragon, at least for the present. 12 Some time after Louis 
the seventh, king of France, concluded a marriage with Donna Constanza, the emperor's 
daughter, having been a little before divorced from his first queen Elvira, duchess of Aquitaine. 13 
These marriages seem to have occupied the attention of the court, and to have prevented 
the war from being carried on against the Moors with the same vigour as in the former 
years. However it was still kept on foot, and served to hinder those insulds from undertakings 
any thing of consequence against the Christians, in conjunction with their intestine disputes, 
which at this time were as high and fierce as ever; and perhaps the not attacking them 
might incree them.

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7. Chron. var. antiqu.
10. Adefons. Imperat.
Chap. i. The history of Leon and Castile.

But, as soon as the situation of his affairs would give him leave, the emperor, with a numerous army, passing through that part of La Mancha which belonged to the Moors, and traversing the Sierra Morena, after taking several places of small force, set down before Adujar, which was so well fortified, that it had escaped hitherto, though besiegéd by numerous armies. Yet this monarch took his measures so well, and his reputation was so great, that, after a gallant defence, the besieged judged it expedient for providing for their own safety, by a timely capitulation, which was granted them. We have good reason to believe, that the emperor had set his heart very much upon this conquest; since, while he lay before the place, he had the news, that his son-in-law king Louis, and his daughter Constanza, were arrived in Spain, with a design of visiting the tomb of the apostle St. James at Compostella. He sent to compliment them, and to desire, that, after they had performed their devotions, they would repair to Toledo, where he promised to meet them; which he did after the conclusion of the campaign, and entertained them with great magnificence, and caused them to be accompanied, at their return, by the two kings his sons, and by Don Sancho king of Navarre. On the 11th of November, the same year, the king Don Sancho of Castile had a son born to him, who was named Alfonso, and, in process of time, became one of the greatest princes that ever reigned in Spain; but the queen Donna Blanca, his mother, died a few months after. This, as it created great grief in the imperial family, so it seems to have been fatal to her own; for the emperor having confined to a match between Don Alfonso, son to Don Raymond of Arragon, and his daughter Donna Sancho, who was hardly out of her cradle, was prevailed upon, in consequence of this alliance, to invade the kingdom of Navarre.

We know little of the progress of that war, at least with regard to the emperor, who seems to have been diverted from it by the news of a powerful invasion meditated by the Moors. He resolved to prevent this, by marching with all his forces into Andalusia, accompanied by his son Don Sancho king of Castile, and by the principal lords and prelates of his court, amongst whom was the archbishop of Toledo. He advanced directly towards the enemy, whom he attacked with the utmost vigour, and, after an obstinate and bloody refilament, totally defeated them with great slaughter. But before he had time to prosecute this glorious victory, he found himself attacked by a defeate, which made him sensible that his end was quickly approaching. He quitted, therefore, the command of the army to his son Don Sancho, and set out on his return towards Toledo. His dissemer, however, continually increasing, he stopped at a little place called Fresnedo, where, on the 21st day of August in the year 1157, he resigned his soul to his creator, being afflicted in his last moments by the archbishop of Toledo. He was indubitably one of the greatest monarchs Spain ever had to boast of. He extended his dominions from the mountains of Biscay to those of the Sierra Morena, had the singular honour of receiving the homage of the kings of Navarre and Aragon, and of acquiring, in consequence of that, the glorious title of emperor, which has indeed been ascribed to some of his predecessors, but without due proof. He loved, and was beloved by his nobility; but at the same time he justly acquired, by his paternal care and strict maintenance of the laws, the title of the father of the commons, whom he protected from all oppression, and rendered far more happy and easy in their circumstances, than they had formerly been. He was a conunittive and successful general, and wished the ablest politician of his time; and did more towards the recovery of Spain out of the hands of the infidels than any of the princes who had reigned before him, his grandfather of the same name only excepted. He was highly respected by his neighbours, and even by the Moorish princes, amongst whom Mohammed Abenzel king of Murcia became his vassal but a few years before his death. His son, Don Sancho, no sooner understood that he had breathed his last, than he quitted the army to attend his corpse to Toledo, where it was interred in the royal chapel of the cathedral, with a pomp suitable to the melancholy occasion.

In one respect this great prince may be esteemed more happy than his ancestors, that all his great actions were both fairly and fully recorded, in a Latin chronicle that bears his name, and was written in or near his time, which is that we have cited after Ferseras, and has supplied us with many particulars, and rectified many dates, that must otherwise have remained perplexed or doubtful.

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\[ {e} Ron. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. {f} Chron. var. antiqu. \]
\[ {g} FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. 12. {h} Chron. ADEPONS Imperat. \]
\[ {i} ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. {j} ADEPONS Imperat. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire general d'Espanne, liv. ix. \]
\[ {k} FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. § 12. \]
\[ {l} RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hisp. ALPHONS I a Carthagena de reg. Hist. Ancestralhis Francisci Taraphae de reg. \]

As
As soon as the funeral of the emperor was over, Don Sancho repaired to Burgos, where he was unanimously acknowledged and received as king of Castile, his brother Don Ferdinand being, with equal unanimity, admitted to the sovereignty of the kingdoms of Leon, Asturias, and Galicia. But, like young princes, they were more attentive to the ceremony and pomp of their inaugurations, than to the high and arduous functions of kings. In consequence of this, though the death of Don Alfonso did not affect the civil government, yet it had a very great influence on their military affairs. The Moors were no sooner acquainted with it, than they flattered themselves the fortune of Spain was departed; the terror impressed by his name wore away, and, assembling in crowds, they offered themselves to their commanders; who, making a proper use of this alacrity, fell upon Pedraza, Andujar, Baena, and all the places they had lately lost, which they recovered with great facility, and drove the Christians, in one autumn campaign, out of all that the emperor had acquired in Andalusia; upon which happy success, they addressed themselves to Abdulmeen king of Morocco, beseeching him not to let slip this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour and the dominions of the Moors. He received this application so favourably, and promised such speedy and prodigal succours, that the Knights Templars, who held the town of Calatrava as a fief from the crown, resigned it, as a place they should not be able to defend; upon which Don Sancho published an edict, in which he offered to give that place to any of his nobility who would undertake to maintain and support it; the consequences of which will be hereafter seen at large.

Don Ferdinand was hardly seated on the throne of Leon, before he found, like most young kings, his person besieged by flatterers, to whom he was but too accessible; so that the first acts of his government were such as had an evident tendency to overturn it; for, in consequence of the bad advices given him, he discarded Don Ponce de Mineros, and most of the old officers and statesmen that had been the friends and favourites of his father; who, finding themselves removed from all their employments, retired to the court of Burgos, and were received with extraordinary respect and kindness by the king of Castile. Don Sancho was no sooner acquainted with the motives which had induced them to take shelter under his protection, than he marched, with a consider able army, into his brother's dominions; of which Don Ferdinand no sooner received intelligence, than he set out to meet his brother with a small retinue; for they had hitherto lived together with so much friendship and affection, that he could not apprehend any danger in the presence of one to whom he had been always dear. He met him at the abbey of Sabagon, just as he was going to dinner; and the brothers, as soon as they had embraced, sat down to table. After they had done, Don Sancho told him, "that he was glad to see him in that condition; for that, finding his principal nobility retired out of his dominions, he apprehended he stood in need of his affiance. He added, that their father was a wise man, as well as a great prince; that the former enabled him to make choice of such officers and counsellors as raised him into the latter condition; and that he had given him little in giving a kingdom, if he had not likewise left him thefe; that he must therefore take them home with him, listen to their advice, discard his flatterers, and rely upon it, that, if his own forces were not sufficient, himself and his Castillians were ready to assist him upon any proper occasion." Don Ferdinand taking all this in good part, Don Sancho left him his old servants, and returned into Castile with his army. The king of Navarre conceived this a fit time to recover the province of Rioja, which he looked upon as with-held from him by force, and which therefore he had a right to reduce, whenever it was in his power; but Don Sancho had intelligence of his design before he marched against his brother, and therefore appointed the count Don Ponce to command the troops intended for the defence of that province; in which command he behaved in such a manner, that the king of Navarre thought proper to retire into his own dominions, without coming to action.

Upon his return into his own territories, the first thing the king of Castile did, was to put the monarchs of Aragon and Navarre in mind, that the former was his uncle, the latter his brother-in-law; that, besides this, he had never offended either; and that it would not recommend them in the sight of God or of man, to take advantage of that invasion with which the Moors threatened his dominions; but that, if they conceived any injustice on his side, he was ready to meet them either together or apart, and to give them any reasonable satisfaction. Both monarchs accepted this proposal; in consequence of which he had an interview with the king of Navarre at Almanza, where a peace and defensive alliance was con-
cluèd between them. He went thence to Ofma, where he met his uncle Don Raymond, who expostulated freely with him on the acquisitions made by his father at the expense of the crown of Aragon; alleging, that the emperor ought to have been content with his homage, which he rendered him freely, and not have curtailed his dominions. Don Sancho told him, that what he liked he would keep, and what he disliked he would restore; and accordingly conferred by a treaty, that all the country on the right of the river Ebro should belong to the king of Aragon as in times past, upon condition that he did homage to the king of Castile, and affixed him with his sword drawn at his coronation; which conditions were readily accepted, and Don Raymond promised him a choice body of his troops. About this time St. Raymond abbot of Vitero undertook the defence of Calatrava, without any other force than that of another monk, whose name was Diego Velázquez, who, as well as himself, had borne arms many years before they were frowks; and without any other fund than that of their zeal and piety. The king granted the fortresses without scruple; and, in the space of a few weeks, they, by their sermons, raised 20,000 men, and the means of subsisting them; upon which St. Raymond gave the rule of the Cistercian order a military turn, from whence arose that order of religious chivalry, which has been since distinguished by the name of Calatrava (U).

Aben-Jacob, the son of Abdullab, king of Morocco, having brought over a great number of Moors from Africa, began to make vast preparations for attacking the kingdom of Toledo; upon which the inhabitants of Avila and the Eframadurians, with the consent of Don Sancho, assembled a great body of troops, with which they fell into the district about Seville. Aben-Jacob, as soon as he received intelligence of this, joined his forces with those of Dalegen and Aben-Gamar, and marched immediately to attack the Christians. The action was obstinate and bloody; but at length victory declared on the side of the Christians, and the Moors were not only beaten with great slaughter, but lost also their two generals Dalegen and Aben-Gamar; so that the victory was equally glorious and complete. But the joy they received from thence was of short continuance, since, on the last day of August 1158, Don Sancho king of Castile breathed his last at Toledo, when he had worn the crown but one year and ten days. His body was interred near that of the emperor his father; his loss was sincerely deplored by all his subjects, and by his allies; his actions, even in so short a space, having raised such hopes as could not have been easily satisfied; so that, how immature ever his death might appear to his people, it came at a juncture favourable to his glory (X).
The crown of Castile devolved on his son Don Alfonso, then but three years of age, whom his father left to the care of Don Guiterres de Cabra, whom he declared sole regent, and forbade the removing of any of his father’s governors or officers before his son was at full age, and unless from some indispensible cause. This appointment excited the envy of many of the most puissant nobility, but more especially of the house of Lara, of which Don Maurique was the chief, and who perhaps had not forgot the misfortunes of Don Pedro, at the beginning of the emperor’s reign. Don Guiterres, however, deferred all the confidence his maller had repose in him: he was a nobleman far advanced in years, but not infirm; of great prudence, and of untainted probity. He committed the education of the king to Don Garcia de Azuza, the son of Don Garcia de Cabra, who was killed at the battle of Ucles with the infant Don Sancho, and this notwithstanding he was brother by the mother’s side to Don Maurique de Lara, who from the beginning had declared himself his enemy, and who quickly corrupted Don Garcia, and engaged him to put the person of the young king into his hands, contrary to his honour, and in breach of that trust which had been repose in him. Don Guiterres laboured all that was in his power to have this matter compromised, and the person of the young king restored; but finding this impracticable, he was about to have recourse to arms, when Providence withdrew him from all these troubles to eternal rest, though his competitor would not allow his corpse peace in the grave.

Don Maurique de Lara, and the lords of his family and faction, thought themselves now in a good measure secure, from having the sole government of the kingdom, during a long minority, disputed with them; and in order to make this absolutely sure, they took the only step that could render it precarious, which was breaking through the king’s will, and depriving Don Ferdinand, and all his brothers, of their respective employments, merely because they were of the family of Castile, and the nephew of the deceased regent, who, upon application applied to Don Ferdinand king of Leon, who, at their request, declared himself tutor and regent of his nephew, and with a numerous army entered the kingdom of Toledo, where the people very readily submitted, and even the inhabitants of the capital, upon the first summons, opened their gates. The kings, encouraged by this success, entered Cabile, and Don Maurique, and the lords of Lara, perceiving an unwillingness in the people to fight against the uncle of their sovereign, retired to the fortress of Soria, carrying the young prince with them. At length finding themselves menaced with a siege, they entered into a negotiation with the king, and offered to deliver up the person of their young king to his uncle upon certain terms; but this was pure amusement; since, as soon as king Ferdinand listened to their request, they sent the king out privately, and carried him from place to place with so much secrecy, that Don Ferdinand was at last obliged to come to their terms, which was to keep the beast part of the kingdom, as well as the king, in their possession, and to leave the rest to be administered by him. A compromise that was by no means acceptable, either to the populace or to the nobility.

Though this agreement was more in favour of the faction than they could either desire or expect, yet they were so far from being contented with it, that Don Ferdinand was no sooner retired into his own dominions than they attempted to clippoles his by force of those places which they had put into his hands. But though the king of Leon was in all respects following he advanced with an army against them, gave them battle, and defeated them, which threw their affairs into great confusion; and towards the close of the year the Moors entered Cabile, and gained some advantages. On the other hand, Don Sancho king of Navarre, judging no time so proper to revive his pretensions to the country of Rioja, entered it with a powerful army, and reduced the beast part of it, before Don Maurique and his associates were in any condition to provide for its defence. But as soon as they were able to draw a competent number of troops together, and found that he was engaged in a war with the Mohommedans, they entered that country in their turn, and recovered it again in as little time as it was lost. Other expeditions of the like kind happened in succeeding years.

He was sincere, and gallant in the field, distinguished by the sweetness of his temper, and adorned with every royal virtue. He adds, that he was alike dear to the populace and to the nobility, because he made it the whole study of his life to please God and good men. Mariana affirms us that he died of grief for the loss of his wife, queen Blanche, and at the very time when he should have marched against the infidels, having assembled, for that purpose, a numerous army, better provided, in all respects, than any body of troops had been by most of his predecessors.
Chap. 1. The history of Leon and Castile.

a with various fortune; but upon the whole Don Sancho of Navarre kept almost all the places that he claimed.

