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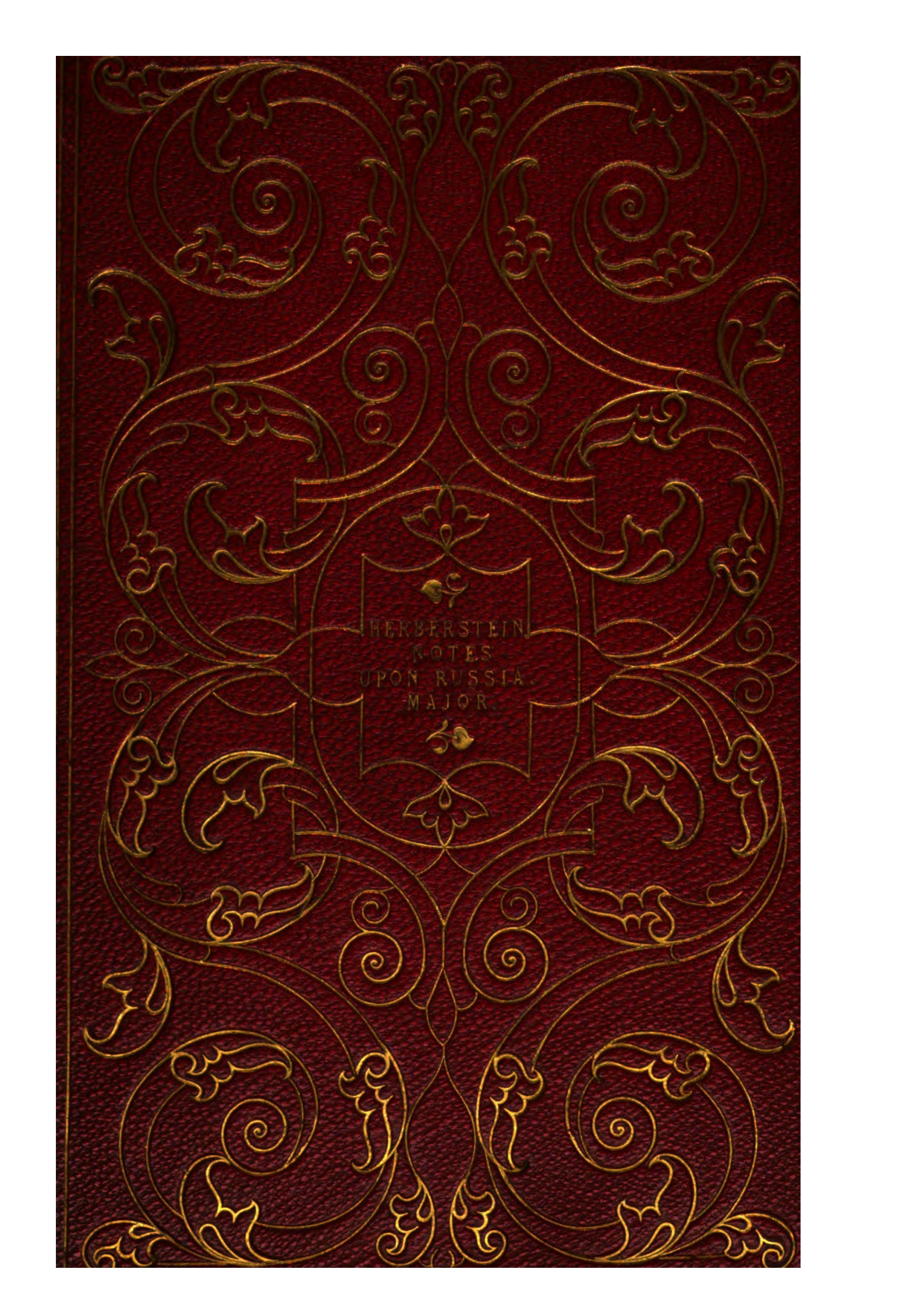
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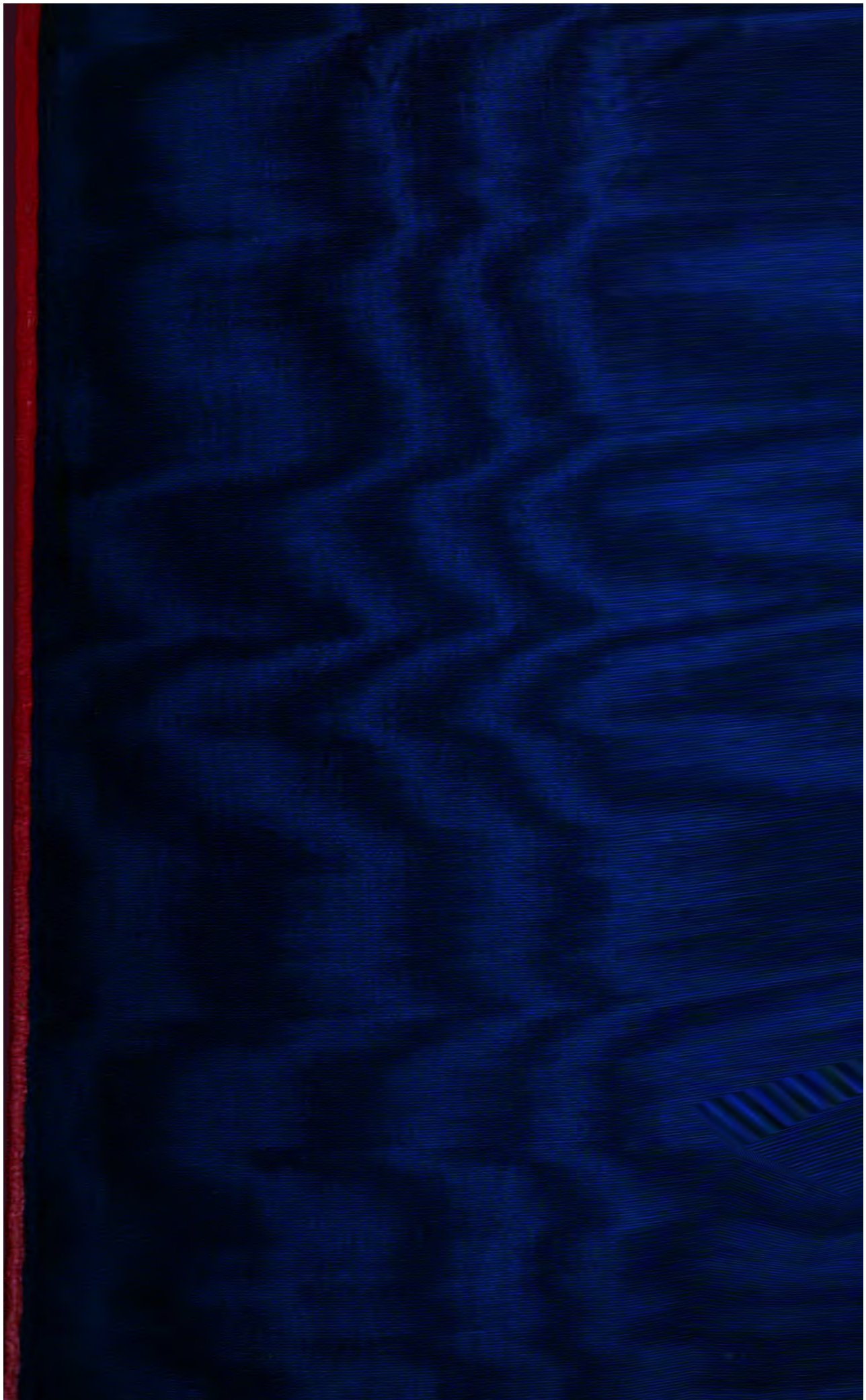


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HERBERSTEIN  
NOTES  
UPON RUSSIA.  
MAJOR.





~~N. F. 2. d. 15.~~



NEVILL FORBES BEQUEST

Vol. N.F. DR 21. H5. A1. 1851

Mrs Nelson.

With the very kind regards of  
her affectionate nephew

the Editor.

R. A. Major.

December 25<sup>th</sup> 1852.



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**The Hakluyt Society.**

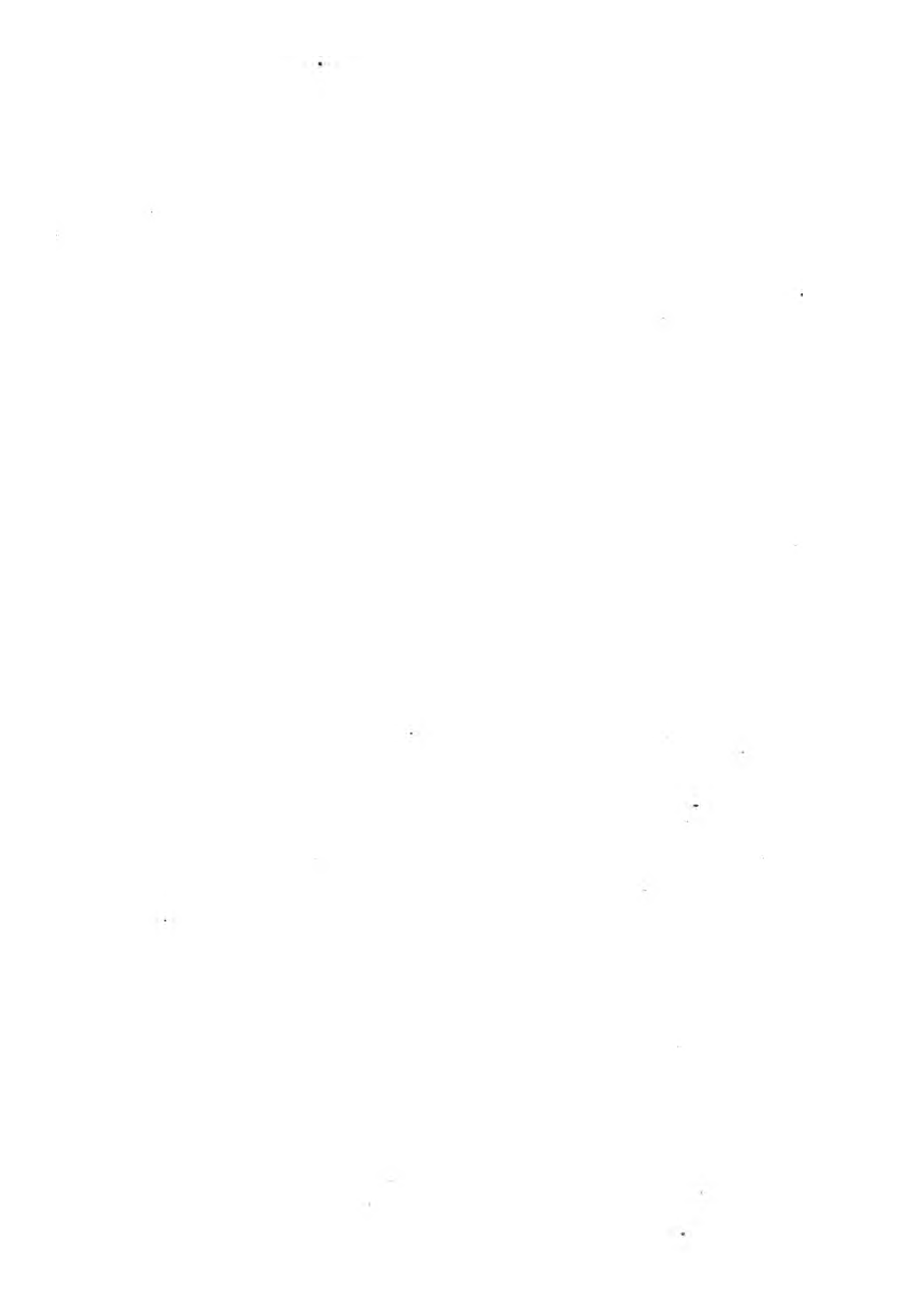


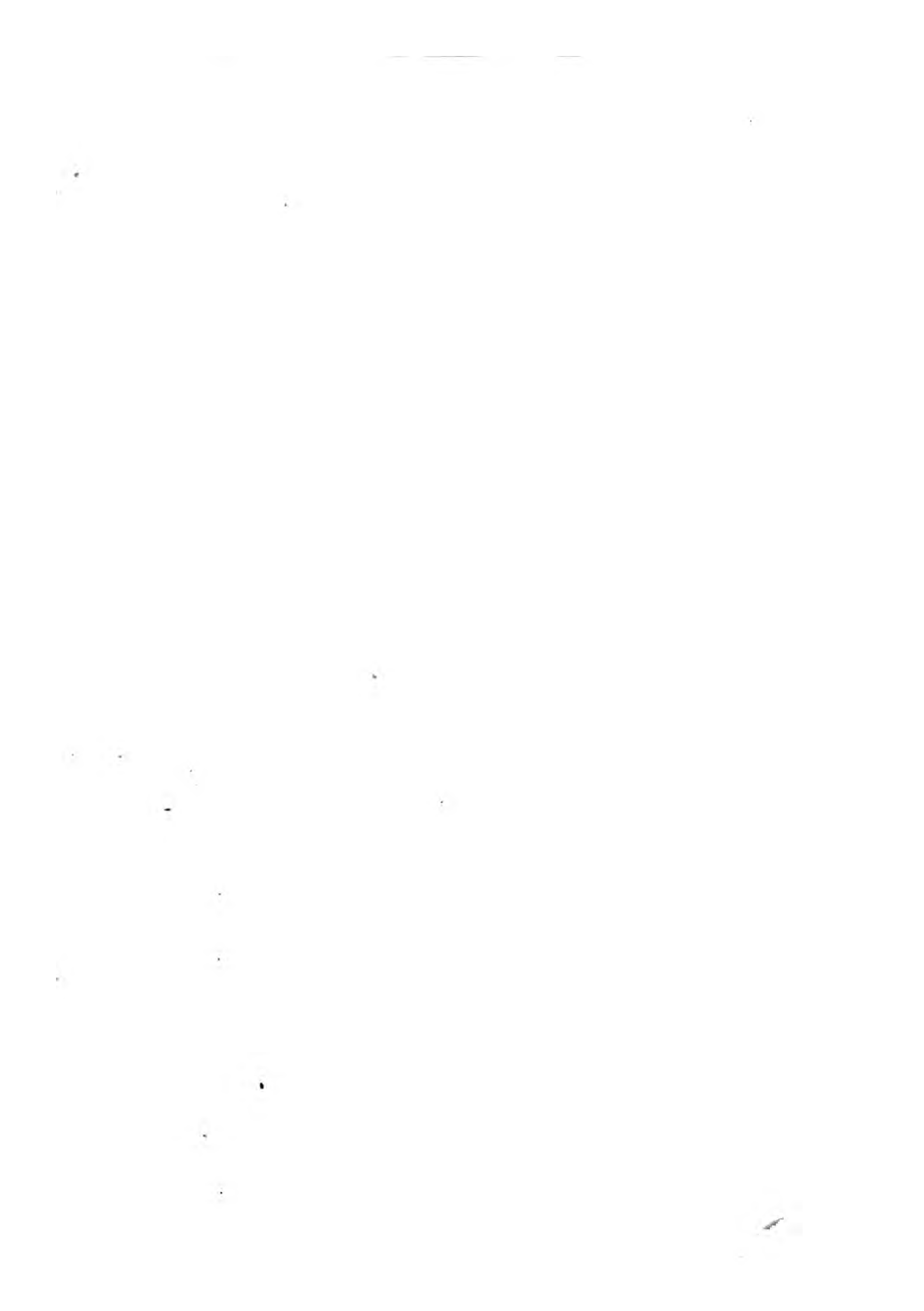
NOTES UPON RUSSIA.

VOL. I.

M.DCCC.LI.









Etched by Sarah E. Major.

THE BARON SIGISMUND VON HERBERSTEIN.

*In his STATE Dress, as Ambassador from the Emperor  
Maximilian to the Grand Duke Vasiley Ivanovich.*

From an original Drawing by the Baron himself.

# NOTES UPON RUSSIA:

BEING A TRANSLATION OF THE

*Earliest Account of that Country,*

ENTITLED

RERUM MOSCOVITICARUM COMMENTARIJ,

BY THE BARON

SIGISMUND VON HERBERSTEIN,

AMBASSADOR FROM THE COURT OF GERMANY TO THE GRAND  
PRINCE VASILEY IVANOVICH, IN THE YEARS  
1517 AND 1526.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED,

*With Notes and an Introduction,*

BY

R. H. MAJOR,

OF THE BRITISH MUSLIM.

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V O L . I .

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" — if thou list to know the Russes well,  
To Sigismundus booke repayre, who all the trueth can tell."  
*Turbervile, 1568.*

LONDON:  
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M.DCCC.LI.

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TO

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H.

ETC. ETC. ETC.

AS TO HIS EARLIEST SURVIVING FRIEND,

AND THE SUGGESTER OF THIS TRANSLATION,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE INSCRIBED,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF

GRATEFUL AFFECTION AND RESPECT,

BY

THE EDITOR.



2

## P R E F A C E.

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THE Editor has found it necessary, on account of the length of his work, to divide it into two volumes. The second volume, however, is already at press, and will, unless unforeseen obstacles occur, be very shortly completed.

Should the large space allotted to dry bibliography in the Introduction be objected to by some, the Editor hopes that his anxiety to afford what he considered to be useful information, will protect him from too severe a reproof; while to the more curious student he trusts it will prove far from unacceptable.

It is possible, that occasionally sentences may be found in the translation somewhat too harshly turned, or too unwieldy from their length or involved construction, to please a well-attuned English ear; the translator can only plead in excuse, that the original,

PREFACE.

though in Latin, is written by a German, and naturally exhibits much of that involution of style peculiar to the German language; while it is certainly not the more lucid from having been written three centuries ago.

R. H. M.

## INTRODUCTION.

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WHEN the following "Notes upon Russia" are presented to the reader as the *earliest* description of that country, the statement, though substantially and for all essential purposes correct, must not be allowed to pass without a word of modification. As we shall presently take occasion to show, the Baron Sigismund von Herberstein was preceded by numerous travellers to Russia, the record of whose peregrinations could scarcely have been handed down to us without some slight allusion to the character of the country they visited; yet from none of them have we received anything that could with reason be referred to as an authentic description of the country and its people, derived, as all such descriptions should be, from lengthened personal observation and industrious inquiry. The present work, however, which embodies the experience and observations of a sagacious and pains-taking man, during two periods of residence, in all about sixteen months, in Moscow, as ambassador from the Emperor of Germany to the Tzar, has won for its author so high a reputation for correctness and minuteness of detail, that he has been thought

by many (and one of the number is the learned historian, August Ludwig Schlözer himself) worthy of the designation of the "Discoverer of Russia". The "*Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*" has been a standing book of reference for all subsequent historians of the great empire of the north; and it is not without good reason that the distinguished biographer of Herberstein, Friedrich Adelung (to whose works, as quoted below,<sup>1</sup> the editor is mainly indebted for the materials of this introduction) expresses his surprise that a work of such importance should so long have remained untranslated, either into the Polish, the French, the Dutch, or the English languages. Especially is this expression of astonishment applicable, as he justly observes, to England and Holland,—countries which have for nearly three centuries maintained commercial relations with the Russian empire. The scope of the work comprises brief but interesting, and in many cases highly amusing; sketches of the history, antiquities, geography, and productions of the country, with the religion, form of government, peculiarities in matters of warfare, trade, domestic habits, and amusements of the people.

The advantages possessed by Herberstein for collecting all the materials requisite for the supply of this extensive range of information, were various and im-

<sup>1</sup> Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein mit besonderer Rücksicht auf seine Reisen in Russland. St. Petersburg, 1818, 8vo.

Kritisch Literarische Uebersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700. St. Petersburg, 1846, 4to.

portant. In the first place, may be mentioned the clear-sightedness and experience which his residence in foreign courts had superadded to his own naturally keen understanding; add to this, the intercourse which his position as ambassador at Moscow enabled him to cultivate with the best informed and most intelligent people of the metropolis. Independent of these advantages, which enabled him to sift and scrutinize the accounts which might be supplied to him from the descriptions of others, he possessed a fund of information in the men who were assigned to him as interpreters. These persons, named Gregor Istoma, Vlas, and Dmitrii, had themselves made considerable journeys in their native country, and the results of their several observations in these journeys were communicated to Herberstein by the first-mentioned of the three in writing. Our author likewise had the benefit of being acquainted with several foreigners who had long resided in Russia, among whom should especially be mentioned the minister and confidant of the Grand Duke, often spoken of in his work under the name of George the Little. Another source of information may also be mentioned as proving serviceable to Herberstein in the composition of a work which has conferred immortality upon his name; namely, a considerable number of manuscript annals, to which he makes especial reference, under the title of "*Literæ cujusdam Warlami Prioris Huttiniensis Monasterii*", anno 7034 [A.D. 1525].

Before we proceed to give an account of the biblio-

graphy of the work before us, it may be desirable to vindicate its value by laying before the reader a list of the various travellers to Russia who preceded Herberstein, and more especially of those authors, whether travellers or otherwise, who anticipated him, in making allusion, however slightly, to the history, geography, natural history, or customs of the country.

Although a bibliographical account of the narratives of these early travellers will occupy a considerable space in this introduction, and though in some cases their travels only partially refer to Russia, it is hoped that the details we are about to give will not be considered inappropriate, and that by members of the Hakluyt Society at least they will be regarded as both interesting and important.

They are principally derived from the researches of Adelung, as given in his "Kritisch Literarische Uebersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700" (St. Petersburg, 1846, 4to.), but have received considerable additions and alterations from the editor of the present volume. The first traveller in the list is—

( 1. )

Ohthere. 890.

Ohthere, a northman, of whom we know little more than that he was born in Helgoland, was a man of substance, and undertook several voyages, one of which was from Norway towards the extreme northern coasts, in the course of which he became acquainted with the Finns and Bjarmier, or Permians, in the

north-east of European Russia. In one of these voyages he must have reached the shores of England, which was at that time governed by Alfred the Great. This famous prince collected<sup>1</sup> all the attainable geographical accounts of the then known world, which, together with the narration of Ohthere's voyages and that of Wulfstan (who, it is possible, became acquainted with Ohthere in the course of his voyages, or resided with him in England), he included in his valuable Anglo-Saxon translation of the *Hormista* of Paulus Orosius. The beautifully written and well-preserved original of this work is to be found in the Cottonian collection of manuscripts in the British Museum. It was published under the title—

The Anglo-Saxon version from the historian Orosius, by Alfred the Great. Together with an English translation from the Anglo-Saxon. By Daines Barrington; London, 1773; 8vo.

Dr. Joh. Reinh. Forster, who gave a German translation of the narratives of Ohthere and Wulfstan, in his *Geschichte der Entdeckungen*, under the title, *Erdbeschreibung vom nördlichen Europa nach König Alfred*, etc., with many valuable comments and explanations,<sup>2</sup> says that Alfred's account of the two voyages of Ohthere and of that of Wulfstan, which is

<sup>1</sup> See "Asserus de rebus gestis Alfredi in Anglica, Hibernica, etc., scripta, ex bibliotheca Camdeni. Auctore Silvestro Giraldo (properly Giraldus de Barry, but better known as Giraldus Cambrensis, born 1146, in Wales). Francf. 1602, fol., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Very circumstantial accounts of King Alfred's work, and Ohthere, will be found in Beckmann's *Litter. d. ält. Reisebeschr.* Th. i, p. 450, etc.



both exact and authentic, is exceedingly valuable, as it contains the best information in regard to the geography of the northern regions of the ninth century.

Ohthere's voyages have also been printed in the following works.

In the first volume of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, etc.*, of the English nation, 1599-60, there is a translation from the Anglo-Saxon of the "Voyages of Ochter, made to the east parts beyond Norway, reported by himself unto Alfred the famous king of England, about the year 890." Following this is "The voyage of Ochter out of his countrey of Halgoland into the Sound of Denmarke, unto a part called Hetha, which seemeth to be Wismar or Rostoke"; and in the page following we have an account of "Wolstan's navigation within the East sea (within the Sounde of Denmarke), from Hetha to Trussa, which is about Dantzic." This English translation is said to have been made for the work by Dr. Caius; but it has never been highly estimated as an accurate translation, and is now considered valueless.<sup>1</sup>

Aelfredi magni Anglorum Regis vita tribus libris comprehensa a Jo. Spelman anglice conscripta, dein Latine reddita et annotationibus illustrata ab Aelfredi in collegio magnæ aulæ universitatis Oxoniensis alumnis. Oxonii, 1673, fol., p. 205, *et seq.*

Scriptores rerum Danicarum. Ed. Langebek, Hafniæ, 1773, fol., vol. ii, p. 106, *et seq.* In the original Anglo-

<sup>1</sup> See Petheram's "Anglo-Saxon Literature in England". London, 1840; p. 46.

Saxon, with a Latin translation, and an excellent commentary.

The best edition, however, that has yet appeared, is that published by the celebrated Anglo-Saxon scholar Rasmus Rask, accompanied by a Danish translation and critical remarks.—See “*Samlede tildele forhen utrykte Afhandlinger af R. K. Rask*”. Del. 1. Köbenhavn. 1834; 8vo.

( 2. )

IBN-FODHLAN. 921.

Ibn-Fodhlan, or to give him his name fully and correctly, Ahmad Ben-Fodhlan Ibn al Abbas Ben-Assam Ben-Hamad, was, in the year 921 of our era, sent by the Abasside khaliph Almuksadir Billah as companion to an ambassador to the king of Wolga-Bulgharia, or according to Yakut,<sup>1</sup> to the Slaves. In this journey he met with the Wolga Russians, who had come hither in ships to trade; and his narrative contains a remarkable and circumstantial representation of the manners and customs of these Russians.

Ibn-Fodhlan's account indeed, as could not fail to be the case, was known to other ancient Arabian authors; and, as we now discover on nearer comparison, was used by them, but is only completely preserved in Yakut, through whose medium he was first made known to Europeans in the following publications—

<sup>1</sup> Author of the well-known “*Muajim Albuldan*”, a very valuable alphabetical dictionary of countries.

Die ältesten arabischen Nachrichten über die Wolga-Bulgharen aus Ibn-Foszlans Reise-Berichte. In the *Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersb.* vi. ser. t. i. St. Pétersb. 1832, p. 527, etc.

Ibn-Foszlans und andere Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit. Text und Uebersetzung mit kritisch-philologischen Anmerkungen; nebst drei Beilagen über sogenannte Russen-Stämme und Kiew, die Warenger und das Warenger-Meer, und das Land Wisu, ebenfalls nach Arabischen Schriftstellern, von C. M. Frähn, etc., Herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. St. Petersburg, 1823, 4to.

## ( 3. )

## BENJAMIN OF TUDELA. 1160.

Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (a town in Navarre) made himself famous by visiting all the synagogues of his religion in the east, in order to become acquainted with the customs, ceremonies, and rabbis of each. He set out from Spain in 1160, and travelling by land to Constantinople, proceeded through the countries to the north of the Euxine and Caspian Seas, as far as Chinese Tartary. Thence he turned southwards, crossed several provinces of the further India, and embarking on the Indian Ocean, visited several of its islands. After an absence of thirteen years, he returned by way of Egypt to Europe, bringing with him much information concerning a vast tract of the globe, then almost entirely unknown to the people of the west. He left a curious narrative of his travels, the authority of which, however, has been questioned, though many of its errors are attri-

buted to the incorrect versions that have been given of it. Be this as it may, we accept with confidence the statement made by one of such extensive learning in philology and bibliography as Mr. A. Asher, the eminent bookseller of Berlin, who has edited the latest and infinitely the best edition of this traveller's Itinerary (*vide infra*), "that it was in order to remedy a defect of which he complains, namely, an almost total want of research upon the geography of the middle ages, and to furnish materials for such a study, that he selected the Itinerary of the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, not only," he says in his preface, "because it contains *more facts and fewer fables* than any other cotemporary publication which has come down to us, but also because it describes a very large portion of the earth known in the twelfth century."

In the bibliography of the work given in the first volume of Mr. Asher's edition, and which we here transcribe, is an explanation of the origin of many of the corruptions which have tended to detract in some measure from the reputation of this most interesting narrative.

1. The first edition was printed at Constantinople, Soncini, 1543, 8vo.; sixty-four pages, in the Rabbinic character.

This edition is so extremely rare, that notwithstanding the most diligent search, Mr. Asher has not been able to meet with any complete copy. It *has been* in the Bibliothèque Royal, at Paris, but upon the closest inquiry could nowhere be found. The

Oppenheim division of the Bodleian library contains an incomplete copy of this rare book, being deficient of the first fourteen pages, or one quarter of the whole work. Like most other Hebrew books which issued from the early Constantinople presses, this is but a very poor specimen of correctness and typography. All mistakes of this "princeps" have unfortunately crept into the editions noticed below, Nos. 3, 4, and 10, and have led the translators into error. The rarity constitutes its only value.

2. *Hebrew.* Travels of R. Benjamin of blessed memory; printed at Ferrara in the house of Abraham Ben Usque, in the year 316 [1556]; small 8vo.; sixty-four pages, in the Rabbinic character.

This second edition is perhaps rarer still than the first, and having evidently been printed from another manuscript, is indispensably necessary for a critique of the work. The text is much purer than that of the former, and in many instances its readings give a sense, where the former is too corrupt to be understood.

Unfortunately, this edition was unknown to the early translators, B. Arias Montanus and l'Empereur, who would have made fewer mistakes and formed a more correct judgment of our author, had they been able to compare it with that of Constantinople. It forms the groundwork of Mr. Asher's edition and translation. No public library in France or Germany,—most of which that gentleman personally visited or inquired at by correspondence,—possesses a copy; and the only one now known to exist is in

the Oppenheim division of the Bodleian library at Oxford.

3. *Hebrew*. Travels, etc.; printed in the country of Brisgau, in the year 343 [1583], by the Siphroni; small 8vo., thirty-two pages, in the square character.

This is a reprint of the first (Constantinople) edition; it repeats faithfully all the mistakes of that edition. This is one of the rarest of the rare books printed in Brisgau.

4. *Hebrew*. Itinerarium D. Benjaminis F. M. Lugduni Batavorum apud Elzivirios, 1633; 24mo., 203 pages, square character.

This edition was probably reprinted from that printed in Brisgau, and formed (as well as that quoted below, No. 13) part of the “*Republicæ Elzevirianæ*”, a collection well known to the amateurs of those *bijoux* of the celebrated Dutch printers. Constantin l’Empereur, the learned editor, changed but very few words in the text, and reserved his emendations for the notes, with which the edition quoted under No. 10 is enriched.

5. *Hebrew*. The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin the Physician, of blessed memory, who travelled in three parts of the world—in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa. Printed at Amsterdam in the year 458 [1698], in the house of Caspar Sten; 24mo., 65 pages.

There are some pretended ameliorations in this edition, but they are founded upon mere suggestion, and at best upon the translations of Arias Montanus and l’Empereur.

6. *Hebrew*. Travels, etc.; s. 1. 1734.

This edition, which Mr. Asher had not seen, is quoted by Dr. Zunz, in “*Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums.*” Berlin, 1823, p. 130.

7. *Hebrew.* Travels of R. Benjamin. Printed under the direction of John Andrew Michael Nagel, for the use of his scholars at this celebrated university. Altdorf, 1762, printed by John Adam Hessel; small 8vo., 56 pages, square character.

A correct reprint of No. 4 of this list, containing every mistake of its original. This edition is so rare, that Meusel doubted its existence.—See his “*Lexicon deutscher Schriftsteller*”; vol. x, 1810.

8. *Hebrew.* Travels, etc.; printed at Salzbach, 542 [1782]; small 8vo., 32 pages, square character.

A very poor reprint of l’Empereur’s edition, upon wretched German blotting-paper, full of mistakes, and without the least literary value.

9. *Hebrew.* Travels of R. Benjamin; printed at Zolkiew, in Austrian Gallicia.

An edition quoted by the celebrated scholar, the Rev. Rabbi Salomon L. Rapoport, in his geographical preface to Shalom Cohen’s “*Kore Haddoroth*”. Warsaw, 1838.

10. *Hebrew and Latin.* Itinerarium D. Benjamin, cum versione et notis Constantini l’Empereur ab Oppyck S. T. D. et S. L. P. in acad. Lugd. Batav. Lugd. Batavorum. Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1633; small 8vo., of 34 (unnumbered) and 234 (numbered) pages.

This edition, as far as the text and translation are concerned, is composed of Nos. 4 and 12 of this list;

the dissertation and the notes contain a vast deal of antiquated learning.

11. *Latin.* Itinerarium Benjaminii Tudelensis : in quo Res Memorabiles, quas ante quadringentos annos totum fere terrarum orbem notatis itineribus dimensus vel ipse vidit vel a fide dignis suæ ætatis hominibus accepit, breviter atque dilucidè describuntur ; ex Hebraica Latinum factum Bened. Aria Montano Interprete. Antwerpia, ex officina Chr. Plantini, Architypographi regii, MDLXXV, 8vo.

The celebrated Arias Montanus was the first to introduce this work to the learned Christians, who, although they might understand the Scripture Hebrew, were strangers to the Rabbinic style, in which these travels were written. In many instances, he has rather guessed at, than faithfully translated, the text ; but notwithstanding this, his labours deserve respect, and his suggestions in many instances are nearer the truth than those of later translators.

12. *Latin.* Itinerarium Benjaminis. Lat. redditum : Lugd. Batav., 1633 ; 24mo.

This neat little volume, which forms part of the “Respublicæ”, is one of, if not *the* rarest of that series. The text is that of No. 10 of this list.

13. *Latin.* Itinerarium Benjaminis Tudelensis ex Versione Benedicti Ariæ Montani. Helmstadi in typographeo Calixtino, excudit Henningus Mullerus, MDCXXXVI ; sm. 8vo.

14. *Latin.* Benjaminis Tudelensis Itinerarium ex Versione Benedicti Ariæ Montani. Lipsiæ apud Joann. Michael. Ludov. Teubner. MDCLXIV ; 8vo.

This is a corrected reprint of all the contents of the volume just noticed under No. 13.



15. *English.* The Peregrinations of Benjamin, the sonne of Jonas a Jew; written in Hebrew; translated into Latin by B. Arias Montanus. Discouering both the state of the Jews and of the world, about foure hundred and sixtie yeeres since.

For this first English translation, see Purchas's "Pilgrimes". London, 1625; fol., vol. ii, liv. 9, chap. 5, p. 1437; it is divided into five paragraphs.

16. *English.* The Travels of R. Benjamin, the son of Jonas of Tudela, through Europe, Asia, and Africa, from Spain to China, from 1160 to 1173. From the Latin versions of B. A. Montanus and Constantine l'Empereur, compared with other translations into different languages.

This extract of the "Itinerary" will be found in Harris's "Collection of Voyages and Travels". London, 1744; fol., vol. i, p. 546 to 555; and the introduction, which is prefixed, as well as the notes, are not devoid of interest.

17. *English.* Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, son of Jonah of Tudela, through Europe, Asia, and Africa, from the ancient kingdom of Navarre, to the frontiers of China. Faithfully translated from the original Hebrew, and enriched with a Dissertation and Notes, Critical, Historical, and Geographical. In which the true character of the author and intention of the work are impartially (!) considered.

By the Rev. R. Gerrans, lecturer of Saint Catherine Coleman, and second master of Queen Elizabeth's Free Grammar School, Saint Olave, Southwark. This author, says the editor, Mr. Gerrans, flourished about the year 1160 of the Christian era, is highly prized by the Jews and other admirers of Rabbinical learn-

ing, and has frequently been quoted by the greatest orientalist that this or any other nation ever produced; but was never before (to the editor's knowledge) wholly translated into English, either by Jew or Gentile. London, MDCCLXXXIV, 8vo.

The absurdities of this editor have been ludicrously exposed by Mr. Asher, in his edition of 1840.

18. *English.* The Travels of R. Benjamin of Tudela, from the Latin of B. Arias Montanus and Constantine l'Empereur, compared with other translations into different languages.

This abridgment will be found in Pinkerton's "General Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels of the world." London, 1808-14; 4to., vol. vii.

19. *French.* Voyage du célèbre Benjamin, autour du Monde, commencé l'an 1173 (*sic*) contenant une exacte et succincte description de ce qu'il a vû de plus remarquable dans presque toutes les parties de la Terre; aussi bien que de ce qu'il en a appris de plusieurs de ses Contemporains dignes de foi. Avec un détail, jusques ici inconnu, de la conduite, des Sinagogues, de la Demeure et du nombre des Juifs et de leurs Rabins, dans tous les endroits où il a été, etc., dont on apprend en même tems l'état où se trouvaient alors différentes Nations avant l'agrandissement des Turcs. Ecrit premièrement en Hebreu par l'auteur de ce Voyage, traduit ensuite en Latin par Benoit Arian Montan; et nouvellement du Latin en François. Le tout enrichi de Notes, pour l'explication de plusieurs passages.—In Bergeron's "Collection de Voyages, faits principalement en Asie, dans le 12, 13, 14, et 15 siècles, à la Haye," 1735; 2 vols., 4to.

Neither the notes nor the map which accompanies this poor piece of work, are of any value.

20. Voyages de Rabbi Benjamin, fils de Jona de Tudele, en Europe, en Asie, et en Africa, depuis l'Espagne jusqu'à la Chine. Traduits de l'Hebreu et enrichis de notes et de Dissertations Historiques et Critiques sur ces Voyages. Par J. P. Barratier, Etudiant en Théologie. A Amsterdam, aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1734; 2 vols., small 8vo.

21. Voyages de Benjamin de Tudelle autour du monde, commencé l'an 1173. De Jean du Plan-Carpin en Tartarie, du Frère Ascelin et de ses compagnons vers la Tartarie. Du Guillaume de Rubruques en Tartarie et en Chine en 1253, suivi des Additions de Vincent de Beauvais et de l'Histoire de Guillaume de Naugès, pour l'Eclaircissement des précédentes Voyages. Paris, imprimé aux Frais du Gouvernement pour procurer du Travail aux ouvriers Typographes. Août, 1830, in 8vo.

A reprint of No. 18, and (as Mr. Asher says) curious only on account of the occasion, which procured Master Benjamin the honour of being called forth again from oblivion.

22. *Dutch.* De Reysen van R. Benjamin Jonas Tudelens. In de drie Deelen der Werelt. Tut Nederdyts overgeschreven door Jan Bara. Amsterdam, Jonas Rex, 1666; 24mo., 117 pp.

This translation having been made from l'Empereur's Latin version, offers nothing new or valuable to the critical reader.

23. *Jewish-German.* These are the voyages of R. Benjamin Tudeleus, the Physician (!), which he has travelled through three corners of the world. . Amsterdam, 451 [1691]; 8vo.

This translation by Chaim Ben Jacob, was made from l'Empereur's text; and although the editor was

a Jew, he was too illiterate to correct any of the errors of l'Empereur.

24. *Jewish-German*. These are the voyages, etc. Francfort on the Mayne, 471 [1711]; 8vo.

A mere reprint of the former edition, and consequently as worthless in a critical point of view.

Adelung quotes another edition, with the following title—

Les voyages de Benjamin de Tudèle, traduits en Français accompagnés du texte, corrigé et complété d'après un manuscrit du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, et suivis de notes historiques, géographiques, et littéraires, par E. Carmoly. Paris, 1839; 8vo.

But the editor has been informed that Mr. Asher, who had also met with the title, but not with the work, doubted its existence, and wrote to M. Carmoly requesting information respecting it. His application received no answer, and it may therefore be fairly supposed that such an edition never had existence.

We have finally to mention the completest edition of all, entitled—

The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, translated and edited by A. Asher. London and Berlin, 1841; 8vo. Hebrew and English.

( 4. )

ANONYMOUS ENGLISHMAN. 1243.