It might be naturally apprehended, that the Moors would not fail to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity to repair the losses they had sustained, and to recover at least some of the important places that had been taken from them by the Christians; more especially, as they were fore of constant and considerable supplies from their countrymen in Africa, and saw the power of the Christians as much divided, depressed, and distracted, as they could wish; and yet it does not appear, that they made any great advantage of so favourable a juncture. The Spanish historians have not given us a very clear account of this matter; but as far as we can judge from a comparison of facts, it may be ascribed, at least in a great measure, to three different causes.

The first was, that though the Christian princes were not well agreed amongst themselves, yet they did not employ their arms against each other; so that the forces, defined for the protection of the frontiers of the kingdoms of Castile and Toledo were not withdrawn: and though they seldom acted offensively, yet being commanded by able officers, it is likely they would have defended themselves with spirit, if attacked. A second cause was the new militia established on purpose to act continually, either offensively or defensively, against the infidels, by which we mean the new orders of chivalry; for, besides those already mentioned, there flared up at this time another, which proved of double advantage to the Christians. There was, in the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, a considerable number of wild debauched young gentlemen, who, by indulging their passions, had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the law, that they had no security but what they derived from their swords. These people had lived long in the mountains, and had been gradually brought under the command of Don Pedro Fernandez, who being both older and wiser than when he took up this dangerous business, betook himself of an expeditious to set things right again, and to reconcile himself and his dependents to the civil government. The method he took was this; he bound all who submitted to his authority by oath never to injure any Christian, but to devote themselves to the protection of their country against the Moors; and having converted the rule of St. Augustine into a military institution, he made it that of his new order, which, with the licence and order of the protection of the king Don Ferdinand, affirmed the apostle St. James for their patron, and had lands given them by the crown for their support (Y).

Another cause was the civil wars amongst themselves, in which some of the Christian princes widely took part; and by constantly afflicting the weaker side, without enquiring into the merits of the dispute, kept their quarrels on foot, and contributed not a little to weaken

1 Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
2 FERRARAS Historia de España, p. v. sect. xii.

(Y) It is true, that some writers carry the institution of this order much higher, viz. to St. D. 827; and it is not true that the any who have rejected them as fabulous, are nevertheless persuaded that there is evidence sufficient to prove this order of chivalry actually subsisted A.D. 1360, and must have been instituted some time, though they cannot say long before it.

But, notwithstanding these considerations, we agree with FERRERAS, and in good measure also with MARIANA, that the true and genuine origin of this order of knighthood ought to be placed where it is in the text; and that Don Pedro Fernandez, called also, from the place of his birth, Don Pedro de Fuente-Encalda, which is a town in the diocese of Astorga, was its founder and first grand-master. In order to give the reader some information upon this head, it will be requisite to refer to the history of the formation of this order, the history of its origin, and the history of its development, which are all contained in the works of the historians of the day.

When the tomb of St. James at Compostella first became famous, and from the spirit of devotion that reigned in those times grew gradually a vast reformation of pilgrimage. It was found requisite to erect a kind of hospital or public place of reception for the pilgrims at every proper stage, from the borders of France to the city of Compostella. This was Forms, taken by the citizens of St. Eloy, who likewise took care of these hospitals, and of such as lodged in them, by which they acquired the good will of the neighbouring nobility, who furnished them liberally with money for so pious and prudent a work. But amongst all these hospitals, that in the suburb of the city of Leon, dedicated to St. Mark, was by far the largest and best endowed. In these troublesome times, however, the pilgrims, in spite of all the charitable pains taken for their relief and support, were liable to great inconveniences from the excessions of the Moors, and from the robberies that were frequently committed on the road; and this it was that induced Don Pedro Fernandez de Fonseca-Encalda, when he had formed his companions into some degree of order, to make a tender of his services to the crown of St. Eloy, to cover and protect these pilgrims in their pious exercise; as this again induced the pope upon granting his bull of confirmation to affix the hospitium of St. Mark, in the suburbs of Leon, for the capital residence of the grand master and his knights; and it is from confounding those knights with the old canons that these difficulties have arisen as to the original of this institution. The enigma of this order is a croz, terminating like the blade of a sword, the hilt crozeted and fashioned after the ancient manner; whereupon it was called Le Ordo de Santiago de la Espada, to allo Ordo militaris Sancti Jacobi enfigeri a quattuor insigniis. And the reason why this enigma is always painted red rather than any other colour, is thus given by Don Rodrigo Ximenes archbishop of Toledo, Rubet ensis languinis Arabum. But these knights assumed not only the sword in form of a croz, but also the symbol of St. James, which, though it cannot be distinctly determined what it is, yet seems to be the escallp shell: for that the escallop is generally among the Spainiards taken for the badge of St. James, and worn by pilgrims in their voyages to his sepulchre at Compostella. At present there are eighty-seven commanderies of the order of St. James in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, which yield an annual revenue of two hundred and seventy thousand ducats, and about three four hundred commanderies in the kingdom of Portugal, which are also of great value.
both. To all which we may add, that Don Alfonso king of Portugal employed his arms against them all this time, and not without success, the king of Arragon also making occasional some predatory incursions.

Don Ferdinand king of Leon, finding himself exceedingly disturbed by the intrigues of the family of Lara, and that he was in continual danger of losing the places he held in the name of his nephew, caused a negotiation to be set on foot with Don Maurique, in which he fhewed so strong an inclination to compromise their differences, that this nobleman at length invited him to Soria, where he had a conference with his nephew, and adjudged every thing with Don Maurique*. He took advantage of this calm, in order to repair and settle several great towns in the heart of his dominions, as well as on the frontiers, which were either fallen through time to decay, or else were but indifferently built and peopled at first; and to this he attended with so much care and vigilance, that they were very soon in as good a condition as he could wish. He granted also new privileges to the people, and neglected no means that could be devised to make his dominions flourish, and his people happy. Amongst other methods that were thought necessary for this purpose, one that was held of the greatest consequence by his father's old ministers, was his speedy marriage; that by allying himself with some powerful prince, he might the better secure affiance in case of foreign invasion, and defend his people from the miseries that might be apprehended from an unfettered succession. Don Ferdinand, moved by these suggestions, cast his eyes upon the princefs Donna Urraca, daughter to Don Alfonso king of Portugal, and accordingly demanded her in marriage. Don Alfonso very readily conformed to the match, and soon after sent the princefs to Leon with a splendid retinue, where she was espoused by the king Don Ferdinand with great solemnity, and to the universal joy of the people of both nations, who concluded that this must of necessity keep the two kingdoms in friendship and peace.

As soon the ceremonies of the marriage were over, the king Don Ferdinand resumed the cares of government with his usual application; and casting his eyes upon Merobriga and Bletisa, places large and considerable in ancient times, though they were then little better than heaps of ruins, he gave orders that they should be rebuilt and fortified. It is evident enough, that he meant this to strengthen his territories on that side against Portugal, and took a very convenient time to do it. But the people of Salamanca, who considered these places d as lying within their jurisdiction, and not at all disposed of seeing them in a better state than they were, assembled several thousand men, with an intention to prevent, by force, the execution of the king's project. The king Don Ferdinand had acquired more experience, and was upon better terms with his nobility, than in the first part of his reign, and would not therefore submit to the dictates of the populace; but drawing out the forces of Leon, Zamora, and Astorga, marched against the rebels, defeated them in a bloody engagement, and then proceeding to Salamanca, chastised those who had been the authors of these troubles; after which things remained very quiet*. As soon as these places were restored and in some measure repaired, the king laid the plan of taking several others from the Moors; but first of all thought proper to conclude an alliance with the king of Navarre, that in case his nephew, whom he dinned to be of a very brisk and active temper, should give him any disturbance, he might not be without an ally capable of making a diversion in his favour; and this precaution being taken, he added Alcantara, Albuquerqu, and Elvas, to his dominions, without meeting with any great resistance from the enemy, or disturbance from his neighbours*. But let us now return to the affairs of Castile (Z).

Don Maurique de Lara paid so little regard to the soft councils given him by the king of Leon, that instead of endeavouring to compose amicably those disputes that had been so fatal to the interest of the young king his pupil, he bent all his endeavours to inflame the mind of the young prince against the family of Castro, and at length raised an army, with which he

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* Emanuel de Faria y Sousa epitome las Historias Portuguesas. Maxime Turquet Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. x.
* Chron. var. antiqu.

(Z) The town of Bletisa, which, after it was rebuilt, as the reader has seen in the text, received the name of Ledesma, five miles, as the survey of the river of Vormes, and was so happy in point of situation, that, ever since the time of which we are now writing, it has been looked upon as a place of great consequence, and its fortifications kept in good repair. Merobriga lies south from thence, and within four leagues of the frontiers of Portugal, upon the little river Aygar, in the midst of a spacious plain, equally fertile and pleasant. It received the name of Ciudad Rodrigo, from the nobleman under whose direction it was repaired, and very quickly became so populous as to be made the seat of a prelate as well as a garrison. It has continued to flourish ever since, and has been always a principal rendezvous, or a place of arms, for the Spanish forces, when that crown has been engaged in a war with Portugal.
a marched to dispossess Don Ferdinand de Caströ of the government of Toledo, and his friends of the places they possessed; and to give the better colour to this he carried the prince with him. On the other hand, Don Ferdinand de Caströ opposed force to force; and marching with a numerous and well appointed army, met that of his competitor between Garciarrufio and Huetö, where, after an obstinate and bloody action, Don Marquina being killed, his forces fled and left Don Ferdinand master of the field of battle. Yet notwithstanding this great blow, Don Núñez de Lara, brother to the late count Marquina, chiefly by the influence of the royal perfon, soon raised another army, and laid siege to the castle of Zarita, which was very gallantly defended by Lope de Arénsa, placed therein by the Caströ's, and had not been taken at last, if one of the governor's domestics had not, for a sum of money, betrayed the place.

b taken, and as barbarously executed, the murder of his master. The pecuniary reward in all probability came from the minister; but the young king Don Alonso thought so eminent a service should be accompanied also with a royal reward, for which reason he ordered his eyes to be put out. This method having succeeded in a place of least consequence, it was judged expedient to practice the same arts with regard to Toledo; and a person of distinction in that city having been prevailed upon to let in the king's troops secretly, Don Ferdinand Ruiz de Caströ had the first notice of this treachery from the acclamations of the people, at the sight of their young king: upon which, having no other resource left, he mounted his horse immediately, and, attended by a few friends, made his escape into the territory of the Moors. The capital thus taken by surprise, the rest of the cities, castles, and towns, in the kingdom of Toledo, opened their gates, and submitted to the king, or rather to Don Núñez de Lara, who governed all things with almost royal authority. About this time deceased John archbishop of Toledo, and was succeeded in that high dignity by Cenobruno, who had been tutor to the young king Alonso, a person eminent for his learning and great abilities. Mawumam, king of Valencia, became at this time vassal to the king of Castile.

c Quickly appeared that Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, had formed a right judgment when he fortified his frontiers on the side of Portugal, for notwithstanding he had married the daughter of Don Alonso, that monarch made a sudden irruption into Galicia, and possessed himself of Llimma and Turo, into which he put strong garrisons. The next year, clattering with this success, he marched with a numerous army and invested Badajoz, upon the news of hand.

d which Don Ferdinand, who had assembled a good army at Ciudad Rodrigo, marched to its relief. It is necessary to observe, that this city was in the hands of the Moors, but in all probability was a feigning host held by homage from the king of Leon, who therefore found himself, from principles of justice as well as policy, interested in its defence. Yet before he could arrive within sight of the place it was surrendered; upon which Don Ferdinand took a resolution of besieging the king of Portugal in his new conquest, which Don Alonso no sooner perceived, than he endeavoured to draw out his forces into the field. Though he was then between seventy and four-score, he was himself on horseback, and pusiling forward at the head of his guards to get out at the gate, thrice his leg with such vehemence against one of the bolts as shattered it to pieces. This accident occasioned such confusion, that the troops of

e Portugal were easily beaten, and Don Alonso taken prisoner. He was exceedingly mortified by this disgrace, and had no reason to expect very kind treatment from his son-in-law, after the usage he had given him, and therefore made him large offers to procure his liberty. The king of Leon behaved towards him with the most profound respect, and the greatest affection possible; he desired him to lay aside thoughts ofbufnéis and attend to his cure; but finding him reflexes and impatient, he assured him that he expected nothing more than to have

(A) We have a large account of this siege, and of the most remarkable passages therein, by Mariana, who gives us amongst other particulars this, that the governor Don López, being driven to extremity, offered to treat; and that Don Núñez de Lara, and another great general of the king's, went into the place upon his parole, and were immediately arrested; upon which recusance was had to that expedient, by which, as we have shown in the text, the place was taken. The traitor flapped his matter while he was having him, and made his escape out of the town, before the death of the governor was known. By having all these circumstances together, there seems to be good reason to suspect that this conspiracy was both formed and executed, during a cessation of arms; and perhaps some incidents forged, in order to save the reputation of Don Núñez de Lara, and his associates; for if it had been as Mariana represents it, one cannot easily account for the besieged suffering these perils, who were in their hands at the time this treacherous murder was committed, to escape unhurt; to which we may add, that there was evidently in this transaction, something so much wounded the king's honour, as induced him to hazard the imputation of cruelty, rather than not satisfy his subjects that it was a measure which, though he might adopt, he could by no means approve.

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things put into the same condition as before the war, and that they might live in peace and friendship for the future, to which the king of Portugal most willingly assented, and before his cure was perfected returned to his own dominions, which was the reason that he remained lame during the rest of his life 1. As soon as the Portuguese had evacuated the place, Don Ferdinand ordered his troops to quit it likewise, receiving the homage of the Moabite governor, he left it in the same situation as before the war begun. He then returned to his capital of Leon, and applied himself affably to the affairs of his civil government, which he brought into better order than they had ever been in the times of his predecessors, who, by having more extensive territories, were left at leisure to look into things of this nature for the safe and benefit of their subjects 2.

The disputes between the Almohades and the independent Moors of Spain, if these could be properly so styled, who were the subjects of Mohammed, king of Valencia, who was the vassal of Don Alfonso of Castile, still continued 3. The king of Morocco judged it impossible for him to prosecute the war against the Christians with any great effect, while any of the Moors disputed his authority; and on the other hand, the Christians judged it infinitely more expedient for them to act against the Moors as auxiliaries of Moors, than as direct enemies, till it should be in their power to crush them effectually by a general confederacy. The people of Castile, and more especially the partisans of the house of Lara, were very desirous that the young king should marry, though he was not at this time above fourteen; and as this was a point of great concern to the nation, an assembly of the states was called at Burgos to settle this and other weighty affairs 4. In consequence of their deliberations, embassadors were sent to Henry the second, king of England, at that time in Guienne, to demand in the name of Don Alfonso the princess Eleanor, his daughter, by the duchess of Aquitaine of the same name 5. While this treaty was on the carpet, the young king had an interview with the king of Arragon upon the frontiers, in which all old disputes were settled, and a new treaty offensive and defensive made between the two crowns, with an exchange of hostages on both sides, for the better security of their state punctually performed 6. At the same time, the king of Castile, as he was not at this juncture upon very good terms with the king of Navarre, ripudiated with the monarch of Arragon for the false marriage of his queen, which was cheerfully granted and performed 7. The king, as soon as he heard of her arrival in Arragon, sent the archbishop of Toledo, the count of Lara, and several persons of the first disticlion to receive her, met her in person at Tarazona, were their marriage was solemnized in the presence of the king of Arragon and the prime nobility of both nations; after which the king and queen of Castile proceeded to Burgos, being every where welcomed by the loud acclamations of their subjects 8, and in the month of August in the succeeding year the queen was brought to bed of an infant, who was named Donna Borengara, after her great grandmother 9.

In order to give a new turn to his affairs in Spain, Joseph king of Morocco sent over a very numerous body of troops, which, joined to those he had before, were put under the command of Omar, esteemed one of the ablest officers that had in this age commanded the Moorish armies. He marched with them against the king of Valencia in person, and at the same time sent a strong detachment to besiege Santarem, which had been many years in the possession of the king of Portugal; but against the former he was able to do little through the asilance that he received from the king of Castile; and the forces before Santarem were attacked and defeated by the Portuguese monarch, who obliged them to raise the siege and retire in great disorder 10. This advantage was no sooner obtained, than Don Ferdinand king of Leon, appeared in fight of the city with a numerous army, which alarmed the king of Portugal much more than the former invaders. He was, however, soon out of his pain, upon receiving a message from his son-in-law, to compliment him on his victory, and to assure him, that he came with no other view than to lend him his assistance; upon which under the like circumstances he might always depend. This was so acceptable to the Portuguese, that they could not help testifying their satisfaction in the warmest terms possible, and it likewise made a very favourable impression upon the Christians throughout Spain in general 11. These misfortunes, however, irritated Joseph, king of Morocco, to such a degree, that he took a resolution of carrying on the war in person; and in the summer of the ensuing year invaded the territories of Don Alfonso of Castile, and besieged Elvira, which he reduced to the last extremity; but upon the approach of the king Don Alfonso with the whole force of his dominions, he thought proper to retire into his own territories; where, having intelligence of

6 Chron. var. antiq. EMANUEL DE FARI Y SOUSA episcope de las Hisorias Portuagens.
7 ROBERT.
8 Tolet. Hist. Arab. MARIAN. FERREAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
11 R. HYGDENI, GERVAS. TILIBERI, &c.
12 Chron. var. antiq. FER. Hist. de Espania, p. v. feb. xii.
13 ROD. SANTI HIST. HISPAN.
15 ROD. Tolet. de reb. Histian. lib. V.
16 FARIA Y SOUSA episcope de las Hisorias Portugueaes.
17 Chron. var. antiq.
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a the death of his old enemy Moabammed, king of Valentiia, he made himself some amends for his former disappomtment, by an irruption into his countries; where, without much difficulty, he conquered the kingdom of Muriia, and added it to his empire. He might have done more, if the situation of his affairs in Africa had not obliged him to return thither; and he might have been prevented from doing so much, if the kings of Aragon and Castile had not turned their arms against the king of Navarre, though with little success, except harraising A.D. 1172: his dominions, out of which they were at length obliged to retire, without making themselves masters of one considerable place, or coming to any action.

Upon the return of Jospeh, king of Morocco, into Africa, Aben-Jacobs was appointed his lieutenant, and commander in chief in Spain; who, to signalize the first year of his government, made an irruption into Portugal, where he besieged Torres-Navas, and took it by assault. He then suddenly entered the territories of Leon, of which the king, Don Ferdinand, no sooner received intelligence, than he marched with a body of troops intended to have sent to the assistance of his father-in-law, and threw himself into Ciudad Rodrigo, just time enough to prevent that place from being invested. He was quickly convinced that the army of Aben-Jacob was much more formidable than he imagined; and what chagrined him most, was, that Don Ferdinand Ruiz de Castelfa, had a flare in this expedition, with a very considerable corps of brave men, who had followed his fortune. The king apprehended his condition to be very dangerous, if he should be shut up in a place scarce able to contain his troops; and therefore took a wife, as well as generous resolution, of first trying his fortune in the field. The enemy were much embarrasied with the spoil they had taken in Portugal, and had separat ed their army into several bodies, with a view to prevent any relief from being given to the place; so that being suddenly attacked by Don Ferdinand, they were quickly thrown into confusion, which, in a short time produced a total defeat. The king improved this victory, by making such offers to Don Ferdinand Ruiz de Castel, as induced him to quit the party of the king of Leon, who received him with great affability and kindness, and assigned him lands sufficient for the subsistence of himself and all his dependants.

b The kings of Castile and Aragon were still busied in their war against the king of Navarre. As high difference between the kings of Aragon and Castile, and the king of Leon; and to depend upon the protection of the king of Leon, who received him with great affability and kindness, and assigned him lands sufficient for the subsistence of himself and all his dependants.

c The kings of Castile and Aragon were still busied in their war against the king of Navarre, An high difference between the kings of Aragon and Castile, and the king of Leon; and to depend upon the protection of the king of Leon, who received him with great affability and kindness, and assigned him lands sufficient for the subsistence of himself and all his dependants.

d He kept them from making any conquests that were worth maintaining, and still preferred those places which had given birth to these disputes, in spite of repeated invasions; in which, though the confederates promised themselves much, they were able to effect little. At length, Castile, as he wisely forewarned, they grew disaffiliated with each other, and from secret murmurs and complaints broke at length into open hostilities, begun by the king of Castile, who retook one of the castles which he had yielded as a pledge for the due performance of treaties, but continued by the king of Aragon, who at length declared he would have nothing farther to do with the Castilian. As the highest proof of his resentment, he refused to celebrate his marriage with the Infanta Donna Sancha, daughter to the emperor Alonfo, aunt to the king of Castile, and sister to the king of Leon; and, to shew how much he was in earnest, sent ambassadors to Constantinople, to obtain the princess Eudoxia, daughter to the emperor Emanuel. This not only alarmed the court of Castile, but that of Leon also; Don Ferdinand making no secret that he could not be a tame spectator of such an insult offered to his sister; so that the king of Aragon had now the war with Navarre still open, and himself upon bad terms with the kings of Castile and Leon; the consideration of which soon brought him to alter his measures, though even then with some degree of reluctance and difcred.

e In the mean time, the old quarrels between the families of Cafr and Laro revived, and to which an hour's time, to disturb the peace of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, almost all the noble families in both taking part either on one side or the other; but, which was thought very extraordinary, the count Don Oforio, though Don Ferdinand Ruiz de Castelfa had married his daughter, took part with the house of Laro, and actually joined himself with his vassals to the friends of that family, when a resolution was taken to determine, once for all, these implacable rebuffs by a general action, at a place affixed in the province of Tierra de Campos. It is true that Mariana represents this war, as if it had been between the uncle and the nephew; but all the ancient historians consider it in quite another light. It may be, that a great part of those who attended Don Ferdinand de Castelfa, might be subjects of the king of Leon; and it is very probable they were; but this might be out of respect to his person, or from a liking to his cause, which, from the beginning, the king Don Ferdinand had
cespoused.
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Don Ferdinand of Leon compelled by the pope's council to part with his queen.

(B) This passage in the Spanish history, shows us the true temper of the Gothic nation; and it would be no difficult matter to prove, that this method of determining great quarrels by combat was in general use, under the notion of an appeal to God. It is true, that the relation given us by MARIANA is certainly inconsistent with this notion, since he makes it a war between the two kings, and speaks of Don Ferdinand de Caffre as acting only in quality of governor and commander in chief of the king of Leon's forces; who, he affirms, gave him his fief in marriage, as the only suitable reward for so great a service. We have observed in the text, that this is against the authority of all the old historians, forms of whom must have been perfectly acquainted with every circumstance that attended this fact, and could be under no temptation to misrepresent it, though this alone sufficiently justifies the preference we have given them; yet it may not be amiss to observe, for the reader's satisfaction, that MARIANA does not contradict them more than he contradicts himself; for had this been a war between the two kings, how come we to have no account of its causes, commencement, and of its conclusion? How came Don Ferdinand to refer to so much his father-in-law's being in the field, when that was his duty? and lastly, which is indeed the strongest of all, both in point of fact and because it is related by MARIANA himself, how come Don Ferdinand de Caffre to fet Don Nunez de Lara at liberty, after enacting from him an oath that all former quarrels should be buried in an oblivion? These are circumstances that evidently prove it was not a public, but a private quarrel; and therefore Don Ferdinand de Caffre, after so glorious a victory, thought himself at full liberty to put an end to it, for which he is very justly commended by this historian.

(C) This remarkable embassy and reference is taken notice of by our ancient historians, particularly Roderic Tolet, who affirms us, that there were several lords sent by each of the kings to support their pretensions. The king of England having called together his relatives and peers, appointed the first Sunday in Lent, A.D. 1177, to have this matter fully discussed before them; and after having heard all that could be alleged on either side, and collected the opinion of the bishops and nobility, met together for that purpose, he decreed that the king of Navarre should refore to the monarch of Castile certain places which he had taken from him; and that the king of Castile should make the like restitution, and should also pay, for ten years together, the sum of three thousand maravidades in gold, in compensation for the expences of the war. This judgment of award appeared so equitable to the embassadors on both sides, who signed it; and having finished the business of their embassy, returned again into Spain, to render an account of their proceedings to their respective masters.
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A.D. 1175.

who was to be the heir of his dominions. It is said that the king demurred a little to this, and that he even went so far as to keep his wife a year, notwithstanding all the exhortations and even menaces of the pope; nay, it is even affirmed that he was not brought to a compliance till his subjects felt the thunder and lightning of Rome, by the kingdom's being put under an interdict: then, for his subjects' sake and his own, he parted with his wife Donna Urraca; and about a year after, espoused Donna Tereja the daughter, though some historians call her the widow, of Don Nuño de Lara. This is more particularly mentioned, because there is not the slightest hint in any ancient historian, that this monarch was the least dissatisfied with his wife, or entertained any dissatisfaction of his son, but quite the contrary; so that if there was any thing in this transaction repugnant to morality or the laws of God, it must not be ascribed to the humour, appetite, or policy of Don Ferdinand, but to the pope's absolute will and pleasure, which, though a powerful and independent monarch, Don Ferdinand durst not resist.

Don Alonso, king of Castile, no sooner found himself freed from the war of Navarre, by reference to the king of England, which had been accepted by all parties, than he refurmed his former intention of imitating his illustrious predecessors, by turning his arms against the infidels. With this view he caused great magazines to be erected at Toledo, where, having assembled a numerous army, and amongst the flower of the several orders of knighthood, he marched into the enemy's country, and laid siege to Cuenca, a place seated on the top of a hill; the confluence of two little streams, which, after they have joined their waters, form the river Jucar. Strong as this place was by fortune, the Moors had rendered it much more so by labour and art; so that it held out till provisions were scarce in the Christian camp, and till the monarch of Morocco was apprized of the fidelity as well as of the differences of his subjects, upon which he directed levies to be made all throughout his dominions in Spain, for their relief: the king of Castile, in this situation of things, thought it requisite for him to ask the assistance of Christian princes, upon which, his old ally, the king of Aragon, marched with a body of good troops, and joined him before Cuenca. The Moors advanced with their forces in order to raise the siege; but believing that too hazardous an undertaking, they made an irruption into the district of Toledo, and marched directly towards that capital, as if they meant to besiege it. But the alcazars Don Guifred and Don Alonso prevented this, by marching out with such forces as the city could raise, and giving them battle on the twenty-eighth of July, in which they obtained a glorious victory, or rather their fellow citizens, for both brave men fell in the field. The garrison of Cuenca, notwithstanding they had been so long and so hard pressed, and that by this blow they were deprived of all hopes of relief, held out to the twenty-first of September, and did not even then surrender, but in consequence of a good capitulation. The king of Castile, to manifest his just sense of the friendship and service rendered him by the king of Aragon, released him from the homage due to the crown of Castile, for the city of Saragossa, and all the territory on that side the Ebro lying next to his dominions.

We are told by some historians, that while the king, Don Alonso, was employed in the siege of Cuenca, his uncle Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, invaded and made himself master of one of his parts; which may be true, but is certainly very improbable. Upon this, the king of Castile, in conjunction with the king of Portugal, entered the dominions of Leon, and committed great outrages (D). The king, Don Ferdinand, engaged the Infant Don.

(D) There is a passage related by Mariana, which happened during the siege of Cuenca, that well deserves the reader's notice. Don Alonso, king of Castile, finding the place hold out so much longer than he expected, left the king of Aragon before it with the army, and returned to Burgos, in order to hold an assembly of the states, his finances at that time being in much disorder. In this assembly, by the advice of Don Diego de Haro, who seems now to have gained an ascendency in the king's favour, and whose father was married to his uncle the king of Leon, he proposed, that since the people were already exhausted, and that if any tax was laid upon them it could not be levied, as the public exigence required, the nobility should forego it, and without creating a precedent, content to a small imposition upon themselves, which being immediately paid, might supply the demands of the army. The states were on the point of consenting to this proposition, when Don Pedro de Lara stood up, and declared he would defend the immunities of the nobles of Castile to the last drop of his blood, and that those would follow him who were of his opinion. Upon this he went out, attended by the majority of the assembly; by which the king's proposition was totally defeated, and it seems the nobility conceived this bold opposition so great, and so well timed a service, that they resolved to perpetuate the memory of the obligation they were under, by giving Don Pedro and his successors a splendid dinner annually upon the day on which this transaction happened. Narrative of this story with great spirit, though he enumerates it as an inconstancy to the crown; other historians have perhaps expressed their sentiments more.
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Book XXIII.

Don Sancho, of Portugal, who intended to have besieged Ciudad Rodrigo, and totally defeated his army, but discovered a great unwillingness to engage with his nephew, of whose proceedings he immediately complained to the king of Aragon, who had been guaranty of their last treaty, which surely he would not have done if himself had broke it. On the other hand, the king of Aragon sent two prelates, and a gentleman of his court, embassadors to Castile, in order to demand of the king the castles of Ariza, and to forbear all hostilities against the king of Leon, threatening that, if he did not, he would join with his own troops those of his uncle, which seems to render it certain that Don Ferdinand was not so much in the wrong as historians suppose him to be, and an additional proof seems to be furnished from the conduct of the king of Castile, who complied with his friends request, by which the peace of Spain was once more restored, at least amongst the Christian powers, at a very critical juncture.