We have an account of the travels in Tartary, of an English traveller, whose name is unknown, which will be found printed in the following collections,

*d*

In the first book of Hakluyt's collection, under the title—

The Voyage of a certain Englishman into Tartary, and from thence into Poland and Hungary, anno 1243.

And from thence transferred into the—

Collection of Voyages by Robert Kerr : Travels of an Englishman into Tartary, and thence into Poland, Hungary, and Germany, in 1243.—See tom. i, p. 114.

( 5. )

JOANNES DE PLANO CARPINI. 1245.

Joannes de Plano Carpini, an Italian minorite, together with five other brothers of the order, the minorite Benedict of Poland, and the friars-preachers Ascelin, Simon de St. Quentin, Alexander, and Albert, were chosen to undertake a journey into the country of the Mongolians. As the devastations committed by these conquerors of Europe became more and more alarming, Pope Innocent IV, at the council of Lyons, in 1245, resolved to send the above-named monks as ambassadors to these formidable enemies of Christianity, in order to pacify them, or, if possible, to divert them from Europe, and to instigate them rather to a war against the Turks and Saracens. At the same time they were to endeavour to persuade the Mongolians to embrace the Christian faith, and in any case to gather every possible information respecting a people so little known.

Plano Carpini, together with Benedict, travelled through Bohemia and Poland to Kiev, and thence by the mouth of the Dnieper to the camp of Korrensa,

a general of the Mongolians, whence crossing the Don and Wolga, they came to the encampment of Batu Khan, who sent them to Kajuk Khan, called also Cuyne, the emperor of the Mongolians.

Carpini was absent sixteen months, and after having done his best to carry out the instructions he had received, he returned to Europe.

“He had the merit of being the first to publish in Europe a rational description of the Mongol nation; though ignorant, bigoted, and credulous, he was not altogether destitute of talent and observation; and his prudent deportment procured him opportunities which the monastic austerity of Ascelin and his companions could never have expected.”<sup>1</sup>

Of this journey we have a detailed and also an abbreviated account, both in Latin, and of these there are several, in part contemporaneous, copies. The Imperial Library of Vienna possesses of the larger narrative three copies, two of which are on parchment, of the thirteenth century. The one in quarto, and marked, *Hist. prof.*, No. DCLI, bears the title—

Relacio fratris Joannis de Plano Carpini, ordinis fratrum minorum, de Tartaris; *and begins with the words*: Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>.CC<sup>o</sup>. XL. v<sup>o</sup>. Frater Johannes de ordine minorum fratrum dictus de Plano Carpini a domino papa missus ad Tartaros cum alio fratre ejusdem ordinis.

The folio MS. is marked *Hist. prof.*, No. XCIV, and has the title—

<sup>1</sup> Cooley's "History of Maritime and Inland Discovery," i, 254.

Carpini Plano libellus de moribus bellicis Tartarorum, 1245. It commences with the prologue : Omnibus Xpi fidelibus frater Johannes de Plano Carpini, etc.

The third Vienna copy is in folio, and on paper, marked No. 651, and bears the title—

Carpini Plano legatio in Tartariam.

Another copy is to be found in the Vatican library, with the title—

Libellus historicus Joannis de Plano Carpini, qui missus est legatus ad Tartaros anno Domini 1246 ab Innocentio IV Pontifice Maximo.

The following copies are farther known. In Cambridge two, one in the University library, No. 61, 3 ; the other, in that of Corpus Christi College, No. 181.

In Tournai, in the library of St. Martin.

In Leyden, in the University library. This MS. belonged formerly to the celebrated Paul Petau.

In the British Museum is a copy which formerly belonged to Lord Lumley, and which was used by Hakluyt for his “Principal Navigations”.

In the Bibliothèque Royale, Paris, No. 686, in the collection presented by Jacques Dupuy, and another MS., No. 2477, written on parchment in the fourteenth century, which formerly belonged to the minister Colbert.

The work is divided into two distinct parts, of which the first contains the narrative of the journey itself, the rest treating of the manners, customs, etc., of the Tartars.

The printed travels may be found in the following works:—

*Italian.* Vincent de Beauvais has inserted an ample abridgment, which occupies thirty-one chapters of his “*Speculum Historiale*”; first printed, Nuremberg, 1473; a French translation of which was published 1495. The same abridgement of the voyages of Brother John and Brother Simon had been translated into Italian, and published separately at Venice, 1537, 8vo., under the title—

Opera dilettevole da intendere, nel qual si contiene doi itinerarij in Tartaria, per alcuni frati del ordine minore, e di S. Domenico (cioe frate Giovanni e frate Simone) mandati da Papa Innocentio IIII nella detta Provincia de Scithia per Ambasciatori, non piu vulgarizata.—Stampata in Vinea, per G.—Aut. de Nicolini da Sabio, M.D.XXXVII, small 8vo.

This was reprinted in Ramusio’s “*Collection of Navigations et Viaggi*,” 1574; vol. ii.

*English.* Hakluyt gave a fraction of the original narrative after a MS. of Lord Lumley; republished likewise the abrégé of Vincent de Beauvais, and added an English translation.

*French.* A translation from Hakluyt, with additions, was given in Bergeron’s “*Voyages en Tartarie*”, 16mo., under the title “*Relation des Voyages en Tartarie de Fre Guillaume de Rubruquis, Fr. Jean du Plan Carpin*”; and in a subsequent edition of Bergeron by Vander Aa (Leyden, 1729; 4to., vol. i), under the following title—

Voyages très-curieux faits et écrits par les R.R. P.P. Jean du Plan Carpin, Cordelier, et N. Ascelin, Jacobin :



Envoyez en qualité de légats apostoliques et d'ambassadeurs de la part du Pape Innocent IV vers les Tartares et autres peuples orientaux : avec ordre exprès de décrire de bonne foi ce qui regarde les Tartares, comme la situation tant de leur pays que de leurs affaires ; leur vêtement, boire et manger, leur gouvernement politique et civil, culte de religion, discipline militaire, enterremens, et autres points les plus remarquables ; dont l'observation était le sujet de leur ambassade. Le tout rapporté fidèlement par ces religieux. Avec des notes, tables, observations, une carte très-exacte de ces voyages et de très-belles figures pour l'explication des choses.

In 1725, this narrative was published by Bernard, at Amsterdam, in vol. vii of "Recueil des Voyages au Nord."

Relation du voyage de Jean du Plan Carpin en Tartarie. In the Recueil des Voyages au Nord, t. vii. Printed in the Voyages de Benjamin de Tudèle. Paris, 1830, 4to.

Finally, a critical and most elaborate edition appeared under the title—

Relation des Mongols ou Tartares, par le Frère Jean du Plan de Carpin, de l'ordre des Frères Mineurs, legat du Saint Siège Apostolique, Nonce en Tartarie pendant les années 1245, 1246, 1247, et Archevêque d'Antivari. Première édition complète, publiée d'après les manuscrits de Leyde, de Paris, et de Londres, et précédée d'une notice sur les anciens Voyages en Tartarie en général, et sur celui du Plan de Carpin en particulier, par M. d'Avezac. Paris, 1838 ; 4to. This important work forms the fourth volume of the Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publiés par la Société de Géographie de Paris, p. 399-779.

*Russian.* Moscow, 1795 ; 8vo. :—also, by Jasykow. St. Petersburg, 1825 ; 8vo.

*Dutch.* Seer aanmerkelyke Reysebeschryvingen van Johan du Plan Carpin en Br. Ascelin, beyde als legaten van den H. Apostolischen stoel, en voor gesanten van den Paus Innocentius de iv afgesonden na Tartaryen en andere oosterche volkeren. Nu aldereest getrouwelyk na het egte handschrift vertaald door Salomon Bor predikant tot Zeyst. Leyden, 1706, 8vo.

This forms the first part of the first volume of a collection of Dutch translations of remarkable travels, which the well known bookseller Van der Aa published in 1706, under the title of: "Naaukerige verzameling der gedenkwaardigste zee en land Reysen na Ost en West Indien."

Respecting the travels of Plano Carpini, see Sprengel's "Gesch. d. geogr. Entdeck.", p. 278-288, where the same are accompanied by many learned explanations, as also Murray's "Discoveries in Asia", vol. i, pp. 84-109.

## ( 6. )

ASCELIN. 1245.

Nicolas Ascelin, a Dominican, was despatched by Pope Innocent IV to the Mongolians, at the same time that Plano Carpini was sent by way of Poland and Russia to the court of the Khan. He was accompanied by the monks Alexander, Albert, and Simon de St. Quentin. His entire journey lasted only for a short time; and as he speaks chiefly in his narrative of his reception in the camp of Bajothnoi (Bajunovian?), he gives but few disclosures respecting the countries he travelled through. His route seems to

have been by the south of the Caspian Sea, through Syria, Persia, and Khorasan. Ascelin's narrative, moreover, has not reached us entire; we know of it only from the accounts received by Vincent de Beauvais from Ascelin's companion, Simon de St. Quentin.

The account of Ascelin's journey will be found in the following works, as already more fully described.

*Speculum historiale* Vincentii Bellovacensis. Venetiis, 1499, fol. L. 31, C. 40, *et seq.*

Opera dilettevole ad intendere la qual si contiene dei Itinerarii in Tartaria. Venezia, 1537, 4to.

Voyage du P. Ascelin. In Bergeron, *Voyages*, éd. de P. van der Aa; vol. i. Together with the Travels of P. Carpino.

In Murray's *Discoveries and Travels in Asia*, vol. i, p. 75-84.

Voyage du Frère Ascelin. Printed in *Voyage de Benjamin de Tudèle*, etc. Par. 1830, 4to.

Russian: In Jasykow, as alluded to in the notice of Plano Carpini.

## ( 7. )

## SIMON DE SAINT QUENTIN. 1245.

Simon de St. Quentin, a Dominican monk, accompanied the embassy sent to Tartary by Pope Innocent IV, and prepared an account of this journey in Latin. The complete original of the journey has not been found; the dominican Vincent de Beauvais, Simon's contemporary, gives, however, in his "*Speculum Historiale*", in book xxvii, a great part, viz., nineteen chapters, of the "*Itinerarium Fratris Si-*

monis"; and from this source Reinerus Reineccius has received it into his "Historia Orientalis".

This portion of the "Itinerarium" is also found in MS. No. 686, in the Royal Library of Paris, which bears the title—

*Itineraria in Tartariam Fr. Joannes de Plano Carpino, ord. Minorum, et Fr. Simonis de S. Quintino ord. prædicatorum, etc.*

These extracts are also found in Hakluyt's "Collection", vol. i, p. 25-29: "Libellus Historicus", etc., but where Simon's travels are mixed up with Plano Carpini's narrative.

They are also found in Italian, in the now very rare work entitled—

*Opera dilettevole da intendere, etc. Venez., 1537, 8vo., and again in Ramusio Raccolta di Viaggi, vol. ii of the edition of 1574, under the title, Due Viaggi in Tartaria.*

( 8. )

RUBRUQUIS. 1253.

Wilhelm von Ruysbroeck, Rusbrock, or Rubruk, commonly known by the Frenchified name of De Rubruquis, was a friar of the minorite order. He was sent to the Mongolians by the French king Louis IX, 1253, then in his crusade against the Saracens, when the rumour had spread in Europe that the Mongolian chief, Mangu Khan, had embraced the Christian religion. In the year just mentioned, he set out on his journey, with a fellow traveller, Bartholomæus of Cremona, went to Constan-

tinople, over the Black Sea, through the Crimea,<sup>1</sup> and finally arrived after many difficulties in the district of the city of the Caraci, in the Gobi desert, where Mangu Khan was then residing. His accounts of the countries he passed through are more circumstantial than those of his predecessors, which were unknown to him. He introduces, however, a number of cities under names which cannot yet be identified. We have to thank him, among other things, for the first accounts collected from personal experience respecting China, which he derived from a Chinese ambassador in the Mongolian camp. Rubruquis tarried five months in the neighbourhood of Mangu Khan, and passed then by Sarai, Astrachan, and Derbent, through Georgia, Armenia, and Turcomania, across the Mediterranean to Cyprus, Antioch, and Tripoli, from which latter place he transmitted the narrative of his travels to the King of France. From this latter circumstance he is sometimes called William of Tripoli.

Sprengel says of these travels:—"Rubruquis, by his journal, certainly widely extended the knowledge of the period with respect to northern Asia and the countries around the Caspian and Black Seas; and it is the more valuable inasmuch as he has conveniently inserted all manner of useful observations,

<sup>1</sup> The following observation is made by Adelung in a note:—"Ruysbroeck spoke first of Goths in the Crimea, and Barbaro and Busbeck confirmed his accounts. It is known that no remains of them are to be found there at the present day, as Pallas informed me in 1810, in reply to my request for information thereupon."

which travellers at that time seldom thought worth recording"; and accompanies this opinion with many examples, at pp. 295-299 of his work.

Rubruquis wrote his travels in Latin, and several copies of the original still exist.

There is a copy in manuscript in the Royal Library of Paris, in the codex No. 686, which bears the title: "Itineraria in Tartariam". — See d'Avezac's *Plan Carpin*, p. 50.

It has only been once printed in the language of the original, and that in Hakluyt's *Collection*, vol. i, pp. 71-79, but from a manuscript of Lord Lumley's, imperfect at the end.

Purchas found a perfect copy of the travels in Benet College Library at Cambridge, with the inscription: "Historia Monogallorum sive Tartarorum". — See d'Avezac, p. 52. He translated it into English, and inserted it into his "Pilgrimes", vol. iii, p. 1. Roger Bacon has likewise inserted extracts from Rubruquis, in his "Opus Majus".

Bergeron translated it from this English version into French, under the title—

Voyage remarquable de Guillaume de Rubruquis, envoyé en Ambassade par le Roi Louis IX en differens parties de l'Orient, principalement en Tartarie et à la Chine, l'an de notre Seigneur 1253. Contenant des recits très singuliers et surprenans. Ecrit par l'Ambassadeur même. Le tout orné d'une Carte de voyage de tailles douces, et accompagné de Tables. Traduit de l'Anglais par le Sr. de Bergeron.

In Bergeron's *Voyages*, etc., vol. i, collated, says Bergeron, with two Latin MSS.

It was again reprinted under the title: "Relation

du Voyage en Orient de Guillaume de Rubruk”, in vol. iv of the publications of the Geographical Society of Paris, “Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires”, pp. 205-296.

Here, and to both the foregoing journeys, belongs the following—

Quelques observations du Moine Bacon touchant les parties septentrionales du Monde, avec les relations touchant les Tartares ; tirées de l’histoire de R. Wendover et de Mathieu de Paris, avec quelques lettres sur le même sujet ; où l’on fait voir l’inhumanité, les mœurs sauvages, la rage et la cruauté des Tartares ; leurs invasions, par lesquelles ils menacent de détruire la Chrétienté ; avec une lettre de l’Empereur pour demander du secours au Roi d’Angleterre contre les Tartares dont on fait voir les rapines, les cruautés, et les meurtres ; mais ils y sont courageusement repoussez. In P. Bergeron’s Voyages, etc., vol. ii.

Both Forster, “Gesch. d. Entdeck”, p. 127-146, and Sprengel, “Gesch. d. Entdeck”, p. 288-299, have supplied explanatory and very learned remarks upon the travels of Rubruquis.

( 9. )

MARCO POLO. 1271.

Marco Polo, on whom Malte Brun has bestowed the inappropriate<sup>1</sup> appellation of the “créateur de la géographie moderne, l’Humboldt du treizième siècle,” was descended from a noble family of Venice. His father Niccolò Polo, and his uncle Matteo Polo,

<sup>1</sup> We say inappropriate, because with all the merits of Marco Polo he could lay no claim to an acquaintance with science and philosophy, while in these the illustrious Humboldt even at this day stands preeminent.

had many years before made a trading journey to Tartary; and when afterwards in 1271, the two set out on a similar journey to the east, they took young Marco, then seventeen or eighteen years old, with them. The journey was again into Tartary, to the court of Kublai Khan, where Marco found opportunity to develop speedily his rare capacity, learnt several oriental languages, was frequently employed by the prince just named to undertake distant journeys and important business, and collected at the same time the materials of his work on the east, which, as Sprengel says, "was long the general manual of Asiatic geography throughout entire Europe, especially after the voyages of the Portuguese had confirmed many of his supposed rodomontades."

He is said to have acquired great wealth from this journey, through trading and the generosity of Kublai Khan, on which account his countrymen gave him the surname of *il Millione*; and even down to the time of Ramusio, the house in which Marco Polo had lived at Venice was called *la corte del Millioni*.<sup>1</sup> He finally returned to Europe in 1295, but was soon after named commander of a division of the Venetian fleet against the Genoese, and as such, fell into the hands of the hostile admiral Lampa Doria. He was now carried prisoner of war to Genoa, where, although

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio, "Raccolta", vol. ii, p. 6, says, Marco Polo may have obtained this name on account of the great wealth of the Asiatic court, which he mentions in his travels (*e.g.*, the income of Kublai Khan from Kinsai, with its districts, alone amounted to 23,200,000 Venetian ducats), at first as a kind of nickname, but afterwards given by the Venetian government itself.



treated with great kindness and sympathy by the principal inhabitants, he nevertheless spent four years in prison. Here his famous work was composed, which will further be noticed in detail.

On account of the unstable life which Marco Polo led during his long sojourn in the east, it is not likely that he should have kept a detailed journal. He appears farther to have brought with him<sup>1</sup> only the short notices, which he collected for Kublai Khan on his route, and with the help of these dictated his narrative to his friend and fellow-sufferer, Rustichello, a native of Pisa, in his prison at Genoa.

With respect to the language in which the work was originally composed, Mr. Marsden, in his important and learned work presently to be quoted more at length, adduces evidence to show that it was not written in Latin, as Ramusio erroneously understood, but in a dialect of Italian; and in this conclusion he is warranted by the decided opinion of the celebrated Apostolo Zeno, who expresses himself as follows:—  
“Io sono persuaso che il Polo la scrivesse primieramente, non come vuole il Ramusio, in lingua *latina*, ma nella *volgar* sua natia, e che poco dopo da altri fosse translata in Latino.”

With all the apparent improbabilities and inconsistencies of Marco Polo's narrative, there is still enough in it to convince the most sceptical of its general accuracy; while, as Mr. Marsden justly observes, the numerous descriptions and incidents afford

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio says: “Fece venir da Venezia le sue scritture e memoriale che avea portato seco.”—See Zurla, vol. i, p. 18.

unobtrusive proofs of genuineness. Many of these details, which for centuries had excited either ridicule or suspicion, have been shown to be correct by the discoveries of modern times, while others less generally comprehensible have been elucidated and explained by the learning and research of Mr. Marsden.

Before we proceed to give the bibliography of the work, we would quote that part which treats of various countries which belong to modern Russia, which occurs at the end of the third book. According to the text of Ramusio, it reads thus:—"DELLA PROVINCIA DI RUSSIA. La provincia di Russia è grandissima, et divisa in molte parti, et guarda verso la parte di Tramontana, dove si dice essere la regione delle tenebre. Li popoli di quella sono Christiani, et osservano l'usanza de' Greci nell' officio della chiesa. Sono bellissimoi huomini, bianchi e grandi, et similmente le loro femine bianche et grandi, con li capelli biondi et lunghi, et rendono tributo al Ré di Tartari detti di Ponente, con il qual confinano nella parte di loro regione che guarda il Levante. In questa provincia si trovano abondanza grande di pelli di Arme lini, Ascolini, Zebellini, Vari, Volpi, et cera molta; vi sono anchora molte minere, dove si cava argento in gran quantità. La Rossia è region molto fredda, et mi fù affermato cha la si estende fino sopra il Mare Oceano, nel qual (come abbiamo detto di sopra) si prendono li Girifalchi, Falconi pellegrini in gran copia, che vengono portati diverse regioni et provincie."

Ramusio says in reference to Marco Polo's account

of the climate of Russia: “ Vltimamente nel fine del terzo libro, ove parla della Rossia, et del Regno delle Tenebre, come quello che in varij mappamondi antichi, è posto per fine del nostro habitabile sotto la Tramontana, non s’inganna punto del sito del detto regno, nelli mesi però ch’egli scrive dell’ inverno.”

All the texts of Marco Polo are defective, uncritical, and incorrect. The testimony of Purchas on this point is as follows:—“ Multos auctores corruptos vidi, sed nullum corruptiorem quam Latina Pauli Veneti editio est. Ramusius edidit Italicam versionem, quæ aurea est si cum Latina comparetur.”

The first Latin translation appears to have been made about the year 1320, by a monk of the Order of Preachers, named Francesco Pipino (called also Pepuri), of Bologna, to the performance of which task he was invited by the superiors of his order.

*The following MSS. of Marco Polo are known:—*

In Venice. *Latin.* Ramusio says of it: “ Una copia di qual libro scritta la prima volta latinamente, di meravigliosa antichità e forse copiata dall’ originale di esso Messer Marco, molte volte ho veduta e incontrata con questa che al presente mandiamo in luce.”

This MS., which Apostolo Zeno also saw in the library of the senator Giacomo Soranzo, is lost; or, at least, we no longer know where to find it.<sup>1</sup>

In Paris. *Latin.* In the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 8392. A beautiful MS. in folio, on parchment, with many miniatures. By the monk Fra Pipino of Bologna,

<sup>1</sup> See Zurla, vol. i, p. 19.

translated again into Latin from an Italian translation made from a Latin copy. Copies of this MS. are also found in the public libraries of Rome, Padua, Modena, Ferrara, Berlin, and Wolfenbüttel. That in the British Museum is supposed by Sir Henry Ellis to have been written about 1400.

In Mentz. *Latin.*

See Recensus codd. Moguntiae in R. Capituli Metropolitanæ Bibliothecæ latitantium, pars prima. In Val. Ferd. de Guden Sylloge variorum diplomatariarum Monumentorumque veterum ineditorum adhuc, et res germanicas imprimis Moguntinas illustrantium. Francof., 1728; 8vo.; pages 377-385.

In Giessen, in the University library, *Latin*, under the title—

Marcus Polus de Venetiis: de conditionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum: bound up with Cod. 218, a MS. of Eusebius. See Catalogus Codd. Mspt. Bibliothecæ Academ. Gissensis. Auct. J. Valent. Adrian. Francof. ad Mœn. 1840, 8vo.

In Florence. *Italian.* This MS. is generally called by the epithet of Marco Polo, *il Millione*, and under this name is entered in the Dictionary of the Accademia della Crusca.

In Brit. Mus. (Sloane MSS.), bearing date 1457.

In Berne. *French.* Of the fourteenth century, on parchment, in folio. In the library of Bongars.—See Sinner, “Catalogus Codd. MSS. Bibliothecæ Bernensis annotationibus criticis illustratus; addita sunt excerpta quam plurima et præfatio, curante J. R. Sinner” (Bernæ, 1770; 3 vols., 8vo., t. ii, p. 419),

where the history of this translation is given. In the year 1307, Thibault, Seigneur de Capoy, passing through Venice on his way to Constantinople, had here the honour to receive a copy of his travels from Marco Polo himself, "desirans," as Thibault says, "que ce qu'il avoit veu fus sceu par l'univers monde, et pour l'onneur et reverence de tres excellent et puissant princ Monseigneur Charles fils du Roy de France et Comte de Valois, bailla et donna au dessus dit Seigneur de Cepoy la premiere copie de son dit livre." A French MS. of 1300, is in the Royal Library of Paris. Other older French translations, which are probably copies only of this, are cited in "Montfaucon Biblioth. MSS. nova," p. 895.

A manuscript extract from the travels, under the title: "De magnis mirabilibus mundi et de Tartaris", cap. XXI, is found in a codex of the fourteenth century, in the Ambrosian library of Milan, bearing the title: "Imago Mundi pars II, seu chronica Fratris Jacobi ab Aquis (Giacomo d'Aqui), in Lombardia ord. Præd. usque ad annum 1296."

Respecting the manuscripts of Marco Polo's travels, see "Ricerche critico-biografiche sui testi di Marco Polo", in Zurla's work hereafter quoted, vol. i, p. 13, and in Purchas's "Pilgrimes".

The most remarkable editions of Marco Polo in both languages of the original, are the following—

Incipit prologus in libro domini Marci Pauli de Veneciis de consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum. Rome or Venice, between 1484 and 1490 (but according to Brunet, 1490-1500); 4to.

M. Paulus Venetus de regionibus Orientalibus. Zwoll, 1483, 4to.

Marco Polo da Venesia delle meravigliose cose del Mondo da lui vedute, da Giambattista Sessa. In Venetia, 1496; 8vo.

Again reprinted, Brescia, 1508; 8vo. This is a kind of extract in the Venetian and Tuscan dialects, and is now scarcely anywhere to be found.

Marco Polo Venetiano, in cui si tratta le maravigliose cose del Mondo per lui vedute, del costume di varii paesi, etc. Venetia, s. a. Small 8vo.

These Italian editions were repeated: Venetia, 1508, fol.; 1533, 8vo. Treviso, 1590, 8vo. Venetia, 1597, 8vo; 1611, 8vo.; 1626, small 8vo.; Trevigi, 1672, small 8vo.

Paulli Veneti, de regionibus orientalibus Libri III, in the Orbis novus regionum et insularum veteribus incognitarum, etc. of Simon Grynæus. Basil, 1532, fol.

Marco Polo, gentilhuomo Venetiano, delle cose de' Tartari et delle Indie Orientali, con la vita et costumi di que' popoli, descrizione di que' paesi, et molte altre cose notabili et meravigliose: in tre libri descritte, non prima che hora cosi interi et copiosi publicati. In the Raccolta di Ramusio, vol. ii, p. 1-60 (1559).

This is the best and most correct Italian text of Marco Polo.

Marcus Polus de Mirabilibus Mundi in latinum conversus, prohemio addito. Venetiis, 1583, 4to. Apud Juntas.

Appears to have been printed after the Latin translation of Frà Pipino.

Marci Pauli Veneti de regionibus orientalibus Libri III, ex editione Reineri Reineccii. Helmstadii, 1585, 4to. Also 1602, 4to. Amstelodami, 1664, 4to.

M. Pauli Veneti de regionibus orientalibus Libri III, cum Cod. Msto. Bibliothecæ Electoralis Brandenburgicæ collati, exque eo adjectis notis plurimum tum suppleti, tum illustrati. Accedunt Haithoni Armeni, Historia Orientalis, quæ et de Tartaris inscribitur. Itemque Andreae Mülleri Greiffenhagii de Chataja disquisitio, inque ipsum Paulum Venetum præfatio et indices. Coloniae Brandeb., 1671, 4to.

“Voyages de Marco Polo.” Paris, 1624; 4to. *Latin and French.* This forms the first volume of “Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publiés par la Société de Géographie de Paris,” of which, up to the present time, seven volumes in 4to. have appeared.

Viaggi di Marco Polo illustrati e commentati, preceduti dalla Storia delle Relazioni vicendevoli dell’ Europa e dell’ Asia, da Baldelli. Firenze, 1827, 4 vols. in 4to, and atlas in folio.

Il Milione di Marco Polo, testo di lingua del secolo XIII, ora per la prima volta pubblicato ed illustrato dal Conte Giov. Batista Baldelli Boni. Firenze, 1827; 4to, 2 vols.

I viaggi in Asia, in Africa, nel mare dell’ Indie, descritti nel secolo XIII da Marco Polo, testo di lingua detto il Milione, illustrato con annotazioni. Venezia, 1824, small 8vo., 2 vols.

It is said that Klaproth had collected rich materials for a new edition. It is much to be regretted that it was never published.

It was natural that a work of such extraordinary contents as Marco Polo’s travels should soon be translated into several languages. These translations are here arranged according to their dates.

*German.* The oldest German translation was printed at Nürnberg by Fricz Creussner. Its title is as follows—

Hie hebt sich an das Puch des edelñ Ritters vñ Landt-  
farers Marcho Polo. In dem er schreibt die grossen wunder-  
lichen Ding dieser Welt. Sunderlichen von den grossen  
Künigen vnd Keysern die da herschen in den selbigen  
landen, vnd von irem volck vnd seiner gewonheit da selbs.  
Disz hat gedruckt Fricz Creüszner zu Nurmberg Nach cristi  
gepurdt Tausent vierhundert vñ im sibenvñsibenczigtñ iar  
(1477); fol.

First edition, of extreme rarity, in the Grenville Library. The following note is in Mr. Grenville's handwriting: "The volume agrees with Dr. Dibdin's description of Lord Spencer's copy (see *Bibl. Spenc.*, vol. vi, p. 176), having fifty-seven leaves of text; but the wood-cut, representing a full length figure of Marco Polo on the reverse of the first leaf, is supplied in this copy by an admirable fac-simile. The present is a very fine rubricated copy. When Mr. Marsden published his translation of this work, the only known copy of this first German edition was in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and I had a literal transcript made from it: since that time a second copy was found, and sold by Payne and Foss to Lord Spencer: and now I have purchased from Leipsic the present beautiful copy. I know of no fourth copy. The copy at Vienna wants the portrait."

See also respecting this edition, Panzer's "Annalen der älterem deutschen Litteratur," i, 99-100.



A reprint of this German translation appeared at Augsburg, 1481, by Anthonius Sorg, in the "Historia von Hertzog Leuppold und sein Sohn Wilhelm, von Osterreich," in fol.

Another version by Mich. Herr, appeared in the German translation of the "Novus orbis regionum" of Simon Grynæus, etc. Strassburg, 1534; fol. A version equally distinct from the other was made from the Italian of Ramusio, and entitled as follows—

Marcus Polus ; wahrhafte Beschreybung seiner wunderlichen Reise in die Tartarey, zu dem grossen Can von Chatai verrichtet. Aus dem Italiänischen verteutscht durch Hieron. Megiserum. Leipzig, 1609, 8vo ; 1611, 8vo.

Marco Polo's Reise in den Orient während der Jahre 1272 bis 1295, in's Deutsche übersetzt nach den besten Ausgaben des Originals und mit einem Commentare begleitet von Felix Peregrin. Ronneburg und Leipzig, 1802, 8vo.

*Portuguese.* Marco Paulo de Veneza das condições e costumes das gentes e das terras e provincias orientaes. Ho livro de Nycolao Veneto [Niccolò di Conti]. O traüado da carta de hull genoves das ditas terras. Imprimido per Valentym Fernandez Alemaão. Lyxboa, 1502; fol.

This is a translation from Pipino's Latin version.

*Spanish.* Libro del famoso Marco Paulo Venetiano de las cosas maravillosas que vido en las partes orientales, conviene saber, en las Indias, Armenia, Arabia, Persia, e Tartaria, e del poder del Gran Can, y otras reys ; con otro tratado de Micer Poggio Florentino e trata de las mesmas tierras y islas. Traducido por Rodriquez (Arcediano), canonico de Sevilla. Sevilla, 1520, fol. ; and Logrono, 1529, fol.

Historia da las gradezas y cosas maravillosas de las pro-

vincias orientales, sacada de Marco Polo Veneto, y traduzida de Latin en Romance, y añadida en muchas partes, por D. Martin Abarca de Bolea y Castro. En Zaragoza por Angelo Tauano, 1601, 8vo.

*English.* The most noble and famous travels of Marcus Paulus, one of the nobilitie of the State of Venice, in the east partes of the world, as Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Tartary, with many other kingdoms and provinces. No lesse pleasant than profitable, as appeareth by the table or contents of this booke. Most necessary for all sortes of persons, and especially for travellers. Translated into English (by John Frampton). London, 1579; 4to.

A translation by Samuel Purchas, in his "Pilgrimes," from the text of Ramusio.

Another, in the "Bibliotheca Navigantium" of Harris, likewise from the text of Ramusio.

We have next to quote the excellent and well known edition of Mr. Marsden, likewise translated from Ramusio, entitled—

The travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian, in the thirteenth century. Being a description, by that early traveller, of remarkable places and things in the eastern parts of the world. Translated from the Italian, with notes, by William Marsden, F.R.S., etc. With a map. London, 1818, 4to.

And finally, an edition entitled—

The Travels of Marco Polo, greatly amended and enlarged from valuable early manuscripts, recently published by the French Society of Geography, and in Italy by Count Baldelli Boni. With copious notes, illustrating the routes and observations of the author, and comparing them with those of more recent travellers. By Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E. Two maps and a vignette. New York, 1845; small 8vo.

*Dutch.* Translated from the Latin edition of R. Reineccius, under the title—

Marcus Paulus Venetus: Reisen en Beschryving der Oostersche Lantschappen, etc. Benefens de Historie der Oostersche Lantschappen door Haithon van Armenien te zamen gestelt. Door J. H. Glazemaker. Amsterdam, 1664, 4to.

*French.* We have already spoken of the very ancient French translation of Thybault de Cepoy.

A translation of the Latin text in the “*Novus Orbis*,” was published anonymously at Paris. 1556, 4to.; with the title—

La Description géographique des provinces et des villes les plus fameuses de l’Inde Orientale, avec les mœurs, loix, et coutumes des habitans d’icelles, mesmement de ce qui est soubz la domination du grand Cham, empereur des Tartares. Par Marc Paule, gentilhomme Vénitien, et nouvellement reduict en vulgaire François. Paris, 1556, 4to.

Les Voyages très-curieux et fort remarquables achevés par toute l’Asie, Tartarie, Mangi, Japon, les Indes Orientales, Iles adjacentes, et l’Afrique, commencés l’an 1252. Par Marc Paul, Vénitien, Historien recommandable par sa fidélité. Qui contiennent une relation très-exacte des Païs Orientaux. Dans laquelle il décrit très-exactement plusieurs païs et villes, les quels lui-même a voiajés et vus la plupart: et où il nous enseigne brièvement les mœurs et coutumes de ces peuples, avant ce temps là inconnus aux Européens; Comme aussi l’origine de la puissance des Tartares, quand à leurs conquêtes de plusieurs Etats au Païs dans la Chine; ici clairement proposée et expliquée. Le tout divisé en III Livres; conféré avec un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de S. A. E. de Brandebourg, et enrichi de plusieurs notes et additions tirées du dit manuscrit, de l’édition de Ramuzio, de celle de Purchas, et de celle de Vitriaire.

In Bergeron's Collection, à la Haye, 1735; 4to.

Detailed accounts of Marco Polo will be found in the following works—

Sur la chorographie de Marc Paul, Vénitien. Preface d'André Müller Greiffenhag. Bergeron's Voyages, vol. ii.

Témoignages et jugemens de plusieurs savans touchant la relation de Marc Paul, Vénitien, entre lesquels ils s'en trouvent quelques uns qui contredisent à ces Relations, mais dont la plupart sont favorables et très dignes de Foi. Bergeron, vol. ii, p. 26.

Terrarossa Riflessioni Geografiche circa le Terre incognite. Padova, 1687, 4to. Treats chiefly of Marco Polo.

Ab. Renaudot des anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahométans qui y allèrent dans le IX siècle, trad. de l'arabe avec des remarques. Paris, 1718, 8vo.

The following works may also be quoted:—

Murray's Discoveries and Travels in Asia, vol. i, pp. 151-182.

Tiraboschi Storia della Letteratura Italiana. Defends Marco Polo especially from the charges of error brought against him.

Saggi di Studj Veneti, di Toaldo. Venez., 1782, 8vo. Contains, among other things, an Elogio de' Poli.

Dissertazione intorno ad alcuni Viaggiatori eruditi Veneziani poco noti; dal Abbate Morelli. Venezia, 1803; 4to.

Vita di Marco Polo. In the Collezione di Vite e Ritratti d'illustri Italiani, da Bottoni. Padova, 1816; 8vo.

Notice sur la relation originale de Marc Pol, par Paulin-Paris. Paris, 1823, 8vo.

Vies de plusieurs personnages célèbres des temps anciens

et modernes. Par M. Walckenaer, Laon, 1830, 2 vols., 8vo. Tom. ii, p. 1-34.

Very valuable accounts of Polo are found also in "Joh. Reinh. Forster's *Gesch. d. Entdeck. im Norden*," p. 151-182.

A very important work respecting Marco Polo and his travels is—

Di Marco Polo e degli altri Viaggiatori Veneziani più illustri: Dissertazione del P. Ab. D. Placido Zurla; con appendice sopra le antiche mappe lavorate in Venezia, e con quattro carte geografiche. In Venezia, 1818; large 4to., 2 vols.

This work, the whole of the first volume of which is occupied with Marco Polo, contains a very detailed investigation respecting the text of his travels, as well as a thorough analysis of the countries he travelled through. This survey is divided into the following sections:—1. Geography, p. 87-206; 2. Natural History and Physical Geography, p. 207-241; 3. History, p. 242-266; 4. Religion, p. 267-303; 5. Manners and Customs, p. 304-324; 6. Arts and Sciences, p. 325-349; 7. Commerce and Navigation, p. 350-368.

Forster says, in his "*Gesch. d. Entdeck.*" p. 152: "It were to be wished, that a man of extended reading would compare all these translations with the Wolffenbüttel manuscript, and prepare and publish a new edition of this useful, and, for the geography of the Middle Ages, highly important book." This wish appears to have been in great measure fulfilled by Marsden's work.

( 10. )

GIOVANNI DI MONTE CORVINO. 1288.

Giovanni di Monte Corvino, a Franciscan monk of Calabria, was despatched as ambassador by Pope Nicholas IV, in 1288, to Arghun, to the Mongolian Khan of Persia. He spent some time at Tauris, and left that city in 1291 for India, where he made several conversions. He then proceeded further east to Khan-Balyk, or Cambalu, the capital of the Tatars, the modern Peking, where he died, holding the honourable position of archbishop of the missions in that city. Regarding his travels in Tartary, we have only two of his letters, dated respectively 1305 and 1306, which are found printed in the following works—

Wadding, *Annales Minorum*. Romæ, 1732, fol., vol. vi, p. 69 sq.

Mosheimii *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*. App. xlv et xlv, p. 114-120.

Marsden, *the Travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian, in the thirteenth century*. London, 1818, 4to., p. 243-245.

See also, respecting this monk, “*Nouveaux mélanges Asiatiques*,” par M. Abel Remusat; vol. ii, p. 193-198.

( 11. )

HAITHO. 1290.

Haitho, Hatto, or Hayton, was a prince of the royal family of Armenia. Having long followed the profession of arms under his uncle Haitho II, king

of Armenia, he retired in 1305, in fulfilment of a vow which he had formerly made, to Piscopia in Cyprus, where he entered a convent of Premonstrants. He subsequently came to Poitiers in France, and there, by the desire of Pope Clement V, dictated to Niccolò Salconi, in the French language, the history of the East, from the time of the appearance of the Mongolians; which the latter translated in 1307, into Latin, under the title, “*Liber Historiarum partium Orientis.*”

Haitho's work consists—1, of accounts of the Tatars, from Jenghis Khan to Mango Khan; 2, of narrations from Haitho I, king of Armenia, respecting his life and travels; 3, of the monk Haitho's narrative of the events of his own time.

Haitho was not a traveller; but deserves mention here, inasmuch as in his work he frequently touches on northern Asia, and several countries pertaining to modern Russia.

Haitho's work is found both in Latin and French, in manuscript, in the Imperial Library of Vienna, viz.—

Haithon, la flor des Histoires de l'Orient, par Nicolas Faucon, in 4to., Hist. prof., No. 39.

Haitoni flos Historiarum Orientis. Fol., Hist. prof., No. 73.

Likewise, in the celebrated manuscript of Marco Polo, at Bern; and in the Bibliothèque Royale of Paris, No. 7500 and 8392.

The printed editions of this work are the following—

Here begynneth a lytell Cronycle, translated and imprinted at the cost and charge of Rycharde Pynson, by the commaundement of the ryght high and mighty prince Edwarde duke of Buckingham, yerle of Gloucester, Staffarde, and of Northampton. Imprinted by the sayd Richarde Pynson, printer unto the kinges noble grace. (No date.) Fol. B.L.