In order to strengthen that harmony which reigned at present between the two nations, Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, and Don Alfonso of Castile had an interview at Ferdessilas, in order to remove all subjects of jealousy and dispute. About this time died Donna Tereesa Lara, queen of Leon, and soon after Donna Tiemietta, the wife of Don Ferdinand de Cofre, by whom she had a son of the same name, commonly called Don Ferdinand the Castilian; and the year following, Don Ferdinand espoused Donna Urraca Lopez, the daughter of the count Don Lope de Hora, one of the principal lords in the province of Biscay; and on the twentieth of April was born at Burgos, Don Sancho, son to Don Alfonso, king of Castile. That monarch made, for several years together, incursions into the territories of the Moors, with great success, and in one of them he made himself master of Alarcon, by which Cuera was so well covered, that he thought fit to erect it into a bishop's see. About the same time Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, besieged and took Guacera from the infidels, so that it is evident, whenever the Christian princes were at peace among themselves, they never failed to carry the terror of their arms into the countries still subject to the Moors. On the twenty-fourth of July, Don Ferdinand was likewise present, as an auxiliary to the king of Portugal, at the glorious victory of Santarem, when the whole force of the Moors, commanded by their monarch Joseph, was totally routed without fighting. The death of that monarch by a fall from his horse just as the battle began, intimidated his subjects to such a degree, that they immediately quitted the field of battle to place all their safety in flight, which afforded the Christians an opportunity they did not neglect of quitting scores with the Moors, for their recent severities.

Don Alfonso of Castile had the misfortune the next year to be beaten by the Moors, in the neighbourhood of Setiao in Estremadura, which however did not hinder his taking the field again in the succeeding spring; and, after having enriched his troops with a great booty, he returned triumphant, and went afterwards to an interview with the king of Aragon, with whom he concerted the means of continuing the peace which had already lasted for some years amongst the Christian powers, and of prosecuting the war against the infidels, points which these two princes had equally at heart, and, by concouring therein, contributed greatly to their own reputation and the good of their subjects. The next year Don Alfonso was in the field again, and made himself master of some small places; but his chief design seems to have been the security of his own dominions, by keeping the Moors in such a state of apprehension and distraction, as might hinder them from undertaking any thing to the prejudice of his territories, without which it would have been impossible for the people to have enjoyed that degree of peace and safety, that was necessary to cultivate and improve their lands.

In the autumn of this year, Don Ferdinand, king of Leon, went to pay his devotions at the tomb of the apostle St. James, in the church of Composella; and at his return to Benavente, which is ten leagues from Leon, found himself extremely indisposed; he lingered however through the remaining months of that year, and to the twenty-fifth day of January in the next, when he breathed his last, to the great regret of his subjects. Mariana says, that he more strongly by burying it in silence. We thought it inconsistent with our duty, either to follow his example in deciding, or theirs in concealing, and have therefore

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was fitter for the general of an army, than for the government of a kingdom: but if we consider his actions, we may, with equal reason, believe that there have been very few kings fitter for both; for he was a prince of great virtue and generosity, and as remarkable for piety as for valour. He left at his death three sons, Don Alfonso by his first queen the Infanta of Portugal, with whom, as the reader has seen, the pope forced him to part, and Don Sancho and Don Garcia by Donna Urraca, who survived him. Mariana, and after him other historians, have suggested, that, at the time of his decease, Don Alfonso was upon the point of flying into Portugal, being weary of the continual ill-usage of his mother-in-law, who reflected on him for his mother's misfortune, and pretended to treat him as a ballard; but this is very improbable, since even these historians allow that his mother-in-law's hatred arose from his father's affection to him; neither does it appear that the pope pretended to baflardize the issue of those marriages, which they declared null on the score of confanginity. The body of Don Ferdinand was buried in the cathedral of St. James, near that of his mother Donna Berengara, and of his grandfather Don Raymond. His successor was present at the solemnity, and some days after went to pay a visit to his mother-in-law, with whom it appears that he was inclined to live at least upon fair terms, notwithstanding her intentions, to have deprived him of the succession, to have placed her son Don Sancho on the throne of Leon, and to have bestowed the crown of Galicia on Don Garcia, are said to have been generally known; so that the moderation of the young monarch deferred to be highly admired. But as he was universally acceptable to the people, and sure of support from the crown of Portugal, there seems to be good reason to doubt whether the queen Donna Urraca Lopez could ever entertain such notions, more especially considering the age of her children, and her having no protector capable of affording her the least degree of affittance toward the execution of such a design. It is therefore more than likely that these conjectures took rise from succeeding events, with which, when the reader is acquainted, he will be enabled to form a better judgment.

The king of Castile held this year the general assembly of the states of his kingdom at Carrión, to which, through a desire of expressing his great affection for his cousin, that, in spite of his inactivity, he might be made a knight by a monarch in so high a form of service, in the name of the crown of Castile. The king of Castile as he took his fear, this was afterwards wrested into an act of solemn homage, and was the true cause of that disaffection which quickly succeeded to this superabundant kindness of these princes. The next year however they acted as confederates against the Moors, and with great success, recovered out of their hands abundance of places in Extremadura; not content with which they passed the Sierra Morena, and wasted all the territory of Seville with fire and sword to the sea side. One would have imagined that nothing could have contributed, more than the issue of this campaign, to convince the monarch of Castile of the expediency of living upon good terms with his cousin of Leon; yet this was so far from being the case, that it proved the cause of a rupture between them; for though the latter had shared in the danger and fatigue, yet the former kept all the conquests, though some of them, from their situation, were very convenient for his cousin, and of little consequence to him. This was refuted by Don Alfonso of Leon, like a young man; for he immediately sought the friendship of the king of Portugal, with the same zeal that he shewed in embracing that of the king of Castile, and, as the strongest proof of his sincerity, married the Infanta Donna Theresa, who was his cousin German, by the mother's side, without reflecting on what had happened to his father.

Amongst other circumstances that contributed to inspire the king of Castile with unreasonable The intended haughtiness, one was, that the emperor Frederic Barbarossa had concluded a treaty of marriage between his son prince Conrad, and the infanta Donna Berengara, daughter of the king of Castile, and had sent the young prince into Spain, that their nuptials might be celebrated at Toledo. Don Alfonso received him in that city with the utmost magnificence, and with all the marks of respect he could define, signed the contract of marriage which had been before subscribed by the emperor, and made his intended son-in-law a knight. Yet, after all this was done, the nuptials did not take place. Most of the Spaniards historians, for the honour of their country, ascribe this to the Infanta's terror of so long a journey, a disaffection to the climate

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of Germany, and a prejudice against the manners of the people: but Ferreras has assigned, if not a more certain, at least a more probable cause: he observes, that Donna Eleonora, queen of Castile, was, during the stay of prince Conrad, brought to bed of the Infant Don Ferdinand, which entirely spoiled the scheme of the German prince, who, as the king of Castile had no male issue living, expected to have succeeded him in the throne, in consequence of his marriage; of which, perceiving that there was now little hope, he took leave of the king, the queen, and the Infanta, and returned into Germany. Soon after this, the monarch of Castile prehuming on his cousin’s youth and his own great power, committed acts of hostility in the kingdom of Leon; of this the king of Aragon was no sooner informed, than he made an irruption into Castile; upon which Don Alfonso turned his arms against him, but with very indifferent success. By the interposition of the nobility and prelates of both kingdoms, the peace was quickly renewed, upon a promise that the king of Castile should do nothing to the prejudice of his cousin of Leon, whom, because he had injured, he hated.

The pope’s legate in Spain, cardinal Gregory, who was sent to promote peace amongst the Christian princes, gave a singular specimen of his abilities that way, by infinishing to the kings of Leon and Portugal, that the marriage of Don Alfonso with the Infanta Donna Teresa was void, and that therefore they ought to part; but none of the parties inclining to obey, he summons a council at Salamanca, in which the point was determined as he would have it; but the bishops of Leon, Astorga, Salamanca, and Zamora, who did not attend at this council, protested against the decree, alleging, that marriages of this sort were not prohibited by the divine, or even by the ecclesiastical law, but by the civil, and for certain political reasons; and that therefore princes, who had a power of establishing this law, must likewise have the power of dispensing with it. The cardinal legate effectually refuted this pernicious doctrine, by communicating the four prelates, and threatening both the kings of Leon and Portugal with an interdict; and very soon after he carried his threats into execution, which were attended with most dreadful consequences, the people in both kingdoms being extremely provoked at the obstinacy of the king of Leon, who, in spite of the express will and pleasure of the pope, would needs live with his wife. That monarch in vain sent the bishop of Zamora to Rome, to prevail upon the pope to remove the impediment as to the legality of his marriage; the pontiff would hear nothing upon that head, but, at the earnest suit of the bishop took off his excommunication and the interdict, allowing divine service and the sacraments to be administered everywhere, except in the presence of the king and queen of Leon, who were left to the most desperate courtesies, if theirs own piety had not guarded them.

Don Alfonso, king of Castile, was all this while engaged in continual expeditions against the infidels; and this very year had sent a potent army, under the command of Don Martin, archbishop of Toledo, into Andalusia, where he had acted with unexampled levity, destroying the corn and the vines, tearing the olive-trees up by the roots, putting multitudes of men, women, and children in chains, sweeping away all the cattle; and to complete this scene of destruction, laying every village and open town he passed through in ashes. The reader must not imagine that we are guilty of any exaggeration, for we transcribe not only the fact, but the very words, from a Spanish historian. The report of this cruel proceeding was no sooner brought to Jacob Aben Joseph, king of Morocco, than he wrote a letter to the king Don Alfonso, in which he expostulated on this new way of making war, in which manner barbarous beyond all example; to which Don Alfonso gave so haughty an answer, that the Moor immediately published the Gacita, which answers to our croisade, and infuses to every Mussulman, who either kills a Christian or is killed himself, a plenary absolution from all his sins, and an immediate entrance into Paradise. This called every man that was able to bear arms into the field, and the king of Morocco himself, coming over with a prodigious army, from Africa, ordered a general rendezvous of the whole forces of his empire at Seville. Don Alfonso of Castile, upon this, condescended to ask the affiance of the kings of Leon and Navarre, representing it as a war of religion, and in which the common cause of all the Christians in Spain was at stake; as they were convinced of the truth of the fact, they did not enquire nicely into the cause, but readily promised him, not only all he asked, but that they would march with all the forces of their respective kingdoms, to join him at Toledo, and began immediately to make the necessary levies for that purpose, not doubting that this confederacy would secure both his and their own dominions.

Jacob Aben Joseph found his army so numerous, that he was obliged to order part of them to rendezvous at Cordova, where having joined them with the rest of his forces from

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Seville,
Chap. 1.

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a Seville, he entered the kingdom of Toledo, and encamped within sight of Calatrava and Alarcos, and fights in both places of great strength, and which might have found employment for some time, even for his prodigious army. But the king of Castile, who had assembled all his forces, advanced without waiting for his allies, within a small distance of the enemy. The principal officers of his army suggested to him that he ought either to retreat in time or fortify his camp, since both the kings of Leon and Navarre were within a few days march, and not adventure on a battle with such a vast disproportion of forces. But the king could not be brought to relish those wholesome counsels; he had treated the Moor with contempt, and to retire before him would be a perpetual disgrace: besides, he was unwilling to share the honour of a victory, and he looked upon his troops and himself as invincible. On the eighteenth of July, the two armies came in sight, at a small distance from the town of Alarcos, and the engagement quickly began. The Christians behaved with great intrepidity; but after a warm and obstinate dispute, they were overthrown by numbers. Don Alfonso perceiving that they began to give way, and apprehending the loss of that high reputation which he had acquired, grew perfectly furious, and would have thrown himself into the midst of the enemy, but the nobility about his person restrained him, and carried him off by force. The Moors upon this occasion gained one of the completest victories that history records. There fell upwards of twenty thousand Castilians upon the spot, amongst whom was the flower of the nobility: the military orders, their camp and their baggage fell likewise into the hands of the enemy, and the shattered remains of the army retreated with difficulty to Toledo, and thence themselves up under cover of the extended fortifications.

b Don Alfonso had heard of this, before the king of Leon arrived with a numerous army: he went immediately to visit his cousin, and mildly exculpated with him the imprudence of his conduct. The Spanish historians, for the honour of their country, have unanimously supposed the answer of the monarch of Castile; but it is neverthelesss certain, that he endeavoured to throw that blame, which belonged wholly to himself, upon the two kings, and this in such coarse terms, that Don Alfonso of Leon immediately quitted Toledo, and returned into his own dominions, ravaging those of Castile as he passed; and the monarch of Navarre did the like. Upon this, the king of Castile, having provided for the security of Toledo, repaired to Burgos, leaving Jacob Aben-Joseph to make the best use of his victory, who reduced Calatrava and Alarcos, though with some difficulty, and afterwards made a furious irruption into Portugal, where he murdered all the monks and ecclesiastics that fell in his way, and wasted all the country with inexpressible barbarity, as far as appears from the histories of those times, in which it is the custom of Ximenes, then bishop of Siguenza, and afterwards primate of Toledo, to relate: he met with little or no resistance; for the Christian princes were more intent on punishing the influence of the king of Castile, than cautious in protecting their own dominions, which, how grief soever the provocation they had received might be, was beyond all doubt to the full as insufferable. At length they were awakened from their lethargy, and began, a little too late, to assemble their forces, and to provide for the chastisement of an enemy, who, in respect to them, had met with nothing that could justify the brutality of his behaviour.

c The kings Don Alfonso of Leon, and Don Sancho of Portugal, no longer able to resist the importunities of their subjects, submitted to the papal decree, and the Infant Donna Tereza of Portugal, queen of Leon, returned home to her father, leaving behind her the two princesses, her daughters; and there is reason to believe, that this event threw the affairs of that kingdom into great disorder. This induced the king of Castile, who had now collected a great body of forces, to fall with them into the kingdom of Leon; though the Moors, with the miramamolin at their head, had actually invaded his own dominions, penetrated as far as Toledo, and remained ten days before that city, which, however, they found so well fortified, and the people so much disposed to make a vigorous resistance, that at length, loaded with pillage, and fated with revenge, they thought fit to retreat. In the mean time, Don Alfonso of Castile took many places of small strength in the kingdom of Leon, ruined one of the abbeys belonging to the capital which was inhabited by Jews, and at last besieged the city of Borga, but without effect; which provoked him to such a degree, that he wasted all the open country with such little mercy as if he intended to copy, in his cousin’s dominions, the dreadful lefson which had been fetc him by the infidels in his own; and having done this,
he returned to Toledo, with an army laden with spoils taken from their fellow Christians, a
through a country miserably ruined by the infidels, merely for want of that defence, which it
was his and their duty to afford.

It might be naturally apprehended that his own reflections, the advices of great and good
men about him, joined to the clamours of the common people, which were loud, in propor-
tion to the evils they had endured, must have wrought upon the mind of the king of
Castile, and brought him back to a just sense of things. It happened however far otherwise;
he spent the winter in negotiating with Don Pedro, king of Aragon, and prevailed upon him
to send a strong corps of auxiliaries to assist in his next campaign, while the king of Leon on
the other side was indefatigable in raising forces in Galicia to retifithim; so that it looked as
if the Christian princes had acted in concert with the Moors, and were bent upon each other’s
destruction. In all probability this had been brought about, if the Moorish emperor, Joseph,
had not taken the field with an army so numerous, as to threaten the conquest or destruction
of the king of Castile’s dominions; which constrained that monarch to suspend his resentment
against his cousin, that he might prevent the loss or total ruin of his own countries. He did not find
himself in a condition, even with the succours of Aragon, to act offensively against the Moors;
and experience had taught him not to hazard battles with a handful of troops against thousands.
He did therefore what it became him to do; he put stout garrisons into all the strong places
in his territories, and kept himself in the mountains, with a flying camp, which prevented
the Moor from taking any place of importance, though he attempted several; and at length,
his army being much reduced by fatigue and sickness, was compelled to retire into Andalusia,
c with many slaves and booty, but with diminished forces, and their reputation rather declin-
ing than increased. So little did he profit by his important victory.

As soon as his territories were delivered from the Moors, Don Alphonso of Castile, having
drawn out part of his garrisons, fell, with a potent army, into the dominions of Leon, where
he took some places of no great strength, and ruined all the open country. The king of
Leon having an army not at all inferior to his, marched towards him, with a desin to give a
check to his proceedings by a battle. The perfon upon whole advice and abilities he chiefly
relied, was his cousin, Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, the son of that great hero of the same
de name, who had commanded the forces of the king his father, who had served the Moorish
emperor Joseph, and who, it is even more than probable, was at the head of a corps of
Mohammedan auxiliaries at this very time, and by him he was diffused from fighting. He observed
that the event of a battle was in all respects uncertain, except one, which was the ruin of both
parties, let the victory fall where it would, since the Moors were ready and waiting to
take the advantage. He proposed therefore a treaty, to which, though the king was backward,
he found the nobility and prelates of Castile were unanimously inclined. He went therefore
to Valladolid, in person, to negotiate with queen Eleanor, and having proposed a marriage between
the Infanta Donna Berengaria, and Don Alphonso, king of Leon, the treaty was quickly
concluded, and the marriage soon after solemnized in the same place, though the king of Castile
was not present; and shewed thereby, that what he did, he did with reluctance, against
his own sense of things; for in his temper united qualities that rarely meet, haughtiness and
e obinility.

At the entrance of the ensuing year, the king of Castile found himself freed from all
apprehensions of the Moors, by an application from their monarch, either for a peace or a
long truce; the reason of which was, that his affairs had taken a wrong turn in Africa, where
several of his governors had revolted, and set up for themselves. The king of Castile was
not ignorant of this; and yet he acted as if he had been so; and concluded a peace with the
Moorish prince, upon the very same terms, that might have been prudently accepted when
he was in the full career of his victories: the reason of this was, that the king of Castile meditated,
in conjunction with the king of Aragon, to over-run the territories of the king of Navarre,
who, from the sense he had of the implacable enmity of these two monarchs, had suffered himself to be strangely deceived by the Moorish emperor, who pretended to give him
his daughter in marriage, and with her all his dominions in Spain. This war the two kings
accordingly prosecuted, but with little success, though they had great superiority, as will be
shewn in another place.

In the mean time Pope Innocent III. insinuated
upon the unceasing
wars of the king of Leon.

The former
concludes a peace also with the
mirandenses
of Africa.

A.D. 1197.

Pope Innocent
III. insinuated
upon the
wars of the
king of Leon.

A.D. 1197.

S ZURIT. Annal. Aragon. 1 Annal. Tolet.
S Rod. Tolet. de reb. 2 Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii.
2 Tudenf. Chronicon.

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a lent or more afraid than his matter, was not inclined to do; but gave time for the two kings to send their ambassadors to Rome, in order to pacify, if possible, this haughty successor of St. Peter; but notwithstanding this was attempted, with all imaginable humility, the pope remained fixed to his point, and sent fresh orders for separating the king and queen, or for putting all the churches in Castile and Leon under an interdict; the very thoughts of which, it was well known, would terrify the common people almost to madness, and consequently expose the state to such dangers, as were most likely to fright, even crowned heads, into obedience. The arms of Castile were this year more successful in Navarre, the king of that realm being absent in Africa, and had reduced the city of Vitoria, and some other places of importance, to a state of such direst, that a kind of provisional capitulation was made, dependent upon

b the orders of the king of Navarre for their surrender, which orders soon after arrived, that monarch being at this time in no condition to vindicate his own rights, or to defend those of his subjects, which left it in the power of Don Alfonso to gratify his ambition in a very extensive degree: so that this ancient and once powerful kingdom was reduced within an hair’s breadth of destruction.

The satisfaction he derived from thence must have been very much heightened by an honourable event, in respect to his family, which fell out soon after, and which, for some particular reasons, we are obliged to represent at large. John, king of England, finding himself under a necessity of making a disadvantageous peace with Philip, king of France, his mother, Queen Eleanor, contrived to leffen the discredit of this transaction, by a very

c singular expedient, which the no sooner proposed, than it was by all parties very readily embraced. According to her scheme, the places conquered by France were to be restored to her son, who was then to make a voluntary cession of them, as the dowry of his niece, the Infanta Donna Blanca, or, as the French call her, Blanche, who was to marry prince Louis heir apparent of the crown of France; and to carry all this into execution, the offer to go herself into Spain, to fetch the young princes. Upon her arrival at the court of Castile, she was received by Don Alfonso, her son-in-law, and by her daughter Queen Eleanor, with all possible marks of respect and affection, and her proposal readily accepted, the young princes put into her hands, whom she carried to her son, the king of England, in Normandy, where the peace being signed on the twenty-second of May, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-third, at a place called Purnor, in that duchy, the ceremony being performed by the archbishop of Bourdeaux; the reason of which was, that the king having incurred the displeasure of the pope by a divorce, the kingdom of France was then under an interdict. The marriage thus concluded, the young princes was conducted to the court of her father-in-law, there to be brought up, till such time as herself and her spouse were of a fit age to consummate; which circumstance seems to be a sufficient refutation of that notion, which passed for ages as a point of true history, that this Infanta was the eldest daughter of Castile, and with which some very eminent French writers seem at this day very unwilling to part, notwithstanding the clear proofs that may be brought of the contrary. But the following history will shew nothing like it was furnisht in some ages after the event.

d The fame year Don Alfonso, king of Leon, had, by the Infanta Donna Berengara, his son Ferdinand; the day of his birth is no where recorded; but it is certain he was born before the month of August, and baptized with great solemnity in the cathedral church of Leon, to the greatest joy of both courts. About this time the disputes between the king of Leon and his mother-in-law produced a kind of rupture; for the late king Ferdinand, having bestowed upon her some favours of great importance to the safety of his dominions, Don Alfonso did not think it consistent, either with his dignity or interest, to leave them any longer in her hands, and therefore demanded them. On the other hand, the queen dowager Donna Urraca, by the advice and with the assistance of her brother Don Diego Lopez, fortified them; and that nobleman also applied himself to the king of Castile, in hopes that he would have interposed

e with his son-in-law, to prevent things from coming to extremities. But that monarch, either judging the thing in itself unreasonable, or being unwilling to take part in any thing against his son-in-law, rejected this demand; and the places not long after were taken by the king of Leon, who highly provoked Don Diego Lopez, that he retired to his own estates, exceedingly exasperated against both kings, and consequently disposed, whenever any occasion offer, to sacrifice his duty to his resentment. Such was the situation of things in Spain, at the opening of the thirteenth century, when the Christians were indeed become more potent than in former times, but were as little united as ever.

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Don Alonso of Castile was extremely provoked at this haughty behaviour in one for whom he had done so much, and for whose sake he had disobliged so many; but his resentment, in some measure, received a justification from Don Diego's insulting country, as soon as he found himself safe in Navarre, with a considerable body of desperate people, who had followed his fortunes. His insurrection became in a short time so formidable, that the king of Castile requested the assistance of his son-in-law to reduce him; accordingly both princes took the field, at the head of a numerous army. Don Diego had not forces sufficient to give them battle; but having fortified Ezella in Biscay, and provided it with all things necessary to sustain a siege, after harrying the royal armies in the field, he gradually withdrew his forces thither. The two kings invested the place, and battered it with great fury, and as soon as the breaches were practicable, made repeated assaults, but to no purpose; so that in the end they were constrained to raise the siege. About this time, the kings of Castile and Aragon concluded a truce for three years with the king of Navarre, in order more at leisure to negotiate a peace.

The Readiness shewn by Don Alonso, king of Leon, in keeping his queen, contrary to the decrees of pope Innocent the third, so provoked that zealous head of the church, as to induce him to execute what he had threatened, by putting the kingdom of Leon under an interdict, upon which a schism arose, some of the bishops adhering to the king, and some to the pope. But the king of Castile prevented this thunder from falling on the heads of his subjects, by declaring that he was ready to receive the Infanta, his daughter, whenever the king of Leon should think fit to send her home. While things continued in this state, queen Eleanor of Castile was brought to bed of a son, on the 14th of April; and not long after this, in pity to their subjects, and, so far as appears, without any diftance or dispute between themselves, the king and queen of Leon resolved to separate. The pope, in consideration that the marriage was entered into and conlomcatam on both sides with sincerer and laudable intentions, declared the children legitimate; there were the infants Ferdinand and Alonso, and the infantes Eleonora, Constanza, and Berengara. As for the dowry which had been settled by the king of Leon, the infanta Berengara generously gave it up. All these great points being adjusted, Alonso, king of Castile, threw in a proposition, too weighty and too reasonable to be rejected; this was, that the infant Don Ferdinand, and his daughter's eldest son, should (in case of his brother's demise) be declared heir apparent of the kingdom of Leon. An assembly of the estates was accordingly called, who unanimously swore to the succession; and this ceremony over, queen Berengara returned to her father's court, leaving all her children at that of the king her husband. Thus, through the pious application of the papal power, Don Alonso was once more declared a single man, though with two wives living, and six or seven children (E).

At the time of the concluding the truce between the kings of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, Don Diego Lopez de Haro was restored to his old master's favour, who also interceded for him with the king of Leon. The great military skill which he had shewn in defending Ezella, had its merit even with those monarchs, against whom he defended it; and they could not help esteeming and admiring the courage and conduct of this nobleman, tho' exercised against them. The cain is singular enough to deference notice; but, besides this, it is necessary that we should have an idea of the character of Don Diego. It is uncertain whether he commanded in that war, which, at the solicitation of Philip Augustus of France, Don Alonso, king of Castile, carried

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a on in Aquitaine against king John of England, of the reality of which we cannot doubt, though passed over in silence by the English and French historians; since we find it recorded by two grave Spanish prelates, who lived in those times. The birth of the Infant Don Henry might possibly leen the respect which had hitherto paid by Don Alfonso of Castile to the king of Leon; and this was still more diminished upon his sending back his daughter, though with her own consent, and with great reluctance on the part of that king. That this was really the case, appears from the refusal of the Castilian governors to surrender the places assigned for the queen's dower, which she had relinquished by an act of her own, and this act confirmed by the Pope. The king of Leon resenting this, attempted to reduce them by force, which gave beginning to a war that lasted for three years, but with the interposition of some truces; and at this period, his affairs making it necessary, the king of Castile showed a desire of peace, and that it might be well kept left the terms of it to the king of Leon. This afforded that monarch an opportunity of shewing, that, when he parted with his queen, he did not part with his affections for her. He had stipulated the delivery of the places in question, and he had made a war to acquire them; now he was left to dictate the peace, he contented that the best part of them should remain in the condition they were, and that the Infanta Donna Berengaria should enjoy the revenue. About this time, the king of Castile gave his second daughter Donna Urraca in marriage to the Infant Don Alfonso, prince of Portugal; and at the request of Don Rodrigo Jimenez, the historian, founded an university at Palencia, which in the succeeding reign was, as some say, transferred to Salamanca.

b The truce was now on the point of expiring, which the king of Castile had concluded with the miramolín, and it was this that made Don Alfonso so extremely solicitous to put an end, not only to the wars, but to the quarrels and disputes amongst the Christian princes in Spain. It was with this view, that he prevailed once more with the kings of Aragon and Navarre to meet him; and the great generosity he shewed in abandoning several places of great importance to the last of those princes had an extraordinary good effect; so that at length they parted perfectly good friends, with mutual promises of assistance and support against the Moors. Things being thus settled, Don Rodrigo Díaz, grand master of the order of Calatrava, for so it was still called, thought the place was in the hands of the Moors, made an irruption into their territories, and by taking several places began the war. The next year, the Infant Don Ferdinand received the order of knighthood with great ceremony, in the cathedral church of Burgos, that he might be qualified, according to the notions of those times, to take the field with his father, against the infidels; who, while they were preparing to resist the Castilians, found themselves suddenly attacked by the king of Aragon, who made this summer some conquests at their expense. Don Alfonso of Castile did not take the field till the following spring; and then, with a numerous and gallant army, advanced as far as Alcalá, which place, when he had reduced, he proceeded next to over-run the best part of the kingdom of Murcia, in which he met with no considerable resistance, till the extreme heat of the season obliged him to retire. Mohammed, then king of Morocco, had assembled a numerous body of troops in Andalusia, and had signed the Sierra Morena, invested Salavatierra, the residence for the present of the knights of Calatrava. Though the town was not very strong, the knights defended it so well, that they had time to give Don Alfonso notice of their diffeřs, and that without a speedy relief it was impossible to preserve the place. Upon this the Infant Don Ferdinand was sent with a very strong detachment to make an irruption into the Moorish territories on the side of Ebremda, which he performed very gallantly, but it did not produce what was expected, the miramolín perfiring in the siege; so that the prince returned to his father's camp in the month of August, and the place having no other relief to expect, was surrendered in the ensuing month. This certainly chagrined the king of Castile not a little; but an event which followed soon after affected him much more. The royal infant, either over fatigued by the operations of the campaign, or from some other cause, fell ill of a fever soon after his return with his father to Madrid, of which he died there October 4, A. D. 1211, to the universal sorrow, not only of his royal parents and the court, but of the whole nation in general.

c The king could not allow himself much time to grieve, as he had certain and indisputable A prophetic intelligence, that the miramolín, having pacified the troubles in Barbary, had brought the whole force of his empire together, with an intention to conquer the kingdom of Toledo, at least. Being sensible from experience, that the power of Castile was by no means capable of the Christians.

d 1215.

e f


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of supporting him against such an enemy, he sent the bishop elect of Segovia to Rome, the archbishop Don Roderic and other bishops into France, while himself managed a conference with the kings of Aragon and Navarre, in which he obtained from them all that he could desire or expect. Don Sancho, king of Portugal, dying about this time, was succeeded by his son Don Alonso, who involving himself in some disputes with the king of Leon, the monarch of Castile could not promise himself much help from either of those princes, with the want of which, however, he might depend, since multitudes enrolled themselves for this holy war in France, Italy, and Germany, the pontiff at Rome using the same methods to excite Christians in all places to enter into the Spanish war, as in other crusades, and with better reason.