In the Grenville collection. The volume consists of forty-eight leaves. On the verso of fol. 35, "Here endeth the boke of thistoris of thorient partes cōpyled by a religious man frere Hayton, frere of Premonstre order, somtyme lorde of Court and cosyn german to the kyng of Armeny, upon the passage of the holy lande. By the commaundement of the holy fader the apostle of Rome, Clement the V, in the citie of Potiers: which boke I, Nicholas Falcon, writ first in French, as the frere Hayton sayd with his mouth, without any note or example; and out of French I have translated it in Latyn for our holy fader the pope. In the yeere of our lorde god 1307."

Mr. Grenville, in his manuscript note, says: "The present is the only translation into English, and from the circumstances of its being printed by Pynson, and having been (when in Mr. Heber's collection) bound with two other works (Mirroure of good Maners and Sallust), both translated by Barclay, was probably also translated by him. It is a book of extraordinary rarity, no perfect copy that can be traced having previously occurred for public sale."

The earliest French edition was printed at Paris, in 1529, with the title—

L'Hystore merueilleuse, plaisante et recreative du grand



Empereur de Tartarie, seigneur des Tartares, nommé le Grand Can, etc. Paris, pour Jehan Saint Denys, 1529 ; fol.

On the first leaf of the text of the volume it is stated, that the work was originally written in Latin in the year 1310, by the very noble Monsieur Aycon, Seigneur de Courcy, in the abbey of the Epiphany, whither he had retired : and that in 1351, it was translated into French by Brother Jehan Longdit. This edition is very rare ; but a copy is in the Grenville Library.

Les fleurs des hystoyres de la terre d'orient. Compilees par frere Haycon seigneur du core et cousin germain du roy d'Armenie par le commandement du pape.

This edition, without date, is also in the Grenville Library.

Histoire orientale, où des Tartares, de Haiton, parent du roi d'Armenie ; qui comprend premièrement une succincte et agréable description de plusieurs royaumes ou païs orientaux, selon l'état dans lequel ils se trouvoient environ l'an 1300 ; secondement une relation de beaucoup de choses remarquables, qui sont arrivées aux peuples de ces païs et nations. Le tout décrit par la main de Nicolas Salcon, et traduit suivant l'édition latine d'André Müller Greiffenhag. In Bergeron's Voyages, vol. ii.

*Latin.* Haithoni Armeni, Liber historiarum partium orientis, sive passagium terræ sanctæ, scriptus anno Redemptoris nostri MCCC. Haganoæ, 1529 ; 4to.

This first edition, in Latin, was edited by Men. Molther.

Haithoni Armeni, Liber de Tartaris. In the Orbis novus regionum et insularum veteribus incognitarum, etc., of Simon Grynæus. Basileæ, 1537 ; fol.

Historia orientalis Haythoni Armeni et huic subjectum

Marci Pauli Veneti Itinerarium : item fragmentum e Speculo historiali Vincentii Belvacensis ejusdem argumenti. Auctore Reinesio Reineccio. Helmæstadii, 1585, 4to.

Haithoni Armeni Historia orientalis, quae et de Tartaris inscribitur. In Andr. Mülleri M. Pauli Veneti de regionibus orientalibus, libri III. Coloniae Brandeb. 1671, 4to.

*Italian.* Ayton Armeno, dell'origini et successione di Gran Cani Imperadori Tartari, et come aggrandirono l'Imperio loro, et della vita, religione, costumi et conditione de' Tartari. In Raccolta di Ramusio, vol. ii, p. 60-66, is divided into two sections, viz., Discorso sopra il libro del signor Hayton Armeno, p. 60-62; and Parte seconda della Historia del signor Hayton Armeno, che fù figliuol del signor Curchi, parente de' Rè di Armenia, p. 62A-64A.

Compendio della Storia de' Tartari scritta dell' Armeno Aitone, fatto da Gio-Boccaccio in Latino, trovato e tradotto in volgare, e pubblicato da Sebast. Ciampi. In Monumenti di un manuscritto autografo e lettere inedite di Mes. Giovanni Boccaccio, il tutto trovato ed illustrato da Sebastiano Ciampi. Milano, 1830, 8vo.

It was also translated into Dutch by J. H. Glazemaker, and printed with his translation of Marco Polo. Amsterdam, 1664; 4to.

( 12. )

RICCOLDO DA MONTECROCE. 1296.

In 1296, Riccoldo da Montecroce, or Ricaldus de Monte Crucis, a Dominican of Florence, Sanctius de Bolea, Guillelmus Bernardi, Bernardus Guille, and several other monks, were sent by Pope Boniface VIII to the Saracens, Bulgarians, Kumans, Alans, Chazars, Goths, Russians, Nestorians, Georgians, Tatars, and other oriental and northern people; and Riccoldo left

an “*Itinerarium peregrinationis*” of his travels,—the original text of which is not, however, extant. Jean Lelong, a Benedictine monk of Ypres, translated the work into French in 1351, and through this translation we are acquainted with Riccoldo’s travels.

Four copies of Lelong’s translation are known, which correspond with each other pretty well. One, which contains, with the travels of Haitho, those of Oderic, Boldensel, and the archbishop of Sultanieh, in folio, adorned with miniatures, is to be found in the Royal Library of Paris, marked No. 7500 C. A copy of this was made by the Chancellor Baron Rumänzow, which is to be found in the library of the Rumänzow Museum, under No. 40. This translation bears the following title—

Cy commence le livre de peregrinacion de l’itineraire et du voyage que fist ung bon preu d’omme des freres precheurs qui òt nom frère Riculd, qui par le commendement du Saint Pere ala oultre mer pour prechier aux mescreans la foy de Dieu, et sont en ce traictié par ordonnance contenuz les royaumes pays et provinces, les manieres diverses des gens, les loys, les sectes, les creances, etc. Et fut ce livre translatez du Latin en François en l’an de grâce mil cccii fait et compilé par frere Jehan Lelong d’Ypre, moine de l’eveschée de taroenne. Folio.

It was printed with Haitho’s work, entitled—

L’hystore merveilleuse plaisante et recreative du grand empereur de Tartarie, seigneur des Tartares, nommé le grand Can, etc. Paris, 1529 ; sm. fol.

The second copy of Lelong’s translation is to be

found in the City Library of Berne, in the same manuscript containing Marco Polo.

The third, in the Cotton Collection of manuscripts, British Museum, with the press-mark, Otho D. II.

The fourth, in the Archiepiscopal Library of Mentz. An extract of the "Peregrinacion" will be found in Murray's "Discoveries and Travels in Asia," vol. i, p. 197, etc.

Ricold de Montecroix, voyageur et missionnaire en Asie. In *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques* par M. Abel-Rémusat, vol. ii, p. 199-202.

( 13. )

ODERICO DI PORDENONE. 1317.

Oderico Mattheussi, a Franciscan monk, born about 1285, at Pordenone, in Friuli, on which account he is generally called Oderico of Friuli, Odericus de Forto Julii, also Odericus de Portenau. He undertook in 1317 a journey through Tartary by Trebisond to India, and returned by Thibet to Europe. In 1330, he dictated, in Padua, to Guglielmo di Solagno, a monk, his travels in Italian, and then went to Udine, where he died in 1331.

Copies of the travels of Oderico exist in manuscript in the Arundel Collection, British Museum (press-mark, 13 f. 38 b.), under the title, "Itinerarium fratris Odorici de ordine Minorum de Mirabilibus Indie"; and in the Royal Collection (press-mark, 14 c. 13, fol. 216), under the title, "Itinerarium fratris Odrici Ordinis fratrum Minorum de Mirabilibus ori-

entalium Tartarorum.” These manuscripts are pronounced by good authority to be in the early half of the fourteenth century, and most probably a short time after the death of the author. The following also are known; viz., one under the title, “De Mirabilibus Mundi”, after the Latin translation of the monk Heinrich von Glatz, in Udine, in the Royal Library of Paris, Nos. 2584 and 3195; in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 407; and in the Cathedral Library of Mentz, No. 52. The French translation of Jean le Long of Ypres, is found in manuscript in the Royal Library of Paris, No. 7500 C, and No. 8392, on parchment, and with many miniatures, in the City Library of Berne, and in the Cottonian Collection, British Museum.

Oderico's journey is printed—

In the *Acta Sanctorum*, and Wadding's *Annales*.

*Latin and English.* By Hakluyt, t. ii, p. 39-67.

*Italian.* By Ramusio, in the Appendix by Tommaso Giunti, vol. ii, fol. 237-248; and in: *Elogio storico alle geste del Beato Oderico dell' ordine de' Minori conventuali, con la storia da lui dettata de' suoi viaggi Asiatici, illustrata da un religioso dell' ordine stesso, e presentata agli amatori delle antichità* (Dal Fr. Giuseppe Venni). Venezia, 1761, 4to.

*French.* Printed with Haitho's work, entitled—

*L'hystore merueilleuse, plaisante et recreative du grand empereur de Tartarie, etc.* Paris, 1529, fol.

Sprengel gives in his “*Gesch. der geog. Entdeck.*” p. 348-9, a comparison of the names of various places found in Oderico's travels.

See further the article drawn up by De la Renau-

dière: Oderic, in the "Biographie Universelle", t. xxxi, p. 499.

( 14. )

IBN BATUTA. 1324.

Ibn Batuta, an Arabian author, left an account of a journey, in which the Russians are incidentally mentioned.

See respecting him, Frähn's Ibn Fozzlan, p. 229.

His work first appeared in an English translation entitled—

The Travels of Ibn Batuta: translated from the abridged Arabic manuscript copies, preserved in the public library of Cambridge. With notes, illustrative of the history, geography, botany, antiquities, etc., occurring throughout the work. By the Rev. Samuel Lee; 4to. London (printed for the Oriental Translation Committee), 1829.

A Portuguese translation of the entire work was published under the title—

Viagens extenses e dilatadas do celebre Arabe Abu-Abdallah, mais conhecido pelo nome de Ben-Batuta. Traduzidas por Jose de Santo Antonio Moura. Tom. i, 4to. Lisboa (published by the Acad. Real das Sciencias), 1840.

A particular account of Ibn Batuta and his travels will be found in the "Rooskiee Viestneek", 1841; No. 2, p. 462.

( 15. )

JEAN DE COR. 1330.

Jean de Cor, a Franciscan monk, was sent in 1330, by Pope John XXII, as missionary into Tartary,

and for his zeal in the work of conversion was by him nominated Archbishop of Sultanieh. He left a narrative of his travels, which bears the following title—

De l'Etat et de la Gouvernance du grant Kaan de Cathay, souverain empereur des Tartres, et de la disposition de son empire et de ses autres provinces ; interprété par un archevesque que on dit l'arcevesque Saltensis, par le commandement du pape Jehan, vingt deuxiesme de ce nom, et translaté de Latyn en François par frère Jehan le Long, né de Yppre, moine de Saint-Berthin en Saint-Omer.

This narrative is found in the Royal Library of Paris, in a fine manuscript (No. 8392), adorned with many miniatures.

See D'Avezac, Relations des Mongoles ou Tartares, page 25.

( 16. )

JOURDAIN CATALAN. 1330.

Jourdain Catalan, commonly called Jordanus Catalani, a French Dominican monk of Séverac, made several journeys into Asia in the beginning of the fourteenth century ; and in 1330 was sent by Pope John XXII to Sultanieh in Tartary, as the bearer of the pallium to Jean de Cor, the archbishop of that see. He left several documents, more particularly his "Memorabilia", a copy of which was in the possession of Walckenaer, from which it was printed in the "Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires" of the Geographical Society of Paris, vol. iv, page 1-65.

The narrative bears the title—

Description des Merveilles d'une partie de l'Asie par le  
P. Jourdan Catalani.

See d'Avezac, already quoted, pp. 25-26.

( 17. )

SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE. 1322-56.

Sir John Mandeville belonged to an ancient and distinguished English family. He was born at Saint Alban's, and received a careful education. His favourite studies were mathematics, surgery, and theology. His busy spirit urged him at the same time to inquire into the nature and condition of foreign countries; and with this intention he went, in 1322, through France on a journey to the Holy Land, served several years under the Sultan of Egypt and the Grand Chan of Cathay. After thirty-three years' wanderings in Asia, he returned to Europe, and died, in 1371, in Liège, where his monument is still to be seen. In the year 1356, as he says himself, in the thirty-fourth year after his departure, he drew up a narrative of his travels, in the French language apparently, but translated it himself soon after into Latin. This narrative, according to his own acknowledgment, included many of the chronicles, adventures, and romances of chivalry, so much admired in that age; but in almost every allusion to such romances he refers to them as merely matters of hearsay. This acknowledgment, we conceive, ought to be allowed to clear this early traveller



from the charge of wilful falsification, which the manifest exaggerations occurring in his story have caused to be thrown upon him. With respect to the marvels which he asserts to have fallen under his own observation, they, like those of Herodotus and Marco Polo, have been mainly, if not entirely, verified by the researches of more recent travellers. This twofold ground of exculpation we hold to be an acquittal for Mandeville, on the score of veracity. In England there are several copies of an English version of his narrative, the original of which is dedicated to Edward III, and said to have been written by Mandeville himself.

His work belongs to this place, on account of his details respecting the Tatars and the countries ruled by them.

Of the English manuscripts, there are nineteen copies in the British Museum, according to Mr. Halliwell. "So numerous," he says, "indeed, are they, owing to its great popularity, that it would be an endless labour to collate them all, though scarcely any two copies agree to any extent."

Besides the English manuscripts, there is a very ancient one in the French language in the Municipal Library of Berne; one in the Grenville Library, upon vellum, of the fourteenth century; and another very fine one in the Royal Library of Paris, also on vellum, with many miniatures.

The various editions of his travels are the following—

*English.* Here begynneth a lytell treatyse or booke

named Johan Maūdeuyll, knyght, borne in Englonde, in the towne of Saynt Albone, and speketh of the wayes of the holy londe towarde Jherusalem and of marueyles of ynde and of other dyuerse coūtreys. Emprynted at Westmynster by Wynken de Worde, anno dñi, MCCCC.LXXXIX; 8vo.

This edition contains one hundred and nine chapters, exclusive of the introduction, and has several wood-cuts.

In the Grenville Library is an undated edition, “emprented by Rychard Pynson”, entitled—

The boke of John Maunduyle, knyght, of wayes to Jerusalem, and of marueyls of ynde and of other countrees; 4to.

Mr. Grenville, in his manuscript note, says:—  
“Dibdin seems to agree with Sir F. Freeling, in considering this book as of the fifteenth century, and therefore prior to that of W. de Worde of 1499, which was esteemed the first edition. No other copy being as yet ascertained, I readily purchased it, though it wants four leaves. The text varies very much from Este’s edition; but I have never found that of W. de Worde, to collate it with that edition.”

Other English editions are—

1503, 8vo; 1568, 4to; 1670, 4to; 1696, 4to; 1722, 4to; and lastly, the most perfect edition, under the title: The voiage and travaile of J. de Mandeville, which treateth of the way of Hierusalem, and of marvayles of Inde, with other islands and countryes. London, 1725, 8vo.

This last edition was reprinted “with an introduction, notes, and glossary, by J. O. Halliwell, Esq.” 8vo.; London, 1839.

*Latin.* Itinerarius domini Johannis de Mandeville militis. (Without place, date, or name of printer.) 4to.

This is the first of the Latin editions, being probably printed about 1480.

It was also printed in the first edition of Marco Polo.

In Purchas's "Pilgrimes", a Latin extract.

*French.* Ce livre est appelé Mandeville, et fut fait et composé par Jehan de Mandeville, chevalier natif d'Angleterre de la ville de St. Albain, et parle de la terre de promission, c'est a dire de Jerusalem, etc. Lyon, 1480, small fol.; and again, 1487, 4to.

Maitre Jehan de Mandeville, lequel parle des grandes aventures des pays étranges où il s'est trouvé, ensemble la terre de promission, et du saint voyage de Hierusalem. Paris (no date), 4to; also, 1517 and 1542.

By Bergeron, from the Latin translation of the extract in Purchas, under the following title—

Recueil ou Abrégé des Voiages, et Observations du Sr. Jean de Mandeville, Chevalier et Professeur en Médecine, faites dans l'Asie, l'Afrique, etc. Commencées en l'an MCCCXXXII [1322]. Dans lesquelles sont compris grand nombre de choses inconnues. Par Monsieur (John) Bale.

So attractive a book would not fail of being translated into other languages. We are aware of the following translations—

*Italian.* Tractato delle piu maravigliose cosse e piu notabili, che si trovano in le parte del mondo vedute . . . del cavalier J. da Mandavilla. Milano, 1480, 4to; Bologna, 1488, 4to; Venezia, 1491, 4to; Firenze, 1492, 4to; Venezia, 1496, 4to; Milano, 1497, 4to; Bologna, 1497, 4to; Venetia,

1504, 4to; Venezia, 1515, 4to, and 1534, 8vo; 1537, 8vo; 1564, 8vo; 1567, 8vo.

*German.* Das buch des Ritters von Montevilla. Augspurg, 1481, fol., with wood-cuts; and 1482. fol., with wood-cuts. This translation is by Michelfelser.

Johannes von Montevilla, Ritter, Strassburg, 1484, folio, with wood-cuts; translated by Otto von Demeringen. Also 1488, 4to; 1499, fol., with wood-cuts; 1501, with wood-cuts; 1507, fol.

Des Ritters Johannes von Montevilla Reyss und Wanderschaft durch das gelobte Landt, Indien und Persien. Francof. 1580, 8vo; 1600; 1608.

The same in "Reisebuch des Heiligen Landes," etc. Franckf. 1629; fol. Th. 1, p. 759.

Des Ritters Johannes von Montevilla Curieuse Reissbeschreibung, 1690, 8vo; 1692; 1696.

*Spanish.* Valencia, 1540; fol.

*Dutch.* Antwerpen, 1494; fol.

( 18. )

FRANCESCO BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI. 1335.

Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, of Florence, made a journey into the east in the service of the Florentine Trading Company, and collected, especially in Tana (Asow), very useful accounts concerning the route of the caravans which went to China through the interior of Asia. He wrote in 1335 a work on the subject, a kind of commercial geography, remarkable for its time, bearing the title—"Libro di divisamenti di paesi et di misure di mercatanzie e d'altre cose bisognevoli di sapere a' mercatanti di diverse parti del

mondo.” This was afterwards printed from a manuscript in the Riccardi Library, at Florence, under the above title, with the false imprint “Lisboa e Lucca”, but at Florence in 1766.

It is also contained in the third volume of the work—

Della decima e delle altre gravezze imposte dal comune di Firenze, della moneta et della mercatura dei Fiorentini fino al secolo XVI. Opera di Gian Francesco Pagnini del Ventura. In Firenze, 1766, 4to, 4 vols.

Of this extract, for which the work deserves a notice here, the first chapter bears the title—“Avisamento del viaggio del Gattajo per lo cammino della Tana ad andare et tornare con mercatanzie”—which is translated in Forster’s “Gesch. d. Entd.” p. 187-189, with explanations.

Franz Balducci Pergoletti’s Reise-Route von Asof nach Peking.

With the corresponding text of the original. In Sprengel’s “Gesch. d. geog. Entd.” p. 257, etc. With many observations and explanations.

( 19. )

LUCHINO ARIGO. 1374.

The still unpublished narrative of an expedition of the Genoese Luchino Arigo, to the Don and Caspian in 1374, is to be found in a manuscript of the beginning of the fifteenth century, bearing the title, “Itinerarium Antonii Usus Maris,” preserved in the public library of Genoa.

( 20. )

PETER SUCHENWIRT. 1377.

Peter Suchenwirt, probably of Austrian parentage, flourished between the years 1356 and 1395, and left a collection of poems, which consist partly of historical relations, partly of allegorical and didactic poems. In the first we find several poems collected, for the most part, on the spot; short indeed, but for the period to which they belong very valuable relations respecting Russian countries and regions, and for the historical occurrences which they touch upon. On this account, Suchenwirt is here deserving of a place. Two manuscripts are known of the entire collection of his poems, one of which, the Palatine, was long preserved in the Vatican, and is now deposited at Heidelberg; the other is in the Imperial Library of Vienna. They were first published by the learned Primisser, at Vienna, in 1827, under the following title—

Peter Suchenwirt's Werke, aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Zeit-und Sittengeschichte, mit einer Einleitung, historischen Bemerkungen und Wörterbuche. Wien, 1827; 8vo.

In the historical poems, Suchenwirt touches on the history, exploits, etc., of the heroes of his time, but chiefly those of his own countrymen both at home and abroad. Some of these knights-errant, and among others more particularly Friedrich von Chreutzpeck and Hans von Traunn, proceed on their various and distant campaigns into Russian countries, and both

were present at the battle of Isborsk, 1348, and at the storming of this city by the German Orders. Isborsk is here called Eysenburk and Eysenwurch, and receives the appellation of *die gehewer*, or *the famous*.

That which we have more especially to refer to occurs in the fourth poem of Suchenwirt's work, which bears the inscription, "Von Herzog Albrecht's Ritterschaft". In 1377, the young duke Albrecht III, son of Albrecht II, of Austria, undertook, in company with many nobles, an expedition to Prussia, in which Suchenwirt attended him as officer of the court (*hofdiener*), *that thence he might be able, from personal observation, to describe the countries through which they passed*. The soldiers of Duke Albrecht advanced from Insterburg, in Prussia, at the same time with the German Orders, towards the Samaiten (Samogitia), and penetrated from thence into the Russian territories, which, in later times, under Polish rule, was called Black Russia. Suchenwirt relates, v. 360, etc.

"Des dritten tages chom daz her  
Vroleich in ein ander lant  
Daz waz Russenia genannt,  
Da sach man wuhsten prennen,  
Slahen, schiezzen und rennen,  
Haid ein, pusch ein, unverzagt," etc.

Afterwards, at verse 427, etc., we are told—

"Daz her wuchst drew gantze lant  
Die ich mit namen tue bechannt;  
Sameyt, Russein, Aragel.  
Wint, regen und der hagel  
Begraif uns da mit grozzen vrost,  
Da fault uns harnasch und die chost," etc.

The crusaders then returned (v. 441), and hastened towards Memel (“und eylten zu der Mymmel,”), making their way through a trackless country, and experiencing many discomforts on account of the bad weather. They passed through, v. 473, etc.—

“Ein Wildung heist der grauden,  
Gen westen noch gen sauden  
So poz gevert ich nye gerayt,  
Daz sprich ich wol auf meyn ayt,” etc.

They then reached Königsberg, of which it is said, v. 483—

“Tzu Chunigezperch so waz uns gach  
Do het wir rue und gut gemach.”

The three districts here introduced, Russein, Aragel, and Grauden, Primisser explains by White Russia, Carelia, and Graudenz. These districts, however, are so far distant from Insterburg, the point from which the army of the Orders started, and so remote from each other, that this supposition is exceedingly improbable. The following explanation would appear to be more natural, whereby the accuracy and truthfulness of Suchenwirt, in his names of districts, places, and rivers, are more clearly established. The army of the Orders proceeded from Insterburg into Samogitia, penetrated on the third day into Russenia, *i. e.*, Black Russia, the district of Novogrodek in the modern government of Grodno, on the Upper Niemen, laid waste a portion of this province and of Aragel, pushed on to Memel, and then retreated through the waste of Graudenz into the country of the Orders; when Suchenwirt, in consequence of fatigue, stayed behind



at Königsberg. Aragel, according to Schlözer, in his "Geschichte von Litthauen", is the Germanised name of the Lithuanian province Aragola, or Aragallen, and the waste of Grauden is the district on the Niemen, north-west of Grodno, which city is well known to lie on the Niemen, and at that time was well built. The country lying thence north-west towards the Prussian boundary is still little known in our times, and might easily have been designated a waste by Suchenwirt. Such an expedition, from Insterburg through Samogitia to the district of Novogrodock, and from thence to the Niemen through Grodno, back to the Prussian boundary, could be well accomplished in a short time.

Finally, the observation has still to be made, that Suchenwirt appears to have known the diversity of the Russian countries mentioned by him. The most remote north-eastern Russia to which the Livonian expedition went, he calls White Russia (Weizzen Reuzzen). Isborsk lies in White Russia (s. xviii, v. 205 and 506). The Russian districts, which in a strict sense form the frontier of Lithuania, he calls Russenia, or Russein (s. vi, v. 362 and 429); they comprise the territories subsequently called Black Russia. Red Russia, on the other hand, or those Russian districts which first came under Polish rule, which lay nearest to our poet's description, and hence the best known to him, he simply calls Russia (Reuzzen).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following note, bearing reference to this narrative, is given by Price in his edition of Warton's "History of English Poetry,"

( 21. )

JOHANN VON SCHILDBERGER. 1394.

Johann von Schildberger, born in Munich, accompanied the army of King Sigismund of Hungary, in 1394, against the Turks; but in the following year was taken prisoner at the battle of Nicopolis by the Turks, and by order of Bajazet I (or, as he names

1824, vol. ii, p. 167, and is inserted here from its interesting connexion with a portion of our own history:—

“ A curious collection of German poems, evidently compiled from these heraldic registers, has recently been discovered in the library of Prince Sinzendorf. The reader will find an account of them and their author, Peter Suchenwirt (who lived at the close of the fourteenth century), in the fourteenth volume of the Vienna Annals of Literature.—*Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Wien, 1814 [1821]. They are noticed here for their occasional mention of English affairs. The life of Burkhard v. Ellerbach recounts the victory gained by the English at the battle of Cressy; in which this terror of Prussian and Saracen infidels was left for dead on the field, ‘ the blood and the grass, the green and the red, being so completely mingled in one mass,’ that no one perceived him.—Friedrich v. Chreuzpeckh served in Scotland, England, and Ireland. In the latter country he joined an army of 60,000 (!) men, about to form the siege of a town called Trachtal (?); but the army broke up without an engagement. On his return from thence to England, the fleet in which he sailed fell in with a Spanish squadron, and destroyed or captured six-and-twenty of the enemy. These events occurred between the years 1332-36.—Albrecht v. Nürnberg followed Edward III into Scotland, and appears to have been engaged in the battle of Halidown-hill. But the ‘errant-knight’ most intimately connected with England was Hans v. Traun. He joined the banner of Edward III at the siege of Calais, during which he was engaged in cutting off some supplies sent by sea for the relief of the besieged. He does ample justice to the valour and heroic resistance of the garrison, who did not surrender till their stock of leather, rope, and similar materials—which had long been

him, Weyasit), was sent into Asia. On the overthrow of Bajazet by Timur, he fell into the hands of the latter, whom he attended in all his expeditions until his death in 1405. Thus Schildberger passed from one master to another, and traversed in his wanderings Georgia, Persia, and the whole of Tartary, of which he relates many wonderful things.

their only food—was exhausted. Rats were sold at a crown each. In the year 1356 he attended the Black Prince in the campaign which preceded the battle of Poitiers; and on the morning of that eventful fight, Prince Edward honoured him with the important charge of bearing the English standard. The battle is described with considerable animation. The hostile armies advanced on foot, the archers forming the vanguard. ‘This was not a time,’ says the poet, ‘for the interchange of chivalric civilities, for friendly greetings, and cordial love: no man asked his fellow for a violet or a rose; and many a hero, like the ostrich, was obliged to digest both iron and steel, or to overcome, in death, the sensations inflicted by the spear and the javelin. The field resounded with the clash of swords, clubs, and battle-axes, and with shouts of *Nater Dam* and *Sand Jors*.’ But von Traun, mindful of the trust reposed in him, rushed forward to encounter the standard-bearer of France. ‘He drove his spear through the vizor of his adversary: the enemy’s banner sunk to the earth never to rise again. Von Traun planted his foot upon its staff, when the King of France was made captive, and the battle was won.’ For his gallantry displayed on this day, Edward granted him a pension of a hundred marks. He is afterwards mentioned as being intrusted by Edward III with the defence of Calais during a ten weeks’ siege; and, at a subsequent period, as crossing the channel, and capturing a (French?) ship, which he brought into an English port, and presented to Edward.—It is to be hoped these poems will be published.—[They were published three years afterwards, as above mentioned, but this fact is not noticed in the last edition of Warton published in 1840.]—The slight analysis of their contents given by Mr. Primisser, and on which this note is founded, is just sufficient to excite, without gratifying, curiosity.”

He returned by Constantinople, Lemberg, and Cra-cow, to Munich, his native city, in 1427, after an absence of thirty-two years.

Schildberger was a man entirely destitute of education, and consequently was ill able to describe the wonders of the countries he passed through. By whom the German narrative of his travels was composed, we know not; probably he had a friend, to whom he dictated it from memory on his return. His work, notwithstanding many disfigurements and false accounts, is still important, more particularly for the later epoch of the Chanat of the Golden Horde, and well deserves a critical revision and explanation.

Schildberger's journal of travels appears in the following editions—

Hie vachet an d'Schildberger der vil wonders erfahren hatt in der heydenschafft vnd in d' Turkey. Without place or date. (Perhaps Ulm, 1477.) Fol. With wood-cuts.

Frankf. a. M., 1549, 4to. In somewhat different orthography.

Ein wunderbarlich history wie Schildberger aus München von den Türken in die heydenschafft geführet und wieder heimgekommen ist. Nürnberg (no date), 4to.

Eine wunderbarliche und kürtzweylige Histori wie Schildberger einer aus der Stadt München in Bayern von der Türken gefangen inn die haydenschafft gefüret und wider heym gekommen. Item, was sich für Krieg, vund wunderbarlicher thaten dieweyl er in die haydenschafft gewesen zugetragen gantz kürtzweylig zu lesen. Frankfurt, durch Wigand Hanen Erben (about 1554), 8vo.

Magdeburg, 1606, 8vo.

Johan Schildberger's Reise in den Orient und wunderbare

Begebenheiten. Von ihm selbst beschrieben. Aus einer alten Handschrift übersetzt und herausgegeben von A. J. Penzel. München, 1814, 8vo. Modernised and without explanations.

Extracts from Schildberger's travels. By Witsen; p. 132.

Forster gives a review of these travels, th. i, p. 245-253, and Sprengel, p. 367-370.

( 22. )

JOSAFÀ BARBARO. 1436.

Josafà, or properly Giosafat Barbaro, descended from a noble Venetian family, went, in 1436, as ambassador for his republic, and probably also as a merchant, to Tana, the modern Azov, which then belonged to the Genoese, and was the most celebrated market for Chinese and Indian merchandize. He tarried sixteen years in the Crimea, through which he travelled, partly by land, partly by water, and thereby gained the interior, with the view of collecting as accurate accounts as possible of the Tatars. In the last two chapters, he speaks particularly of Russia and the Tatar countries, which lie between the south and east. In 1471, he undertook a journey into Persia, in the service of his native city, to Ussum Kassan, —or, as he calls him, Assambeï,—in order to support him with military stores and advice, in the war against the Turks, so as to weaken them in their attempts against Venice. He finally returned to his native country in 1479, and first wrote eight years afterwards, in 1487, as he says himself, both his journeys, that he might be enabled to mention that

Russians had subdued Kasan and Novogorod. Barbaro died in Venice, 1494, at an advanced age.

The first of Barbaro's travels alone concerns us here. A very full and annotated extract of it will be found in Forster's "Gesch. d. geogr. Entdeck. und Schiff. im Norden," p. 203-217; as well as in Beckmann's "Liter. der älter Reisebeschreib.," th. 1, p. 165-192. Here also we should especially mention the extract found under the title "Giosofat Barbaro", in Zurla's work, "Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori Veneziani piu illustri," vol. ii, p. 205-229.

Barbaro, on the whole, shows himself to have been a well-informed and careful observer; this must have drawn much attention to his work on its first appearance, and it is still valuable for its important contributions towards the history of the commerce and geography of the middle ages.

For a long time it was doubtful whether Barbaro's travels appeared by themselves, or were only to be found in Manuzio, or Ramusio's travels. The latter is given by the accurate Beckmann, as his opinion, after careful investigation; but there can be no doubt now, however, that they appeared earlier in a separate form, as Mazzuchelli mentions in his "Scrittori d'Italia" (t. II, vol. i, p. 270), an edition (Venezia, 1543, small 8vo) which Zurla himself possessed; and another still (Venezia, 1545, small 8vo.) is quoted.

Viaggio di Josaphat Barbaro, Ambasciadore di Venetia, alla Tana et in Persia. In the Raccolta di Viaggi pubblicata da Antonio Manuzio, in Venezia, 1543, 8vo; 1545, small 8vo. Apud Aldum.

Josafa Barbaro gentiluomo Veneziano, il qual fece due Viaggi, l'uno alla Tana, et l'altro in Persia, ne' quali son descritti i nomi di molte città della Persia, molte particolarità della Tartaria, e del Cataio, con la guerra che Vssumcassan fece con Pangratio Rè di Zorzania.

Also, the Crimea travels, with the following title—

Di Messer Josafa Barbaro, Gentiluomo Venetiano, il Viaggio della Tana. In the Raccolta di Ramusio, vol. ii, p. 91A-98; as also in a Lettera dello stesso Giosafat Barbaro scritta al R. Monsignor Piero Barocci Vescovo di Padova, nella qual si describe l'erba del Baltracan, che usano i Tartari per lor vivere; which is wanting in Manuzio's work.

A detailed description of the Viaggio alla Tana, taken from Beckmann, but given with full acknowledgment, is found in Zurla's Marco Polo, vol. ii, p. 207-212; and a Latin extract from the journey to Persia, in J. de Laet's "Persia seu regni Persici status", ed. sec. Lugd. Bat., 1647, 24mo, p. 207-221. Barbaro has been translated into the Latin and Russian only.

The Latin version, which has the character of not being very faithfully rendered, is by Jacob Geuder von Herolzberg, and is included in Pietro Bizari's "Rerum Persicarum historia." Francof. 1601; fol.

This is also reprinted verbatim in "Georgii Hornii Ulysea." Francof. et Lips., 1671; 12mo.

The travels, "alla Tana", were translated into Russian from the text of Ramusio by Vasiley Semenov', under the title—

Puteshestvie v' Tanu Josafata Barbaro, Venetsianskago

dvoryanina. *Perevod' c' Italianskago V. S.*, printed with the Italian original in his *Biblioteka Inostrannuikh' Pisatelei o Rossy*. Part 1, tom. i. St. Petersburg, 1836; 8vo., p. vi-xvi, and 1-156.

( 23. )

NICOLAUS CUSANUS. ABOUT 1450.

Niclas Krebs, of Cusa, a small village on the Moselle, in Trèves, was born of very poor parents in 1401. He became an ecclesiastic at an early age, and, according to the custom of his time, took the name of Cusanus from his birth-place; he raised himself through his learning and abilities to the highest dignity in the church, and died at Rome in 1464, as cardinal and governor of that city. Herberstein reckons him among the writers who have treated of Russia, and hence he must not be passed over here; there is no work of the kind, however, bearing his name, known; and even in the large collection of his works published at Basil, 1565, in 3 vols., fol., nothing is to be found respecting Russia.

Adelung suggests, however, that as Cusanus had been employed by Pope Eugene IV, to effect a union between the Greek and Roman churches, he made, on that account, a journey to Constantinople, and may on that occasion possibly have written something respecting Russia; and to such manuscript accounts of the constitution of the Greek church, or other such work, which may have been since lost, Herberstein may have made allusion. At the same time, it is possible, as Adelung himself suggests, that he only



referred to the “*Tabula Cusani*”, a map of Germany, now unknown, but of which Sebastian Münster wrote an explanatory description. From this work of Münster’s, which is to be found in the “*Rerum Germanicarum Scriptorum*” of Schardius, tom. i, it is evident that Russia was included in the map, as the work contains a short notice of that country.

Upon this subject the Editor of this translation has been favoured by Prince Lobanoff (editor of the famous “*Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart*”), with evidence confirmatory of the belief, that it is De Cusa’s map alone to which Herberstein alludes. This evidence exists in the preface to a work anterior to Herberstein, viz., the German translation of Miechov’s “*Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis*”; a copy of which, though of extreme rarity, and unknown to Adelung, Ebert, and the other bibliographers, is in the Prince’s possession. It bears the following title—

*Tractat von baiden Sarmatien und andern austossenden Landen, in Asia und Europa, von sitten und gepräuchen der vöcker so darinnen wonen. Ain anders vō den landen Scithia und den iñwonern des selben lands, genannt Cairchassi. Vast wunderparlich zu hören; goth. 34 feuillets in 4to. Augsburg, 1518.*

The second part is a translation of G. Interiano’s work.

The translation is made by Johann Mair von Eckh, as is shewn by the preface, an extract from which Prince Lobanoff has obligingly transcribed for the Editor, and is given in the note below.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dem erbern unnd vesten herrn Jacoben Fugger, Rö Kay.

A collation of the passage in italics, with what Herberstein says in his preface addressed to the Emperor Ferdinand, shews it to be highly probable that a map of Cusanus was all that was alluded to by Herberstein. This opinion, Prince Lobanoff reasonably suggests, is still further strengthened by the fact, that Herberstein, in mentioning Cusanus, Paulus Jovius, T. Fabri, and A. Bied or Wied, says, “*cum tabulas, tum commentarios reliquerint.*” Now we are acquainted with the works of Paulus Jovius and of Fabri, so that the question of maps can only apply to Cusanus or to A. Weid.

( 24. )

GIORGIO INTERIANO. AFTER 1450.

Giorgio Interiano, of Genoa, styled by Politian “*magnus naturalium rerum investigator*”, went into

May. u. Radt, meinem günstigen lieben herren. Empent ich Johaṅ Mair von Eckh doctor, etc. Mein freuntlich willig dienst. Als ich doctor Mathis von Miechaw büchlin darinn er die völker gegen mitternacht, zu ern dem hochwirdigen fürsten uñ herren herrn. Stanislaw Turssso Bischove zu Olmitz meinem genädigen herren, weyt und wol beschriben von euch empfangen, hab ich das mit höchster begierd überlesen. Unnd in anschung das bemelter doctor Mathis von Miechaw, in poln anhaym, und seiner beschreibung mer weder andern lateinischen oder Kriechischen schreiben, die solche lanndt nye gesehen, auch von andern Nationen von wegen irer rauhen und groben art, mit streyt und Kriegen nit geöffnet, zu gelauben ist, *Wie wol der hochwirdig fürst und herr herr Nicolaus Cusa, der geleerten teutschen Kron, in ainem Mäpplin von disen länden vil auzaigt.* Bin ich bewegt Euwer ernnste zu gefallen solch püchlin auss dem latein in teutsch zu transferiern. Wölliches ich dann in Kurtzen tagen mit der eyl gethon und daselbig Euwer ernnste hyemit zusende. . . .

Circassia in the fifteenth century, and on his return described the country and its inhabitants in a very simple treatise. He says in his letter to Aldus (in Ramusio, ii, 196), that many years before (*da più anni in quà*), he had seen the land of the Tscherkesses; he must consequently have visited the western Caucasus in the beginning of the second half of the fifteenth century.

His little work on the Tscherkesses, whom he calls Zychi,<sup>1</sup> appeared under the title—

La vita: & sito di Zichi, chiamiti ciarcassi: historia notabile. Venetiis, apud Aldum Manutium, 1502; 8vo.

A translation of this into German forms the second part of the rare work above quoted, under the article “Nicolaus Cusanus”, as in the possession of Prince Lobanoff.

This Aldine edition is of extreme rarity.

It is reprinted in the collection of Ramusio, vol. ii, fol. 196.

The Marchese Girolamo Serra, in his “Storia dell’ antica Liguria e di Genova” (Torino, 1834, 4to., vol. iv, page 234), calls Interiano, “un uom saggio, piacevole, amatore delle lettere, peritissimo in geografia, e ricercatore instancabile di lontani paesi, chi fù il primo a far conoscere i costumi de’ Zichi e Circassi.”