The rendezvous of the Christian troops was appointed at Toledo, about Easter; but it was a considerable time before so numerous an army, and that too composed of so many different nations and languages, could be brought into any tolerable order. Don Pedro, king of Aragon, with the forces under his command, arrived on Trinity Sunday; the foreigners in a short time after; and to prevent the inconveniences that must have happened, if they had been admitted into the city, all these forces were encamped in the field, as soon as they arrived, which did not however, hinder the foreigners from falling upon the Jews in the suburbs, and committing many other irregularities, which cost the king of Castile a great deal of trouble to correct. At last, on the twentieth of June, the army began to move, the Ultramontans or foreigners, from beyond the Pyrenees, had the van, composed of ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, under the command of Don Diego Lopez de Haro; the king of Castile and the king of Aragon moved next, but in separate bodies, that they might not incommodate each other; the rest of the army formed a rear-guard, and took post upon the frontiers. The first place that felt the weight of their arms was Malagon, which the foreigners took by storm, and put all the Mohammedans therein to the sword. The next place they attempted was Calatrava, in which there was a very good garrison, commanded by the alcazars Abenaziz and Ahmed, officers of great reputation, and who left none of it by their behaviour upon this occasion. The town notwithstanding being attacked on all sides, was quickly taken by assault; but the Moorish generals retired into the citadel, which being strong and well supplied, they made a gallant defence; at length they offered a capitulation, in case they had leave to retire where they pleased, which the foreigners violently opposed, professing, that they meant to give no quarter to any infidels; but the kings of Castile and Aragon were of another mind; they knew the importance of the place, and of the magazines which were in it, and therefore they readily signed the capitulation; and Don Diego Lopez de Haro, with his own troops, effected the Moors till such time as they arrived in a place of safety. The strangers were so much offended at this instance of moderation, and the not giving up the place to be pillaged, that pretending they were not able to endure the heats which began to come on, they decamped with their forces, in spite of all the solicitations and prayers of the Christian monarchs, and marched back towards Toledo, the troops under Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, and Theobald Blacon, only excepted.

This loss, tho' it diminished, did not discourage, the Christian army, or the kings who commanded it, and who soon after attacked and reduced Marco, and other small places. While they were thus employed, the king of Aragon received a considerable reinforcement, which gave the army fresh spirits; and before their rejoicings on this subject were over, Don Sancho, king of Navarre, with most of the nobility of his kingdom, and a very gallant corps of troops, joined them likewise; upon which, being again in motion, they advanced to Salvatierra, where they made a general review of the army, and resolved to march on towards the enemy, notwithstanding the defection of the foreigners. This resolution was indeed very gallant and heroic, but at the same time extremely hazardous, as they had that rugged ridge of mountains, called the Sierra Morena, to pass, before they could reach the infidels, who knew waited for them, and would be sure to give them all the trouble that was possible in their passage. The Moorish monarch Mohammed, who, from his wearing a turbant of that colour, had acquired the surname of the Green, acted through this campaign like an able general, and an officer of great experience. He had drawn together his forces early in the neighbourhood of Jaen, amounting to four thousand excellent horse, and a body of troops so numerous, that no historian has ventured upon a calculation. He advanced slowly, as he heard of the progress of the Christians, resolved not to waste his forces in skirmishes, or to venture a general and decisive engagement, before the fatigue of the several sieges and the usual heats should have abated the ardour of the enemy. At length he took post at Baena, marked out the
field of battle as his leisure, and caused all the narrow passes in the mountains to be occupied by strong detachments, with express orders to his officers to maintain their respective posts as long as it was possible; so that, all things considered, it seemed almost an impracticable project for the Christian army to reach that of the Moors, and still more impracticable to defeat troops more numerous than their own, that had served long, and with great reputation, fresh, well supplied with everything, and in posts of their own choosing, and of consequence very advantageous.

The Christian army arrived at the foot of the Sierra, on Thursday the 12th of July, when a paso the Sierra small corps of troops, under the command of Don Diego Lopez, after a brisk dispute, posted themselves at the pass of Muradal, and the next day, after an obstinate resistance, drove the Moors from some of the eminences about it; but perceiving that the pass was very narrow, and of a considerable length, and the enemy in a condition to cut them off as fast as they appeared at the opening on the other side, they judged it impossible to pursue their design, and at the same time could not bear the thoughts of returning to Toledo, without seeing an enemy in this diffused situation, a person altogether unknown, but who from his appearance seemed to be a shepherd, desired to speak with the kings, and after some importunity was conducted into their presence. He proposed to shew them a passage hitherto very little known, and which never had been passed by any army, through which they might march without difficulty, and at the same time without being observed by the Moors. The monarchs were very desirous of accepting so favorable an offer; but at the same time afraid to trust to a guide whom nobody knew. At length, Don Diego Lopez and Don Garcia Ramiro, offered to follow him with a corps of troops, and he led them according to his promise, by a winding passage, which has ever since borne the name of the Royal Passage, to the summit of the mountains, where they found a fair and spacious plain, where the whole army might be ranged conveniently in order of battle.

On Saturday the 14th of July, the Christian army, in consequence of this happy discovery, took possession of the plain beforementioned, and disposed their troops in proper order; the Moors were infinitely surprised when they beheld them in so advantageous a situation; but as soon as they had recovered themselves a little, neglected nothing that might have provoked them to fight immediately; but in this they were disappointed, for the Christians having secured the advanced posts, and provided in the most effectual manner possible, in case of an attack, rested that day and the next, which they spent in devotion, and preparing themselves, in a Christian manner, for whatever event Providence might design them. On the 16th, in the morning, the whole army was disposed in order of battle, the right wing was commanded by the king of Navarre, who, besides his own forces, had some battalions of Càthilian troops, the foreigners under the archbishop of Narbonne, and the volunteers; the king of Arragon and his forces were on the left; Don Alonso of Càthile in the centre, his troops being divided into four brigades, the first commanded by Don Diego Lopez de Haro, the second by Don Gonzales de Lara, in which were the troops of the military orders, the third by Don Rodrigo Diaz, composed of the flower of the Càthilian nobility, the last was under the king in person, who had about him all the prelates, and the whole force of the kingdom of Toledo. The Moors were likewise disposed in very exact order, and in the center the choicest troops were covered by a strong barricade of iron chains; the miramamolin was there in person, dressed in a rich robe, with the khoran in one hand and a sabre in the other. The battle was begun by Don Diego Lopez de Haro, and soon after both the wings engaged. This attack was made with all imaginable vigour, and the Moors received them with the utmost intrepidity. The dispute continued long, without any sensible variation of fortune; but the losses of the Moors being continually supplied with fresh troops, the Christians began to lose ground in every part of the line. The Moors perceiving this, made a great effort, which had a very sensible impression, inflamuch that Don Alonso of Càthile cried out, that there was nothing now left, but to secure the honour of the nation, by dying gloriously; and was on the very point of throwing himself into the thickest of the enemy, if the archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo, and Don Femand Garcia, had not restrained him. The latter told him things were not yet desperate, if he did not make them so, by precipitation, and advised him to support his retiring troops by feableon and well disposed supplies. This had its effect, and the Christians having recovered their spirits, pushed the infidels in their turn, broke them, and advanced to the barricade of iron chains, where things were in danger of taking a new turn, the infantry being unable to do any thing. But the king or Navarre, at the head of his own cavalry, attacking them in full career, with a desperate resolution, leaped the barricade, and having driven the Moors...
from their first posts, opened a passage for the Castilians. It was then no longer a battle, but a carnage. The miramolin, by the perfusion of his brother, quitted the field; and the Christians pursuing their flying enemies, continued the slaughter till it was night: the army then took possession of the enemies’ camp; and the archbishop of Toledo, assisted by all the bishops and ecclesiastics, sung Te Deum. The next day, Don Diego Lopez de Haro made a distribution of the spoils, and gave almost the whole to the auxiliaries and strangers, telling the Castilians, that they were sufficiently rewarded by the victory itself, since all the advantages derived from it would be theirs; and, which is not a little singular, his conduct met with universal applause. The Moors lost upon the field, and in the pursuit, 200,000 men; the Christians, if you will believe archbishop Roderic, but 25; and but 150 in the course of the whole campaign (P).

After the army had rested three days, they resumed their progress, and reduced all the country as far as Baza, which they found flighted and without inhabitants, except a number of aged and infirm people, who had taken shelter in the great mosque, to which they cruelly set fire. They marched from thence to Ubeda, a place of strength, to which the remains of the Moors’ army and most of the inhabitants of Baza had retired, and to which the Christians laid siege. They met there with a stubborn and obstinate resistance, yet on the side of the Arragonian attack, things were pulsed so far, that the besieged offered a million of crowns, by way of ransom; but the prelates persisting in opposing all capitulations, the besieged found their safety in despair, behaving afterwards with such desperate resolution, that famine and direful attacks broke into the camp, all the three monarchs concurred in opinion, that the only proper step to be taken was, to raise the siege, which they accordingly did; and, having put strong garrisons into their new conquests, repaissed the mountains, and continued their march to Calatrava. There they met the duke of Austria, with a great number of troops coming to his assistance, who finding their campaign over, joined his forces to those of the king of Aragon, who here took leave of Don Alonso of Castile, in order to return into his own dominions. Don Alonso, accompanied by Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, proceeded to Toledo, into which city they entered in triumph; and at the departure of the last mentioned monarch, Don Alonso, as a mark of his gratitude and esteem, restored to him fifteen of the most considerable places that he had taken during the long war; he also instituted an annual festival on the 16th of July, which was hailed the triumph of the holy cross, and it was long kept with great solemnity, through both the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, in memory of an event which, in a great measure, determined the fate of the Moors in Spain.

While Don Alonso of Castile was employed in this important war, the troops of the king of Leon, under the command of Don Pedro Fernandez, recovered all the places that had been conquered by the Castilians. After this, the king of Leon turned his arms against Portugal, where the king, Don Alonso, was labouring to dispossess his brothers, one of which was Donna Theresia, once queen of Leon, of the places which his father had left them by his testament for

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(P) The date of this battle is fixed with great certainty, by the unanimous consent of historians, to Monday, July the 16th, A.D. 1212; as to the place, there is not, as we observed, the same concurrence; and yet such as are well acquainted with the country, may possibly find that the differences about it are but of very little consequence. Some place it in the battle of Muraduel, from the pafs of that name, through the Sierra Morena; others the battle of Lago, from a great rock of that name; but it is most commonly known by the title of the battle of Toledo, from a little town of that name, in the open country, beyond the mountains. Some writers have reported, that, at the very beginning of the action, a most redoubtable crowd appeared in the heavens, a sure prelude of victory to the Christians: but this is not to be found in the letter written by the king of Castile to the pope, in that of Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, or in the history of Don Roderic, archbishop of Toledo; and is, therefore, justly suspected by Moriana, as well as Ferrerius. But it is unanimously alleged, that Donatus Pauchal, the archbishop of Toledo’s cross-bearer, and who, in process of time, became himself both dean and archbishop of the same diocese, passed several times through the enemy’s line, without receiving any hurt. Some have attempted to assign a physical reason, why no blood appeared upon the field of battle; viz. from the heat of the weather and the dryness of the soil. Some have also corrected the numbers said to be slain in this battle, and instead of 25 Christians, would have us read 25000. This, however, is utterly irreconcilable to the archbishop of Toledo’s relation, who maintains the said to be true; however incredible it may seem: he adds farther, that the quantity of spears, javelins, and arrows, found upon the field, was so great, that they served the Christian forces for two days, as fuel for dressing their provisions, though during that space they burnt nothing else. The value of the spoil was immense, as we may guess from the number of horses, which are said to have amounted to 35,000. But the most signal advantage of all was, the breaking the power of the miramolin, which revived that spirit of independency natural to the Spanish Moors; put them upon revolt, setting up separate principalities, and destroying each other, which made their total expulsion a work much easier to the Christians than otherwise it would have been, and opened a way also to the declension of this dynasty in Africa, which weakened the Muslim power in general.
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a their subsistence. It was at the request of these distressed princesses, that the king of Leon made a diversion in their favour, offering, however, to retire, if Don Alfonso of Portugal would desert from his enterprise. But that king, who from his infancy hated his brothers and sisters, marched against him with a superior army, and forced him to battle, in which, however, the king of Leon was victorious, and would, perhaps, have availed himself in another manner of his successes, if the apprehensions of being attacked by the king of Castile had not with-held him. Don Alfonso of Castile behaved upon this occasion with great magnanimity; for, instead of committing any hostilities, he invited him to Valladolid, and there, in a personal conference, convinced him of the necessity of their living upon good terms, in order to which, he not only relinquished all the places he had taken, but gave him several others that he knew he much desired, together with the castles of Carpio and Monreal, in the territory of Salamanca, upon condition that they should be demolished, and a considerable town and district in Asturias, merely because it lay conveniently for him; so that the king of Leon left him in sentiments of the most perfect friendship; and Don Alfonso of Castile thought a secure peace very cheaply purchased by these sacrifices, being desirous only of extending his dominions at the expense of the Moors, and by making a proper use of the great advantage he had gained. It was in order to this, that he stipulated with the king of Leon, as an equivalent for the concessions he had made, that he should restore to the king of Portugal the places he had taken from him, and conclude a peace with that monarch, upon fair and equal terms. Upon this peace, the Infant Don Pedro of Portugal, perceiving that he had no Christian court to which he could fly, and dreading the implacable disposition of the king his brother, retired to the miramolin. On the other hand, that monarch, perceiving how much he was leftened in the opinion of his subjects by his late defeat, went over to Africa, where he passed the remainder of his days under that cloud which usually attends sovereigns that are unfortunate.

Don Alfonso of Castile took the field again early the next year, with a competent army, and having reduced Duero, at the foot of the Sierra Morea, and some other places, though not without relish, soon after inviolate Alarcos, where the Moors had a good garrison, and that unsettled themselves that it was impregnable; but the king continued before it so long, and took so much care of supplicating his troops with provisions, that at length, on the 22d of May, gave great distress.

The place was surrendered. After putting a strong garrison into it, the king returned in triumph to St. Torccean, where he met his queen, with the Infant Don Henry, his daughter queen Berengara, and her two sons Don Ferdinand and Don Alfonso, and there kept his Whitewash. Some other actions of less importance happened in this year, with different successes; but the most remarkable event was, a great scarcity of provisions, arising from the excessive consumption made by the great armies the year before, and the people being also hindered, by the continuance of the war, from attending in a proper manner to the cultivation of their lands.

As Don Alfonso of Leon had made no diversion in favour of the king of Castile this campaign, the infant Don Ferdinand and his brother Diego Lopez de Haro was sent to him with 600 excellent horses, and by the assistance of these and his own industry, he made himself master of Alcántara, and had taken some other places, if the extreme heat of the weather had not obliged him to put his troops into quarters of refreshment. This was a great disappointment to the king of Castile, who thereby lost the opportunity of taking Badajoz, which the Moors had reoccupied and fortified, and which he besieged for three months, till sickness and famine obliged him to retire. Soon after the return of the king of Leon from his campaign, his heir apparent the Infant Don Ferdinand, whom he had by Donna Teresa of Portugal, died, and was buried in the cathedral church of St. James at Compostella, near the remains of Don Ferdinand of Castile, his grandfather. This accident exceedingly afflicted his parents, and might well excuse the king, his father, for not making an autumn campaign. About this time, the archbishop Rodric of Toledo finished his fortresses of Milagro, now known by the name of Almagro, the capital of one of the districts in the province of Mancha, into which he put a competent garrison, to restrain the incursions of the Moors, which he had hardily done, before it was besieged by an army of 5000 horse and foot, under the command of a Moorish officer of great reputation; but the prelate, its founder, took such care to supply those within with all kinds of necessaries, that at length, not without great loss, the enemy found themselves obliged to raise the siege and to retire.

The king, Don Alfonso of Castile, being full very solicitous about the affairs of his cousin the king of Leon, and apprehensive that he did not clearly comprehended what considerable ac-

iations might be made to his own territories, by entering heartily into a war with the Moors of Castile, at

A.D. 1214.

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invited
invited him to an interview at Placentia. This was as readily accepted as proposed; but in his journey thither, Don Alonso of Castile was attacked by a malignant fever, of which he died at a little village on the way, on the fifth or sixth of August, in the year 1214. He had the comfort of having his queen, and most of his children about him, as well as the archbishop Don Roderic and several other prelates, in his last moments; and by his will he appointed the queen dowager Eleonora, regent, during the minority of her son; but this provision, though very prudent, did not avail much, since she also died in the month of October the same year; in which also expired the two greatest men in Castile and Leon, Don Diego Lopez de Haro, and Don Pedro Fernandez. Such a series of unexpected events had, as the reader will easily conceive, a very great effect on the minds of the people, and made way for those troubles and disturbances that very speedily ensued, and of which, if they had been under any settled form of government, and had acted with any proper degree of prudence, the Moors would certainly have availed themselves more than they did (G).

Don Henry, the young king of Castile, was in the 11th year of his age; and having lost his mother in two months after his father, the regency, according to the direction of the king's testament, devolved on the queen Donna Berengara, with the general satisfaction of the whole kingdom; the counts of Lara, Don Ferdinand, Don Alvaro, and Don Gonzales, only excepted. They were desirous of getting the perfon of the king into their hands, and in a short time, by infinements of various kinds, drew many of the nobility, from motives of interest, into their notions. The great difficulty was, how to bring their scheme to bear; and it was in the management of this that they threw themselves commissively politicians. They corrupted a serviant who was much in the confidence of that person, who persuaded her, that the nobles in general were highly displeased, that, since they had a child for their king, the care of that child should be confided solely to a woman; and that, therefore, out of respect to the king's safety and her own, the wise thing she could possibly do was to call an assembly of the states, and leave the choice of a regent to them. She did so, and by the intrigues of the faction, Don Alvaro de Lara was chosen, under various restrictions, which, when he had taken an oath punctually to observe, the young king was delivered to his care, in order to his receiving a proper education. But no sooner was the assembly dissolved, than Don Alvaro broke through all the restrictions, governed with a rod of iron, and not only trampled on the liberties of the laity, but infringed like-wise the immunities of the clergy. His politicks were of a very extraordinary kind; for, in this first year of his regency, he contrived to secure an influence over the king, for life, by marrying him to the Infants Donna Mafalda of Portugal, and with this view, leaving the king to the care of some of his friends in whom he could confide, he went, in person, to the court of Portugal, to negotiate this marriage. In this some writers say he succeeded; and it is on all hands agreed, that the court of Portugal came into it, and that the young princes was sent into Spain; but the Pope interposed, at the request of the nobility, and by his influence over the prelates caused the Infants to be sent back into Portugal, where she became a nun.

A.D. 1215.

(G) This great monarch was, to speak cordeflly, Alonso the third, of Castile; for though, after the union of the two kingdoms under his grandfon, Don Ferdinand, the succeeding kings were reckoned in the order of those of Leon, so that his successor was titles Don Alonso the tenth, and not Don Alonso the fourth, yet this manner of computing did not or could not take place before. He was, at the time of his demife, in the 55th year of his age, and in the 5th of his reign. It is true, that the old historians differ about these dates, and that, even in the printed copies of Don Roderic's history, it is said to have been but the 53d year of his reign; yet we ought to consider that transcribers mistake in nothing so much as dates; and therefore we must not suffer ourselves to be misled by such slips of theirs, when visibly repugnant to the current of history. There is another difficulty that ought to be cleared, which relates to the occasion of that journey which cost the king his life; for in the printed copies of the archbishop of Toledo's history, it is said, that the king was going to an interview with the king of Portugal, his son-in-law, at Placentia; whereas Ferreira, whom we follow, affirms, that his design was to confer with the king of Leon, which seems to be much more probable, considering the place assigned for their interview, and the route the king took to go thither, notwithstanding that a modern historian tells us his disease was rendered mortal by his chagrin, on a maffage fent him by the king of Portugal, that he would not come out of his own dominions, which is exceedingly improbable, since we never hear that these monarchs had any difference; and the king of Castile had, but a very little before, given the king of Leon an equivalent out of his dominions, in order to induce him to return to Portugal the places he had conquered. He is very highly commended by Don Roderic Nunez, who knew him perfectly, and who, where there is occasion to mention them, has not disfigured his vices. We may, however, affirm, that he was much more indebted to experience than education; and that it may be very truly laid of him, it was by reigning that he knew how to reign: perhaps, we may add to all this, that his misfortunes were the great infirmities of his glory; that his being beaten put him into the road of victory; and that the close of his reign did honour to his memory, because it was very unlike the beginning. We are not, indeed, warranted to give him this character, from what is said of him in other histories, but we are led to it from facts; and truth is, of all other, the best authority in history.

Marianna
a Marius says, that when the count Don Álvaro found it impossible to make her a queen, he would have made a merit of his endeavours in order to have eluded her himself; but that the young prince's rejected his offer with contempt.

b He, therefore, generally bear ill treatment with less temper than any other people, for upon Don Álvaro's making free with the revenues of the church of Toledo, the dean of that cathedral, without ceremony, excommunicated him, which quickly obliged him to make satisfaction. In order to appease the nation in general, he called on an assembly of the alcaides at Valladolid, at which the king and his sister Donna Berengara assisted, but the disputes rove quickly to such a height, and the behaviour of Don Álvaro was so imperious, that the queen Donna Berengara thought proper to retire to the fortresses of Asti, and was followed thither by some of the nobility of the first families in Castile. The regent was very little concerned at this, but when he afterwards understood that the young king himself was inclined to take the same route, he carried the young prince, under pretence of visiting his dominions, first to Segovia, then to Ávila, and at length to Maqueda, in the kingdom of Toledo, where he kept him several months, and oppressed all the country in the neighbourhood to such a degree, that it was very near causing an insurrection, and, as it was, increased those clamours that had been loud enough before.

c To flite thefe, or at least to turn them from himself upon those who opposed him, Don Álvaro took a very bold step. He discovered that the queen Donna Berengara had sent a perfum very secretly to her brother, to enquire after his health, and to learn how he was used. This gentleman he seized, hanged him without any judicial process, and then produced a counterfeit letter from the queen, which he confidently intimated contained instructions to poison the young king. The scheme was well laid, though it did not take effect; the archbishop of Toledo, and the people in general, instead of charging the queen with poisoning, charged her with forgery; and that so loudly, and with so little ceremony, that he found it necessary to shift his quarters, and to carry the king to Huesca. He afterwards went from thence to Valladolid, where he assembled his forces, and summoned Donna Berengara and the lords of her party to surrender all the places they held, upon pain of being treated as rebels. This put them under great difficulties; for though they were ready to defend themselves against the regent, and put him to the trouble of one siege, yet, when they found the king's perfum exposed in the army, they grew uneasy, and inclined rather to expose their own perfums than his. The queen, in the mean time, applied to her husband, the king of Leon, and demanded either his affiance, or at least his interposition; but Don Álvaro before hand, and on his own part, and proposed a match between the king and the Infanta Donna Sancha; so that, in all probability, he would either have carried his point, or a civil war must have broke out in Castile, if an unlooked for accident had not changed the face of affairs entirely.

d The regent having carried the king to Palencia, lodged him in the episcopal palace; and as he endeavoured to gain his affection by indulging him in everything, the young king was at play with some boys of his own age, in the court of the palace, when one of them throwing a stone upon the roof, dislodged a tile, which fell directly upon the head of the king, of this wound he died, June the 6th, in the year 1217, in the third year of his reign.

e The regent would willingly have concealed the king's death, but that was impossible; and the queen Donna Berengara was no sooner informed of it, then she sent Don López Haro and Don Gonzales Girón to the king of Leon, to desire him to send her son, the Infant Don Ferdinand, under pretence that the longed very much to see him. The king made no difficulty, and the queen no sooner had him in her power, than she quitted the fortresses, and went directly to Palencia, where all the nobility and prelates, who composed the late king's court, received her with all the duty and affection imaginable. She resolved from thence to go to Valladolid; but first some overtures were made to Don Álvaro de Lara, that he should return to his duty. He very modestly proposed, that the queen should immediately put her son into his hands, in which case he would be content to own him for his king; but that proposition being rejected, the court proceeded to Valladolid, where the people testified their loyalty and submission with all the joy imaginable. The queen intended to have carried her son next into Estremadura, and had actually begun her journey; but the family of Lara had so effectually corrupted the inhabitants of most of the great towns, that they refused to open their gates; upon which, the queen and her son returned to Valladolid, where having called a general assembly of the alcaides, and at the same time summoned every one of the places that were in the hands of the faction to submit, on pain of being declares rebels by the approaching assembly; this...
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Book XXIII.

had its effect; the cities, upon mature deliberation, opened their gates, returned to their duty, and sent deputies to the diet.

This assembly was remarkably numerous, almost all the prelates and nobility in Castile being present therein, when they solemnly acknowledged the Infanta Berengara, in her own right, queen of the two Castiles, after which they proclaimed and swore fealty to her. Her reign, however, was of very short continuance; for, by the advice of the principal nobility, she caused a kind of theatre to be erected before one of the principal gates of the city, upon which the Infant Don Ferdinand appeared in his robes of state, and the queen, his mother, at the head of a deputation of the prelates and nobility, having paid her respects and saluted him king, he was carried, with the acclamations of all the spectators, to the cathedral church, and there solemnly inaugurated, August the 31st, 1217. This scene of joy was strangely composed by the news that Don Alfonso, king of Leon, at the head of a great army, had entered Castile, by the advice and in company with Don Alvaro de Lara, to revenge the signal affront he had received, in having his son made a king without asking his consent. The queen sent the bishops of Burgos and Palencia to intreat him not to injure the subjects of his son, nor to disturb the dawn of his reign; but he would listen to no accommodation, and believing that he should purify the court with reformation, continued his march directly to Burgos; but Don Lopez de Haro, having assembled a small body of good troops, threw himself into the city, and prepared every thing for a vigorous defence, upon which Don Alfonso thought fit to retire into his dominions, expressing great indignation against such as had prevailed upon him to act in so unkindly and in so unnatural a manner. This form over, the queen sent to Don Alvaro, to demand the body of her brother, which he had clandestinely withdrawn and concealed; but which, with some shew of civility, he caused to be delivered to the bishops who brought the queen’s message, and by whose order it was interred with great solemnity at Burgos. About this time, pope Honorius the third wrote to the prelates in Spain, in regard to the Jews, in a manner becoming a Christian bishop. He permitted that some mark of distinction they should be obliged to wear; but defined that no force might be used to compel them to baptize; that they should be permitted the free exercise of their religion; and that the people should not be allowed to insult them when celebrating their feasts. The knights of Calatrava finding the place in which they had fixed their residence very unwholesome, the grand master cauited it to be removed to Salvatierra; but notwithstanding this, their original title remained, as it still remains, exactly the same.

The lords who were addicted to the faction of Don Alvaro de Lara, or rather who were disfurious of exempting themselves from the power of their sovereign, continued still to yield but a kind of precarious obedience, which obliged the king and his mother to raise an army, in order, once for all, to put the king into full possession of his dominions. The great difficulty they met with arose from want of money, which in some measure the queen removed, by selling her jewels. In order to strike at the root, the king marched to Herrera, where Don Alvaro himself was, with a strong garrison. The king’s troops were but raw, and, it may be, indifferently clothed and armed. Don Alvaro, coming with a small body of horse to view them at a little distance, conceived to contemptible an opposition of men, that he advanced nearer and nearer, on purpose to insult them; but it cost him dear: for some of the nobility about the person of the king suddenly charged and took him prisoner. He was much better treated than he deserved; for the queen offered him his liberty, upon his cauing the places to be surrendered that were in the hands of himself and his dependents, which he accepted, and the agreement was punctually performed on both sides. After he recovered his liberty, he tried, for some time, to live in quiet, but speedily relapsed into his old intrigues; of which the king having intelligence, he marched against him instantly, with a body of troops, and thereupon quitted Castile, and went to seek protection at the court of Leon.

His flight to Leon, author of a new war, and miserable death.

The king Don Alfonso received him kindly; and, though he had been deceived by him once before, suffered himself to be again seduced, and merely, from a persuasion that the enterprise would be easily accomplished, raised a powerful army, in order to invade Castile. His son King Ferdinand assembled another, still more powerful, with which he encamped in the neighbourhood of Medina del Campo, as being unwilling to act against his father, if it might be avoided. Don Alfonso, less cautious, advanced into the territory of Salamanche, and investet a place of no great confluence, where some troops had taken post. While he lay before the place, Don Alvaro fell sick, and, being unable to come into the king’s presence, the prelates laid hold of that opportunity to convince him of the injustice of the war, which in-

\* Roderic Tolet. de rebus Histian. lib. viii.
\* Roderic Tolet. de rebus Histian. lib. ix.
\* Rod. Tolet. de reb. Histian. lib. ix.
\* Rod. Tolet. de reb. Histian. lib. ix.
\* Chron. var. antiqu.
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duced him to raise the siege, and to retire into his own dominions: a circumstance that broke the heart of Don Alvaro de Lara, who, upon the march of the army, died at Tóra, expressing, with his last breath, a strong desire that his body should be cloathed in the habit of St. James, and interred at Ucles. As he left nothing behind him to bury with him, this had very probably been omitted; but coming to the ear of the queen, Donna Berengara, she sent a rich robe for his body, and a sum of money for defraying the expenses of his funeral: an example of Christian charity that deserves to be remembered. As for his brother, Don Ferdinando de Lara, whose conduct had been very equivocal during these troubles, he purchased the king's leave to quit his country by surrendering the places he held, and then he retired to Morocco, where he died in obscurity.

b The archbishop, Don Rodrigo of Toledo, having procured from the pope a bull of croisade against the Infidels, caused it to be publicized throughout all Spain, and, by that means, assembled a great army in the neighbourhood of his city, with which he invaded the territory of the Moors, reduced some places of no great importance, and at length besieged Regenasa, which was strong both by art and nature, and had in it a numerous garrison: he perilled, however, in his design of taking it for more than two months, but, in the end, was compelled to retire from before it, with the loss of ten thousand men, to his great mortification. The queen, Donna Berengara, had better success in the negotiation of a marriage for her son with the princess Beatrice, daughter to the deceased Philip duke of Sajobia, and emperor of Germany, who, in her marriage through France into Spain, was kindly received and magnificently entertained, by Louis the eighth and his queen Blanche, which is an additional proof that they never formed any alliance upon the Spanish monarchy. The princess Beatrice was met at Vitoria by the queen, Donna Berengara, and, being conduced to Burgos, she was married on the feast of St. Andrew, in the cathedral of that city, to the young king Ferdinand, in the presence of most of the prelates and nobles of Castile, with the universal acclamation of the people. About this time the knights of the order of St. Julian, by the consent and approbation of Don Alonso de Leon, took possession of Alcantara, and at the same time received a grant of all such places as they could conquer from the Infidels, to be held as fiefs from the crown of Leon.