<sup>1</sup> Called by Strabo and Pliny, Zygi; by the Greeks, Ζυγοι. The word Zichu, or as some write it, Dsich, in Circassian means “a man”.

( 25. )

ÆNEAS SYLVIUS. 1454.

Æneas Sylvius Bartholomæus Piccolomini, who at a later period (1458) received the papal tiara under the name of Pius II, attained in 1450 the rank of cardinal, and as such was employed on various diplomatic embassies by the emperor Frederick III. In the same capacity he was once sent into Prussia, on the affairs of the Holy See, and had then an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Poles and Lithuanians. This embassy supplied him with the means of gaining materials for his work, "De Polonia, Lithuania et Prussia sive Borussia", which is printed in the first volume of the collection, entitled, "Joan. Pistorii Polonicæ historiæ corpus, hoc est Polonicarum rerum Latini, recentiores et veteres scriptores, quotquot extant." Basil. 1582, fol. A considerable portion of the second section of this work is translated in the journal, "Sendungen der Kurländischen Gesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst" (vol. ii, p. 4), in the memoir, "Ueber einige religiöse Gebräuche der alten Letten, von Watson," in which Æneas Sylvius relates many remarkable circumstances respecting the superstitions of the ancient Lithuanians, their veneration of serpents, their fire-worship, and the oracle connected with it, their adoration of the sun, and of a great hammer by which they once delivered from captivity the signs of the zodiac, as also respecting their sacred groves, etc.

( 26. )

AMBROGIO CONTARINI. 1473.

Ambrogio Contarini, descended from one of the most ancient and distinguished patrician families of the Venetian republic, was, like Giosafat Barbaro already mentioned, sent by his government as ambassador to Persia, to incite Ussumcassan to make war against Mahomet II. With a very unostentatious retinue, consisting of only four persons, he set out on the 23rd of February 1473, and proceeded by land, on account of the war, through Germany, Poland, and the Crimea, to Ispahan, where the Persian monarch then resided, and where he met with his countryman Barbaro. He returned through Georgia, Mingrelia, Derbent, Astrachan, Resen, and Moscow, at which last place he arrived on the 26th of September 1476, through the assistance and in the company of a Russian ambassador named Marco Rosso, who was likewise returning from Persia, and thence made his way back through Poland and Germany, arriving at Venice on the 21st of January.

Contarini's work contains a circumstantial journal of all that he saw from the 24th of February 1474, to the 10th of April 1477, but still more of the misfortunes that happened to himself and his attendants; owing, however, to the disturbed state of the times and unfavourable circumstances, it is not nearly so copious as that of Barbaro.

The eighth chapter of his work contains many interesting statements with regard to Russia. On the

26th of September 1476, Contarini came to Moscow, where he presented himself to the grand-prince, Ivan Vasileivich III (“il Duca Zuanne, Signor della gran Rossia bianca”), was well received, and astonished at the magnificence of the court. He describes the situation and architecture of Moscow, speaks of the cold there, of the trade in sables, ermines, fox-skins, badger-skins, lynx-skins, and those of other animals, which were brought thither from the farthest north, and makes some observations on the manners and mode of life of the Russians. Contarini quitted Moscow on the 24th of January 1477, and continuing his journey on sledges<sup>1</sup> through Novogorod, made his way homeward.

Copious accounts of Contarini and his travels will farther be found in—

Beckmann’s *Liter. d. ält. Reisebeschr.*, i, 193-198.

Zurla di Marco Polo, etc., vol. ii, p. 230-235.

Editions of Contarini’s travels—

Questo e el viazo de misier Ambrosio contarin ambassador de la illustrissima signoria de Venesia al signor Vxuncassam Re de Persia. *Impressum Venetia per Hannibalem Fosium parmensem anno 1487; 4to.*

This first edition is very rare.

*Itinerario del magnifico e clariss. Ambrosio Contarini,*

<sup>1</sup> His words are:—“Li detti Sani sono quasi à modo di una casa, et con un cavallo davanti si strascinano, et sono solo per i tempi del ghiaccio, et à ciascuno conviene haver il suo. In questi sani vi si siede dentro, con quanti panni si vuole, et si governa il cavallo, et fanno grandissimo cammino, et portansi anche dentro tutte le vettovaglie, et ogn’ altra cosa necessaria.”

mandato (da Venetia) nel anno 1472 ad Usuncassan Re di Persia. Vineggia, 1523; 4to.

Viaggio del Ambrosio Contarini, Ambasciadore di Venetia ad Ussuncassan, Rè di Persia. In Raccolta de' Viaggi pubblicata da Antonio Manuzzi. In Venezia, 1545, 8vo.

Il Magnifico Ambrosio Contarini gentilhuomo Venetiano, che mandato ambasciadore dall' Illustrissima Signoria di Venetia ad Vssuncassan Rè di Persia, scrive il suo viaggio molto particolarmente, et describe li siti della città, i costumi, et stati, non solo de' popoli Persiani, ma anco di molte altre provincie, per le quali passò nel suo viaggio. In Raccolta di Ramusio, vol. ii, fol., 112A-125A.

Contarini's travels are translated into Latin, French, Russian, and Polish.

*Latin*, by Jacob Geuder von Gerolzberg, in Bizari's *Rerum Persicarum historia*. Francof., 1601; fol.

A Latin extract from these travels will be found in De Laet's "Persia", p. 220.

*French*. *Voyage de Perse, par Ambroise Contareni, Ambassadeur de la République de Venise en ce Royaume là, en l'année MCCCCLXXIII. Décrit par lui même.* In Bergeron's "Recueil de divers Voyages curieux faits en Tartarie, en Perse et ailleurs," etc. Amsterdam, 1724; 4to., vol. ii.

*Polish*, in an extract, viz., Contarini's travels through Poland. In Skarbiec, *Historii polskiej przez Karola Sienkiewicza*; 4 vols. Paris, 1839; 8vo.

( 27. )

NICLAUS POPPEL. 1486-1489.

Niclaus Poppel, whose birth-place is unknown, was sent by the Emperor Frederick III on two embassies to the court of Russia: the first in 1486, the

second in 1489. Adelung received the information which he has been able to supply respecting this traveller from Mr. F. G. Müller, keeper of the Russian Imperial Archives, which contain partial accounts of both these embassies. It is easy, says Adelung, to perceive that Poppel, the first time as well as the second, had been furnished with a letter from his emperor to the grand-prince, but that at Moscow the validity of the first letter was doubted. The Boyars had expressed their suspicion, that Poppel might have written the letter himself, and that he had been despatched by the king of Poland to operate for the advantage of the latter with the grand-prince. Poppel thereupon proposed, that the grand-prince should send an ambassador with him to the emperor, to testify to his innocence. It would appear that some one had really been sent to Vienna, but confirmatory accounts to this effect are wanting. In any case, we may take it, that Poppel's first embassy to the grand-prince was not particularly well received; and hence it may have happened, that neither the original, nor a copy, nor a translation of the first imperial letter, is to be found among the archives.

Poppel's second embassy, says Müller, had with it a peculiarity which tended in some measure to protect him from the suspicions to which he had been exposed in the first. It had for its object, among other things, to propose that a strict alliance should be entered into between the two courts to support each other against their enemies. The imperial letter, dated from Ulm, the 26th of December 1488, is



not indeed to be found ; but we have the proposals of the ambassador, and what he received in answer, carefully protooled, after he had been three times admitted to audience with the grand-prince. From these we learn that Poppel, at his own request, was allowed to hold his third audience with this prince in private, and without an interpreter. From this latter fact, we may conclude that he was of Slavonic descent.

Poppel, at his first audience, sought above all to gain the favour of the grand-prince and his Boyars ; informing them, that upon his return from his first journey, he had been asked by the emperor (whom he had met at Nurnberg) and by all the princes to give them information concerning the kingdom of Russia, of which but little was then known in Germany. He also informed them, that he had had an opportunity, and had availed himself of it, to make them acquainted with the general state of Russia, from his own observation, and had described the almost boundless extent of the countries and nations subject to its sovereign, on whose power, riches, and wisdom, he had been able to speak as an eye-witness.

His second object was to justify himself against the suspicions which the Boyars entertained, that he was not really an ambassador from the emperor, but that he assumed that name and title as an emissary from the king of Poland. "People," he says, "have believed, that I have prepared the imperial letter myself, and have desired that I should write something, that it may be compared with that letter ;

while I, on the other hand, requested that an ambassador should be sent with me to the emperor. That was done,<sup>1</sup> and I trust that now you will place more confidence in my integrity.”

Hereupon he brought forward his proposals, and begged that they might be kept secret. The first point was, if the grand-prince were not indisposed, to unite in wedlock one of his princesses to the margrave Albert of Baden, the emperor's sister's son; the emperor in that case would forward the matter, and enter into an alliance of love and friendship with the grand-prince.<sup>2</sup> Such an unexpected desire demanded consideration: the grand-prince sent answer to the ambassador, through the diak Feodor Kirizin, that he would explain himself thereupon through a special ambassador.

Poppel, at his second audience, expressed a wish to be allowed to see the princess who was desired in marriage for the margrave of Baden: to which he received for answer,—“that it was not the custom in Russia to let the daughter be seen before the befitting time.”

Poppel now begged a third audience, at which he stated, that he had understood that an ambassador

<sup>1</sup> The ambassador sent by the grand-prince with Poppel was Jurj Trachaniota, or, as Müller calls him, Trachaniotton, the well-known Greek, who had arrived in Russia on the marriage of the grand-prince with the Greek princess Sophia, and was frequently employed in affairs demanding talent and subtlety.—*Adelung's note.*

<sup>2</sup> Müller on this observes:—“Thus at this time they sought to strengthen the power of the German empire by an alliance with Russia, notwithstanding the remoteness of these countries, a fact of which history gives many proofs.”—*Adelung's note.*

had been despatched to the pope from the grand-prince, with a request that the latter might have the title of King of Russia bestowed upon him ; but as it was not in the power of the pope, but of the emperor alone, to name kings, princes, and knights, he (Poppel) would interest himself with the emperor to gain him such title, since that was his wish ; but that in such case the matter must be kept very secret, and that the king of Poland must know nothing about it. To this proposal, the grand-prince gave the ambassador for answer, “ that he was, through God’s grace, sovereign of his own countries from the beginning and by right of his ancestors, and held his station from God, and prayed to God that it might be so preserved to him and his children ; and as in times past he had never desired the nomination of any other power, so neither did he then.”

Poppel quitted Moscow in March 1489, and took his way home through Sweden and Denmark, in which countries also he had commissions from the emperor.

The account of his travels is probably still to be found among the imperial archives of Vienna.

See also respecting Poppel: Hormayr’s “ Archiv für Geographie,” etc. Wien, 1819; No. 47.

( 28. )

GEORG VON THURN. 1490-1492.

Georg von Thurn was sent by Maximilian, king of the Romans, as ambassador to Moscow, where he arrived on the 10th of July 1490, and was received

with many proofs of honour. A few days after his arrival, he was admitted to an audience with the grand-prince, and, what until then had been very unusual, also with the grand-princess Sophia. He stated the wish of Maximilian to enter into closer alliance with the grand-prince, and at the same time to marry a daughter of the latter; and begged, in the event of this request being favourably received, to be allowed to see the princess, and to be informed what would be the amount of her dowry. With respect to religion, she should be entirely free; and it would be permitted her to have a Greek church and its priests. To this the ambassador received for answer, that it was not the custom in Russia to set out the princesses for show, and moreover, that it was unheard of among great monarchs, to fix the dowry prior to marriage; after marriage, the grand-prince would certainly endow his daughter proportionately to her rank. On the point of religion, the ambassador was desired to give a letter of assurance; but to the drawing up of this, he did not consider himself authorized.

Thurn was more fortunate than his predecessor in concluding an alliance between the grand-prince and Maximilian,—the first which had been effected between the Russian and Austrian courts. The letter which Ivan III sent to his new ally on that occasion, and which he had previously confirmed by kissing the cross, no longer exists in the original, but only in a cotemporaneous copy, preserved among the archives at Moscow.

The ambassador, as a proof of the satisfaction of

the grand-prince, received from him presents, which for that time must be regarded as extremely handsome, viz., a gold chain with a cross, an ermine mantle covered with satin worked in gold, and a pair of silver-gilt spurs.

Thurn left Moscow on the 19th of August 1490, in company with Trachaniota, already mentioned, and the diak Vasiley Kuleschin, who came with a duplicate of the document prepared by Ivan, to have it signed by Maximilian. They arrived on St. George's day, 1491, at Nuremberg, where a diet was then being held, and where the treaty of alliance was signed on the part of Maximilian. Of this official document neither the original nor a copy could be found by Müller at Moscow, but only a cotemporaneous Russian translation of it.

In November of the same year, Thurn was sent for a second time to Moscow, where he arrived on the 20th, and was admitted to an audience on the 26th. He conveyed his master's excuses for breaking off the union which he had previously wished for with a daughter of the grand-prince. He was instructed to state that a rumour had spread in Germany during his first absence, that he had been lost at sea. Maximilian had, thereupon, believed that his marriage proposals had not been mentioned; and hence, by the advice of his father and the princes of the kingdom, he had betrothed himself to the princess Anne of Brittany, through which circumstance the whole matter was at an end.

The ambassador then came to the subject of the

alliance which had been concluded between the two monarchs, and which had been confirmed by Maximilian with an oath in the presence of the Russian deputies, and now begged that the grand-prince would do the same in his presence on his side. This ceremony was performed without demur, by the kissing of the cross.

Thurn, after having thus successfully carried out all the instructions of his court, returned to Germany on the 12th of April 1492.

The narrative of this embassy is to be found among the imperial archives of Vienna.

Respecting Georg von Thurn, the reader may consult Hormayr's "Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats und Kriegskunst". Wien, 1819; No. 47.

( 29. )

MICHAEL SNUPS. 1492.

In the year 1492 an Austrian embassy appeared at Moscow of altogether a novel character, namely, one professing to have for its object the advancement of knowledge and science. The archduke Sigismund, who took especial interest in collecting accounts of foreign countries and nations, despatched from Innspruck, where he then held his court, an able man to Moscow, and provided him with letters to the grand-prince from himself and from his nephew Maximilian, king of the Romans. This traveller was Michael Snups, whose name is only known to us through the Russian archives; he was charged to make himself

acquainted with this and other countries of Europe but little known at that period, and for this purpose was required to learn the Russian language. The archduke had especially begged permission for him to travel into the interior of the kingdom, and even to venture as far as the Obi.

It was not found advisable in Moscow, however, through the general distrust of foreigners which still prevailed there, to favour such a journey, the reason being assigned that the Obi was too distant, and the difficulties of such a journey for a foreigner much too great, as even the officers who were sent to bring the tribute of those parts had always to contend with the greatest difficulties on the road. Snups now wished to return through Turkey or Poland; but this, too, was denied him, under the pretence of the great insecurity of the journey; and nothing more remained for him than to make his return by the way he had come, namely, through Livonia and Germany. The letters in reply, which the grand-prince intrusted to him for Maximilian, are dated the 5th of January 1493, and copies of them exist among the archives at Moscow.

The original of Michael Snups' narrative of his travels is probably still to be found in Innsbruck or Vienna.

( 30. )

JUSTUS KANTINGER. 1504.

After the battle against the Livonians, near Pleskov', on the 7th of September 1501, which

proved so disastrous to the Russian army, the emperor Maximilian despatched an ambassador, named Justus Kantinger, to the grand-prince Ivan Vasileivich, to express, though somewhat tardily, his sympathy, and to offer his assistance. This, at least, was the official purport of his embassy; while at the same time he was to make himself particularly acquainted with the position of the grand-prince, and the state of affairs in Russia. The emperor's letter is dated from Augsburg, the 6th of August 1502. In another confidential letter of the 12th of August, of which Kantinger, here called the Imperial Falconer, was also the bearer, the Emperor begged to have some white falcons (kretschaty) sent to him by this messenger. The grand-prince answered the first despatch in a very long and courteous letter. In a second letter he informs the emperor that he had sent him five falcons, which, for caution and on account of their great value, he had forwarded by an officer of rank, named Michaila Klepik Jeropkin.

In the following year Kantinger was sent a second time into Russia. On this occasion, however, he went, for some unknown reason, to Narva only; and from this place sent, through the medium of the governor of Ivanogorod, a letter of the emperor Maximilian's, dated at Costnitz, the 6th of March 1505, addressed to the grand-prince; and another from the emperor's son, King Philip of Castile, from Brussels, dated the 13th of October 1504, to the grand-prince and his son Vasiley Ivanovich. The principal object of these letters was the liberation of certain distinguished



Livonian prisoners of war, who, as German knights, were under the Imperial protection. These letters came to Moscow on the 16th of June, and the answer of the grand-prince reached Kantinger at Narva, on the 19th of the same month, on which day he returned for Germany. In the superscription of the letter of King Philip, the grand-prince as well as his son was addressed by the title of czar, an honour now for the first time paid to the princes of Russia by the Imperial court.

Kantinger's account of his two journeys must still, without doubt, be preserved among the Imperial archives at Vienna.

( 31. )

SIGISMUND BARON VON HERBERSTEIN.

1517-26.

Next to Justus Kantinger in chronological rotation, comes the author of the "Commentarii" which we now for the first time present to the reader in an English dress. His biography, as has been already stated, has been minutely elaborated by Adelung, in an octavo volume published in St. Petersburg in 1818. Apart from the results of much learned investigation by Adelung himself, he mentions the following works as supplying him with the principal materials of his information:—

1. An autobiography of our traveller, published in Vienna, 1560, folio, under the title, "Gratæ posteritati Sigismundus Liber Baro in Herberstain

Neyperg et Guettenhag, etc., actiones suas a puero ad annum usque ætatis suæ septuagesimum quartum, brevi commentariolo notatas reliquit." In the copy of this work in the Grenville Library, are inserted original drawings of Herberstein, in the various dresses worn by him in his several embassies, accompanied by cotemporaneous engravings from the same drawings. From one of these, the etching which forms the frontispiece of the present translation has been made. The work itself is of extreme rarity.

2. An autobiography, which was only printed so recently as 1805, at Buda, by Martin George Kovachich, in his "Sammlung kleiner noch ungedruckter Stücke, in welchen gleichzeitige Schriftsteller einzelne Abschnitte der ungarischen Geschichte aufgezeichnet haben." It bears the following title, "Mein Sigmunden Freyherrn zu Herberstain, Neyperg und Guttenhag, Raittung, und Antzaigen meines Lebens und Wesens wie hernach volgt."

3. Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstain, Neyperg, und Guttenhag, oberster Erbcamrer vnd oberster Druchsass in Kärnttn. Den Gegenwurtign vnd nach komendn Freyherrn zu Herberstain. Seines thuns dienstn vnd Raisens mit trewer vermanung sich zu tugenden vnd gueten weesn schicken Gedruckt zu Wienn in Oestereich durch Raphaeln Hoffhalter. Folio; without date or place of publication.

4. Sigmundt Freyherr zu Herberstain, Neyperg, vnd Guttenhag, Oberster Erbcamrer vnd Oberster Erbdrucksas in Kärnthn, des Röm: Kayser Ferdi-

nanden Ratt, Camrer, vnd president der Niederösterreichischen Camer. Den viertn Khayser erlebt, den Dreyen in Kriegen, Achte jn Ratn, Polschaftn hie vertzaichnet, vnd vilen andern auch geferlichen Raysn, vier vnd viertzig jar gedient. M. D. lvij in Maio; one sheet and a half, folio, without place of publication, but probably Vienna.

5. Sigismundus Liber Baro in Herberstain Neyperg et Guetenhag, Ducatus Carinthiæ Supremus Hæreditarius et Camerarius et Dapifer: Serenissimi D. Domini Ferdinandi Rom. Hungariæ et Bohemiæ Regis, Archiducis Austriæ: Ærarii Consilii præsidens. Excellentissimo Domino Henrico Lorito Glareano Patricio Claronensi Poetæ Laureato Amico suo S. D.

“This work,” says Adelung, “consisting of five folio leaves, is a strenuous attempt to vindicate the Baron von Rozzendorf, who was accused of treason; and is likewise a defence of himself from the charge brought by Poland against him, of giving the title of king to the Grand Duke of Russia. Although this appears to be the exclusive intention of the work, it contains in addition very many lights and disclosures respecting Herberstein’s public life, which we have not failed to make use of.”

Sigismund Baron von Herberstein was born on the 23rd of August 1486, in the castle of Wippach, granted to his father by the Emperor Frederick III, in the circle of Adelsberg, on a river of the same name in Carniola. His father was Leonhart, or Lienhart von Herberstein, a valiant warrior much in favour

with the emperor, whom he attended to Rome on the occasion of his coronation; and to Naples, at the celebration of his marriage. During a second progress of the emperor into Italy he received the honour of knighthood in Rome, and in his later years became governor of Adelsberg and bailiff of Wippach. Sigismund's mother was Barbara, the daughter of Niclaus Luegger, burgrave of Linz and Lueg.

Such records of the noble family of Herberstein as are indisputable ascend to the thirteenth century. Petrus Paganus speaks of it as "*familiam ultra memoriam hominum nobilem et equestris ordinis dignitate conspicuam*"; and the details of the history of this distinguished family were found sufficient to fill a thick and closely printed octavo volume, published by J. A. Kumar, in three parts; Vienna, 1817. Herberstein traces the names of his ancestors up to the middle of the thirteenth century, and relates various circumstances connected with them after the year 1400. Of the early times of his family, he relates the following droll anecdote, which may be repeated here for the sake of the practical conclusion which he draws. "I have heard," says he, "from my parents, who also had it from hearsay, that once there were seven knights who lived at Herberstein, who had only one pair of breeches amongst them. I have also been told, that nine ladies of the Herberstein family were married in the same mantle. For the certainty of this, I will not answer; but it is not improbable. It only shows

how the times are changed, for now-a-days no gentleman would be satisfied without seven pairs of breeches, and no lady without nine mantles."<sup>1</sup>

The ancient hereditary estate of this family was Herberstein, an Austrian territory with a castle, near Stubenberg, on the River Feistritz, in the circle of Grätz in Styria, which one Otto von Harperg purchased in the year 1290, and the name of which he adopted for himself and his descendants. This purchase, nevertheless, does not appear to have given rise to the family name of Herberstein. The most ancient lord of the race whom Sigismund could find bearing the name, was Hans von Herberstein, curate of Pölan about the year 1200. He mentions also a tradition, that at first they bore the name of Herulstein, from the Heruli, who waged war against Istria and Pannonia, under Odoacer, in 475.

Leonhart von Herberstein had nine children, viz., four sons, of whom Sigismund was the third, and five daughters. Herberstein himself bears witness to the

<sup>1</sup> For the amusement of the reader, we give here Herberstein's German in all its original quaintness. "Von meinen Eltern hab ich auch vernomen, die gleichwol nur von hörn sagen geredt, das sibem Ritter zu ainer zeit da zu Herberstain gewont soltn haben darunder nur ainer hosen getragen, Gleicher masse auch vernomen, das Neun Herberstainerin auss ainem Mantel verheyrat wärn. So ist mir zu meinen tagen ainer zuckumen der gesagt hat, Er wär deren ainer von den Neun die auss ainem Mantel verhayrat sein. Das setz ich auch für khain gewishait, So es aber also war als-müglich ist, So findt man daraus, wie sich das weltlich wesen verendert nach der zeit, Jetzo wil Kainer an (ohne) sibem Par hosen auch Khaine an neün Mantln zu friden oder benugig sein, So wirt vnser jtzigis weesen auch nit ewig besteen."

mutual affection of all the brothers for each other, and states that throughout their whole life they lived in the greatest harmony; he particularly speaks with the utmost gratitude of George, the eldest, as a most excellent and distinguished man, who by his advice and example had produced the most salutary influence on the formation of his youthful character. In the early years of his life, Sigismund was very delicate, and soon became so sickly that his parents despaired of human help, and made a vow to send him to the celebrated monastery of Our Lady at Loretto. His second brother Hans, who must have been at least fifteen years older than himself, accompanied him in this journey. The brothers embarked at Lovrana, a little harbour of Liburnia, and sailed for Ancona, whence they proceeded on horseback to the end of their pilgrimage. This so-called pious expedition, we are told, had the most beneficial effects; so that Sigismund, when only eight years old, was well able, after his return, to attend the school in his native town of Wippach. His parents afterwards sent him to school at Lonsbach. Here he learned German and Windisch, or Slavonic, which latter language subsequently proved of the greatest service to him, although his schoolfellows, on this account, called him a Windisch slave. Petrus Paganus, speaking upon this point, says that the people used to exhibit great animosity against their neighbours upon the subject of differences in language, and that Herberstein consequently was exposed to the frequent taunts of his school-fellows, because he, being a Ger-

man, and sprung from a German race, spoke the Slavonic language; and that he only overcame their unkind treatment by patient endurance.

In the year 1495, in the ninth year of his age, his father sent him to Gurk, in the circle of Klagenfurt, and placed him under the care of Wilhelm Weltzer, a relative by his mother's side, who was provost of the cathedral of that place. He often speaks with the greatest gratitude and satisfaction of his two years' residence with this relation; and describes him "as a true nobleman, who loved nobility, and brought up many noble children in learning and every other needful branch of education." He names also ten young noblemen, who were the companions of his studies and his games, and who shortly after by a remarkable accident were his companions in arms in his first campaign.

In 1497, Sigismund was sent to the public school at Vienna, under the care of Master George Ratzenperger, of whose integrity, goodness, and friendship, he frequently speaks, in his autobiography,<sup>1</sup> in the highest terms.

Two years after, viz. in 1499, Herberstein had the misfortune to lose his mother; shortly after which he went to the University at Vienna, where he became a student under the rector Oswald Ludwig von Weickerstorff. That he made good use of his time at Vienna under the tuition of Christoph Kalber, Paul Rockner, and also his paternal friend George Ratzenperger, is shown by the judgment of his cotemporaries, his con-

<sup>1</sup> Published by Kovachich; Ofen, 1805, 8vo.

stant love of his masters, and, more than all, by the subsequent events of his brilliant and laborious life. In the year 1502, when he was sixteen years old, after a most honourable and protracted examination, he was created by the rector Kaltenmarkter, bachelor of arts, or, as he himself calls it, half-master (*Halb-Meister*), a degree which brought down upon him from his frivolous companions many sneers and sarcastic appellations, such as doctor, student, scribe, etc. ; “ yet with all this,” says the excellent Herberstein, “ Latin and the arts have not been suffered to escape me, but I have loved them, persevered in, and profited by them,—thanks to God and my father, and especially my masters, who urged me on to these studies, and have remained faithful to me, and imparted them to me, whilst I remained at school.” And in another place he says: “ In the year 1502, I became bachelor of arts, a degree of which many are ashamed, but upon which I congratulate myself. How faithful have my masters and instructors been to me. God give them all eternal peace for their reward. Amen.”

Herberstein appears soon afterwards to have left Vienna, and to have returned to his father’s roof; and it was not long before an opportunity occurred by which to turn his various attainments to advantage, and at the same time not only to employ but to expand his intellect by his having committed to him the charge of very important business. His father sent him to the court of the Emperor Maximilian, that he might advance the interests of certain



family concerns there ; and he was also charged with similar commissions to the cities of Neustadt and Grätz. Four years were thus passed in these more private trials of his ability before we see Herberstein make his appearance in a public capacity. This period was divided between journeys, residences in the capital on the score of business, his own labours, and reading of the ancient as well as some of the modern historians. With respect to these last occupations, he himself says: "My most conscientious preceptor, Master George Ratzenperger, admonished me by no means to neglect my learning, and promised me that if I would devote at least one hour in the day to reading, it would be of great service to me. I did so, and as from time to time I studied the histories of modern writers, I remarked especially that in certain points they either from too much zeal and tendency to flattery wandered very far from the truth, or sometimes by a frivolous description detracted from the merits of good men, or attributed to others more than was just."

After this period he entered the army, and made his first campaign at the early age of twenty. It began by his accompanying his brother George to the war which Maximilian, without provocation or even the proclamation of hostilities, had commenced against Hungary, in consequence of his fear of losing his claim to the throne of that kingdom through the marriage of John Zapolski, count of Zips, with the daughter of Vladislaus, king of Hungary. This was in March 1506 ; but as peace was concluded

that same year, Herberstein had very little opportunity of distinguishing himself. In 1508, the Venetians deprived the emperor of his possessions in Friuli, Carniola, and Istria, in which latter country Herberstein's father possessed the territory of Mährenfels; and during a short armistice, he was sent in 1509 to Venice, on a diplomatic mission to recover this estate, but he was not successful in his endeavours. During his stay in Venice, he witnessed the great fire in which the celebrated arsenal was consumed. In the same year, the lower Austrian states sent a corps to the assistance of the emperor to Friuli, under Duke Erick of Brunswick. Herberstein was in this corps, and was present in different engagements. Not long after, his eldest brother sent him, with twelve horsemen and thirty-two foot soldiers, to Mitterburg, in order to garrison the place; and he undertook this charge, because, as he says in his book, nobody else would go there. In this expedition he attacked Alben, from which place the enemy, together with the faithless inhabitants, fled at his approach. "They took refuge in a church," he says; "and when the Croats asked if they should break into it, as they should take many prisoners, I replied, that one ought not to touch the house of God. For this, God afterwards rewarded me." In the same year he was present at the siege and capture of Rasburg, where he distinguished himself so much, that on the 4th of October, he was taken into the immediate service of the emperor, or, as he himself describes it, in *Cohortem Prætorianam*. In March 1510, the Vene-

tians again besieged Mitterburg, which was without means of defence and threatened with the rebellion of its own inhabitants. Herberstein was then in Mährenfels, and was asked by the commandant of Mitterburg to obtain assistance from the Duke of Brunswick; but as he could not pass through the country, he went himself to Mitterburg, where he found matters in a very bad state. The walls were already much injured by the enemy, and the inhabitants as well as the garrison were unwilling to obey the orders of the commandant, and deserted. The commandant urged Herberstein to take the command, but he would not accept it, and only consented to act conjointly with him. He succeeded in re-establishing order, and in compelling the enemy to withdraw. By this he gained great distinction from the duke, who was coming to assist the fortress, and on the road gained information of the delivery that had been effected. In this campaign he distinguished himself as much by prudence and order as by courage; and the states of Styria offered him in consequence the post of Paymaster of the Forces.

In the following year, viz., 1511, he lost his father, for whom he entertained a very warm affection, as is sufficiently shown by his writings, although it is but seldom that his parents are alluded to in them. He hastened to Wippach, in order to attend his father's funeral, from which place the body was afterwards brought to Grätz. Nothing specially worthy of remark appears to have occurred in the two following years of his life; it is probable that during that period he was occupied with family matters.

The year 1514 presents us with more that is worthy of notice. We now begin to find him invested with great honours, and raised to a position which shows the confidence reposed in him at so early an age as twenty-eight. It was a high distinction at such an age to be made standard-bearer,—an honour which he held as a glorious remembrance till his death, and was proud of leaving it, amongst many other glorious reminiscences, to his descendants. The fortress of Maran, in Friuli, was besieged by the Venetians, and the inhabitants suffered the most dreadful famine, upon which Maximilian ordered Herberstein and his brother George to raise troops in Styria in order to relieve the place, and to convey provisions into it. Herberstein repulsed the enemy on the 12th of July, and took the leader, Giovanni Vittoria, prisoner. The remembrance of this exploit must have been dear to Herberstein in his old age, as he has immortalized it in two wood-cuts. Immediately after the campaign, the emperor summoned him to Innsbruck, where the court was then held, and knighted him, as a reward for his distinguished services, and gave him a yearly salary of three hundred florins. He also gave him rank immediately below his own officers, and not long after he took him into the Imperial Council.

Even so early as the year 1515 Herberstein was employed in important diplomatic missions to the Archbishop of Salzburg; and afterwards to Ulm, Eichstatt, and Bavaria. At the end of the year, he went to Innsbruck, where the emperor then was, and re-

ceived from him an expression of his satisfaction, together with an order to remain at court, as his services would shortly be again put into requisition.

With the year 1516 really begins the great diplomatic and active career of Herberstein, as he then undertook the first journey to Russia. Before starting on this, however, he was employed on a mission, the management of which was also very difficult, and required extraordinary prudence and perseverance. Christian II of Denmark had two years before married Isabella, second daughter of Philip of Spain, a princess adorned with all the good qualities of her race; but that her lot could not be a happy one, may be judged from the character and public actions of that voluptuous tyrant. She complained to Charles of Burgundy, and to her powerful grandfather, the emperor Maximilian, of the shameful neglect she suffered on account of the ill-famed Dyveke and her mother Siegbrit, for the former of whom the king was possessed with a most infatuated affection. The queen also even complained of being personally ill-treated. The two monarchs, thus appealed to by their relative, resolved to send ambassadors to Christian, in order to remonstrate with him, and to require that he should show better treatment to his wife; and this very difficult and, in any case, ungrateful office was assigned by the emperor to Herberstein. He left the court in January 1516, and after fulfilling various commissions assigned to him by the way, came to Nykoping, where the unfortunate Queen Isabella then resided. Here he found also two ambassadors

from Charles of Spain, who were waiting for him. The king arrived shortly after, and without much delay granted Herberstein an audience, not however, as one would suppose, in the Royal Palace, but in a convent of the Cordeliers, at a short distance from Herberstein's hotel. This may probably have been caused by a suspicion of the purpose of Herberstein's mission, and a wish to avoid having witnesses to so disagreeable a conference. Indeed, the king on this occasion was told such things as he had never heard from any one before, for Herberstein's own words are, "I have told the king that he had acted unfairly, unjustly, and dishonestly, against the emperor and his friends. The king listened to me standing, and when I uttered these sharp words, I read them from a paper, that I might not say too much or too little." His majesty allowed him to conclude without interruption; and then the other ambassadors, who stood at each side of him, declared that what he had said conveyed the sentiments of their own masters also. The king must have been moved, or at least embarrassed, by the noble boldness of Herberstein, for he did not give his answer immediately, but said that he would reply on a future occasion. Soon after, Herberstein was admitted, together with the Spanish and Netherlands ambassadors, to an audience of the queen, on which occasion he received the honourable distinction of being permitted to read his address sitting, whereas the others were obliged to read their's in a kneeling posture. At length the king sent for Herberstein, and gave him a verbal answer for the

emperor, but of too evasive and vague a character to satisfy the shrewd and resolute diplomatist. He had, therefore, the courage to tell the king, that neither the emperor nor the prince of Spain expected such an answer; nor would they believe that His Majesty would set a higher value upon a low woman than upon his own conscience, the laws of God, Christian order, his own honour, and the feelings of friendship. Herberstein demanded that at least the king's answer should be written down and sealed with the king's seal, but this Christian declined to do. All that Herberstein could obtain, after long parleying, was a short and unmeaning letter from the chancellor; but it seems that the king, although his honour was insulted, could not but appreciate the straightforwardness of the honest ambassador, for he sent him, as a present, a beautiful horse with saddle and equipments complete.

On the 10th of April he returned to Germany. He found the emperor at Tannheim, in the Tyrol, whom, after having reported the result of his mission, he was obliged to follow to Constanz.

After this, in the course of the same year he was sent several times to Zurich; and finally, at the close of the year, was sent on the most important mission upon which he had yet been engaged, namely, an embassy to Moscow, which expedition had been set on foot for a twofold purpose. It has been already mentioned, that in consequence of the marriage of the daughter of Vladislas with John Zapolski, the emperor entertained fears of his claim to the throne of Hungary being set

aside, a fear which was increased by the position assumed by Sigismund, king of Poland, who had married Barbara, John Zapolski's sister. Sigismund himself likewise laid claim to some provinces in Hungary, which had not been renounced by his mother, Elizabeth of Austria, on her marriage,—the arms of which he included in his heraldic coat. The emperor, therefore, endeavoured to weaken the power of Sigismund by engaging the grand-prince of Russia in a war with that sovereign. Subsequently, however, he resorted to a different line of policy, and thought of gaining his point by bringing about marriages between his own family and that of Hungary and Poland.

One of these plans was, that Sigismund should marry Maximilian's granddaughter Bona, the daughter of John Galeozzi Sforza, Duke of Milan. With this new view, therefore, the emperor resolved upon sending an embassy to Moscow to mediate for Sigismund. Eighteen months, however, transpired, to the emperor's dissatisfaction, before the embassy started on its journey; for Christoff Rauber, bishop of Laybach, who had been appointed chief ambassador (Herberstein being only his second), made so many excuses, and, in spite of the instigations of the ambassador of Poland, who had been ordered at the same time for Moscow, and urged his speedy departure, took so long a time in preparing for his journey, that the emperor altered his plan, and charged Herberstein temporarily with the conduct of this embassy, in company with one Peter Mraxi, bailiff of Guntz. As a source of



further delay, this latter also was prevented, through a journey which he was compelled to make previous to his departure, from joining Herberstein till some time after. The emperor, who had wished to finish the whole business when in Augsburg, left that place in October, and desired Herberstein to follow him. They passed through Tyrol, Switzerland, and Brisgau, to Hagenau, from which place at last Herberstein was despatched alone to Moscow on the 14th of December.

A journey to Russia at that time naturally offered many difficulties, partly real and partly imaginary. The real ones were caused by the great distance, by the severity of the climate, surpassing in coldness that of all other European countries, the danger of passing the rivers increased at this season by the floating ice, the bad state and insecurity of the high roads, more especially at this time from the cruel war which had been carried on now for many years between Poland and Russia, by the neglect with which foreigners were then generally treated in Russia, and finally by the difficulty of making themselves clearly understood. The imaginary difficulties consisted in the imperfect knowledge and strange notions which they had of the countries to be passed through, and especially of that northern country Russia, the dreadful name of which only summoned up to the imaginations of the then uninformed inhabitants of the south, the thought of encountering Scythians and barbarians, cruelty, ice, and darkness. Any journey, therefore, to Moscow, could not fail of being regarded as a very hazardous

enterprise ; and whoever managed to avoid it congratulated himself on escaping a great danger. How many qualities then must the man have united in himself who was to keep his dignity in a country so little known and so entirely different to all the countries of Europe in manners and customs, who could gain respect for his own person and a successful result of his mission. And all these qualities were found in a rare and happy combination in Herberstein. Possessing, as he did, a noble prepossessing countenance—a countenance shewing tranquillity and dignity—a demeanour formed by travelling, and long experience in courts and by intercourse with men of all ranks, and, together with all these very rare advantages, attainments such as could rarely be found at all in statesmen of that time, including the knowledge of the Slavonic language,—Maximilian could not have made a better choice for a negotiation of so delicate a nature in a country like Russia, with a prince such as Vasiley Ivanovich, to whom already had been given the epithet of the “Courageous”. The preference given to Herberstein in this mission was perfectly justified by the result ; and although the expected effect for Poland was delayed by the deep-rooted hatred existing between the antagonist monarchs and other circumstances, his stay in Moscow was of effectual service in fastening the alliance between Maximilian and Vasiley. At Augsburg he was joined on his route by a numerous company, mostly consisting of his own attachés, and partly of ambassadors and persons of distinction returning

to Moscow. These latter were Dimitrievich Sakrevski, who had been sent by Vasiley Ivanovich to the court of Maximilian, and was now on his return to Moscow, and who must, for several reasons, have been very welcome to Herberstein ; and next, Chrisostomos Columnos, sent by Isabella Duchess of Milan, widow of John Sforza, to Poland, to bring about a marriage between her daughter Bona and Sigismund, there being now no obstacle to the marriage, his wife Barbara having recently died.

With this numerous company, then, Herberstein continued his journey through Bavaria. During the last days of December, and the early part of January of the next year, he was compelled by various embarrassments to stay for some weeks in Znaym in Moravia, at which place, his companion Petro Mraxi died. Herberstein was thus obliged to write to Vienna for further instructions. The emperor being absent, he was under the necessity of addressing himself to the imperial council, but received for answer, that as they were not aware of his previous instructions, they could not advise him in the present emergency. Herberstein, therefore, continued his journey alone, a resolution which the emperor afterwards approved of. Others, it is true, were ordered to follow him, but some excuse or another was always brought forward to delay or prevent their departure. He first went to Poland to Wilna, where Sigismund then was, and was admitted to an audience. From Wilna he could not take the shortest and ordinary route by Smolensko, on account of the insecurity

which was caused by the war, but was obliged to take a circuitous route and make a passage over many small rivers. Between Wilna and Drissa, he lost the company of the Milanese ambassador, who could not endure the severity of the climate. Near Drissa, he was exposed to a formidable trial of courage, for the passage over the Dwina was on a small strip of ice, and he was informed that not long before six hundred Russians had tried to cross on the ice, and were all drowned. Here he was again joined by the Russian ambassador. At Oepochka he was obliged to make a circuit, because it was besieged by Sigismund, although that monarch was at the same time sending messengers of peace to Moscow. He reached Novogorod on Palm Sunday, the 4th of April, and was received with every courtesy by the governor, who expressed his wish to render the stay which he hoped he would make as agreeable as possible, but his real object was of course to gain time, it being the custom immediately to write to Moscow to announce the arrival of an ambassador and obtain permission for the continuance of his journey. Herberstein was anxious to proceed, but was obliged to stay a week in that city, which was even then a place of great note. The German merchants of Novogorod were so impressed with the importance of Herberstein's journey, and regarded him as so remarkable a person, that they begged him to present them with the sledge in which he had travelled from Cracow, and suspended it in their church for a memorial. He left his own servants and horses at Novogorod, and

continued his journey with post horses to Vishni Volotchok, where he kept the feast of Easter. Thence he travelled by the river Tverza to Tver. The travellers were anxious to make their passage in a larger vessel, but could not proceed for the floating ice, which caused them great trouble in reaching the shore. On landing, they had to travel for a short time on foot, but at length found some wretched horses at a peasant's house. In the convent of St. Ilia he found a man named Michaila Schaffroff, who came to meet him with a present from the grand-prince to him and to his nephew, of two horses apiece. From this point the grand-prince undertook the entire providing of the company. Shortly before reaching Moscow, an interpreter named Gregory Istumen announced to him the arrival of a noble courtier, sent by the grand-prince to meet him, named Timofei Constantinovich Chaldeneff, and begged Herberstein to descend from his horse in order to listen standing to the greeting which was to be offered him in the name of the grand-prince. Herberstein first excused himself on the score of fatigue, and then only agreed to alight on the condition that the other should do the same at the same moment, and when, after long parleying, this was agreed to, Herberstein contrived to descend very slowly, so that he should not touch the ground before the other.

On the 18th of April he arrived at Moscow with a suite of fifteen noblemen and thirty grooms belonging to the household of the grand-prince. He was conducted to the house of Prince Peter Repo-

lovski, which the grand-prince had appointed for his residence, and which had been prepared very hastily with all necessary furniture and conveniences. An officer, named Ostan, called in Russian podietchi, which means under-secretary, and who was charged with his daily provisions, was allotted to him at the same time. His daily provisions were a large piece of beef, a piece of bacon, a live sheep, one live and one dead hare, six live fowls, vegetables, oats, and once a week, as much salt, pepper, and saffron, as he required; also fish, especially large dried sturgeon; together with a bottle of brandy, three different sorts of mead, and two sorts of beer. According to the season the fish were delivered frozen, but on one occasion when Herberstein sent to get live fish with his own money, it was considered an affront, and from that time he was supplied with live fish.

Herberstein himself says that they placed persons in the house who were considered noble, and whose office it was to keep close watch that nobody should come or go without their knowledge. The general cause of this precaution was to be ascribed to the spirit of the times, but Herberstein himself had partly caused it by an inadvertence which he lays to his own charge. He had been very anxious to gain all the information he could respecting Moscow; he began to do this, as he himself acknowledges, too early, and even on the day of his arrival he made various inquiries of his interpreter, and told him that such information would be very interesting to his countrymen. At the same time he offered to give him informa-

tion of other countries, and to explain to him the maps which he had brought with him, by which of course he caused suspicion, and was observed so closely that nobody was allowed to visit him unless two or more of his watchful attendants were permitted to be present, and to hear what was said. Afterwards he was more cautious, and was obliged to adopt a very circuitous process when he wanted to gain any information. On the 20th of April he was informed that the grand-prince wished to see him on the following day. Early in the morning several noblemen on horseback were sent to his house to escort him. The nearer he came to the Kremlin, the more the procession increased. All the shops were closed, and the crowding of the curious at such a rare sight was so great that force was necessary to make a passage through them. When they came near the steps of the palace, the grooms leading Herberstein's horse would not allow him to ride near it, but he spurred the horse as near as possible to the steps, in his desire to claim a peculiar honour for his master. Here he was received by the councillors of the grand-prince, who offered him their hands, and saluted him. On the stairs a greater number of courtiers joined the procession. In the ante-room many well-dressed noblemen were sitting and standing, of whom however none spoke to him, or took the least notice of him. In the first state-room were several nobles dressed in silk and brocade. In the second, were the young princes, with other high people, who wore caps richly adorned with pearls and jewels. From this room he was led

by the officers into the reception room of the grand-prince, who was sitting on a somewhat raised chair, and had a footstool under his feet. On each side of him sat one of his brothers, and next to the one at his right hand his brother-in-law, Czar Peter, as Herberstein calls him, who was brother of the Tartar Khan, and had been baptized. The whole room was full of princes and nobles, who all arose at Herberstein's entrance. When he had respectfully approached the grand-prince, the latter addressed him first, and told him to stand before him next to a little low bench covered with carpet, which he did, and spoke a few words by way of introductory compliment. When he mentioned the name of the emperor Maximilian, the grand-prince rose from his seat, stood next to the little bench, and asked, "How is our brother Maximilian, elected Roman emperor and high and noble king?" and when the answer was given that Herberstein, at the time of his departure, had left him quite well, he sat down again, and listened to the rest of the speech. After Herberstein had delivered his credentials, he had to give his hand to the grand-prince, who asked him, "Hast thou travelled well?" To which Herberstein had been instructed to answer, "Through the mercy of God and your grace, quite well. God give your grace good health." The grand-prince then bade him sit down, called the interpreter, and whispered to him. The interpreter then approached Herberstein, and told him in a low tone that he might now say what he had to say. Upon this Herberstein rose, and ex-



plained in a long speech the object of his mission, of which however the interpreter never would translate more than two or three words at once. Herberstein was at the conclusion of his speech desired again to sit down, when the grand-prince himself invited him to dinner, as it was customary that foreign ambassadors should dine with the grand-prince on the day of their presentation, and on the day of their taking leave.

A few days after the presentation of Herberstein, the negotiations concerning the peace with Poland began, but before the Boyars, whom the grand-prince had appointed for that purpose, would enter into any discussion, they demanded, in the name of their master, that the king of Poland should make his defence for having besieged OPOCHKA, an occurrence which had only recently taken place; and, at the same time required, that if peace were really his desire, he should himself send ambassadors to Moscow. Herberstein thought he might modify this demand by proposing that both parties should send their mediators to Riga, or some other place on the Lithuanian frontier, but the grand-prince insisted on having the Polish ambassadors sent to Moscow. Herberstein, therefore, on the 27th of April, despatched his nephew, John von Thurn, to Wilna, with a letter to the king of Poland, requesting him, in the name of Maximilian, to yield to the wish of the grand-prince, and to send ambassadors to his court. He himself endeavoured zealously to clear away all the difficulties caused by the mistrust against Sigismund, and he succeeded in

his other conversations with the grand-prince in obtaining his favour and confidence in a very high degree. It was not without great trouble that Herberstein could prevail upon Sigismund to send ambassadors. At length, however, they arrived; but no sooner had he had an audience and commenced negotiations with them, than the grand-prince received intelligence that Sigismund had already sent a new army into Russia, a circumstance which not only made him suspect the ambassadors, but even Herberstein himself. The latter, nevertheless, was soon able to clear his own character; but when the Polish delegates declared that their king insisted on the restoration of Smolensko, then, in spite of Herberstein's indefatigable exertions, all hopes of a peaceable termination vanished. The grand-prince, however, gave perfect credit to his intentions and his zeal; and in the Russian archives we find, amongst other distinctions given to him, that whenever he was invited to court together with the Poles, the grand-prince always gave him his hand, an honour never bestowed on the other delegates.

At length, on the 15th of November, Herberstein sent in his last memorial, to which he received on the following day a decisive answer, destroying all hopes of a friendly arrangement with Sigismund, and of so definite a character as to cause the Polish delegates to leave Moscow on the 18th of November. Meanwhile Herberstein was treated constantly with regard and respect, and invited to different festivities and amusements of the court; amongst others, he wit-

nessed a coursing match, of which he gives a detailed description; he mentions also a hawking match, in which he makes particular allusion to the beautiful Tartar hounds that were used in the sport. Besides the negotiations for the peace of Poland, Herberstein had received several other communications from the emperor, one about the delivery of the Knes Michaila Lwowich Glinsky from prison, but in this particular he was not successful. As Herberstein at last saw that, in consequence of the obstinate continuation of hostilities by Sigismund, nothing was to be done for the principal purpose of his journey, he asked for his dismissal, which he received at a solemn audience, on the 20th of November, and left Moscow, after a stay of eight months, on the following day.

In his writings, he gives fewer details of this first journey to Russia than of the second. His remarks relate principally to the names of provinces and different tribes of the Russian empire, more especially on the parts of the ocean bordering it, and on the rivers passing through it. At his departure, he received from the grand-prince costly sables, ermines, and Russian hunting dogs, and several rare specimens of produce of the country. He had also made for him a comfortable travelling sledge, with fur accoutrements, and gave him an uncommonly large horse from his own stables, with ample provisions for his journey, and had him conducted to the frontier with a number of his own servants and soldiers, altogether about two hundred horsemen. At the same time a

Russian ambassador, named Vladomir Smenovich Plemerikov, and an interpreter, called Ustoma the Little, accompanied him to Vienna, in order to explain at the imperial court the reasons why the peace with Poland could not be established. Herberstein at this time was able to take the shorter road by Smolensko, for which the grand-prince himself gave him a safe conduct, though part of his men and his horses had been left in Novogorod. He travelled by Smolensko, Wilna, Bulsk, and arrived in Cracow the 25th January 1518, where he was well received by the king, and, after some adventures, arrived at Vienna on the 25th February. Here he stopped a few days to refresh himself, and then went to Innspruck to the emperor, who was very well satisfied, not only with the manner in which he had fulfilled his commissions, but also with the account given to him of the state of Russia, and the manners and customs of its inhabitants, and would sometimes listen to his narrative in the evening, long after his usual hour, till sleep overcame him. As a proof of the emperor's satisfaction with his mission, Herberstein was shortly afterwards presented with the bailiwick of Clamm. After a stay of four weeks, Maximilian sent Herberstein back to Vienna, together with the Russian delegates, and the two new ambassadors destined for Moscow, Francesco da Collo and Antonio de' Conti, who were glad of the occasion to get information from him, and to turn his experience to their own account.

Before Herberstein's departure from Innspruck, he

had already received from the emperor a new commission, which was to take him to Hungary, it being again reported that the count John of Zips was to be appointed regent during the king's minority. Maximilian hastened to prevent this innovation as dangerous to his own claims, and being himself the tutor of the young king, he appointed an extraordinary embassy to Hungary, of which Herberstein was a member. The ambassadors met in Vienna, and without delay hastened to Buda, where just at that time the diet was sitting.<sup>1</sup> The king of Poland being also a guardian of the young king, sent Andreas Tanznitski and the Provost Carnorovski. From the pope likewise a delegate was sent, brother Nicolas, of the noble family of Schönberg, a Dominican, who had possessed the unlimited confidence of Leo the Tenth even when he was a cardinal. At the commencement of the negotiations, this cunning priest showed himself so much in the interest of the emperor, that Herberstein himself says, "I thought he was a godsend."

<sup>1</sup> Hungarian invention of coaches.—Herberstein, in his autobiography, published by Kovachich, 1805, when alluding to his journey to Hungary, speaks of *coaches* under the name of *cotschien* or *kotzschî wägnen*, and adds: "They are so called after a village ten miles distant from Buda (*Kotsee, Kotsch*, now *Kitser*); they are drawn by three horses, which run abreast of each other, and at those times when there is little or no ice on the ground. They carry four persons along with the driver, and it is indeed a very agreeable conveyance—so that any one can convey his bed, clothes, eatables and drinkables, and other conveniences, provided the load be not a heavy one." See also upon this subject, *Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions*, where Herberstein's work on Russia is quoted, but not the above passage, which was not then published.

But he soon shewed his real intentions, for by his craftiness and underhand movements, he contrived, with the assistance of the bishops of Hungary, to carry his point that the pope should be allowed to appoint a nuncio [hauptmann] in Hungary, who should be dependent solely upon himself. He had also the effrontery to state before Herberstein that he himself had given his acquiescence to this arrangement. But as Herberstein had the firmness to declare this statement to be untrue, the wily ambassador did not gain his object, and mainly through Herberstein's adroitness, the adoption of a nuncio was contravened. He was very active all the time he was in Buda, and proved himself a very able diplomatist. He left that city for Augsburg, where Maximilian was holding his last diet before his death, a diet especially celebrated for the presence of Martin Luther, who had been summoned thither by the pope's nuncio, cardinal Cajetan, on the question of the famous ninety-five propositions.

In October 1518, the estates of Styria appointed Herberstein to be their councillor at the imperial court, and the emperor confirmed his appointment. Maximilian died on the 12th of January 1519, and Herberstein was one of the bearers of the imperial pall at the funeral. Maximilian had ordered that all the affairs of the government should remain unaltered until the arrival of his successor, and therefore had appointed a special regency; but several provinces, and more especially Lower Austria, took advantage of the interregnum for introducing alterations in their con-

stitution. In Vienna a committee was formed, consisting of the nobility, university, and citizens, who upset the regency, and got possession of the arsenal and the treasury. At last they agreed to hold a meeting in Pruch an der Muhr, at which Herberstein also was present, and there they came to the conclusion that the provinces of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Austria ob der Enns, should send embassies to king Charles, to lay their complaints before him, and to invite him to a speedy assumption of the reins of government. Styria appointed Herberstein as their ambassador. The ambassadors met at Villach, and went to Spain by way of Italy, passing through Treviso, Venice, Rome, and Naples. At Naples, Herberstein took ship for Barcelona, but was wrecked at Sardinia. A similar accident happened off Minorca, but at length, after many adventures (among which may be mentioned, that the ship in which he was took fire twice, because, says Herberstein, the German cooks could not manage with small fires), he reached Barcelona. At Barcelona an epidemic was prevailing, so that the emperor had shortly before left the place for Molino del Rey, where the first audience was given.

After a short stay in Spain, during which the new emperor seems to have become much attached to Herberstein, they had their farewell audience on the 17th of December 1519. They returned by the south of France, by Piedmont, Milan, Peschiera, Verona, and Vicenza, to Villach.

Soon after the coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, the

emperor appointed the 6th of January of the next year, 1521, for the celebrated diet of Worms, the principal object of which was the re-establishment of peace in Germany, but at the same time the emperor was to decide upon several private affairs. Herberstein, therefore, was ordered to appear there on the 24th of February, in order that an interchange of territories, which had already been sanctioned by Maximilian, should be finally settled. This consisted in a transfer of the castle and town of Mährenfels, which belonged to the family of Herberstein, in exchange for the territory of Neyperg in Styria. During the term of his stay, he was appointed to a seat on the imperial council. He mentions in his diaries Martin Luther, who then came to Worms; and speaks of the astonishing crowd of men of all classes that came to see him.

Shortly before his departure from Worms, he saw the archduke Ferdinand, to whose share all the Austrian provinces had fallen, and was received very kindly by him. He returned from Worms to Linz, where he stopped till the arrival of Ferdinand, who came to Linz for his marriage with Mary, daughter of Vladislaus of Hungary. Before Ferdinand returned to the Netherlands, he requested Herberstein to accompany him. Herberstein was then about to marry Helena von Saurau, widow of Graswein zu Weyer, consequently he was obliged to hasten his betrothal, which took place on the 7th of October, and left on the 18th for Brussels, where he arrived on St. Andrew's day, for the celebration of the chapter of



the Golden Fleece, which Charles the Fifth celebrated with great pomp. The emperor on that occasion gave him in reward for his services the uncommon distinction of allowing him to add to his own arms those of the archduke of Austria, and of the king of Castile, and to bear as his crest the portraits of the Roman emperor, of the king of Spain, and the czar of Russia. From the Netherlands Herberstein went to Nuremberg, where at the imperial diet he had to represent the archduke Ferdinand. Subsequent to this he was employed upon various commissions: first at Stuttgart, twice to Prague, then to Nördlingen, where the Swabian diet was held, then twice to Hungary, where he succeeded in bringing about an amicable relation between the archduke Ferdinand and king Louis of Hungary.

It was not till this year that Herberstein's marriage with Helena von Saurau, which had been arranged in 1521, could be solemnized. In his Latin autobiography, he mentions his marriage in these few words:—"Hoc anno uxorem duxi"; and, as has been mentioned above, he never speaks about his wife's family, nor of his wife, nor had he any children. But she survived him by nine years, and died in 1575.

Herberstein's second journey to Poland and Russia took place in 1526. The more immediate purpose of this new mission was to return the civilities of Vasiley Ivanovich, who, on receiving the news of Charles the Fifth's election as emperor of the Romans, had sent ambassadors to Spain, expressing his wish for a continuation of the ami-

cable relations between the two countries, and a renewal of the league concluded with Maximilian against the Poles. Charles and Ferdinand, however, were still influenced by the same motives as had caused the first mission of Herberstein, viz., to bring about a durable peace between the grand-prince and the king of Poland. Sigismund, on the other hand, seemed to wish to trust the matter solely to the success of his arms, and possessed too much pride to ask for peace so far as he was concerned. Count Nugaroli, therefore, was sent on behalf of Charles the Fifth, and Herberstein on behalf of the archduke Ferdinand, to Hungary, in order that the king of Poland might be persuaded through the mediation of the king of Hungary; and in this they were successful.

Herberstein, after his return to Vienna, gave an account of the success of his mission to the archduke Ferdinand, then at Augsburg, and received from him a letter of praise, together with his credentials for the embassy to Russia; and, at the same time, Ferdinand desired him to write an account of all the things he might observe in this journey, as he had done before. Charles the Fifth, likewise, who had been obliged by the disturbances in Spain to return to Toledo the year before, expressed his approbation of the choice of Herberstein in a letter to his brother, as well as of the instructions given to him, at the same time bestowing the utmost praise upon Herberstein with respect to his former embassy. A copy of this letter was sent by the archduke to Herberstein, who already had de-

parted on his journey; and, at the same time, unlimited power was given to the ambassadors for all cases in which the instructions received should appear insufficient. They left Vienna on the 12th of January 1526. Besides the principal personages, there were also in the embassy Gunther and Christoph von Herberstein, two distinguished sons of Herberstein's second brother, George. They took the route through Moravia and Silesia to Poland. They had not advanced far when an order from the archduke Ferdinand, dated Augsburg, February 1st, was sent after them, in which both ambassadors were expressly desired to pay the utmost attention to the religion, ceremonies, and ecclesiastical rules of the Church of Russia, for which purpose they had to use as a guide a little book recently published by Johann Fabri, the materials of which had been collected by the author from the above-mentioned Russian ambassadors to Spain during their stay at the court of Ferdinand in Tübingen. It was very favourable for Herberstein's journey that he could join these ambassadors, who were returning to their country by the way of Vienna, and travel to Moscow in their company. The king of Poland imagined that he had good reason to mistrust the intentions of Austria, and from the beginning of this new embassy he ascribed another purpose to it than that which was really correct; and in this suspicion he was corroborated by the circumstance that the ambassadors travelled in the company of the returning Russian delegates. He was therefore quite convinced, as Herberstein afterwards learned from

himself, that the emperor was forming a new league with the crown-prince against him. He therefore appeared at the first not to take any notice of the embassy; and contrary to the law of nations, the ambassadors were not received, or provided for, either at the frontier of Poland, or during their travels through that country. The king was then attending the diet at Pedrikov', to which place the ambassadors directed their course, and at some distance they sent messengers to the court to give notice of their arrival, but an answer was sent back to them that the diet was already at an end, and that the king was about to go to Cracow, where they would be received. Upon their arrival in the capital, they were much astonished that there was nobody to welcome them, and that there was not the least preparation made for their reception. Moreover, they had reason to apprehend from different circumstances that the continuation of their journey through Poland would be impeded. Six days after their arrival, however, they obtained an audience of the king, in which they informed him that they were sent to Moscow to negotiate peace between him and the grand-prince, and begged his assistance in effecting so desirable an object, by making some concessions himself. Sigismund, however, received this communication very ungraciously, and asked the ambassadors indignantly, who had desired their masters to trouble themselves about him? that he knew well enough how to bring his enemies to their senses, and wanted no mediator. "What have your masters to do with the Muscovite,"

said he; "is he their neighbour, or even friend, that they trouble themselves so much about him?" Herberstein then explained to him quietly and with dignity the purpose of their journey, and proved that their travelling in company with the Russian ambassadors was only by accident, and that their sovereigns could not decline to receive an embassy sent from so great a distance purely for the purpose of asking their friendship; that, moreover, their intention was to act according to the precepts of religion in trying to make peace between two Christian sovereigns. If, however, the king should not feel inclined to have these negotiations carried on through the German ambassadors, they were ready to return home, and to give an account to their respective sovereigns of the king's wish, and to wait for the answer. They even would go so far as to show the king their instructions, although this was quite contrary to all custom. This open and noble speech was effectual: Sigismund became more friendly, gave up his mistrust, and finally showed himself ready to enter into a negotiation for the peace which was to be interceded for at Moscow. He endeavoured to facilitate the continuation of their journey, and sent fifty florins to each of them to pay their bill at the hotel, as properly and according to custom he ought to have provided for them from their first arrival. Herberstein thought this occasion favourable for producing the bond which he had received eight years before from the duchess of Milan for the same, to be paid to him in case he succeeded in bringing about the marriage of her daughter Bona

with the king of Poland. He therefore delivered this paper to the king, begging for his assistance, and had the pleasure to find the king quite willing to take upon himself the payment of this debt. Herberstein says, in his own words, "He sent me word that when I returned he would give me a favourable answer, and afterwards sent me a thousand florins in good Hungarian gold, like an honest king."

On the 14th of February, Herberstein and his party left Cracow; and were now able to continue their journey on sledges, which was very convenient for their luggage. They proceeded by way of Lublin to Brest, through a dreadful and very dangerous snow-drift, which compelled them to pass the whole night on the ground under their sledges, which they turned upside down for a screen. Thence to Borisov on the Beresina, which Herberstein supposed to be the Borysthenes of the ancients, drawing his conclusions from Ptolemy and the similarity of the name. From Beresina they did not take the nearest way by Wilna, in consequence of the wildness of the road, but took the way by Mohilev and Dobrovna to Smolensko.

Upon Herberstein's arrival at the Russian frontier, before reaching Smolensko, the providor who had been sent from Moscow, instead of treating him hospitably by providing him with provisions and a roof, allowed him to be two nights under the open air—one on the snow, and another during a fall of rain. Nor would he even permit him to buy food with his own money, saying, that he ought to be satisfied with the provisions with which he supplied

him ; until Herberstein used a different tone, and threatened to report his conduct to the grand-prince.

The latter part of the journey to Moscow was very dangerous, on account of the great inundations. Most of the bridges were so much damaged, that it was only with the greatest trouble they could get the horses over them. Half-a-mile before reaching Moscow, they were received with great honour by some noblemen, who came on the part of the grand-prince.

The description given by Herberstein of his reception at Moscow, and of the preparations for his first audience, is so similar to that given in the account of his visit in 1517, that it is needless to repeat it here. The audience is thus described :—“ When we entered the room,” says he, “ where the prince was sitting, directly we made our first obeisance, all the old princes and noblemen sitting around stood up, and only the grand-duke and his brothers remained sitting. Then one of the chief councillors, equal in rank to a marshal, approached the grand-duke, and said : “ Great master and king of all the Russians, Count Leonard strikes his forehead before thee for thy great favour.” Then, “ Sigismund,” etc., “ strikes his forehead before thee.” The seat of the grand-duke as well as his footstool were one palm higher than the rest. He sat all the time uncovered ; over him, on the wall, was a picture of an angel or saint. On his right-hand lay his cap, and on his left his staff or possoch, and next to it two ewers and a washhand basin, that he might, after the departure of the

foreigners, wash his hands from the pollution of having touched those of an ambassador of another creed. It is likewise the custom for ambassadors coming from Lithuania, Sweden, Livonia, etc., to offer presents to the grand-duke, which are delivered publicly at their first audience; and, indeed, it is customary not only for the ambassadors themselves, but also for the friends who accompany them, to bring presents. It is usual, therefore, after the delivery of the address, for one of the chief councillors to say to the prince:—Great Master, N. N. strikes his forehead to thee, and gives thee pominki—so they call the presents—which he mentions by name; after which, a secretary writes down the names of the donors, and the description of the presents. When we had delivered our address, those who stood behind us amongst our suite called out ‘pominki’, in order to remind us to deliver the presents, to which our attendants answered, that this custom was no longer in use at the court of Austria. It was true, that this had been the custom also amongst us in former times; but as it was generally expected that presents of as much value were to be given in return, in consequence of which they became more and more extravagant, the custom was at last abolished.”

The first dinner is described at length by Herberstein, from which we only quote the following details as peculiarly worthy notice:—Brandy was served round before the eating commenced. The principal dish consisted of swans, which was served round with sour milk, pickled gerkins, and plums. The princi-



pal drinks were malmsey, Greek wines, and mead. The grand-prince first called for drink, tasted the wine, and summoned the Count Nugaroli to his table, and then handing him the goblet, said, "Leonhard, thou art sent from a great master to a great master on great affairs, and hast travelled a long distance—it is well for thee to have received marks of my favour, and to have beheld the lustre of my eyes. Drink, therefore, drain your glass, and eat your fill, that thou mayst return in health to thy master." These words he addressed also to Herberstein, of whom he inquired in a familiar way, whether he had ever shaved off his beard; and when Herberstein, without the aid of an interpreter, replied in the affirmative, the grand-duke remarked, that he also had once done the same, and this was on the occasion of his marriage. Not only the tables at which the company sat, but also certain tables of state ranged along the middle of the room, were covered with golden plate. The servers and other court attendants wore on this festive occasion a dress called *therlik*, which was like a herald's coat, covered with pearls and precious stones.

On taking leave of the grand-prince after dinner, the noblemen accompanied Herberstein to his own private residence, and here began again to drink bravely. The gentlemen from the court said it was the order of the grand-prince that they should remain with the ambassadors and make them merry; for which purpose a cart with silver vessels, and two smaller carriages with drink, were sent from the

palace, accompanied by the secretaries and other honest people, "for the very purpose," as Herberstein quaintly describes it, "of making the ambassadors full". As it was considered an honour to pledge one's guests, they omitted no sort of persuasion to drink, and when all was in vain, one got up and proposed the health of the grand-duke, which, of course, admitted of no refusal; and after an interval of continued pressing to drink, the health of the emperor of Germany was proposed; afterwards the health of all those present, foreigners as well as residents, in which cases also there was no excuse. "Such drinking," says Herberstein, "is done with great grace; the person who proposes the toast, stands in the middle of the room and pronounces the sentiment,—such as fortune, or victory, or health, or what not, with the wish, that not so much blood may remain in his enemies as he means to leave in his goblet. Having said this with uncovered head, and finished the draught, he turns the goblet upside down over his head.<sup>1</sup> Both on this and on my former visit, not wishing to drink so much, I had no alternative but to assume the appearance of being drunk, or to say that I was too sleepy to drink any more."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This reminds one of the German *nagel probe*, or "nail test", in which the goblet was shewn to be empty by there not remaining sufficient in it, when turned upside down, to wet the thumb-nail.

<sup>2</sup> With respect to the drinking habits of the Russians, the editor has thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader to add, by way of appendix to this introduction, the curious and rare metrical epistles of George Turberville, described by Ant. à Wood (in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i, 627), as "much admired for his excellencies in

At the outset Herberstein met with no small difficulty with regard to carrying out the object of his embassy, in consequence of the bitter feeling which existed between the two courts of Russia and Poland, and the probable prospect of advantage to the grand-prince from a continuance of the war. In spite of this, however, Herberstein's endeavours were not without good results; and he had the gratification, after his first report to the archduke Ferdinand, to receive a letter, in which he showed his great satisfaction at what he had accomplished. The grand-prince, nevertheless, demanded, as he had done in Herberstein's former embassy, that the king of Poland should, as a proof of his own wish to establish peace,

the art of poetry. Being esteemed a person fit for business, as having a good and ready command of his pen, he was entertained by Thos. Randolph, Esq., to be his secretary, when he received commission from Queen Elizabeth to go ambassador to the Emperor of Russia. After his arrival at that place, he did, at spare hours, exercise his muse, and wrote, *Poems describing the Places and Manners of the Country and People of Russia*"; an. 1568 (1569).

The three poetical epistles, in the last of which he alludes to Herberstein, are addressed to the author's friends, "*Edward Dancie, Spencer, and Parker.*" Ant. à. Wood, in his life of Turberville, refers to the second name as *Edm. Spencer*, meaning, of course, the poet; but there is no mention of *Edmund* in Turberville or Hakluyt. He is merely called *Spencer*, and certainly was not the celebrated author of the *Fairy Queen*, who was then only about fifteen years of age. The same error has been made by the editor of the reprint of Turberville's *Tragical Tales*; 4to., Edinb., 1837. Of the two other persons, the editor can find no account. These letters on Russia are likewise included among the *Epitaphs* and *Sonnets* attached to the *Tragical Tales*, the original edition of which work (printed in 1587) is exceedingly rare. A reprint of this, limited to fifty copies, 4to., appeared at Edinburgh in 1837. A copy is in the Grenville Library.

himself send ambassadors to Moscow, and the imperial legates accordingly sent to Sigismund, who was at that time staying at Dantzic, to request his compliance with this demand. The king received the proposal without objection, and sent two noblemen as negociators; a delegate was, at the same time, sent from the pope, likewise to plead for peace between the two sovereigns; and by these means, after many difficulties, and a considerable lapse of time, an armistice for five years was finally agreed upon.

During Herberstein's abode in Moscow, he had an opportunity of witnessing several of the festivities and recreations of the court,—especially some hunting scenes, of which he gives a particular description: such as hunting the hare, bear-baiting, and hawking. In speaking of a hare-hunt, he says that an immense number of hares were preserved in narrow enclosures, and the entire circuit spread round with nets. The huntsmen in various dresses, each leading two dogs in a leash, made their way, with loud shouts, through the enclosure to rouse the game. The grand-prince hunted with particularly fine dogs, called *kurtzen* (probably the beautiful long-haired Siberian greyhound). His hunting-dress consisted of a white cap, with a border covered all round with precious stones, and adorned in front with feathers of gold, which waved with every motion of his head. His garment was a *therlik*, “similar to a herald's coat”, embroidered with gold; a couple of knives and a dagger hung from his girdle, and at his back, beneath the girdle, was a weapon called *kestene*, which was a staff of wood two spans long, with

a thong of the same length attached to it, at the end of which was a large angular piece of metal ornamented with gold. The train consisted of nearly three hundred horsemen. The grand-prince called the strangers frequently to him, and invited them to follow his example, and also to lead dogs, as he did, to the chase. This encouragement was necessary, remarks Herberstein, because with them dogs, being regarded as unclean beasts, are not usually to be handled by honourable persons. The produce of this hunt was three hundred hares.

On the morning of their leave-taking, the ambassadors received very costly dresses from the grand-prince, in which they were to appear at their last audience. After the dinner which followed this audience, they were each presented by the grand-prince with eighty rubles, three hundred ermine, and fifteen hundred miniver skins. When they had finally taken leave, and returned to their residence, the grand-prince again sent to them, to ask which way they intended to return. Their answer was, by Wilna and Cracow to Vienna; to which the secretaries replied, that the grand-prince had just received information from the frontier of the taking of Buda by the Turks, which news he communicated to them for their own guidance.

One circumstance ought to be mentioned here particularly as having caused an injurious impression against Herberstein in Poland, viz., the pride and jealous rivalry of the Poles, who would not allow to the sovereign of their hostile neighbours the title of

czar, much less that of emperor, although already under Vasiley Ivanovich it was the general custom to translate the title of czar into Latin by the word *imperator*. Herberstein also was accused at the Polish court, on his second return from Russia, with having in his address given to the grand-prince the title of king; but this he denied, declaring that he had used no other title than Magnus Dux. On his way from Smolensko to Wilna, he learnt from a Lithuanian providor the news of the battle of Mohacz, and the death of King Louis of Hungary, which news affected essentially the interests of Austria, and had a very important bearing upon the object of Herberstein's embassy to Poland. He describes the journey from Wilna to Grodno as so intensely cold, that his nose was frozen. He only saved it by very quick and long rubbing with snow, which remedy was recommended him by his Polish guide; but some of his suite had their hands and feet frozen, and others fell sick under the cold, so as to detain the embassy.

He arrived at Cracow on the 12th of January 1527, where the king then was. His reception was very different to what it had been on the former occasion, for the king now had satisfactory reason to be convinced that the intentions of the emperor and the archduke were sincere and faithful, and expressed to both the ambassadors his satisfaction at the peace concluded in his favour. Here again Herberstein had an opportunity of showing his ability as a statesman and his fidelity to his sovereign; for having received the report of the death of the king of Hungary, and

being certain that the archduke Ferdinand, who was newly elected king of Bohemia, would also be entitled to the crown of Hungary, he took advantage of his knowledge of these circumstances to bespeak all the consequent alterations in the relations between his master and the king of Poland, so that when the archduke's ambassador Johann Mraxi arrived, everything was already prepared and settled ; and as Mraxi was taken ill immediately after his arrival in Cracow, Herberstein took the management of the whole affair which Mraxi had been commissioned to carry out.

The ambassadors then travelled by way of Silesia to Prague, where they found the archduke Ferdinand, who, by the free election of the States, was declared king of Bohemia upon the death of Louis, and were in time to be present at the celebration of his coronation. The Russian ambassadors arrived soon after, and Herberstein was sent to receive them, and to escort them through the town of Prague as a guide to show them the curiosities. The beautiful situation and the great size of Prague surprised one of the ambassadors so much that he exclaimed, " This is not a city, it is a kingdom ; and a great thing it is to acquire such a kingdom without bloodshed !"

When Herberstein reported the result of his mission to the archduke, and mentioned his negotiations in Poland, Ferdinand considered it necessary immediately to send another ambassador thither, and proposed to Herberstein to undertake the journey. The answer of this indefatigable servant of his royal master was, that although he was very ill, he would

immediately set out on his journey if the king considered it necessary; nay, if he could not go on horseback, he would ride in a carriage; or, if he could not ride in a carriage, he would be borne by men, but he would never neglect the cause of his majesty for the sake of his own health; but in his opinion the journey was not at all necessary, as he had already settled all the negotiations with the king of Poland with respect to the recent change in the position of affairs. He even showed reasons why an embassy should not be sent, which reasons Ferdinand finally agreed to, and the idea was given up.

Herberstein now begged permission to retire to his own estate for some time that he might recover his health, which permission was granted to him after the Russian embassy had left. Before his departure, however, Ferdinand honoured him with the public expression of a threefold thanksgiving: firstly, for the settlement of the affairs of the peace embassy in Moscow; secondly, for the attention paid to the interests of his masters in Poland; and, thirdly, for the offer of undertaking a new journey in spite of his bad health. From Prague he went to Vienna, where he lay ill for four weeks.

After the death of Louis, John Zapolski put himself at the head of an army of forty thousand men, and succeeded in obtaining possession of the throne of Hungary; so that Ferdinand, who had already been crowned in Prague, and taken possession of Moravia and Silesia, was obliged to enter Hungary with a powerful army, in order to enforce his claims upon



that country. He became master of Buda, and shortly after of the greater part of the kingdom, and was at length crowned king of Hungary at Gran, on the 13th of November 1527. As it was to be feared that the pretender to the crown of Hungary would succeed in gaining the assistance of his brother-in-law Sigismund, Ferdinand thought it necessary to send an embassy to Poland, of which embassy Herberstein had the essential management, and had the special honour of being entrusted with separate private instructions. This gave rise to so many private interviews with the king, that it caused the envy of his colleagues, and they even went so far as to complain to the king on the subject. His majesty himself explained the cause of the preference given to Herberstein, saying that it was because he had been to Poland many times before, and was so much initiated in Polish affairs, that he himself was unwilling that every body should know all that Herberstein was already acquainted with. In returning from Poland he had a narrow escape, as Nicolas von Tschaplitz, an old enemy of his, laid wait for him, with the view of wreaking his vengeance on him, and he only saved his life by having accidentally chosen another road for returning. After his return to Vienna, he was taken ill of the Hungarian sickness, which soon increased so much, that there was great fear for his life, and the recovery was slow, and required several months of quiet life to restore his strength. Meanwhile, the Turkish Sultan Suliman, having become an ally of John Zapolski, had sent back with inso-

lence the ambassadors that Ferdinand had sent to demand the restoration of Belgrade, and in a new invasion on Hungary had made such progress, that his advances became more and more alarming for the house of Austria. After having plundered and burnt Buda, and again proclaimed John Zapolski king, he advanced at the head of an immense army, now become habituated to victory and plunder, towards the states of Austria. It consequently became more and more necessary for Ferdinand to avail himself of the friendship of Sigismund of Poland. Herberstein was employed upon this errand. In short, during the remainder of Herberstein's life, the Hungarian question underwent so many fluctuations, that it would be tedious to the reader to lead him even cursorily through their details.

From the year 1527 to the year 1533, Ferdinand was kept in suspense as to his claim to the throne of Hungary, a suspense occasioned mainly by the interference of the sultan Solyman, whose invasion of Hungary met with fluctuating success; and during this period Herberstein was engaged in the most harassing political expeditions from Ferdinand, both to the court of Poland and the various congresses which were held in different places from time to time in Hungary. From 1533 to 1541, with the exception of the year 1535, he was repeatedly employed in diplomatic missions to Bohemia and various parts of Germany, as well as to Hungary and Poland, and so unremitting was the labour of this portion of his life, that during the intervals of these embassies he had to

perform the duties of the various honourable offices which he held at home, amongst which may be mentioned that he was president of several diets, a member of the war department, and a councillor of the ministry of war. In 1537 he was rewarded by the dignity of freyherr or baron, which he had asked for in the year 1531, and had been then provisionally granted, but was not solemnly confirmed until the year 1537.

The remainder of the life of Herberstein was spent in similar political labours, among which should be specially mentioned an embassy to the camp of Sultan Suliman II, in 1541, while that monarch was engaged in active defence of his ally, John Zapolski, the rival of Ferdinand.