The province of Rioja had been committed to the government of Don Rodrigo Diaz de las Cameros, who oppressed the people to such a degree, that many complaints were brought to the king, who, thereupon sent for him to Valladolid; and having signified to him that he was not at all satisfied with his defence, that nobleman retired privately from court, fortified some of the strongest places in his government, and put garrisons into them. The king, Don Ferdinand, assembled an army with full intention to chastise him; but the queen her mother interposed, and put the king in mind, that, during all their troubles, this nobleman had been faithful; upon which, in consideration of a large sum of money, he resigned his government. About this time the affrays of the Moors fell into great confusion, several alcazars, the governors, revolted against Zaitarax, the son and successor of Mouhammed in Africa, there in Spain: the Moors themselves, who learn from thence, the names of 15 of these nations. The two inscriptions that fix the date of this building to the emperor's sixth consulship are yet entire. *The Moors, fierce with the beauty of their performance, as well as with the fertility of the country and the convenience of its situation, built there a town, to which they gave the name of Al-Cantara, i. e. the bridge. There are several other places of this name in different parts of Spain, which, upon a first examination, will be all found to have derived that denomination from some eminent bridge belonging to them; as for this in Estremadura, which is by far the most considerable, we are told by Mariana, and all the writers who follow him, that it was given by Don Alfonso de Leon when taken from the Moors, to the knights of Calatrava; but more exact writers affirm, that it was bestowed upon Don Diego Sanchez, grand master of the military order of St. Julian of Pera, but it is true that the knights of Alcantara bear crofts, resembling that of the knights of Castreson; viz. each point ending in a Fleur de Lys, except that the crofs of Alcantara is green. At present the order possess thirty-three commanderies, three priories, and as many alcazars, which produce altogether a revenue of about 80,000 ducats per annum.

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A.D. 1219.
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A.D. 1220. Further to what has been mentioned, the Christians had made many mistakes in their approach to the Moors. As a result, the Infante Don Alfonso, the son of King Alfonso, led an expedition against the Moors. This was the beginning of a series of conflicts between the Christians and the Moors.

1222. In the same year, the king of Castile, Alfonso X, died, and his son, Don Ferdinand, became king. Ferdinand was regarded as more competent in matters of state. He worked hard to strengthen the kingdom and to expand its territory.

1224. Ferdinand continued his father's policy of expansion and military success. He extended his influence into the region of Granada, which was still under Moors control. This was achieved through a combination of diplomacy and military might. The king's actions were supported by his brother, Alfonso X, who played a significant role in the governance of the kingdom.

The next year, James, king of Aragon, married Donna Eleonora, sister to the queen of Castile. This was a significant event, as it strengthened the alliance between the two kingdoms.

The king of Leon, in the succeeding year, thought fit to establish an university at Salamanca.

The text also mentions the death of Alfonso X, the father of Ferdinand, and the succession of his son to the throne of Castile.
The king took the field early the next spring; but had scarce passed the Sierra Morena, before he was met by Aben Mohammed, the son of Aben Abdullah, descended from the mirams, or molins of Africa, who became his vassal, and agreed to pay him the fourth part of his revenues; for which, by way of security, he gave his son Abdal-Munir as a hostage, and put likewise into his hands the castles of Baeza, Andujar, and Martos, which put an end to the campaign. Don Alonso, king of Leon, was, at the same time, in the field; and being met by a numerous army of Moors, under the command of Aben-Hut, king of Seville, a general engagement ensued; in which, after a warm and bloody dispute, the Christians were victorious, and Don Alonso returned into his own dominions, covered with glory, as his troops were laden with plunder. The pope, towards the end of the year, sent a bull of croisade into Spain, to enable the kings of Leon and Portugal to carry on the war against the Infidels, in which they were engaged with the greater effect, for, as we have observed, the archbishop of Toledo had procured a bull of the same kind, on behalf of the king his master.

As soon as the season would permit, the young monarch was again in the field, with the troops of Castile and Leon, though it does not appear that his forces were very numerous; for his design was no other than to reduce the several places which the Moors still possessed, at the descent of the Sierra Morena, through the pass of Muradai; and having accomplished this, and thrown into them strong garrisons, he retired, and put his forces into quarters of refreshment, which delivered the Moors from their fears, and hindered them from acquiring any just idea of that important plan he had formed for extending his own dominions, and curtailing theirs.

The next year he returned, with a more potent army, into Andalusia, and demanded of Mohammed, king of Baeza, the fortresses of Berganilta, Salvatierra, and Capilla. The reader will observe, that there were many places of the second name, and there were also several of the third. That monarch, afraid of a war with so enterprising a prince, whilst he was at the same time in dread of all the rest of his neighbours, acquiesced under this demand; and sent his orders to the commanders of the respective places to put them into the hands of the king of Castile; and, till this could be done, he put the castle of Baeza into the king’s hands, by way of security, who sent Don Genfales, grand master of the order of Calatrava, to take possession of it, with a competent garrison; upon which the Moorish monarch, who could not, with any decency, live in a city commanded by a Christian garrison, withdrew to Cordova, which was also in his possession, till the fortresses he had demanded were rendered to the king of Castile. As for the two first, they were evacuated by the Moorish garrisons without any dispute; but the last, having been used as a place of arms, and being consequently spacious, strong, and well supplied with provisions and military stores, the governor, who was a brave man, and had a numerous garrison, refused to obey his master’s orders; and, after some altercations, Don Ferdinand found himself under the necessity of besieging the place in form.

As the people are but bad politicians, so the Moors of Cordova, instead of attributing the compliance of their monarch to those which were in reality its proper motives, began to suspect him of holding a secret correspondence with the Christians, which quickly increased into a confident opinion, that he was himself a Christian in his heart, which determined them to put him out of the way, and submit themselves to Aben-Hut, king of Seville. A popular conspiracy can never long be concealed; Mohammed, therefore, having gained intelligence of their design, endeavoured to provide for his personal security, by retiring privately to a place of safety, in which he miscarried; for, being pursued and taken upon the road, the conspirators, in pursuance of their original scheme, cut off his head. The news of this revolution no sooner reached Baeza, than the inhabitants took up arms and besieged the castle, which the grand master defended with all the spirit and resolution that became a man of his rank. At the end of four months, Don Ferdinand took Capilla by storm, and put the whole Moorish garrison to the sword. The grand master, and those under his command, were very near meeting with the same fate; but, upon signifying his distress to Don Alvaro Perez, he fixed a short day for the sending him such a reinforcement as should enable him to raise the siege; and accordingly, in the night preceding that day, Don Lopez de Haro entered the castle with a numerous detachment, and, as soon as it was light, in conjunction with the grand master and his garrison, attacked the posts of the infidels with such vigour, that in a few hours they were all forced, and the Christians became masters of the place. This was a conquest of great importance; the city antiently called Vatica, standing on an eminence not far from the Guadalquivir, and it was thought very remarkable, the Castilians recovered it on the feast of St. Andrew, to whom its church, in ancient times, was dedicated.
In the beginning of the month of March, in the succeeding year, Don Ferdinand laid the first stone of the new cathedral in Toledo, which is the same magnificent structure that adorns this city in our times. The archbishop Don Rodrigo had a large share in this important work; and the materials being in readiness before it was begun, the undertaking, though great, was sooner completed than could well be imagined. The king made also a short campaign, in which he ravaged the country about Jaen, in order to facilitate an enterprise, which was to be the buisness of the ensuing year. We have before observed, that James, king of Aragon, had married Doña Elvira, sister to Don Ferdinand of Castile, by whom he was the father of the infant Don Alfonso; but having at this time a legate from the pope at his court, that prelate discovered, or, as some writers hint, had it discovered to him by the king, that this prince, and he stood equally related to the emperor Don Alfonso, upon which a council was called of the bishops of Aragon and Castile, by whom the marriage was declared null, which the king bore with great moderation; but the queen, it is said, dissembled a little impatience; however, the legitimacy of her son was provided for, and she returned again to the court of Burgos. Don Alfonso, king of Leon, took the field in Ebrenareda, and made himself master of Caceres, a place of importance, which himself and his predecessors had more than once attempted in vain. Some say that it was antiently called Cefe Cereria, which has been corrupted into its present name. Don Ferdinand of Castile was not so fortunate in the design he had been so long meditating; for, though he made a siege in form, and of some continuance, he failed in taking Jaen; but, by the advice of Don Alvaro Perez, he destroyed several places in its neighbourhood, and took such other steps as might make what he aimed at more practicable when attempted another time.

Don Alfonso, king of Leon, resolved to pursue the war against the infidels with greater vigour than ever, as having nothing to fear from any of his neighbours, and cast his eyes upon Merida, a place of great strength and of great confluence, to the safety of which the Moors were very attentive; but, however, he attacked it so vigorously, that it fell into his hands before they were in a condition to relieve it. He was scarce entered into possession, before Aben Hui, the most powerful of the Moors, declared at the head of an army of 20,000 horse and 60,000 foot. The troops of Don Alfonso were much inferior in number, but, as he had no choice to make, except fighting or being besieged in his new conquest, he judged the former preferable to the latter; and, therefore, recommending himself to the intercession of the Spanish apolline and St. Isidore, he marched out and gave battle to the Moors, and, after a long dispute, gained a complete victory, and in consequence of it several considerable conquests. His son, Don Ferdinand of Castile, impatient at his former miscarriage, besieged Jaen again with a very formidable army; but the Moors, who knew the importance of the place, and who saw how fast their affairs were declining, had in every respect provided so effectually for its defence, that the king was, prevailed upon by his officers, rather to raise the siege a second time, than ruin his army, which however he did with great reluctance.

Don Alfonso of Leon, immediately after his glorious campaign was over, went to visit the shrine of St. Isidore, and to return thanks to God for the victory of Merida. He intended to have done the fame at Compostella, according to the religious notions of those times; but, in his journey thither, he was seized with the distemper of which he died, at Villa Nova de Serris, on the 23rd of September, in the year 1230. By his testament, he directed that his body should be interred in the cathedral church of St. James, as near as might be to that of his father; and, which was very singular, he declared the Infantas Donna Sancha and Donna Dulce, who had by his first wife the infanta Teresa of Portugal, coheirs of his dominions, requiring several of the prelates and most considerable of the nobility by name to see his last will punctually executed. He was a prince endowed with great virtues; but, at the same time, had great foibles; with respect to the former he was chiefly distinguished by the strictness of his government, in point of justice, and his great mildness in levying his revenue, which made his subjects rich, and himself exceedingly beloved. The inconstancy of his temper was his greatest failing, and in the course of his reign exposed him to many inconveniences. He was unfortunate in both his marriages, though a good husband to both his wives; but the first remained ever milites of his affections (K) ; and it is very remarkable, that though

(K) This king, Don Alfonso the ninth, of Leon, died in the 43rd year of his reign, and is very highly commended by the two great historians of Spain, who were his contemporaries. The point which gained the greatest...
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a though both marriages were declared unlawful by the Roman pontiff, yet Donna Sanchea by the first, and Don Ferdinand by the last, are both acknowledged faints by the church of Rome.

Dispute about the succession among the Castilians, commended.

The manner in which he disposed of his dominions by his will, was very near producing a civil war. Galicia, and some part of Leon, declared for the infantas; but the far greater part of the kingdom for Don Ferdinand of Castile, to whose succession the flates had solemnly sworn. Queen Theresa left Portugal to support the party of her daughters, and took their side with them under the protection of the great master of the order of St. James. The queen Donna Berengara, as soon as the heard of her husband's death, set out with all her family, and was overtake by the king Don Ferdinand, on the road to Leon, into which capital they were received with all imaginable marks of duty and loyalty, to confirm which dispositions in the people, the king published two edicts, one for remitting of taxes, and the other threatening with severe punishment such as should perfide in rebellion; notwithstanding which, many persons of great distinction remained firm to the infantas; and things at last had certainly come to extremities, if the two queens Theresa and Berengara had not settled them amicably, at an interview which they had for this purpose. There they agreed, that the king, Don Ferdinand, should give each of his sisters a large pension, in consideration of which they renounced their pretensions under Don Alonzo's will; and this reconciliation was so cordial on both sides, that the two queens fixed a time in the ensuing year for a second interview, that the whole royal family of Leon might have an opportunity of meeting and embracing each other. A circumstance so singular, as hardly any thing of the like kind is to be met with in history, and which brings us to the close of this section, since, from the union of the two kingdoms of Castile and Leon, which was perfected by this agreement, they have never been divided, but have gradually drawn to them all the other sovereignties in Spain; those of the Christians by inheritance or marriage, and those of the Moors by conquest, as in the succeeding sections it will be our business to explain.


The greatest credit, was his love of justice, of which he had a very right conception; for it was his sentiment, that the king ought to shew his regard by making the administration of it both honourable and profitable, that such as were chosen to decide suits might be under no sort of influence, and have no kind of temptation. He therefore expected that his judges should hear nothing, but when both parties were present, and that they should not, under any pretence whatever, take fee or reward. This made him beloved by the people, and feared by the nobility, who, though he had great faults, found it more difficult to raise ill-will against him than any of his predecessors; for the peasants, being frequently ill used by their Lords, upon complaint in the king's courts, were certainly redressed, and this made his cause theirs. He was likewise much in the good graces of the clergy, and, with all his faults, he was sincerely pious; and though he discovered great ambition, in twice attempting upon his son's dominions, yet in this he was misled by flatterers, who made him believe, for a time, things of which he was afterwards ashamed. His last sickness was very painful, and yet he bore it very patiently. Besides his legitimate offspring, he left behind him a natural son, Don Alonzo, for whom he made a provision sufficient to his rank, but without any prejudice to his lawful heir.

End of the Seventh Volume.