So late as the year 1560, when he was in his seventy-fourth year, we find his still arduous labours in the cause of the state thus alluded to by Petrus Paganus:—“*Cujus opera iam ætate confecti et emeriti Cæsar Ferdinandus adhuc indies in arduis negotiis vtitur, quique annum agens LXXIIII Austriacis prouentibus adhuc Præsidents incumbit, vt non sibi, sed domui Austriæ, cui se ad extremum vitæ articulum deuouit, natus esse videatur.*”

He died at Vienna on the 28th of March 1566, being then in his eightieth year. The archduke Charles of Styria caused the following inscription to be placed on his tomb, which we quote on account of the quaint verses with which it concludes:—“*Den 28 Martii im 1566 Jahr starb der wohlgebohrne Herr Herr Sigismund Freyherr zu Herberstain, Neyperg*

vndt Guetenhag, Obrist Erbcamrer vndt Obrist Erbtruchsäss in Khärnten, Romisch Kays. Mjt. Rat vndt President der N. Oe. Cammer.

“Von Herberstein Herr Sigmund  
 Hier liegt, welchs Lob zu aller Stund  
 Wird seyn bey Kaysern wohlbekannt,  
 Auch bey aller Leuten in ihren Lannt.  
 Dann er bey 4 Kaysern hat  
 Gelebt als getreuer Diener und Rat,  
 Ums Vatterlandt sich wohl verschuldt,  
 Dabon er bracht hat Ehr und Huldt.”

We now proceed to the bibliography of the “*Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*”. The first edition was published at Vienna in 1549, under the following title :

*Rerum Moscoviticarum Comentarii. In hjs Comentariis sparsim contenta habebis, candide lector, Russie et que nunc eius Metropolis est, Moscouie breuissimam descriptionem. De religione quoq; varia inserta sunt: et que nostra cum religione non conueniunt. Corographiam deniq; totius imperii Moscici: et vicinorum quorundam mentionem. Quis deniq; modus excipiendi et tractandi oratores: disseritur. Itineraria quoq; duo in Moscouiam sunt adiuncta. Vindobonæ, (1549), folio.*

A copy of this exceedingly rare first edition is in the Grenville collection, British Museum. It is without imprint or colophon; but the dedication to King Ferdinand is dated from Vienna (“*Vienne Austriæ*”), March 1, 1549. That this was the year in which the book was printed likewise clearly appears from Herberstein’s own statement in his autobiography published at Vienna in 1560, entitled, “*Gratæ*

posteritati Sig. lib. B. in Herberstain actiones suas reliquit," etc.; where he says: "MDXLIX. Historiam Moscoviæ stilo simplici congeSSI eandemque typis excudi curavi." On the reverse of the title-page are the arms of Herberstein. The dedication is followed on fol. iii and iv by some Latin panegyric verses addressed to the author by various writers; the text commencing on fol. v. The work is divided into three sections: I. Itinera in Moscoviam; fol. v-xii, reg. B-C. II. Moscovia; fol. i-ix, reg. A-E. III. Chorographia; fol. i-xxxvii, reg. A-G. The rarity of this book is such, that Denis, who wrote on the early history of printing at Vienna, was not able to see a copy, and describes it only from Gesner's "Bibliotheca", whose description, in fact, applied to the second edition of 1551.

Two years later an improved edition appeared at Basle, at the instance of Wolfgang Lazius. The title is the same as that of the first, except that we find this addition to it: "Accessit etiam locuples rerum et verborum in his memorabilium Index. Basileæ, per Joannem Oporinum": s. a. (1551), fol., 175 pages, and 3 leaves of index; and also the work of Paulus Jovius, "De Legatione Moscoviticarum."

In a letter addressed to the publisher, printed on the reverse of the title-page, Lazius says of the first edition: "Fuere quidem obiter hi (commentarii) apud nos excusi—sed adeo corrupte, adeoque absurdis typis, uti vides, ut ni tua industria accedat, opus mercule memorabile iniuriam patiatur"; and, in a postscript, he says: "De prærogativa uti tu statues

res certa erit; eo enim loco is vir est. Sed cupit insignia sua sub finem, et chorographiam a frontispicio operis collocari, quæ tu sumptu tuo curabis sculpi." The copy in the British Museum has the large map of "Moscovia" dated 1549, followed on the next page by a portrait of the grand-prince seated, with the following lines placed above it:

"Russorum Rex et Dominus sum jure paterni  
Sanguinis, imperii titulos a nemine, quavis  
Mercatus prece, vel precio, nec legibus ullis  
Subditus alterius, sed Christo credulus uni  
Emendicatos aliis asperror honores."

The colophon runs thus: "Basileæ, ex officina Joannis Oporini, 1551. Mense Julio." On the verso of the last leaf are the arms of Herberstein.

Five years after, another edition was required, which received the author's additions and improvements. The title is like the preceding, with the following addition: "Ad hæc, non solum nouæ aliquot tabulæ, sed multa etiam alia nunc demum ab ipso autore adiecta sunt: quæ, si cui cum prima editione conferre libeat, facile deprehendet. Cum Caes. et Regiæ Maiest. gratia et privilegio ad decennium. Basileæ. Per Joannem Oporinum": s. a. (1556), fol., 205 pages, and 16 pages of Index. After the title-page comes Oporinus's dedication to Daniel Mauchius, who was in Moscow at the time of Herberstein's second residence in Russia. It is subscribed, "Calendis Julii 1556," and in it he says that he sends him at last "toties efflagitatum, tantoque jam tempore expectatam Moscoviam"; and in an edition, certainly "longe aliam quam priore editione in publicum

prodierat: plurimis nempe non solum Chorographiis atque aliis Tabulis, sed et rerum scitu dignissimarum descriptionibus passim de novo insertis locupletatam."

Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii. Sigismundo Libero<sup>1</sup> auctore. Russiæ breuissima descriptio, et de religione eorum varia inserta sunt. Chorographia totius Imperii Moscici, et vicinorum quorundam mentio. Antuerpiæ in ædibus Joannis Streelsii, 1557. In octavo, 198 leaves.

This edition appears to be a reprint made without Herberstein's sanction, as the imperial protective privilege does not appear on the title-page.

Antuerpiæ, 1557, fol. This edition is only quoted in the Hamburg "Bibliotheca Historica," where, on page 267, it says: The "Antwerp edition of a°. 1557, in fol., is indisputably the best."

Francofurti, 1560, fol. This impression, Denis only mentions in his work, "Wien's Buchdrucker-geschichte bis MDLX" (Wien, 1782, 4to.), where he says: "A°. 1560, the Oporin edition was reprinted at Frankfort by Wechel's heirs."

<sup>1</sup> Herberstein's correct designation was, Siegmund Freyherr zu Herberstein, Neyperg, etc., which, literally translated, becomes, "Sigismundus Liber Baro in Herberstein", both of which forms of title he himself uses. But as the title of "Freyherr", *Free Baron*, is peculiar to Germany, its Latin rendering of "Liber Baro" has led many into the mistake, that "Liber" was the family name, and "Baro" the title. Hence the blunder in the above title. In the Italian translation of his works, he is called "Sigismundo Libero et Barone in Herbesten". Some have shortened his name into "Sigismundus Baro et Herr Siegmund"; and in the Russian archives and annals, according to Adelung, he is called Siegmund Herbenster, Shidimant and Schichdimont Herbenstene, Shiginon Hirbresten, Hermonster, etc., etc.

Basileæ, 1567, fol. This edition, Adelung says, is only to be found in the superficial and untrustworthy Burch. Ad. Sellius in his *Schediasma Literarium de scriptoribus qui Historiam Rossicam scriptis illustrarunt.* Revaliæ, 1736, 8vo., p. 19.<sup>1</sup>

Basileæ, 1571, fol., ex officina Oporiniana; 327 pages. A more correct impression of the edition of 1556, with several additions, which are thus announced on the title-page: "His nunc primum accedunt, Scriptum recens de Græcorum fide, quos in omnibus Moscorum natio sequitur: et Commentarius de bellis Moscorum aduersus finitimos, Polonos, Lituanos, Suedos, Liunionos et alios gestis, ad annum usque LXXI, scriptus ab Joanne Leuuenclaio."

Basileæ, 1573, fol. This edition likewise is only mentioned by Sellius, in his "*Schediasma Literarium*", and is consequently not to be trusted.

Basileæ, 1574, fol. This edition Meusel mentions in his "*Literatur der Statistik*", but it is not found quoted anywhere else.

An exact reprint of the Basil edition of 1556, is found in the well-known collection—

*Rerum Moscoviticarum Auctores varii: vnvm in corpvs nunc primvm congesti. Quibus et Gentis Historia continetur: et Regionvm accurata descriptio. Francofurti apud haeredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Joan. Aubrium, 1600, fol., p. 1-117.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is he who says that Herberstein was in Russia in 1497 and 1523.

<sup>2</sup> This edition contains some points of advantage over those which preceded it, as containing nine documents, then printed for the first time, having reference to Herberstein's travels in Poland and



## TRANSLATIONS.

*Italian.* An Italian translation of Herberstein's work appeared at Venice a year after the publication of the original, and with his own permission, as he himself says.<sup>1</sup> The title is—

Comentari della Moscovia et parimente della Russia, et delle altre cose belle e notabili, composti già latinamente per il signor Sigismondo libero Barone in herberstain, Neiperg et Guetnhag, tradotti nouamente di latino in lingua nostra uuolgare Italiana. Simelmente vi si tratta della religione delli Moscouiti, et in che parte quella sia differente dalla n'ra benche si chiamino chr'iani. Item una discriptione particolare di tutto l'imperio Moscouitico, toccando ancora di alcuni luoghi vicini, come sono de Tartari, Lituuani, Poloni, et altri molti riti et ordini di que' popoli. In Venetia per Gioan Battista Pedrezzano. Cum priuilegio del Illustriss. Senato Venetiano, Per anni x. MDL. 90 leaves, in quarto.<sup>2</sup>

Respecting this translation, Adelung states that "it is very rare; the author of it is not known; but in a manuscript note he found it ascribed to F. Corvinus, without, however, having been able to find

Russia. These are letters of Maximilian, Charles V, Ferdinand, Ludwig II. of Hungary, and Sigismund of Poland, which the editors, Claude Marne and Jean Aubri, appear to have obtained from the family archives, through the Baron Felicianus von Herberstein, whose personal acquaintance they boast of in a dedication to Marquard Freher.

<sup>1</sup> In the preface to his German "Moscovia", Herberstein says: "I wrote the whole in Latin, and so printed it, and lately it has been printed in the Italian tongue."

<sup>2</sup> Buhle "de antiquis delineat. geograph. Russiæ," p. 7, regards this Italian translation as the earliest edition of Herberstein's work, as he was not aware of the Latin original of 1549.

this statement confirmed by any authority." It was again printed in the "Raccolta di Navigazioni e Viaggi di Ramusio". Venezia, 1583, fol., t. ii, p. 137, etc.; and this reprint is sometimes erroneously mentioned as a distinct translation, or as a new edition of the impression of 1550.

*German.* Moscouia der Hauptstadt in Reissen, durch Herrn Sigmunden Freyherrn zu Herberstain, Neyperg und Guetenhag, Obristen Erbcamrer, vnd öbristen Erbtruckhsessen in Kärntn, Römischer zu Hungern und Behaim Khii. May. etc. Rat, Camrer vnd Presidenten der Niederösterreichischen Camer zusammen getragen. Sambt des Moscouiter gepiet, vnd seiner anrainer<sup>1</sup> beschreibung und anzaigung, in weu (*sic*)<sup>2</sup> sy glaubens halb, mit vns nit gleichhellig. Wie die Potschaften oder Gesandten durch sy emphanen vnd gehalten werden, sambt zwayen vnderschiedlichen Raisen in die Mosqua. Mit Röm. Khii. May. gnad vnd Priuilegien getruckt zu Wienn in Osterreich durch Michael Zimmermann in S. Anna Hoff, 1557. Small folio, 24 double sheets, without pagination; reg. A—Zij.

This translation was made from the Basle edition of 1556, and seen through the press by Herberstein himself. It is also very rare. A circumstantial account of this translation, and of its relation to the original, will be found in *Siegm. Freih. v. Herberstein, etc., von Friedr. Adelung*, p. 343-353.

Moscoviter wunderbare Historien: In welcher desz trefenlichen Grossen land Reüssen, sampt der hauptstatt Moscauw vnd anderer nammhafftigen vmligenden Fürstenthumb vnd stetten gelegenheit, Religion, vnd seltzame gebreüch: Auch desz erschrockenlichen Groszfürsten zu Moscauw här-

<sup>1</sup> Frontier countries.

<sup>2</sup> Worin.

kommen, mannliche thaten, gewalt, vnd lands ordnung, auff das fleyszigest ordenlichen begriffen : so alles bisz här bey vns in Teütscher nation vnbekandt gewesen. Erstlich durch den wolgebornen herren Sigmunden Freyherren zu Herberstein, Neyperg, vnd Guttenhag, etc., welcher zu etlichen malen Röm. Kay. vnd König. May. in selbigen landen Legat gewesen, fleyszig zu latein beschriben : Ietz zu malen aber, zu ehren vnd wolgefallen dem wolgebornen herren Johans Grauen zu Nassaw etc. durch Heinrich Pantaleon, der Freyen Künsten vnd Artzney doctorn zu Basel, auff das treüwlichest verteütschet vnd in truck verfertiget : Alles gantz wunderbar, nutzlich, vnd kurtzweylig zu lesen. Mit sampt H. Pauli Jouij Moscouitischer Landen, und H. Georgen Wernhern Ungarischer wunderbaren wasseren beschreibung, auch etlichen schönen Figuren und Landstaflen, darzu einem vollkommenen Register bezieret. Basel, anno 1563. 215 pages, folio.

At the end stands, "Getruckt zu Basel bey Nicolauss Brillinger vnd Marx Russinger, 1563." It is curious, that in this translation no allusion is made to that published by the author himself six years previously; indeed, as the title-page sets forth, that this work had been hitherto unknown in Germany, we should infer that Dr. Pantaleon was ignorant of Herberstein's translation.

A reprint of this translation by Pantaleon, appeared at Basle, 1567, fol. Upon the title-page, after the words, "Pauli Jovii Moscovitischer Landen", is added—

Vnd h. Heinrich Pantaleon Littauwischen, Polnischen, Schwedischen, Leyfflendischen, Nordwegischen, Ungarischen, Türckischen, vnd Tartarischen völkeren, so zu ringharum an die Moscouiter stossend. Alles gantz wunderbar, nutz-

lich und kurtzweylich zu lesen. 246 pages, and five pages of index. The Beschreibung von Litthauen, etc., mentioned in the title begins at page 192.

Prag, 1567. A copy of this edition is in the Royal Library of Dresden. It corresponds in every respect with the foregoing.

Die Moscovitische Chronica, d. i. Beschreibung des Grossfürsten in der Moscau sammt dessen Ländern, etc. erstlich von Paul Jovio und Sigm. Herberstein in Latein, hernach von Pantaleon ins Teutsche übersetzt. Frankfurt, A.M. 1576, folio.

Frankfurt, A.M., 1579, folio. A repetition of the edition just mentioned.

Frankfurt, A.M., 1589, folio. This impression is mentioned by G. C. Gebauer (Progr. de Vita, Fatis et Scriptis Sigismundi L. B. ab Herberstein), who gives the title as follows—

Die Moscouitische Chronica edita et Georgio a Munster Consiliario Herbipolensi Præfectoque Arnsteinensi inscripta ; prioribus merito postponenda cum priorem Pantaleonis, vt reor, editionem secutus, eiusdem de populis Moscouiæ vicinis commentarios non addiderit, et insertis more suo dudum sculptis nihilque ad rem facientibus figuris, Czari Basilii effigiem, Tabulas Geographicas, Chorographicamque, Vri Bison-tisque imagines, et reliqua in vtraque Pantaleonis editione seruata ornamenta omiserit.

Wien, 1618, folio. This edition is quoted by G. H. Stuck, in his "Verzeichniss ält. u. neuern Land- und Reisebeschr." I, p. 142. It appears to be a reprint of the first Vienna edition of 1557.

St. Petersburg, 1795, folio. This edition of the

translation by Pantaleon was printed by order of Catharine II.

*Bohemian.* Zymunda swobodncho Pána z Herbersteina Cesta do knjzetstwj Moskewského.

This is an extract from Herberstein's work, referring only to his journey to Russia. It is printed in the work—

(Frant. Faustyn Prochazka). Weytah z Kronyky Mozkewské nĕkdu Latinĕ ad Alexandra Gwagnyna sepsané, potom w Cesky gazyk prelozené od Matausse z Wysokého Meyta. Pridana gest Zygmunda z Herbersteina dwogi cesta do Moskwy. (W. Praze) 1786; 8vo., pp. 144-175.

## EXTRACTS.

Descriptio Lithuaniae, ex Moschovia Sigismundi Liberi Baronis ab Herberstein.

Printed from the Basle edition of 1557, in—

(a) *Polonicæ historicæ Corpus*; hoc est Polonicarum rerum Latini scriptores recentiores et veteres, quotquot extant uno volumine comprehensi omnes, ex bibliotheca Jo. Pistorii. Basileæ (1582); fol., tom. i, pp. 151-157.

(b) Alex. Guagnini *Res Polonicæ*. Francofurti, 1584; 8vo., tom. iii, p. 550.

(c) *Historiæ Polonicæ et magni Ducatus Lithuaniae scriptorum collectio magna* ed. Laur. Mitzler de Kolof. Varsaviæ, 1761; fol., tom. i, cap. 7.

Fragmentum de bello Poloni et Moschi.

This is an extract from the "Commentaries", in the Basle edition of 1557, and is printed in the "Polonicæ historiæ corpus", t. iii, p. 13-15.

Eight chapters from Herberstein's "Commentaries" are printed in the Elzevir edition of the work, "Russia sive Moscovia." Lugd. Bat. 1630, 16mo., p. 79-100.

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It only remains for the editor to express his great obligations to his friend William Brenchley Rye, Esq. of the British Museum, both for his obliging contribution of the etching of the grand-prince, which forms the frontispiece of the second volume, and also for most valuable assistance in this introduction, and more especially in the bibliography, which forms so considerable a portion of it.



*CERTAIN E LETTERS IN VERSE,*

WRITTEN BY MASTER GEORGE TURBERUILE,

OUT OF MOSCOUIA,

*Which went as Secretaire thither with Master Tho. Randolph, her  
Maisties Embassadour to the Emperour, 1568, to certaine  
friends of his in London, describing the manners  
of the countrey and people.*

(Referred to at p. cxxvii of the Introduction.)

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TO HIS ESPECIALL FRIEND, MASTER EDWARD DANCIE.

MY Dancie deere, when I recount within my brest,  
My London friends, and wonted mates, and thee above the rest :  
I feele a thousand fittes of deepe and deadly woe,  
To thinke that I from land to sea, from bliss to bale did goe.  
I left my native soyle, full like a retchlesse man,  
And unacquainted of the coast, among the Russies ran :  
A people passing rude, to vices vile inclinde.  
Folke fitting to be of Bacchus' trayne, so quaffing is their kinde,  
Drinke is their whole desire, the pot is all their pride,  
The sobrest head doeth once a day stand needfull of a guide.  
If he to banquet bid his friends, he will not shrinke  
On them at dinner to bestowe a douzen kindes of drinke :  
Such licour as they have, and as the countrey gives,  
But chiefly two, one called Kuas, whereby the Mousike lives,  
Small ware and waterlike, but somewhat tarte in taste,  
The rest is Meade of honie made, wherewith their lippes they haste.  
And if he goe unto his neighbour as a guest,  
He cares for litle meate, if so his drinke be of the best ;  
No wonder though they use such vile and beastly trade,  
Sith with the hatchet and the hand their chiefest gods be made ;  
Their idoles haue their heartes—on God they never call,  
Unlesse it be (Nichola Bough<sup>1</sup>) that hangs against the wall.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas of Bari.



The house that hath no god or paynted saint within,  
 Is not to be resorted too—that rooffe is full of sinne.  
 Besides their priuate gods, in open places stand [hand;  
 Their crosses, unto which they crooch, and bless themselves with  
 Devoutly downe they ducke with forehead to the ground,  
 Was neuer more deceit in ragges and greasie garments found.  
 Almost the meanest man in all the countrie rides;  
 The woman eke, against our use, her trotting horse bestrides:  
 In sundry colours they, both men and women goe,  
 In buskins all, that money haue on buskins to bestoe.  
 Eche woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,  
 Which all of auncient vse, and some of very pride doe weare;  
 Their gate is very brave, their countenance wise and sadde,  
 And yet they follow fleshly lustes, their trade of living badde.  
 It is no shame at all accounted, to defile  
 Anothers bedde, they make no care their follies to concile;  
 Is not the meanest man in all the land but hee,  
 To buy her paynted colours, doth allow his wife a fee,  
 Wherewith she deckes herselfe, and dyes her tawnie skinne,  
 She pranks and paints her smoakie face, both browe, lippe,  
 cheeke, and chinne.  
 Yea those that honest are, if any such there be  
 Within the land, doe use the like; a man may plainly see  
 Upon some womens cheekes the paynting how it lies,  
 In plaister sort for that too thick, her face the harlot dies.  
 But such as skilfull are, and cunning dames indeed,  
 By daily practise doe it well, yea sure they doe exceede;  
 They lay their colours so, as he that is full wise,  
 May easly be deceiv'd therein, if he doe trust his eyes.  
 I not a little muse, what madnes makes them paint  
 Their faces, waying how they keepe the stoove by meere constraint;  
 For seldome when, vnlesse on church or marriage day,  
 A man shall see the dames abroad that are of best aray;  
 The Russie meanes to reape the profit of her pryde,  
 And so he mewes her to be sure she lye by no mans side.  
 Thus much, friend Dancie, I did meane to write to thee,  
 To let thee weete in Russia land what men and women bee.  
 Hereafter I perhaps of other things will write  
 To thee, and other of my friendes, which I shall see with sight;  
 And other stufte besides, which true report shall tell,  
 Meanewhile I ende my louing lines, and bid thee now farewell.

## TO SPENCER.

If I should now forget, or not remember thee,  
 Thou, Spencer, mightest a foule rebuke and shame impute to mee ;  
 For I to open shew did loue thee passing well,  
 And thou wert he at parture whom I loathed to bid farewell ;  
 And as I went thy friend, so I continue still,  
 No better prooffe thou canst then this desire of true good will.  
 I doe remember well when needes I should away,  
 And that the poste would licence us no longer time to stay ;  
 Thou wrongst me by the fist, and holding fast my hand,  
 Didst crave of me to send thee newes, and how I liked the land.  
 It is a sandy soile, no very fruitfull vaine,  
 More waste and woodie grounds there are then closes fit for graine :  
 Yet graine there growing is, which they untimely take,  
 And cut or eare the corne be ripe ; they mowe it on a stake ;  
 And laying sheafe by sheafe, their haruest so they drie ;  
 They make the greater haste for feare the frost the corne destroy.  
 For in the winter time, so glarie is the ground,  
 As neither grass nor other graine in pastures may be found :  
 In coms the cattel then, the sheepe, the colt, the cowe,  
 Fast by his bed the mowsike then a lodging doth allowe,  
 Whom he with fodder feedes, and holds as deere as life,  
 And thus they weare the winter with the mowsike and his wife.  
 Seuen months the winter dures, the glare it is so great,  
 As it is May before he turne his ground to sowe his wheate ;  
 The bodies eke that die, unburied lie they then,  
 Laid up in coffins made of firre, as well the poorest men,  
 As those of greater state ; the cause is lightly found,  
 For that in winter time they cannot come to breake the ground ;  
 And wood so plenteous is, quite throughout all the land,  
 As rich and poor, at time of death, assur'd of coffins stand.  
 Perhaps thou musest much, how this may stand with reason,  
 That bodies dead can uncorrupt abide so long a season ;  
 Take this for certaine trothe, as soon as heate is gone,  
 The force of colde the bodie binds as hard as any stone,  
 Without offence at all to any living thing :  
 And so they lye in perfect state till next returne of springe.  
 Their beasts be like to ours, as farre as I can see, [ be ;  
 For shape and shewe, but somewhat lesse of bulke and bone they

Of watrish taste, the flesh not firme like English beefe,  
 And yet it serues them very well, and is a good reliefe.  
 Their sheepe are very small, sharpe singled, handfull long,  
 Great store of fowle on sea and land, the moorish reedes amonge,  
 The greatnes of the store doth make the prices lesse ;  
 Besides in all the land they knowe not how good meate to dresse.  
 They use neither broach nor spit, but when the stooue they heate,  
 They put their victuals in a pan, and so they bake their meate ;  
 No pewter to be had, no dishes but of wood,  
 No use of trenchers ; cups cut out of byrche are very good.  
 They use but wooden spoones, which hanging in a case,  
 Eache mowsike at his girdle ties, and thinkes it no disgrace ;  
 With whittles two or three, the betterman the moe,  
 The cheefest Russies in the land with spoone and kniues doe goe.  
 Their houses are not huge of building, but they say  
 They plant them in the loftiest ground to shift the snowe away ;  
 Which in the winter time, each where full thicke they lie,  
 Which makes them have the more desire to set their houses high ;  
 No stonework is in use, their roofes of rafters be,  
 One linked in another fast, their walls are all of tree ;  
 Of masts both long and large, with mosse put in betweene,  
 To keepe the force of weather out, I neur earst haue seene ;  
 A grosse devise so good, and on the rooffe they lay,  
 The burthen barke, to rid the raine, and sudden showers away.  
 In euery roome a stoue, to serue the winter turne,  
 Of wood they haue sufficient store as much as they can burne ;  
 They have no English glasse, of slices of a rocke,  
 Hight Sluda, they their windowes make, that English glass doth  
 mocke.

They cut it very thinne, and sowe it with a thred,  
 In pretie order like to panes, to serue their present neede ;  
 No other glasse good faith, doth giue a better light,  
 And sure the rocke is nothing rich, the cost is very slight.  
 The chiefest place is that, where hangs the god by it,  
 The owner of the house himself doth neuer sit,  
 Unlesse his better come, to whom he yeelds the seat ;  
 The stranger bending to the god, the ground with brow must beat,  
 And in that very place which they most sacred deeme,  
 The stranger lyes ; a token that his guest he doth esteeme.  
 Where he is woont to have a beares skinne for his bed,  
 And must in stead of pillow clap his saddle to his head.

In Russia other shift there is not to be had,  
 For where the bedding is not good the boalsters are but bad ;  
 I mused very much what made them so to lie,  
 Sith in theyr countrey downe is rife, and feathers out of cric ;  
 Unlesse it be because the countrey is so hard,  
 They feare by nicenesse of a bed theyr bodyes would be mard.  
 I wisht thee oft with us, saue that I stood in feare,  
 Thou wouldst haue loathed to haue layd thy limmes upon a beare,  
 As I and Stafford did, that was my mate in bed ; [sped.  
 And yet (we thank the God of heauen) we both right well haue  
 Loe thus I make an end ; none other newes to thee,  
 But that the countrey is too colde, the people beastly bee.  
 I write not all I know ; I touch but heere and there ;  
 For if I should, my pen would pinch, and eke offend I feare :  
 Who so shall read this verse, coniecture of the rest,  
 And thinke by reason of our trade that I do thinke the best.  
 But if no traffike were, then could I boldly pen  
 The hardnesse of the soile, and eke the maners of the men ;  
 They say the lions paw giues iudgement of the beast,  
 And so may you deeme of the great by reading of the least.

## TO PARKER.

My Parker, pen and inke were made to write,  
 And idle heads that little do haue leisure to indite ;  
 Wherefore, respecting these, and thine assured loue,  
 If I would write no newes to thee, thou might'st my pen reproc.  
 And sithence fortune thus hath shou'd my shippe on shore,  
 And made me seeke another realme vnseene of me before ;  
 The maners of the men I purpose to declare,  
 And other priuate points besides, which strange and geazon are.  
 The Russie men are round of bodies, fully faste,  
 The greatest part with bellies bigge that ouerhang the waste,  
 Flat headed for the most, with faces nothing faire,  
 But browne, by reason of the stoue, and closenesse of the aire ;  
 It is theyr common vse to shaue or els to sheare  
 Theyr heads, for none in all the land long lolling locks doth weare,  
 Unlesse perhaps he haue his souereigne prince displeas'd,  
 For then he neur cuts his haire vntill he be appeas'd.  
 A certaine signe to know who in displeasure be,  
 For every man that views his head will say, Loe this is he.

And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,  
 Dares no man for his life to him a face of friendship show.  
 Theyr garments be not gay, nor handsome to the eye,  
 A cap aloft theyr heads they haue that standeth very hye,  
 Which colpacke they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all;  
 The best haue collers set with pearle, which they rubasca call;  
 Theyr shirts in Russie long, they worke them downe before,  
 And on the sleuees with coulered silks two inches good and more.  
 Aloft theyr shirts they weare, a garment iacket wise,  
 Hight onoriadka, and about his burlie waste he tyes  
 His portkies, which in stead of better breeches bee:  
 Of linnen cloth that garment is, no codpiece is to see.  
 A payre of yarmen stocks to keep the colde away,  
 Within his boots the Russie weares, the heeles they underlay  
 With clouting clamps of steele sharp-pointed at the toes,  
 And ouer all a suba furd, and thus the Russies goes.  
 Well butned is the sube according to his state,  
 Some silke, of silver other some, but those of poorest rate  
 Do weare no subes at all, but grosser gowns to sight,  
 That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that armacha hight:  
 These are the Russies robes. The richest vse to ride  
 From place to place, his seruant runnes, and followes by his side;  
 The Cassacke beares his felt to force away the raine:  
 Their bridles are not very braue, their saddles are but plaine,  
 No bits, but snaffles all, of birch their saddles bee,  
 Much fashioned like the Scottish seats, broad flacks to keepe the  
     knee  
 From sweating of the horse, the pannels larger farre,  
 And broader be then ours, they use short stirrups for the warre;  
 For when the Russie is pursued by cruell foe,  
 He rides away, and suddenly betakes him to his boe,  
 And bends me but about in saddle as he sits,  
 And therewithall amids his race his following foe he hits.  
 Theyr bowes are very short, like Turkie bowes outright,  
 Of sinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner dight;  
 Small arrowes, cruel heads, that fell and forked bee,  
 Which being shot from out those bowes, a cruell way will flee:  
 They seldome vse to shoo their horse, vnlesse they ride  
 In post vpon the frozen fluds, then cause they shall not slide  
 He sets a slender calke, and so he rides his way.  
 The horses of the countrey go good fourscore versts a day,

And all without the spurre, once prick them and they skippe,  
 But go not forward on their way, the Russie has his whippe  
 To rappe him on the ribbes, for though all booted bee,  
 Yet shall ye not a payre of spurres in all the countrey see.  
 The common game is chesse, almost the simplest will  
 Both giue a checke and eke a mate; by practise comes theyr skill.  
 Againe the dice as fast, the poorest rogues of al  
 Will sit them downe in open field, and there to gaming fall;  
 Their dice are very small, in fashion like to those  
 Which we do vse; he takes them up, and ouer his thumb he throwes,  
 Not shaking them a whit, the cast suspiciouslie,  
 And yet I deeme them void of art that dicing most applie.  
 At play when siluer lacks, goes saddle, horse, and all, [small;  
 And each thing else worth siluer walkes, although the price be  
 Because thou louest to play, friend Parker, other while,  
 I wish thee there the weary day with dicing to beguile.  
 But thou weart better fare at home, I wist it well,  
 And wouldest be loathe among such lowts so long a time to dwell;  
 Then iudge of vs, thy friends, what kinde of life we had,  
 That neere the frozen pole to waste our weary dayes wer glad;  
 In such a sauage soile, where lawes do beare no sway,  
 But all is at the king his will, to saue or els to slay;  
 And that sans cause, God wot, if so his mind be such:  
 But what meane I with kings to deale, we ought no saints to touch.  
 Conceiue the rest yourselfe, and deeme what liues they lead,  
 Where lust is law, and subiects liue continually in dread;  
 And where the best estates have none assurance good,  
 Of lands, of liues, nor nothing falles vnto the next of blood:  
 But all of custome doth vnto the prince redowne,  
 And all the whole revenue comes vnto the king his crowne.  
 Good faith I see thee muse at what I tell thee now,  
 But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleasure bow.  
 So Tarquine ruled Rome, as thou remembrest well,  
 And what his fortune was at last, I know thy selfe canst tell;  
 Where will in common weale doth beare the onely sway,  
 And lust is law, the prince and realme must needs in time decay;  
 The strangenesse of the place is such for sundry things I see,  
 As if I would, I can not write, ech priuate point to thee.  
 The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince so full of pride,  
 The realme so stored with monks and nunnes, and priests on  
 euery side:

The maners are so Turkie like, the men so full of guile,  
The women wanton, temples stuf with idols that defile  
The seats that sacred ought to be, the customes are so quaint,  
As if I would describe the whole, I feare my penne would faint.  
In summe, I say, I never saw a prince that so did raigne,  
Nor people so beset with saints, yet all but vile and vaine :  
Wilde Irish are as ciul as the Russies in theyr kinde,  
Hard choice which is the best of both, ech bloody, rude and blinde.  
If thou be wise, as wise thou art, and wilt be rulde by me,  
Liue still at home, and couet not those barbarous coasts to see ;  
No good befallles a man that seekes, and findes no better place,  
No ciul customes to be learned, where God bestowes no grace.  
And truelie ill they do deserue to be belou'd of God,  
That neither loue nor stand in awe of his assured rod :  
Which though be long, yet plagues at last the vile and beastly sort,  
Of sinful wights, that all in vice do place theyr chiefest sport.  
Adieu, friend Parker, if thou list to know the Russies well,  
To Sigismundus booke repayre, who all the trueth can tell,  
For he long earst in message went unto that sauage king,  
Sent by the Pole, and true report in ech respect did bring.  
To him I recommend myself, to ease my penne of paine,  
And now at last do wish thee well, and bid farewell againe.

❧ RERVM MOSCO. ❧  
VITICARVM CO-  
MENTARII.

IN HIIS COMENTARIIS SPARSIM CONTENTA HABEBIS,  
CANDIDE LECTOR,

RUSSIE & QUE NUNC EJUS METROPOLIS EST, MOSCOVIE,  
BREVISSIMAM DESCRIPTIONEM,

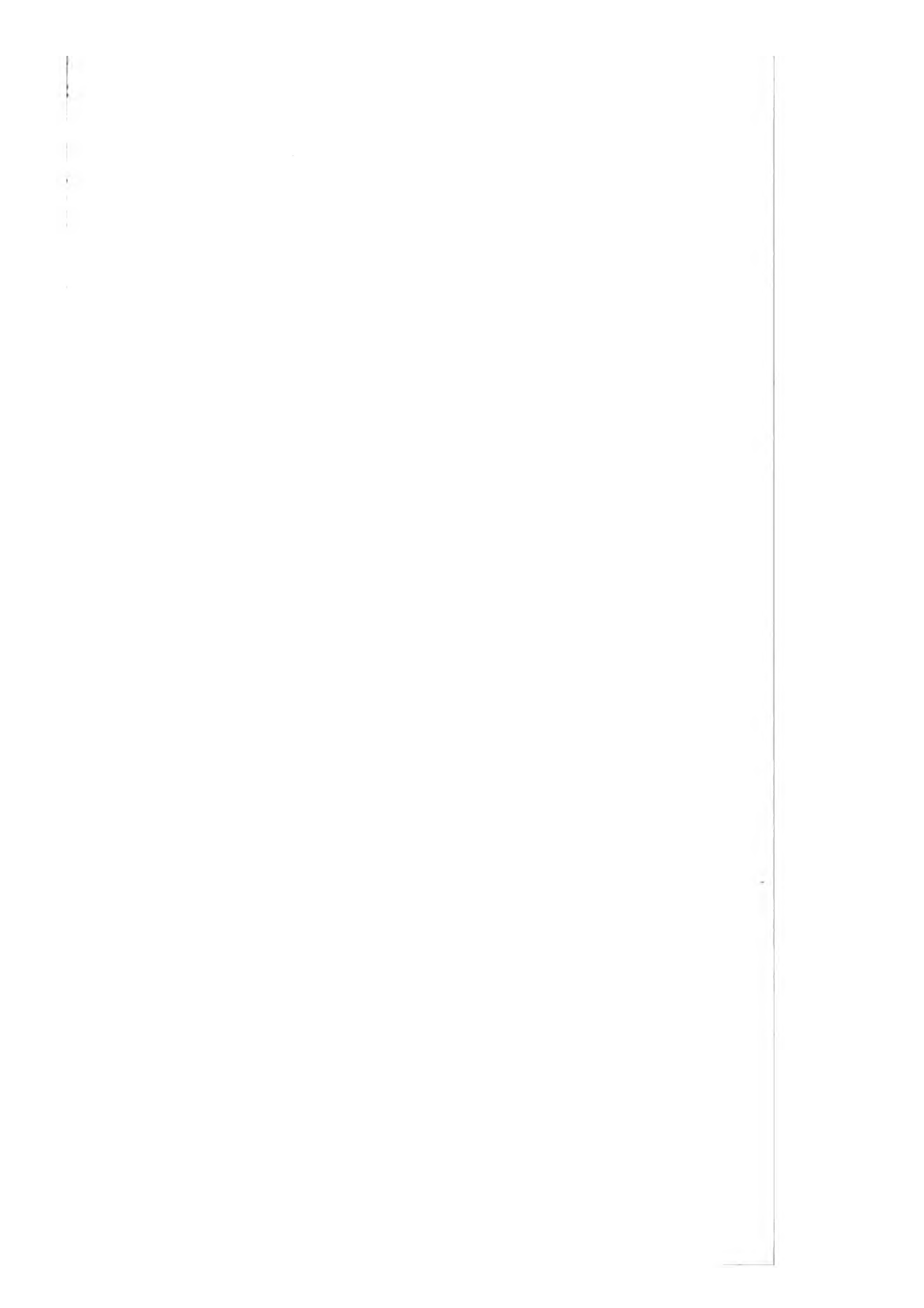
DE RELIGIONE QUOQUE VARIA INSERTA SUNT: ET QUE NOSTRA  
CUM RELIGIONE NON CONVENIUNT.

COROGRAPHIAM DENIQUE TOTIUS IMPERII MOSCICI: ET  
VICINORUM QUORUNDAM MENTIONEM.

QUIS DENIQUE MODUS EXCIPIENDI ET TRACTANDI ORATORES:  
DISSERITUR.

ITINERARIA QUOQUE DUO, IN MOSCOVIAM SUNT ADIUNCTA.





## DEDICATION.

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To the Most Serene Prince and Lord, the Lord Ferdinand, King of the Romans, Hungary, and Bohemia, Infant of Spain, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy and Wirtemberg, and Duke, Marquis, Count, and Lord of many provinces, my most gracious master :

IN ancient days, when the Romans sent ambassadors to any distant and unknown country, they are said to have charged them as a duty to commit carefully to writing a description of the manners, institutes, and entire mode of living of the people with whom their embassy brought them in contact; and so much importance was afterwards attached to such descriptions, that upon the termination of an embassy, the ambassador's commentaries were deposited in the temple of Saturn for the instruction of posterity. If this regulation had been observed by men of our own, or recent times, we should perhaps have had more light, and certainly less trash, infused into history. For my own part, as I always from my youth took delight in observing the habits of foreigners both at home and abroad, it was a matter of cordial pleasure to me that my services were required in embassies, not only by that wise prince, Your Majesty's grandfather Maximilian, but by Your Majesty also, by whose command I more than once travelled through the countries of the north. To Russia in particular, which of all the countries of Christendom differs so much from us in its manners, laws,

religion, and military discipline, I made a second expedition, on which occasion the Imperial ambassador, Count Leonhard von Nugaroli was alike the sharer of my dignity and the companion of my journey. Although, however, I had by command of the Emperor Maximilian gone as ambassador to Denmark, Hungary, and Poland; and after the death of His Majesty, had in the name of my country, travelled through Italy and France, traversing both sea and land, to Spain, on a mission to Your Majesty's brother, the most powerful and invincible Emperor Charles V; and subsequently, by command of Your Majesty, went as ambassador to the kings of Hungary and Poland, and lastly, in company with Count Nicolas von Salm, to the camp of Solyman, the prince of the Turks; in all which journeyings I had made numerous notes, doubtless worthy of being commemorated in print, both of what I saw and learnt by diligent inquiry: yet I was unwilling to spend such leisure as I could afford myself from public councils, in committing to print any relation of such matters as had been either treated of skilfully and carefully by others, or were already set before the eyes and daily observation of all Europe. The more intimate habits of the Russians, however, which have not been brought before the knowledge of the present age, I have here taken upon myself to bring forward and describe; in doing which, I have mainly relied upon two things, namely, diligence in investigation, and my knowledge of the Sclavonic language; both which have served me largely in the production of a narrative of this nature. While, therefore, several others have, in describing other countries, touched upon Russia; among the more ancient of whom is Nicolas Cusanus, and in our own time, Paulus Jovius (whose name I mention on account of his very great learning and wonderful affection for myself, and of whose elegance and great fidelity of description I speak, on account of the abundant use that he made of an interpreter), Johann Fabri, and Anton Bied, who have left both maps and commentaries; and while some, also, of the authors to whom I refer have not written of Russia specifically, but

only incidentally, in describing neighbouring countries, — as for instance, Olaus Gothus, in his description of Sweden, Matthæus Mechovita, Albertus Campensis, and Munster,—yet such as these have by no means deterred me from my resolution of writing. And this resolution I hold, because while I was in the country I derived my information, not only from personal observation, but from accounts which were worthy of credit, and daily availed myself of every opportunity to converse much upon such matters with a great number of people, so that occasionally I have been obliged (and I hope my words will not give offence) to give a more copious and ample explanation of matters which have been exhibited by others obscurely and as it were through a lattice. In addition to this, I here give a description of subjects which have not been at all touched upon by others, and which no one but an ambassador could have become acquainted with. In this my purpose and labour, moreover, I have been encouraged by Your Majesty, who has from time to time exhorted me to bring the work which I had begun to a conclusion, and who has even (as the saying is) spurred an already willing horse; while on the other hand, various embassies and other labours in Your Majesty's service have very frequently called me off from this occupation, upon which I have been able hitherto to bestow less time than I had contemplated. Now, however, that I find myself able to enjoy somewhat of leisure from the daily business of the Austrian treasury, I return, in obedience to Your Majesty's command, to my interrupted task; and I pay but little regard to those inconsiderate readers of this most delicate age, who will perhaps look for greater refinement in my writing; it is sufficient for me that I have given proof by the fact itself (since I could not do so equally by my language), of my wish by any means to provide instruction for posterity, and of my desire to obey the commands of Your Majesty, than which I hold nothing in greater reverence. I therefore hereby declare to Your Majesty, that these Notes upon Russia have been dictated by me far more from a desire to investigate and elucidate the truth, than for the sake of

talking ; and I humbly dedicate and commend myself to the patronage of Your Majesty, in whose service I have grown old, and pray Your Majesty to deign to accept this book with the same clemency and kindness which Your Majesty has ever vouchsafed to its author himself.

*Vienna, First of March 1549.*

The same, Your Majesty's faithful Councillor and Chamberlain,  
and Governor of the Austrian Treasury,

SIGISMUND,

Baron of Herberstein, Neyperg, and Guettenhag.

## TO THE READER.

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IN thus entering upon the description of Moscow, which is the capital of Russia, and which extends its sway far and wide through Scythia, it will be indispensable, candid reader, that I should in this work touch upon many parts of the north, which have not been sufficiently known either to ancient authors or those of our own day, and it will follow that I shall sometimes be compelled to differ from the accounts they give. And in order that my opinion in this matter may not be looked upon with suspicion, or considered presumptuous, I assert with all honesty, that not once only, but repeatedly, while engaged as ambassador for the Emperor Maximilian, and his grandson Ferdinand king of the Romans, I have seen and investigated Moscow, as it were under my very eyes (as the saying is); that I made myself acquainted with the greater part of the talented and trustworthy men of the place, and did not rely upon this or that man's account, but trusted only to the unvarying statements of the many; and having the advantage of knowing the Slavonic language, which is identical with the Russian and Muscovitic, I have written these things and handed them down to the memory of posterity, not only as an ear, but as an eye-witness, and that not with any disguise in my description, but openly and freely.

But, in like manner as every nation has its own peculiar mode of pronunciation, so also the Russians connect and join together their letters in various ways, after a fashion to which we are quite unaccustomed; so that no one who did not pay particular attention to their pronunciation, would be able either conveniently to ask them a question, or to gain any intelligible reply. Since, therefore, in my description of Russia, I have, not without consideration, used Russian words in naming objects, places, and rivers, I have thought it right thus at the outset briefly to show the connexion and force of certain letters; by observing which, the reader will be enabled to understand many things more easily, and occasionally, perhaps, be induced to extend his inquiries.

The Russians write and spell Basilius with the consonant *w*;<sup>1</sup> yet as we have grown into the habit of writing and spelling it with a *b*, I have not thought it necessary to write it with the *w*; *c* placed before an aspirate, should not be pronounced *ci* or *sch*, as some nations are accustomed to write it, but *khi*, after the manner of the Germans, as in the words Chiovia, Chan, Chlinov, Chlopigorod, etc. But when a double *z* is prefixed, it should be pronounced in a rather more sonorous manner,—as Czeremisse, Czernigo, Czilma, Czunkas, etc. The Russians express *g* with an aspirated *h* more strongly than is the custom of other Slavonians, and almost after the Bohemian fashion,—as when they write Iugra, Wolga, they pronounce Iuhra, Wolha.

The letter *i* receives the fullest force of a consonant,—as in Iausa, Iaroslav, Iamma, Ieropolchus, etc.

*Th* is pronounced almost like *ph*,—thus, Theodore is called Pheodore or Feodore.

When *v* has the force of a consonant, I have put in the place of it *w*, which the Germans express by double *u*, as in Wolodimeria, Worothin, Wedrasch, Wisma, Wladislaus. But when the same letter is placed in the middle or at the end of a word, it receives the force or sound of the Greek letter *phi*,—as Oczakow [Ochakov], Rostow [Rostov], Asow [Azov], Owka [Ovka]. The reader will carefully observe the force of this letter, lest by a careless pronunciation one and the same word might seem to imply different things.

Moreover, in treating of the annals, origin, and deeds of the Russians, I have not used our number of years, but theirs;<sup>2</sup> lest in differing from their documents, I might seem to assume the character rather of a corrector than of a faithful interpreter.

<sup>1</sup> The reader is begged to observe that this is Herberstein's explanation of his own mode of expressing the force of Russian letters in Roman character. The Russians spell Basilius with a letter of the form of our *b*, and holding the third place in their alphabet, but having the sound of the English *v* and the German *w*. This accounts for Herberstein, who was a German, representing this sound by the letter *w*; but there is no *w* in Russian.

<sup>2</sup> The era of Constantinople, which was adopted by the Russians from the Greek church, and continued in use until the reign of Peter the Great, fixes the creation of the world in the 5508th year before Christ, the year of whose incarnation fell in the 5509th of this era.

## NOTES UPON RUSSIA.

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VARIOUS are the opinions entertained respecting the origin of the name of Russia. Some maintain that it is derived from one Russus, a prince of the Poles, and brother or nephew of Lech, as though he himself had been a prince of the Russians. Others again derive it from a certain very ancient town, named Russum,<sup>1</sup> not far from Great Novogorod. Some also derive it from the dark colour of the people; and some think that, by a change in the word, Russia has received its designation from Roxolania. The Muscovites, however, contradict those who maintain these discrepant opinions, and assert, that it was anciently called Rosseia, as a nation dispersed and scattered, which indeed the name implies. For Rosseia, in the language of the Russians, means a dissemination or dispersion; and the variety of races even now blended with the inhabitants and the various provinces of Russia lying promiscuously intermingled, manifestly prove that this is correct. It is well known also to those who read the sacred writings, that the prophets use a word expressing dissemination when they speak of the dispersion of nations.<sup>2</sup> There are not wanting those also, who by a somewhat similar process of reasoning, derive the name of the Russians from a

<sup>1</sup> Staraiia Russa, Anglicè Old Russa, to the south of Lake Ilmen.

<sup>2</sup> Herberstein appears here to allude to Leviticus, chap. xxvi, verse 23, and Ezekiel, chap. xxii, verse 15, and other passages, where occurs the Hebrew root *זרע*, to scatter, probably connected with *זרע*, to sow.



Greek, and hence from a Chaldaic origin, viz., from the Greek word *ῥόδς*, a flowing, or from a kind of dispersion, as it were, by drops, which is called by the Aramæans,<sup>1</sup> Resissaia or Ressaia ; just as the Galli and Umbri have received their appellations from the Hebrew words, Gall and Gallim, and from Uंबर, *i. e.*, floods, storms, and inundations ; which is as much as to call them an inconstant and stormy people, or a nation liable to burst out and run over. But whatever be the source from which Russia has derived its name, all the races using the Slavonic language that observe both the faith and the forms of Christianity in accordance with the ritual of the Greeks, and are called in conventional language Russians, and in Latin Rhuteni, have increased to so great a multitude, that they have either driven out all intermediate nations, or have absorbed them into their own habits of living ; so that all may now be designated by one common word, Russians.

Moreover, the Slavonic language,—which, by a slight corruption of the word, is called Sclavonic at the present day,—has a most extensive range : for the Dalmatians, the Bosnians, the Croatians, the Istrians, and those who dwell along the Adriatic in a long tract of country as far as Friuli ; the Carni,<sup>2</sup> whom the Venetians call Charsi ; the Carniolians also, and the Carinthians, as far as the Drave ; the Styrians, like-

<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia, so named as the descendants of Aram the fifth son of Shem. The name of Aram, given in Genesis to Syria, extended itself also to Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Assyria, and Elam. The languages spoken in the ancient country of Aram,—viz., the Syriac and Chaldean,—are still called Aramæan languages.

<sup>2</sup> A people of Gallia Transpadana, whose boundaries are thus given by Pliny, Livy, and others : on the east, the river Formio, which divided them from the Istri ; on the north, the Julian Alps, by which they were separated from Noricum ; on the south, the Adriatic ; and on the west, the River Tagliamento, which divided them from the Veneti. Thus they occupied the country which now forms the eastern part of the province of Friuli and the county of Goritz. The capital was Aquileia, now Aglar, a small town lying about midway between Palma Nuova and the sea.

wise, below Gratz, who dwell along the Muhr, as far as the Danube; then the Mysians, Servians, Bulgarians, and others dwelling as far as Constantinople, all speak the Slavonic language; add to these the Bohemians, Lusatians, Silesians, Moravians, and those who dwell by the river Waag, in the kingdom of Hungary; the Poles also, and the widely ruling Russians, together with the Circassians, called the *Quinquemontani*, on the Black Sea; lastly, through Germany, the remains of the Vandals scattered here and there over the north beyond the Elbe. While these various nations pretend to be Slavonians, the Germans promiscuously call all those who use the Slavonic language, *Wends*, *Winden*, and *Windisch*,—a term taken only from the Vandals.

Russia extends near to the Sarmatian mountains, up to a short distance from Cracow; thence along the river Tyra, which the natives call *Dniester*, to the Black Sea, and across to the *Dnieper*. Some years since, however, the Turk took possession of *Alba*, otherwise called *Moncastro* [*Bielograd*], also situated at the mouth of the river *Dniester*, and under the dominion of the *Waywode*<sup>1</sup> of *Moldavia*. The king of *Taurica* likewise crossed the *Dnieper*, and laying waste the country far and wide, built two fortresses,—one of which, called *Ochakov*, situated not far from the mouth of the *Dnieper*, is still in the possession of the Turk: but the space between these two rivers is now a desert. Moreover, in ascending the *Dnieper*, we come to the town of *Circas* [*Cherkasui*], lying towards the west, and then to the very ancient city of *Kiev*, formerly the metropolis of *Russia*; and on the opposite side of the *Dnieper*, is the still inhabited province of *Sewera*; and from thence, directly eastward, we come to the sources of the *Don*. Proceeding then a long distance by the course of the *Don*, as far nearly as the

<sup>1</sup> The original is "*Voyvoda*", which, in *Russian*, signifies "leader of an army".

conflux of the rivers Occa and Volga, and crossing the Volga, a very long journey brings us at length to the Northern Ocean. Thence returning through the countries which are subject to the king of Sweden, by Finland, the Gulf of Livonia, Livonia, Samogithia, and Masovia, and lastly through Poland, the country is bounded by the Sarmatian mountains, two provinces only intervening,—namely, Lithuania and Samogithia,—which two provinces are intermixed with the Russians; and though they have their own dialects, and use the Roman ritual, the inhabitants are nevertheless for the most part Russian.

Of the princes who now rule over Russia, the first is the Grand Duke of Moscow, who holds the greatest part of it; the second is the Grand Duke of Lithuania; the third is the King of Poland, who now is sovereign both of Poland and Lithuania.

This nation possesses no information concerning its origin beyond the annals hereafter quoted, which state that this Slavonic people were of the race of Japhet, and were formerly seated on the Danube, in that part which is now called Hungary and Bulgaria, and that they were at that time called Norici; that at length they were scattered and dispersed over various lands, and took the names of the places whither they went: as for instance, the Moravians took their name from the river Moraw; others called themselves Ozechi, *i. e.*, Bohemians; also Ghorwati,<sup>1</sup> Bieli, Serbli, *i. e.*, Servians; the Chorontani<sup>2</sup> also, who located themselves on the shores of the Danube; others being driven out by the Walachians, came to the Vistula, and took the name of Lechi, from one Lech, a prince of the Poles, from whom

<sup>1</sup> The Hungarian form for Croatians.

<sup>2</sup> The extent of Karantania, the country of the Chorontani or Karantani, is described by Schafarik, in his *Slawische Alterthümer*, as embracing Carinthia, Stiria, and part of Tyrol. It was thus bounded on the south by Lombardy, east by Pannonia, north by Lower Austria and Bavaria. The modern name of Karinthia is derived from it.

also the Poles are called Lechi. Others are called Lithuanians, Mazovians, and Pomeranians; others, taking their abode by the Dnieper where now Kiev is situated, were called Poleni; others Drewliani, dwelling in woods; others between the Dwina and Peti were called Dregowici; others called Poleutzani, on the river Polta, which flows into the Dwina; others about the Lake Ilmen, who took possession of Novogorod, and selected as their ruler a prince named Gostomissel; others, called Seweri or Sewerski,<sup>1</sup> dwelt on the shores of the rivers Desna and Sula;<sup>2</sup> others again named Chriwitzi, by the sources of the Volga and the Dnieper, whose capital and fortress is Smolensko. These things are testified by their own annals.

It is unknown who were the original sovereigns of Russia, for they had no characters in which their deeds could be written and transmitted to memory. But after that Michael, king of Constantinople, had sent the Slavonian characters into Bulgaria in the year of the world six thousand four hundred and six [898],<sup>3</sup> then first, not only the occurrences of the period, but also those which they had heard from their ancestors and retained through long memory, began to be written and recorded in their annals. From these it appears, that the people of the Coseri had formerly exacted from some of the Russians a tribute of squirrel skins, to be delivered to them from each house, and also that the Waregi had been rulers over them. Concerning the Coseri,<sup>4</sup> I have

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.*, northern.

<sup>2</sup> Two rivers falling into the Dnieper.

<sup>3</sup> According to Nestor, the ancient Slavonian chronicler, it was about the year 863, and not 898, as given by Herberstein, that Michael the Third sent into Bulgaria Cyrillus and Methodius, two brothers, natives of Thessalonia, who were distinguished for their learning and piety, to translate the Scriptures into the Slavonian language of the country. They invented the letters known as the Cyrillic alphabet.

<sup>4</sup> The Khozars, or Khazars, a race of Turkish origin who inhabited for a long time the western shores of the Caspian. They were first called

been able to learn nothing from the annals, beyond the name, as to whence they came or who they were; and the same likewise with the Waregi;<sup>1</sup> but as they gave the name of Waregan Sea to the Baltic, and to that sea which divides Prussia, Livonia, and part of their own territory from Sweden, I have concluded from the vicinity that their princes were either Swedes or Danes, or Prussians. But since Wagria seems to have been formerly a most famous seat and province of the Vandals, near to Lubeck and the Duchy of Holstein, it would appear that the sea which is now called the Baltic took its name from it; and as that sea, together with the gulph which divides Germany from Denmark, and separates also Prussia, Livonia, and the maritime portion of the Russian empire from Sweden, was at that time called by the Russians Waretzokoie Morie, *i. e.* the Waregan Sea; and as in addition to this the Vandals were at that time powerful, used the language, and practised the manners and religion of the Russians, it appears to me more probable that the Russians called their princes from the Wagrii, or Waregi, than

Akazirs, under which name they in the year 212 made an irruption into Armenia. They were conquered first by Attila, and afterwards by the Bulgarians. After the death of Attila, they became free; and in the sixth century they had continual wars with the Persians, who, under Cosroes, erected a wall against them, known as the Caucasian wall, the ruins of which still exist. They subsequently carried on hostilities with the Arabs, invaded Hungary likewise, and made several princes tributary, so that their dominion extended from the Volga and the Caspian Sea to the Moldavia and Wallachia of the present day. At length their kingdom fell under the frequent attacks of the Russians about 1016; the name of *Chazars*, however, prevailed for a century or more afterwards. They were known under the name of *Kosa* to the Chinese themselves. For a summary of the history of this people, see Stritter, *Memorie Populorum Septentr.*, tom. iii, fo. 548; St. Petersburg, 1778, 4to.; Karamzin, tom. i, fo. 48; Paris, 1819, 8vo.; and De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i, part II, pp. 507-509.

<sup>1</sup> After a long controversy amongst the Russians, it seems to be very generally allowed by the best antiquaries, that the Waregi were Scandinavians or Northmen. For a detailed account of them, see Karamzin, vol. i, fo. 52, *et seq.*

that they conferred their government upon foreigners, who differed from them in religion, manners, and language. It happened, then, that as the Russians had contentions among themselves from time to time concerning the sovereignty, and the opposite parties, inflamed with hatred against each other, were carrying their quarrels to the highest pitch of malignity, one Gostomissel, a man of prudence and great authority in Novogorod, advised, as a conciliatory measure, that they should send to the Waregi, and request three brothers, who were there held in high estimation, to undertake the government. His advice meeting with a ready approval, ambassadors were sent to fetch the brother princes, who, upon their arrival, divided between them the government thus voluntarily conceded. Rurick obtained the principality of Novogorod, and fixed his residence in Ladoga, thirty-six German miles below great Novogorod. Sinaus settled himself at the White Lake [Bielosero] and Truvor, in the town of Svortzech [Isborsk], in the principality of Plescov. The Russians boast that these brothers derived their origin from the Romans, from whom even the present prince of Russia asserts that he is sprung. The entrance of these brothers into Russia took place, according to the annals, in the year of the world 6370 (862). Two of them dying without heirs, Rurick, the survivor, came into possession of all the principalities, and divided his fortresses among his friends and relatives. Upon his death-bed, he entrusted his youthful son, named Igor, together with the kingdom, to the care of one of his kinsmen, named Oleg, who increased the latter by the conquest of many provinces. Carrying his arms as far as Greece, he laid siege even to Constantinople, and after a reign of thirty-three years, died of an injury caused by the bite of a poisonous snake, through accidentally planting his foot on the skull of his horse after it had been some time dead. Upon the death of Oleg, Igor, who had married a wife from Plescov, named Olga, took the

reins of government. This prince proceeded with his forces still further than his predecessor, and reached Heraclea and Nicomedia ; at length, however, he was overthrown in battle and fled. He met his death subsequently at the hand of Maldittus,<sup>1</sup> a prince of the Drevlians, at a place called Ciresti,<sup>2</sup> and was there buried. As his son Svyatoslav', whom he left an infant, could not reign on account of his tender age, his mother Olga became regent in the interim ; and on one occasion, when the Drevlians sent twenty messengers to her with commands that she should marry their prince, Olga first ordered the messengers of the Drevlians to be buried alive, and then dispatched messengers of her own to them to say, that if they wished her to be their princess and mistress, they should send a greater number of wooers, and of higher rank : after this she scalded to death, in a bath, fifty picked men that had been sent to her, and again sent other messengers to announce their arrival, and ordered that they should prepare some aqua mulsa<sup>3</sup> and other things which were usually considered necessary in providing for the obsequies of a deceased husband. Moreover, when she came to the Drevlians, she held a mourning for her husband, and having made the Drevlians drunk, slew five thousand of them : she then returned to Kiev, raised an army, and proceeding against the Drevlians, oppressed them with a siege which lasted a whole year, during which she persecuted those who fled to her camp, and finally obtained the victory. Terms of peace being afterwards agreed upon, she demanded a tribute from

<sup>1</sup> Nestor calls this prince "Male".

<sup>2</sup> This is a misspelling for Korosten, the ancient capital of the Drevlians. It occupied the site of the present town of Iskorosk in Volhynia. A mound called the "Tomb of Igor" is still to be seen on a plain near the town by the banks of the river Oosha. — *Geographichesky Slovar Rossyeskago Gosoodarstva*. Moscow, 1804, 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Hydromel. Pliny, in his twenty-second book, says, "Mellis quidem ipsius natura talis est ut putrescere corpora non sinat". Columella (lib. xii, cap. 12, fo. 420) speaks of the preparation of aqua mulsa.

every house of three pigeons and as many sparrows, and upon receiving the birds, she sent them back with various combustible materials fastened under their wings; the birds being released, made their way for their accustomed homes, and flying back to the fortresses, set fire to them, while those who fled from the conflagration were either slain or taken prisoners, and sold. When she had taken possession of all the fortresses of the Drevlians, and revenged the death of her husband, she returned to Kiev. Proceeding subsequently to Greece, in the year of the world 6463 (955), she received baptism under King John of Constantinople, and changing her name of Olga for that of Helen, received large presents from the king upon the occasion of her baptism, soon after which she returned home. She was the first Christian among the Russians, according to their annals, which compare her to the Sun: for as the Sun illuminates the world itself, so also, say the records, she illuminated Russia with the faith of Christ. She could not, however, by any means persuade her son Svyatoslav' to be baptized, who on arriving at manhood proved to be strong and active, and shrunk from no warlike exertion or danger to which warriors were accustomed. He permitted his army to carry no baggage, not even cooking utensils, and himself ate nothing but roast meat, and was accustomed to sleep upon the ground with only a saddle for his pillow. He carried his arms as far as the Danube and conquered the Bulgarians, and fixed his court in the city of Pereaslav', saying to his mother and counsellors: "This is my capital, in the midst of my dominions; from Greece are brought to me Panodokhi<sup>1</sup> gold, silver, wine, and various fruits; from Hungary, silver and horses; from Russia, schora,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The editor is unable to offer any explanation of the meaning of this word, which on the following page is spelt panodochmi, beyond the suggestion that it may be derived from the Greek words  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , as implying the reception of "gifts of all sorts".

<sup>2</sup> A Russian word for harness.



wax, honey and slaves." To which his mother replied: "Now at length I am prepared to die, bury me wherever thou wilt." And at the end of three days she died, and was enrolled amongst the number of the saints by her grandson Vladimir, who had been already baptized. The 11th day of July is dedicated to her. Svyatoslav', who reigned after his mother's death, divided the provinces among his sons: to Yaropolk he gave Kiev, to Oleg he gave the Drevlians, and to Vladimir, Great Novogorod. Indeed, the Novogorodians were instigated by a certain woman named Dobrina, to request that Vladimir should be made their prince; for there was a certain man at Novogorod, called Calufcza the Little,<sup>1</sup> who had two daughters, Dobrina<sup>2</sup> and Malusha, and while Malusha was in the gynæceum of Olga she became the mother of Vladimir, by Svyatoslav'.

Meanwhile Svyatoslav', having an eye to the aggrandisement of his sons, proceeded to Bulgaria, laid siege to the city of Pereaslav', and took it. He then declared war against the kings Basil and Constantine; but they sent messengers to sue for peace, and promising, though deceitfully, that they would pay tribute according to the number of his army, desired that he would inform them of its extent; and after they had ascertained the number of his forces, they also levied an army. At length, when both were confronted, the Russians became terrified at the host of the Greeks, but Svyatoslav' seeing their fear, thus addressed them: "Since, O Russians, I see no place into which we can retreat with safety, and as at the same time it has never entered into my thoughts to surrender the soil of Russia to our enemies, I am resolved either to die or win renown by fighting bravely against them. For if I die fighting valiantly, my name will be immortal; whereas if I flee, I shall carry with me eternal disgrace. And since it is not possible

<sup>1</sup> Karamzin calls him Liubchanin.

<sup>2</sup> Karamzin describes Dobrina as the brother of Malusha.

for one who is surrounded by a host of enemies to escape, it is my determination to stand firmly, and at all risks to expose myself in the foremost rank for the sake of my country." The soldiers replied: "Wheresoever thou leadest we will follow." Having thus restored the confidence of his army, he rushed upon the enemy with a terrific onslaught, and bore away the victory. Subsequently, while laying waste the country of the Greeks, the other princes of the country besieged him with presents of gold and panodochmi (so the annals have it); but all their gifts he slighted and refused, accepting the garments and arms which the Greeks afterwards sent to him. This manifestation of virtue on his part so moved the people of Greece, that they addressed their own sovereigns on one occasion when assembled together, to the effect, that that was the sort of king that they desired to serve—namely, one who preferred arms to gold. As Svyatoslav' was approaching Constantinople, the Greeks at last got rid of him from their country by the payment of a large tribute. Finally, in the year of the world 6480 (972), Cures, a prince of the Pieczenigi,<sup>1</sup> caught him in an ambush and slew him, and made a goblet of his skull surrounded with a golden rim, on which was engraved this sentence: "By seeking the possessions of others he lost his own."

When Svyatoslav' was dead, one of his nobles named Svyadolt, went to Yaropolk at Kiev, and besought him with the greatest earnestness and pertinacity to thrust out his

<sup>1</sup> The Pieczenigi or Badjnaks were a tribe of Turkish origin constantly engaged in wars either with the Russians, the Hungarians, the Greeks, or the Khazars. They occupied an extensive territory, bounded south by Bulgaria and Servia, east by Hungary and Poland, north by the Grand Duchy of Kiev, and west by the Khazars. They gradually became weakened by their incessant wars, and were at length completely subdued by John II, Comnenus, since which time they ceased to be spoken of as an independent nation. For some details of their habits, see Von Hammer, *Sur les Origines Russes*. St. Petersburg, 1825, 4to., fo. 33 and 46.

brother Oleg from the kingdom, because he had put his son Lutas to death. Yaropolk, overruled by his persuasions, waged war against his brother, and routed his army of Drewlians; while Oleg himself, in endeavouring to escape to a certain fortress, was shut out from it by his own followers, and in the confusion of the flight was thrust over a certain bridge, and died a wretched death beneath the numerous bodies of those who fell upon him. Yaropolk, after having gained possession of the camp, sought for his brother, and when he found the body lying among the dead, he gazed upon his upturned countenance and exclaimed: "O Svyadolt, behold here the accomplishment of thy desire!" He then buried him.

When Vladimir heard that Oleg was slain, he left Novogorod and fled beyond the sea to the Waregi; upon which Yaropolk established a viceroy at Novogorod, and was made monarch of all Russia. After this, Vladimir, having procured the assistance of the Waregi, returned, drove out his brother's viceroy from Novogorod, and knowing that his brother was about to take up arms against him, was the first to make a declaration of war. In the interim he sent messengers to Rochvolochda, prince of Plescov', through whose country he had passed in his march from Wagria, to ask the hand of his daughter Rochmida in marriage. The maiden, however, knowing Vladimir was illegitimate, did not wish to be married to him, but rather to his brother Yaropolk, who she thought would be likely soon to prefer his suit. Vladimir, indignant at having suffered a refusal, waged war against Rochvolochda, and slew him and his two sons; but he took Rochmida the daughter to be his wife, and afterwards marched to Kiev against his brother. Yaropolk, however, not daring to engage in a battle against his brother, shut himself up at Kiev. While Vladimir was besieging Kiev, he sent a secret messenger to one Blud, the intimate counsellor of Yaropolk, and dignifying him with the appellation

of father, begged him to suggest the means of killing his brother. When Blud understood the request of Vladimir, he promised that he himself would kill his master, but advised Vladimir to lay siege to the fortress; at the same time, however, he recommended Yaropolk not to remain within the fortress, alleging as a reason that many of his men had deserted to Vladimir. Yaropolk, confiding in his counsellor, fled to Roden, at the mouth of the Yursa,<sup>1</sup> imagining that he would there be safe against the violence of his brother. When Vladimir had subdued Kiev, he led his army against Roden, and pressed Yaropolk with a long and severe siege. Afterwards, when they were exhausted with long famine and could no longer endure the siege, Blud advised Yaropolk to make peace with his brother, he being by far the more powerful of the two. In the meantime, however, he sent a messenger to Vladimir, to say that he would soon bring his brother to him and deliver him up to him. Yaropolk followed the counsel of Blud, and submitted himself to the will and power of his brother, voluntarily avowing that he should be grateful for any concessions that he would be pleased to make in his favour.

These terms were by no means displeasing to Vladimir.

<sup>1</sup> Nestor calls this place Rodna on the Resa. Karamzin describes it as Rodnia, situated at the point where the river Ross falls into the Dnieper. In the *Geographichesky Slovar Rossyeskago Gosoodarstva*, Rodnia is given as the place to which Yaropolk fled, but is said to be on the Sula, a river which likewise falls into the Dnieper, and at a point not far distant from the embouchure of the Ross. After a fruitless examination of the best maps, both early and modern, the editor has concluded that it is a mistake to place the town in question on the Sula, since the Yursa of Herberstein, the Resa of Nestor, and the Ross of Karamzin, may easily be supposed to mean the same river, while they bear no resemblance to the name of Sula. Upon this subject, Scherbatov, after describing the town as Roden on the mouth of the Ursa, remarks that others call it Goroden, and place it on the Sula. It is remarkable that none of the various historians of Russia appear to have discussed this discrepancy as to the site of this town; and only one, as far as the editor has been able to discover, has even alluded to it.

Blud then recommended his master to go to Vladimir, though another counsellor of his, named Verasco, strongly advised him not to do so. Yaropolk, however, neglected the advice of the latter, and proceeded to his brother ; and, as he was entering a gate, he was killed by two Waregi, while Vladimir himself was looking down upon the scene from a tower. After the commission of this crime, Vladimir debauched his brother's wife, a Greek woman by birth, whom Yaropolk also had got with child previous to marrying her, and at a time when she was a nun.

This Vladimir established many idols at Kiev: one of these was called Perun, whose head was of silver, but the rest of his body wood ; the others were called Uslad, Corsa, Dasva, Striba, Simaergla, and Macosch. To these idols, which were also called Cumeri,<sup>1</sup> he offered sacrifices. His wives were numerous. By Rochmida he had Isoslaus, Yeroslas, Servold, and two daughters ; by the Greek he had Svyatopolk ; by a Bohemian he had Saslaus ; and by another Bohemian, Svyatoslav' and Stanislaus ; by a Bulgarian woman he had Boris and Glyeb. He kept, besides, in a high tower, three hundred concubines ; in Bielograd, also three hundred, and in Brestov and Selvi, two hundred.

Now that Vladimir was become the undisputed monarch of all Russia, there came to him, from different quarters, ambassadors, exhorting him to join their respective sects ; but when he saw that these sects differed from each other, he himself sent out messengers of his own to ascertain what were the requirements and ceremonies of each ; and, finally making choice of the Christian religion, according to the Greek ritual, he sent ambassadors to the kings Basil and Constantine, at Constantinople, with a proposal, that, if they would give him their sister Anna to be his wife, he would embrace the Christian religion, with all his subjects, and would restore

<sup>1</sup> The Russian word for idols.

to them Corsun, and all the other places in Greece of which he had possession. This being agreed upon, the time was arranged, and Corsun selected as the spot for the celebration of the ceremony; and there, upon the arrival of the two kings, Vladimir was baptized, and received the name of Vasiley in lieu of that of Vladimir. After the celebration of the nuptials, he restored Corsun and the other places, as he had promised. These events took place in the year of the world 6469 (961), since which time Russia has continued in the faith of Christ. Anna died twenty-three years after her marriage, and Vladimir four years after the death of his wife. He built a city, situated between the rivers Wolga and Occa, which he called Vladimir, after his own name, and constituted it the metropolis of Russia. He is worshipped yearly among the saints, as an apostle, on the 15th of July.

After the death of Vladimir, his sons disagreed among themselves, and, preferring various claims to the succession, fought together, till the strongest overcame the weakest or less skilful and drove them from the kingdom. Svyatopolk, who had taken possession of the principality of Kiev by force, procured assassins to kill his brothers Boris and Glyeb, who, after death, were enrolled amongst the number of the saints under changed names, the latter being called David, and the former Romanus. The 24th of July is held sacred to them. But during these contentions among the brothers, no deed worthy of record was done by them, unless the reader wish to hear of treachery, ambuscades, deceit, and civil wars. Vladimir, the son of Levold, surnamed Monomach, again reduced the whole of Russia into a monarchy, and left behind him certain insignia which are used at the present day, at the inauguration of princes. Vladimir died A.M. 6633 (1125); nor did his children, or grandchildren after him, do any thing worthy of record till the times of Georgius and Vasiley, whom Bati, king of the Tartars, con-

quered and killed, and burnt and plundered Vladimir, Moscow, and a considerable part of Russia.

From that time, namely in the year 6745 (1237), up to the present Grand Duke Vasiley, not only were nearly all the princes of Russia tributaries of the Tartars, but every principality was deferred to the will of the Tartars when Russians were making any interest to procure them. Moreover, although the Tartars took cognizance of, and decided in, the quarrels that arose among them on account of their successors and inheritances, nevertheless wars often arose between the Russians and Tartars. Between brothers also there were sundry tumults, expulsions, and exchanges of kingdoms and dukedoms; for the Duke Andrew Alexandrovich obtained the Grand Duchy, and when Dimitry had taken possession of it, his brother Andrew requested, and obtained, an army of Tartars, drove him away, and committed many infamous acts throughout Russia. So also the Duke Dimitry Michailovich killed the Duke George Danielovich while he was among the Tartars. Asbech, king of the Tartars, seized Dimitry, and subjected him to capital punishment. There was a contention respecting the Grand Duchy of Tver, which, when the Duke Simeon Ivanovich begged of Zanabech, king of the Tartars, he demanded an annual tribute of him; but which the nobles, bribed with a large sum, successfully interceded for him that he should not pay. Afterwards, in the year 6886 (1378), the Grand Duke Dimitry overcame in battle the great king of the Tartars, named Mamai, and three years afterwards again routed him, and that with such a slaughter that the ground for more than thirteen miles was covered with dead bodies. In the second year after that conflict, Tachtamich, king of the Tartars, came over and routed Dimitrye, and besieged and took possession of Moscow; those who were slaughtered were redeemed for burial at the rate of eighty bodies per ruble, and the total sum was computed at three thousand rubles. The Grand Duke Vasiley, who

reigned in the year 6907 (1399), took possession of Bulgaria, which stretches along the banks of the Volga, and drove out the Tartars.

This Vasiley Dimitrievich left an only son, whom he did not love because he had suspected his wife Anastasia, who was this child's mother, of adultery; and therefore on his death-bed he left the Grand Duchy of Moscow, not to his son, but to his brother George. But as George observed that many of the Boyars<sup>1</sup> adhered to his son as the legitimate heir and successor, he hastened to the Tartars, and begged the king to summon Vasiley and decide to whom the Duchy lawfully belonged. The king, instigated by one of his counsellors who supported George, gave his opinion in favour of George in the presence of Vasiley; upon which the latter threw himself at the feet of the king, and begged permission to speak. On receiving the king's assent, he said: "Thou hast announced thy decision upon lifeless words, but I trust that the living documents which I possess, and which distinctly express, under the authority of thy golden seal, thy former wish to invest me with the Grand Duchy, may be held by thee to be of far greater weight and importance"; and he besought the king to hold his own words in remembrance, and graciously to adhere to the promise which he had given. To which the king replied: "That it would be more consistent with justice to keep the promises contained in living documents, than to admit the validity of dead ones." He ended by investing Vasiley with the Duchy, and dismissed him.

George, being very indignant at this result, levied an army and drove out Vasiley; but this he treated with the greatest unconcern, and retired to the Principality of Uglitz, which

<sup>1</sup> A title borne by the grandees or nobles of Russia. It is said to be derived from *boi*, a battle, the title being originally given to the chiefs who surrounded the prince on the field of battle. It was subsequently extended to all the chief dignitaries of state. In ancient days the boyars were always consulted by the czar in matters of importance.



had been left him by his father. George quietly enjoyed the Grand Duchy during his life time, and left it by will to his nephew Vasiley ; but his sons Andrew and Dimitry, considering themselves deprived of their rightful inheritance, were greatly incensed at this, and laid siege to Moscow in consequence. When Vasiley, who had entered the monastery of St. Sergius, heard of these proceedings, he sent out scouts, and took the precaution of stationing outposts, that he might not be overwhelmed by a sudden attack. The two brothers, however, became aware of this, and laid a plot to fill certain waggons with armed soldiers, which they sent on as if they were loaded with merchandise ; and being brought in at twilight, they attacked their enemies under cover of the night, and took them while unsuspecting of any danger. Vasiley was captured in the monastery, and having first had his eyes put out, was sent, together with his wife, to Uglitz. Shortly afterwards, when Dimitry saw that the generality of the nobles were hostile to him, and that they went over to the blind Vasiley, he fled to Novogorod, leaving behind him his son Ivan, who subsequently became the father of Vasiley Semeczitz, who was confined in prison at the very time that I was in Moscow: but of this more hereafter. Dimitry was surnamed Semecka, and hence all his descendants bear the cognomen of Semeczitzi.

At length the blind Vasiley Vasilievich obtained quiet possession of the Grand Duchy. From the time of Vladimir Monomach up to this Vasiley, Russia had no monarch. But Vasiley's son, who was surnamed Ivan, was most fortunate; for at the same time as he married Mary the sister of Michael, Grand Duke of Tver, he drove out his brother-in-law, and took possession first of the Grand Duchy of Tver, and then even of great Novogorod ; and after that, all the other princes being either moved by the grandeur of his achievements or stricken with fear became subject to him. As affairs continued to prosper with him, he began to assume the title of

Grand Duke of Vladimir, Moscow, and Novogorod ; and finally to declare himself monarch of all Russia. This Ivan had by Mary a son, also named Ivan, to whom he gave in marriage the daughter of Stephen the great Waywode of Moldavia, who had overthrown Mahomet king of the Turks, Matthew king of Hungary, and John Albert king of Poland. After the death of his first wife Mary, Ivan Vasilievich married Sophia, daughter of Thomas, who formerly had held wide sway in the Peloponnesus (I mean the son of Emanuel king of Constantinople, of the race of Palæologi) : by her he had five sons, Gabriel, Dimitry, George, Simeon, and Andrew : and while living he divided their patrimony amongst them. To Ivan the eldest he reserved the sovereignty, to Gabriel he appointed Great Novogorod, and to the rest he made other allotments according to his pleasure. Ivan the eldest died, leaving a son, Dimitry ; and his grandfather invested him with the sovereignty, according to custom, in the room of his late father. They say that this Sophia was a very artful woman, and had considerable influence over the actions of the grand duke. Among other things she is reported to have induced her husband to remove his grandson Dimitry from the sovereignty, and to elevate Gabriel to his place. For the duke, overruled by his wife, cast Dimitry into prison and kept him there, until at length on his death-bed he ordered him to be brought to him, and thus addressed him : “ Dear grandson, I have sinned against God and thee, inasmuch as I have afflicted thee with imprisonment and have deprived thee of thy just inheritance ; I beseech thee forgive me the injury I have done thee, depart in freedom and enjoy thy right.” Dimitry, affected by this address, readily forgave his grandfather the injury ; but as he went out he was seized by command of his step-brother Gabriel, and thrown into prison. Some think that he was murdered by starvation and cold, and others that he was suffocated with smoke. Gabriel acted as regent during the life of Dimitry, but after his

death he retained the sovereignty without having been inaugurated, merely changing his name of Gabriel to that of Vasiley.

The Grand Duke Ivan had by Sophia a daughter, Helena, whom he united to Alexander, Grand Duke of Lithuania, afterwards proclaimed king of Poland. The Lithuanians hoped that the discords of these princes, which had already been very severe, would be arranged by this marriage; but far more grievous quarrels arose out of it. For at the nuptials it was agreed that a temple should be built in accordance with the Russian religion in an appointed spot in Vilna, and that certain matrons and virgins of the same religion should be attached to it; but as after some little time this was neglected to be done, Alexander's father-in-law took it up as a pretext of war against him, and having levied a triple army proceeded to attack him. The first army he sent southward, towards the province of Severa, the second westward against Toropetz and Bieloi, and the third he placed between them, towards Dorogobusch and Smolensko; thus supplying reserves for his army by which he could bring the most effective assistance to that portion of it against which he might observe a disposition in the Lithuanians to make an attack. But after both armies had reached a certain river called Vedrosha,<sup>1</sup> the Lithuanians under the command of Constantine Ostroski, who was surrounded by a numerous staff of noblemen and chiefs, gained information from some prisoners respecting the number of the enemy and of their leaders, and entertained great hope of routing them. Moreover, as the stream intercepted the conflict, both parties made search for a ford by which they could cross it. Some Russians, however, first reached the bank and challenged the Lithuanians to the combat; but the latter resisted, and routed them, and following in pursuit drove

<sup>1</sup> The Vedrosha is a very small river which flows into the Osma, an affluent of the Dnieper.

them back across the river. Both armies soon after met in a pitched battle, and a terrific engagement ensued. In the meantime, while they were keenly contending on both sides with equal fury, one of the armies which had been placed in ambush, though without the knowledge of many of the Russians, fell suddenly upon the main body of the enemy. The Lithuanians, stricken with fear, were routed, and the commander in chief, together with many nobles, taken; the remainder in terror yielded up their camp to the enemy, and surrendered themselves and the fortresses of Drogobush, Toropetz and Bieloi. The army, however, which had moved towards the south under the command of Machmethemin the Tartar king of Casan, made a vigorous attack on the governor (commonly called Waywode) of the city of Brensko, and took possession of that city. Afterwards, two brothers, cousins of Vasiley, the one named Staradub, the other Semeczitz, who were owners of a great part of the province of Severa, and otherwise subject to the dukes of Lithuania, surrendered themselves up to the government of Russia. Thus in one single conflict, and on one day, the Russians acquired what it had cost Vithold, Grand Duke of Lithuania, many years of the greatest exertion to gain possession of. The Russian monarch, however, behaved somewhat cruelly to these Lithuanian prisoners, and kept them confined in very severe bondage. He also made a stipulation with Constantine their general that he should desert his natural master and serve him; and as he had no hope of escaping by any other means, he accepted the condition, and after binding himself by a very strong oath, received his freedom; but although great estates and possessions were granted to him for the maintenance of his rank, he could not be reconciled or withheld from making his escape on the first opportunity through the intricacies of the woods.

Alexander, the king of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, who always delighted more in peace than war, relin-

quished all the provinces and forts which had been taken by the Russians, and contenting himself with the liberation of his own people, made peace with his father-in-law.

This Ivan Vasilievich was so successful, that he overcame the people of Novogorod in battle at the river Scholona,<sup>1</sup> and reduced them to acknowledge him as their lord and prince, on certain proposed conditions. He granted them a large sum of money and then left them, after having first appointed a representative to supply his place; then again returning after the lapse of seven years, he entered the city with the cooperation of the Archbishop Theophilus, reduced the inhabitants to the most abject servitude, and seizing the gold and the silver and all the goods of the citizens, carried off more than three hundred waggons full of booty.

He himself was only once engaged in war, when the principalities of Novogorod and Tver were taken possession of; at other times he never used to go to battle, but nevertheless always carried off the palm of victory; so that Stephen the great Palatine of Moldavia would often say, when speaking of him at his banquets: "That he increased his dominion while sitting at home and sleeping, while he himself could scarcely defend his own boundaries by fighting every day." He even appointed and deposed the kings of Casan at his own pleasure; sometimes he threw them into prison, but at length, in his old age, received a severe defeat at their hands. He was the first who fortified his ducal residence at Moscow with a wall, as it is seen at this day. Moreover he was so hostile to women, that if any women met him by chance, they almost always fainted with terror at the sight of him. No access was allowed to him for poor men, who were oppressed by the more powerful or unjustly treated; he generally drunk so excessively at dinner as to fall asleep, and while his guests

<sup>1</sup> The river Chelon', which rises in the government of Pskov, and flowing in a north-east direction, falls into Lake Ilmen at its south-west corner.

were all struck with terror and sitting in silence, he would awake, rub his eyes, and then first begin to joke and make merry with them. But although this Grand Duke was so powerful a prince, he was nevertheless compelled to acknowledge the sway of the Tartars, for when the Tartar ambassadors were approaching, he would go forth from the city to meet them, and make them be seated while he stood to receive their addresses, a circumstance which so annoyed his Greek wife, that she would daily tell him she had married a slave of the Tartars, and to induce her husband to throw off this servile habit would sometimes persuade him to feign sickness on the approach of the Tartars. There was within the citadel of Moscow a house in which the Tartars lodged for the purpose of learning what was going on at Moscow, and as this also gave great offence to his wife, she sent messengers with liberal presents to the queen of the Tartars, begging her to give up that house to her; for that she had been admonished in a dream from heaven to build a temple upon that spot; at the same time she promised to allot another house to the Tartars. The queen granted her request; the house was destroyed and a temple was built on its site, and the Tartars thus driven out of the citadel have never been able to obtain a house from any subsequent Duke.

This Ivan the Great died A.M. 7014 [1506], and his son Gabriel, afterwards called Vasiley, succeeded him as Grand Duke, but kept his brother's son, Dimitry, in prison, who, according to the custom of the people, had been constituted the lawful monarch during the lifetime of his grandfather; for this reason Vasiley refused to receive the solemn investiture of the monarchy, not only while his nephew lived but even after his death. He imitated his father in many things; all the dominions that his father had left him he not only kept entire, but added thereto many provinces besides, not so much by war, in which he had but little success, as by industry. As his father had reduced Great Novogorod into subjection,

so did he with the confederate city of Plescov. He became likewise governor of the noble principality of Smolensko, which had been more than a century under the dominion of the Lithuanians ; for when Alexander king of Poland died, Vasiley, seeing that Sigismund, who became king of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, was rather inclined to peace than war, and that the Lithuanians were equally averse to fighting, although he had no ground of contention with him, found an excuse for a war in the following manner : he said that his sister, Alexander's widow, was treated with very great indignity by the Lithuanians, and also pretended that king Sigismund had provoked the Tartars against him. Upon this plea he declared a war, and bringing up his artillery laid siege to Smolensko, but without any success. Subsequently, however, Michael Lyncky, who was sprung from the noble stock and of the family of the princes of Russia, and who had formerly held the chief management of affairs under Alexander, sent over to the Grand Duke of Muscovy, and managed so as to induce him to take up arms ; he also undertook to carry Smolensko by storm if he would lay siege to it a second time, but with this stipulation, that the principality should be conceded to him. Vasiley consented to these conditions, and a second time pressed Smolensko with a heavy siege. Lyncky having become possessor of the city by treaties, or more correctly by bribery, led all the officers of his soldiery with him into Moscow, with the exception of one, who, guiltless of the crime of treachery, returned to his master. The other officers, however, having been bribed with money and presents, did not dare to return into Lithuania ; and to give a colour to their crime inspired fear into their soldiers, by saying, if we turn our steps towards Lithuania we shall from time to time be either plundered or killed ; and by this process the soldiers becoming intimidated, went all of them into Moscow and received pay from the prince.

Vasileý, elated with this victory, ordered his army to proceed directly into Lithuania, but he himself remained in Smolensko. After some of the more neighbouring fortresses and towns had been received in surrender, then first did Sigismund, king of Poland, levy an army and send but too tardy assistance to those who were besieged in Smolensko. Afterwards, when Smolensko was taken, and when he saw that the Russian army was directing its march towards Lithuania, he himself fled to Borisov, which is situated near the river Beresina, and sent on his army thence under the command of Constantine Ostroski. When the latter reached the Dnieper, near the town of Orsa [Orcha], which is twenty-three German miles distant from Smolensko, he found that the Russian army, which was about eighty thousand strong, was not far from him. The Lithuanians, on the other hand, had not more than thirty-five thousand men, with the addition, nevertheless, of a few pieces of artillery. It was on the 8th day of September, A.D. 1514, that Constantine, seeing the state of affairs, threw a bridge over the Dnieper, and made his infantry pass over near the town of Orsa. The cavalry passed by a narrow ford under the very walls of Orsa. Presently, when half the army had crossed the Dnieper, Ivan Andryeevich Czeladin, to whom the chief command had been entrusted by the Grand Duke, received an intimation that he ought to attack this part of the army and overwhelm it. But he replied: "If we were to fall upon this part of the army, the other part, to which perhaps yet other forces may be added, will still remain, and thus a greater danger would threaten us: let us wait until the whole army has crossed, for our strength is such that without doubt we shall be able with but little exertion either to overwhelm this army, or to surround them and drive them like cattle to Moscow, and then it will only remain for us to take possession of the whole of Lithuania."

Meanwhile the Lithuanian army advanced, mixed with



Poles and foreign troops, and when they had arrived within four miles distance of Orsa both armies came to a halt. Two wings of the Russians had withdrawn to some distance in order to circumvent the enemy in the rear, but the main army stood drawn up midway, some advancing from the van to challenge the enemy to battle. On the other side the Lithuanian army was placed in a long array, drawn up according to their different nations, for each principality had sent troops and a captain from among its own people, and thus each had its allotted place in the body of the army. The legions being at length brought front to front, the Russians, sounding their clarions, made the first attack on the Lithuanians, who, however, met them vigorously and repulsed them. Presently others came to the assistance of the Russians, and in their turn put the Lithuanians to flight; and thus each side, assisted by new supplies, several times routed the other. At length came the greatest struggle. The Lithuanians purposely retreated towards the spot where their artillery had been placed, and then turning them upon the Russians who were in pursuit, struck their rear, which was placed rather closely together in reserve, and put them to utter confusion and flight. The Russians, who thought that those who fought with the enemy in the front ranks were the only men in danger, became terrified, and imagining that their van was already routed, fled in great confusion; upon which the Lithuanians turned and pursued them with all their forces, and put them to a terrific slaughter, which was checked only by the shades of night and the shelter of the woods.

Between Orsa and Dobrovna, which are four German miles distant from each other, there is a river called Cropivna, over whose slippery and steep banks so many fleeing Russians fell and were drowned, that the course of the river was stopped. All the captains and counsellors of the army were taken in that engagement, the chief of whom were received

by Constantine with great honour on the following day, and sent to the king, and distributed among the fortresses of Lithuania. Ivan Czeladin, with two other captains, now of failing age, were kept in iron fetters at Vilna; and when I was sent into Moscow by the Emperor Maximilian, I visited them by the permission of King Sigismund, and offered them consolation. I gave them also some gold pieces.

When the prince heard of the slaughter of his soldiers, he instantly left Smolensko and fled into Russia, and ordered the fort of Drogobusch to be burned, lest the Lithuanians should take it. The Lithuanian army proceeded straight to the city of Smolensko, but could not take it, for it had been left under the protection of a strong garrison, and the approaching winter presented many obstacles to a siege; besides which, a great number of the soldiers, who had loaded themselves with spoil after the battle, thought that they had done enough, and returned home; and independently of these reasons, neither the Lithuanians nor the Russians were skilled in the method of besieging fortresses and taking them by storm.

King Sigismund regained nothing from that victory beyond three fortresses on this side of Smolensko. Four years after this battle the grand duke sent an army into Lithuania, which pitched their camp between the rivers Dwina and Poloczko, and sent out from thence a considerable portion of the army to lay Lithuania waste with plunder, slaughter, and fire. The Waywode Albert Gastold Polocski, however, went forth one night, and crossing the river, set fire to a great hillock of hay which the Russians had collected in preparation for a long siege, and fell upon the enemy, some of whom were killed by the sword, some drowned in their flight, and some taken prisoners. A small number escaped, while various detachments which were roving about laying waste Lithuania in various directions, were subdued or strayed into the woods, and were slain by the inhabitants.

At that time also the grand duke attacked the kingdom of Cazan both with a naval and military force, but returned unsuccessful, and with the loss of a large number of his soldiers. Although, however, the Prince Vasiley is thus most unsuccessful in war, he is, nevertheless, constantly being praised by his courtiers as if he had brought things to a happy issue; and on occasions when scarcely half his army has returned home, they have told him that not a man was lost in battle. In the sway which he holds over his people, he surpasses all the monarchs of the whole world, and has carried out his father's plan of ejecting all princes and others from the garrisons and fortified places. He certainly grants no fortresses to his relations, nor even puts them in charge of any, but oppresses nearly all of them with close confinement; and whoever receives his orders to attend at court, or to go to war, or upon any embassy, is compelled to undertake whatever it may be at his own expense, with the exception of the younger sons of nobles of slender fortune, whom he sends for every year, and maintains with a fixed but inadequate stipend. But such of these as receive six gold pieces yearly, forfeit the stipend every third year; and those who receive twelve gold pieces every year, are compelled to hold themselves in readiness, and fully equipped, for the performance of any duty, at their own expense, and with their own horses; and to the more distinguished among them, namely, such as undertake an embassy, or any office of a more weighty character, are assigned districts, or towns, or villages, which are allotted to them according to their respective dignity, or the task performed. From each of these governments, however, certain annual tributes are paid to the prince: the fines extorted from the poor who may chance to be guilty of any delinquencies, and some other perquisites, are all that these nobles receive. The Grand Duke grants tenures of this kind generally for a year and a half; but if he regards any one with unusual favour or

goodwill, he adds a few months to the period, but when that time is elapsed, all favour ceases, and the service must be performed six years gratuitously. There was one Vasiley Tretyack Dolmatov, a favourite of the prince, and one of his private secretaries, who, when appointed ambassador to the Emperor Maximilian, and receiving orders to make his preparations, declared that he had not the means and appurtenances necessary for such a journey; upon which he was immediately seized in Bielosero, and thrown into prison for life. After his death, which was most miserable, his property, both real and personal, was seized by the prince for himself; and although he thus acquired three thousand florins in ready money, he did not give even a farthing to the brothers and heirs of the deceased. Independent of common report, one Ivan, a scribe, who was appointed by the prince to supply me with the daily necessaries of life, confessed that this was the case, and that he had him in his custody at the time that he was taken. The two brothers of Vasiley likewise, Feodore and Zacharias, who were appointed my purveyors on my return from Moscow to Smolensko, confirmed his statement.

Whatever articles of value ambassadors who have been sent to foreign princes bring back with them, the prince places in his own treasury, saying, that he will recompense them in some other manner, which manner is as I have described above. For when the ambassador, the Knes Ivan Posetzen Yaroslavski, was sent with Semen (*i. e.*, Simeon) Trofimov as his secretary, to the court of Charles V, they were presented by the emperor with heavy torques and chains of gold, and with Spanish money, and that in gold; and also by my master, the emperor's brother Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, with cups of silver and baskets of gold and silver, and German money in gold; but when they returned with us to Moscow, the prince immediately on their arrival took away from them the chains and cups, and the greater part

of the Spanish gold pieces. When I enquired of the ambassadors respecting the truth of this matter, one of them constantly denied it, from fear of compromising his prince; the other said, that the prince had ordered the royal presents to be sent to him that he might see them: as I alluded to the matter on frequent subsequent occasions, one of them, in order to avoid falsehood on the one side if he denied, or danger on the other if he were to confess the truth, ceased to visit me. The courtiers did not deny that it was the fact, but replied, "What then, if the prince repays them in some other kind?"

He uses his authority as much over ecclesiastics as laymen, and holds unlimited control over the lives and property of all his subjects: not one of his counsellors has sufficient authority to dare to oppose him, or even differ from him, on any subject. They openly confess that the will of the prince is the will of God, and that whatever the prince does he does by the will of God; on this account they call him God's key-bearer and chamberlain, and in short they believe that he is the executor of the divine will. Thus if at any time petitions are presented on behalf of any captive, or with reference to any important business, the prince himself is accustomed to reply, "when God commands, he shall be liberated". In like manner also, if any one enquires respecting some doubtful and uncertain matter, the common answer is, "God and the great prince know". It is matter of doubt whether the brutality of the people has made the prince a tyrant, or whether the people themselves have become thus brutal and cruel through the tyranny of their prince.

From the time of Rurick to this present sovereign, these princes have borne no other title than that of Grand Dukes, either of Vladimir or Moscow or Novogorod, etc., except Ivan Vasilievich, who styled himself Lord of all Russia, and Grand Duke of Vladimir, etc. But this Vasiley Ivanovich

assumes to himself both the royal name and title thus. The Grand Duke Vasiley, by the grace of God King and Lord of all Russia and Grand Duke of Vladimir, Moscow, Novogorod, Plescov, Smolensko, Tver, Jugaria<sup>1</sup> [Jugra, Yugorski], Permia, Viackia [Viatka], Bulgaria, etc., Lord and Grand Duke of Nijni Novogorod and Tchernigov, Rezan, Volotkia [Vologda], Rschov,<sup>2</sup> Beloia,<sup>3</sup> Rostov, Yaroslav, Bielozeria, Udoria,<sup>4</sup> Obdoria,<sup>5</sup> Condinia,<sup>6</sup> etc.

Moreover, as all now call him emperor, it seems necessary that I should explain the title and the cause of this mistake. Czar in the Russian language signifies king, but in the common Slavonic dialect among the Poles, Bohemians, and all the rest, through a certain resemblance of sound in the last, which is the most important syllable, czar [or czeszar] would be understood as emperor or kaiser. In the same manner, all who are not skilled in the Russian idiom or mode of spelling, such as the Bohemians, Poles, and even the Slavonians who are subject to the kingdom of Hungary, call the king by another name, namely, kral, kyrall, or koroll.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An old province in the north of Russia, lying between Petchora and Condora. It still gives a title to the Emperors of Russia.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Rjer Vladimirov' is here referred to. This ancient town and district are situated in the government of Tver; but no town bearing any similar name supplies a title to the present Emperor.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps White Russia is meant, the word meaning "white" in Russian.

<sup>4</sup> Now called in the titles of the Emperor Udorski, the ancient name of the country round Arkhangel, particularly the district of Mezen. It took its name from the River Udor which flowed through it.

<sup>5</sup> This name was anciently given to all the country in the north round the river Obi, and now comprehended in the government of Tobolsk in the district of Berezov'. The principal place is Obdorsk. Its name is still retained amongst the titles of the Russian sovereigns. In the dialect of the country it means "mouth of the Obi".

<sup>6</sup> The country through which the river Conda flows in the government of Tobolsk. It is still retained amongst the titles.

<sup>7</sup> The derivation of the word Tsar, or Czar, has been the subject of much discussion among etymologists. Constantine Oikonomos, in his

They think a kaiser or emperor only should be called Czar ; and hence it came, that the Russian interpreters hearing their prince thus called by foreign nations, began themselves to call him emperor, and they think that the name of czar is more noble than that of king, although that is its real meaning. But if you examine all their histories and sacred scriptures, you will find everywhere that czar is put for “king”, and kessar for “emperor”. By the same mistake, the emperor of the Turks is called czar, though he has never borne any more distinguished title than that of king, viz., the ancient name of czar. Thus the European Turks who speak the Slavonic language call Constantinople Czarigrad, which means the royal city.

Some call the prince of Moscow Albus, or white. I have taken great pains to learn why he should be called the white king, since no prince of Moscow has hitherto borne that title ; and, indeed, I have frequently, when occasion offered, told his counsellors themselves that we did not acknowledge him as king, but Grand Duke. Many have thought the reason of his bearing the title of king was because he had kings under his sway, but they supplied no reason for the name of Albus. My own belief is that in the same manner as they now call the Persian kisilpassa, that is, red head, on account of his red head-dress, these also are called white on account of their white garments. The Grand Duke, moreover, uses

*Δοκιμιον περὶ τῆς πλησιεστάτης συγγενείας τῆς Σλαβονο-Ρωσσίκης γλώσσης πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν*, objects to the confounding what he calls the ancient Slavonic word Tsar, with the much more recent Latin word Cæsar, and says that the mistake has arisen from the incorrect mode adopted by Europeans of representing the Russian word Tsar' by the ill-invented form of Czar. Reiff, on the other hand, in his *Dictionnaire Russe Français*, gives the word as a primitive, and describes it as expressed in Croatian by Czar and Czeszar, from the Latin Cæsar. The sentence in the original Latin is not very clear. The editor has inserted the Croatian form “czeszar” in brackets, by way of suggesting an explanation of Herberstein's meaning, when he speaks of the last syllable of a word, which would otherwise appear to contain but one.

the title of king to the Roman Emperor and Pontiff, the King of Sweden and Denmark, the Prince of Prussia and Livonia, and also, as I have heard, to the Sovereign of the Turks; but he is not called king by any of these, unless perhaps by the Prince of Livonia. In former times the Grand Dukes used to bear their titles on three circles included in a triangle, the first of which, on the topmost circle, was expressed in these words: Our God the Trinity, which was before all ages, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,—not however three Gods in substance, but one God. In the second was the title of the emperor of the Turks, with the addition of the sentence: “To our beloved brother”. In the third, the title of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, in which he declared himself king and heir and lord of all eastern and southern Russia, and in addition to the common formula we have seen added: “We have sent to thee our faithful counsellor”. To the King of Poland the Grand Duke uses a title of this sort—“The great Lord Vasiley, by the grace of God, Lord of all Russia, and Grand Duke of Vladimir, Moscow, Novogorod, Smolensko, Tver, Jugaria, Permia, Bulgaria,” etc., leaving out the title of king, for neither of these princes condescends to receive the letters of the other, if there is any addition of a new title. This happened once, indeed, while I was at Moscow, when the grand duke was highly indignant that the letters of King Sigismund should be sent to him with the addition of the title of Duke of Moscow. Some have asserted that the grand duke has requested that the style and title of king should be given him by the Pope and the Emperor Maximilian. I do not think this probable, especially as there is no one to whom he is more obnoxious than to the Pope, whom he does not condescend to designate by any title but that of Doctor. That he does not esteem the emperor to be greater than himself, is evident from his letters, in which he affixes the title of emperor to his own name.

The title of duke among these people, is given by the word



“knes”;<sup>1</sup> nor, as I have already said, have they ever had any higher title than that, with the addition of the word “great”, for all the other dukes who held only one principality, were simply called “knes”; but those who held several principalities and other “knesi” under their command, were called *Veliki Knesi*, that is, grand dukes. The lowest title or dignity amongst them, is that of the Boyars, who hold the rank of our nobles or knights. In Croatia, indeed, the superior nobles are likewise called *Knesi*; but with us, as also in Hungary, they only obtain the names of counts. Some gentlemen of princely rank have not hesitated to tell me, by way of casting it in my teeth, that the present Prince of Russia used to produce letters of the Emperor Maximilian of sacred memory, in which the name of king was given to his father Gabriel,—who subsequently changed his name, from preference, to that of Basil;—they say also, that he declares that I myself was the bearer of those letters to him; and on this ground he has desired that, in the recent negotiations with the King of Poland, he should be styled king, or else all treaties between them should be null and void. But although I ought to be by no means moved by these assertions, which are neither true nor probable, yet not so much for my own sake, as for that of my late excellent and most gracious prince, I am compelled to say a word in contradiction when I see that his sacred shade is thus cited upon an invidious question.

It is well known that there was once a quarrel between the Emperor Maximilian and Sigismund, king of Poland, viz., at the time when Sigismund took to wife the daughter of Stephen, Count of Scepus, *i. e.*, Zips; for some made it appear that the matter was so arranged, that John, the brother of the bride, was to receive in marriage Anne, daughter of Vladislav’, king of Hungary, through the influence and management of his brother Sigismund; and by this means the right

<sup>1</sup> More properly represented by “knyaz”. The correct meaning is “prince”, not “duke”.

of succession to the throne of Hungary, which appertained to Maximilian and his posterity, would be stopped, and become void. For this reason, Maximilian thought that it concerned his interests to make an ally of the Grand Duke of Russia, who was the perpetual enemy of the Lithuanians and Poles. But on a subsequent occasion, when a conference was held at Posen, between Maximilian and Vladislav', respecting the marriage of Anna, in the presence, and with the approval, of Sigismund, Maximilian met Sigismund, and unhesitatingly laying aside all appearance of suspicion or disagreement, embraced him so closely, that no one would doubt that he was ready to go either to heaven or hell with him. Although, therefore, there was a time when Maximilian wished the Grand Duke of Russia to be allied with him, yet he never gave him the title of king, which might be easily proved by letters and documents given and received on both sides, if there should be any one who thinks my testimony, true and faithful as it is, to be of too little weight.

But why should the Grand Duke ask this title from the Emperor Maximilian, since, before he had any communication with him, he would not only make himself appear his equal, but his superior, and always, whether speaking or writing, put the title of emperor after his name, and still retains it most tenaciously? Since my return from Moscow, however, he has assumed the title of King in writing to the King of Poland. Indeed, it is an acknowledged fact, that, in writing to the Emperor, or the Pope, he styles himself King and Lord of all Russia, nor does he refrain from using the title of emperor, if he chance to add any words from the Russian language, translated into Latin, inasmuch as the interpreters themselves change the word czar, which signifies king, into "Imperator". And in this manner he makes himself both king and emperor. But that he has been recognised as king by the Emperor Maximilian, or his successors, to the prejudice of the King of Poland,

let no one believe. For why should he hesitate to seek the dignity of a king, as report says that he did, from the pope if he had received it already from the emperors ?

I have said all this in the cause of my august master, Maximilian, who, as long as he lived, was a firm and faithful friend of King Sigismund. Why, indeed, should I speak of myself? How, I would ask, could I have presumed to go and return so often into Poland and Lithuania, to enter the presence of the two Sigismunds, father and son, kings of Poland, to take a part in public meetings of the Poles, and to look princes in the face, if I had compromised my prince in this matter, in whose name I have very often laid before the King and other persons of various ranks despatches couched in brotherly, kind and friendly terms, despatches that might well be sent from an excellent and most generous emperor in closest alliance with them. If there be nothing secret which shall not be revealed, it would certainly have come to light a long time ago, had I sanctioned anything unworthy of my office. But I comfort myself with the consciousness of rectitude, which is the strongest of all consolations ; and I gratefully acknowledge that I never lacked the favour of the King of Poland, nor, indeed, the goodwill of persons of all ranks in that country. There were, perhaps, times when such things might occur without causing so much jealousy as now ; but to promulgate them at this time, is only to seek the means of dissolving good feeling between princes who are most closely allied to each other,—a good feeling which has been cemented and consolidated by all kinds of obligations and good offices. Every thing which was generally regarded as of paramount importance towards preserving the remains of Hungary, and recovering what had been lost, seemed to have been done. But the very parties to whom this fact had already been of great service, and would have been of still greater service hereafter, under the influence of a Turkish or some other such perverse spirit, have ignored treaties and

covenants, and plotted new injuries, without considering into what jeopardy they are about to bring themselves and the neighbouring provinces, especially Hungary, which has deserved so well of all Christendom.

### Mode of Inaugurating their Princes.

The following formula, which I had some difficulty in obtaining, will depict to you the manner in which the princes of Russia are inaugurated, and which was adopted when the Grand Duke Ivan Vasileivich invested his grandson, Dimi-try, as I have said above, with the Grand Dukedom and monarchy of Russia.

In the middle of the church of the Holy Virgin was erected a platform, on which three seats were placed,—one for the grandfather, one for the grandson, and one for the metropolitan. There was also placed on it a stage, upon which were laid the ducal hat and barma, which means the ducal ornament. The archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and the whole assembly of ecclesiastics, came in dressed respectively in their appropriate vestments. Then upon the entrance of the Grand Duke with his grandson into the church, the deacons sang, according to custom, “Long live the only Grand Duke, the great Ivan”. The Metropolitan then began to sing, together with all the clergy, the prayer of the Holy Virgin, and of St. Peter the Confessor, whom, in their ritual, they call the Miraculous. Which done, the Metropolitan, the Grand Duke, and his grandson, ascended the platform, and sat on the seats placed for them; the grandson’s seat being placed at the front of the platform. At length the Grand Duke spoke in these words: “Father Metropolitan, according to the custom anciently and until now observed by our predecessors

the grand dukes, our ancestors the grand dukes have, by the grace of God, consigned the grand duchy to their eldest sons; and after their example the Grand Duke, my father, blessed me with the Grand Duchy in his own presence, so also I, in like manner, blessed my first-born son Ivan with the Grand Duchy in the presence of all. Since however it has happened by the Divine pleasure that my son is dead, but that his only son Dimitry, whom God gave me in the place of my son, survives, I likewise, in conformity with the same custom, bless him in the presence of all, both now and after my death, with the Grand Duchies of Vladimir, Novogorod, and all else with which I should have blessed his father."

Upon this, the Metropolitan desired the grandson to go to the seat which was assigned to him, and blessing him with the cross, ordered the deacon to repeat the Diaconal prayers; he himself meanwhile sitting near him with his head bowed, pronounced the following prayer: "O Lord our God, King of kings, Lord of lords, who by thy servant Samuel the prophet, didst choose David and anointed him to be King over thy people Israel, hear now the prayers of Thine unworthy servant, and look down from Thy sanctuary upon Thy faithful servant whom Thou hast chosen to exalt him to be King over Thy holy nations, and whom Thou hast redeemed with the most precious blood of Thy only-begotten Son; anoint him with the oil of gladness, protect him with the virtue of the highest, place upon his head a crown of precious stones, give him length of days and a royal sceptre in his right hand, place him on a righteous throne, surround him with all the arms of justice, strengthen his arm and subdue unto him all barbarian tongues; let his whole heart be in Thy fear, that he may humbly obey Thee, keep him from the false path and point out to him the true preserver of the commands of Thy holy universal Church, that he may judge the people in justice, and administer justice to the poor and preserve the children of the poor, and finally that he may attain the king-

dom of heaven." He then said in a loud voice: "Even as Thine is the power and Thine is the kingdom, so be praise and honour to Thee, God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and for ever." When this prayer was finished, the Metropolitan ordered two abbots to bring the barma, which, together with the hat, was covered with a certain silk covering called schirnikoiu. He then delivered it to the Grand Duke, and marked the grandson with the cross, and the Grand Duke placed the barma upon his grandson. The metropolitan then said "Peace be with you all"; to which the deacon responded, "Let us pray". After which the Metropolitan said, "Bow yourselves with me, and pray to Him who governs all things," and pronounced the following prayer: "O Lord, we pray to Thee, the only King Eternal, to whom also is committed the sovereignty of the earth, uphold [the prince] under Thy protection; continue him in the kingdom, that he may always do that which is good and seemly, make justice to shine in his days; and in the enlargement and tranquillity of his dominion, let us live quietly and peaceably in all goodness and purity." This was said in a rather subdued tone. Then, in a loud voice, he said: "Thou art the King of the world, and Preserver of our souls; praise be to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and for ever. Amen." At length he delivered to the Grand Duke the ducal hat, which had been brought to him, at his command, by two abbots. He then marked the grandson with the cross, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and while the Grand Duke placed the hat upon the head of his grandson, the Metropolitan first, and the archbishops and bishops approaching afterwards, blessed him with the imposition of hands. When this was finished in due order, the Metropolitan and Grand Duke ordered the grandson to be seated by the side of the Grand Duke, and after a short pause they rose. Meanwhile the deacon began a litany (as they call it), "Have mercy upon us, O Lord", and named Ivan as Grand Duke Ivan.

Again a chorus, in response, mentioned Dimitry, the grandson, as grand duke; and then made allusion to others in the usual manner. When the litany was finished, the Metropolitan prayed, "O most holy Lady, Virgin mother of God", and after the prayer the metropolitan and grand duke sat down. The priest or deacon then pointed out the place selected for the gospel, and said, with a loud voice,—“ Long live the Grand Duke Ivan, good and faithful, beloved of Christ, chosen of God, and to be honoured by God ; long live the Grand Duke Ivan Vasilievich, monarch of Novogorod and all Russia.” Then the priests before the altar sang, “ Long live the Grand Duke”; and the deacons in the choir, on the right and on the left, in like manner sang, “ Long live the Grand Duke”. At length again the deacon cried out with a loud voice, “ Long live the Grand Duke Dimitry, good and faithful, beloved of Christ, chosen and to be honoured of God ; long live Dimitry Ivanovich, Grand Duke of Novogorod and all Russia.” The priests also before the altar and in both choirs thundered out, “ Long live Dimitry!” When this was done, the metropolitan, the archbishop, the bishops, and the whole congregation, approached the grand dukes in procession, and saluted them with an obeisance; the sons also of the grand duke approached, bowing and saluting the grand duke.

### Ceremonies after the Inauguration of the Grand Duke.

After the inauguration, Simon, the metropolitan, said: “O lord my son Dimitry, by the divine will Grand Duke, the Grand Duke, thy father, hath shewn thee favour, and blessed thee with the grand dukedom ; do thou also, O lord my son, have the fear of God in thy heart. Love justice and just

judgment; obey the grand duke thy grandfather, and interest thyself with all thy heart about all the truly faithful. We bless thee also, O lord my son, and pray God for thy welfare. Then the metropolitan and the grand dukes arose, and the metropolitan praying, blessed the grand duke and his sons with the cross; and at length, when the liturgy—*i. e.*, the holy service—was finished, the grand duke, the grandfather, withdrew to his own dwelling; but Dimitry, wearing the ducal hat and barma, left the church of the Blessed Virgin, and proceeded, surrounded with a host of boyars and their sons, to the church of Michael the Archangel, at the entrance of which, upon the threshold, he was sprinkled by George, son of the Grand Duke Ivan, with three golden denges (the deng is one of their coins); and when he had entered the church, the priests singing the litany according to custom, blessed him with the cross, and signed him with the sign of the cross at the tombs and monuments. Then, as he went out of the church, he was again sprinkled by George at the door with golden denges. He next proceeded straightway to the church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, where the priests in the same manner blessed him, and he was sprinkled by George with denges as before. When all this was finished, Dimitry presented himself to his grandfather and to his mother.

This took place on the 4th of February, anno mundi 7006, anno Domini 1497. There were present at this installation by the grand duke and consecration by Simon the metropolitan—Tychon, Archbishop of Rostov and Yaroslav, Nyphon, Archbishop of Susdal and Toruski, Vasian, Bishop of Tver, Prothasius, Bishop of Rezan and Murom, Afranius, Bishop of Columna, and Euphemius, Bishop of Sarki and Podonski. There were present also many abbots and priors, among the most powerful of whom were Serapian, prior of the monastery of Saints Sergius and Makirius, under the invocation of the Holy Trinity, and the prior of the monas-



tery of St. Cyril, and finally, a great assemblage of monks and ecclesiastics. While at dinner, a broad girdle worked with gold, silver, and precious stones, was brought [to the grand duke?] as it were by way of a present, with which he girded himself. Afterwards were brought to him some selgi of Pereaslav,—that is, little fishes from the Lake of Pereaslav, not unlike herrings, and indeed they are called by the same name. It is thought that the reason for presenting that kind of fish is, because Pereaslav was never separated from Russia or the monarchy.

The barma is a sort of collar of broad form, of coarse silk, beautifully worked on the outside with gold and all kinds of gems. It was taken by Vladimir from a certain Genoese named Capha.<sup>1</sup> The hat which Vladimir Monomach used and left behind him, and which is adorned with precious stones and plates of gold, and curiously worked with certain vibrating spirules, is called in their language Schapka. Hitherto, I have spoken of the prince who holds the greater part of Russia. The other parts of Russia are held singly by Sigismund King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. But in speaking of the kings of Poland who have derived their

<sup>1</sup> The *Sviatŭi Barmi*, *i. e.*, Holy Barmi, as it is called (spelt by Herberstein barma), was worn by the czars of Russia at their coronation up to the time of Peter the Great. It is now preserved in the Imperial Museum at Moscow. Various are the accounts given of its first introduction into Russia. Some say, though there is no certainty in the story, that in the year 1114, the Grand Duke Vladimir ravaged Thrace, and carried off a vast booty. The Emperor Constantine, alarmed at his progress, sent him many valuable presents, and among others the barmi. It appears, however, from printed state documents, that the barmi was certainly known in the fourteenth century. The Grand Duke John Daniellovich Kalita, by his will in 1328, bequeathed it to his younger sons John and Andrew. It would seem from the wording of the various bequests of the barmi, that it was attached to the dress, and always kept with it. Antiquaries are at variance as to the origin of the word; some have derived it from the Greek *βαρημα*—heaviness, as implying the burden of duty and responsibility undertaken by the newly inaugurated monarch; but this is mere conjecture.

origin from the Lithuanians, I think it right to subjoin some details of their genealogy.

A certain Prince Vitenen ruled over the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, whom, according to the Polish annals, Gedemin, his servant slew, and afterwards gained possession both of his duchy and his wife. By her he had several sons,—the two principal of whom were Olgird and Kestud. Kestud was the father of Vithold, otherwise called Vitowd, and Anna, the wife of Janusius, Duke of Masovia. Vithold left an only daughter, Anastasia, who was given in marriage to Basil, Duke of Muscovy, and was named Sophia. She was the mother of Vasiley, father of the great Ivan, and grandfather of Vasiley, prince of the Russians, to whom I was sent as ambassador.

Moreover, Kestud was thrown into prison by his brother Olgird, and died miserably. Vithold also, than whom Lithuania has never produced a greater man, and who took the name of Alexander at his baptism, died in 1430. Olgird, son of Gedemin, amongst other sons whom he had by his wife Maria, a Christian princess of Tver, had Jagelon. He in his lust of dominion not only affected the kingdom of Poland, but Hedwige herself also, who at that time wore the crown, and who was betrothed to William Duke of Austria, and with the consent of her relatives and the primates of both kingdoms, had, after the royal fashion, lain with him before attaining a marriageable age. Jagelon presently sends ambassadors into Poland and asks for the kingdom and the hand of Hedwige. Moreover, in order to obtain the concurrence of the Poles, and to constitute himself a proper candidate, he promised among other things, that he and his brothers, together with the duchies of Lithuania and Samogithia, would embrace the Christian religion; and with other promises of the sort, he so drew over the Poles to his cause, that Hedwige, overruled by their authority, and even against her own will, rescinded her

former treaty of marriage and married him. Upon this, Jagelon was immediately baptized, and took the name of Vladislav', and was crowned king. He received Hedwige in marriage A.D. 1386, but she died not long after in her first child-bed. He then married Anna, Countess of Cilley, by whom he had an only daughter, Hedwige, who was espoused to Frederic the younger of Brandenburg. He married also a certain old woman, who likewise dying, he married Sonca, a Russian lady, daughter of Andrew Ivan, Duke of Kiev, who afterwards adopted the Roman ritual, and was called Sophia. By her he had two sons, Vladislav' and Casimir. Vladislav' succeeded his father in the kingdom, and was also crowned king of Hungary, having removed the lawful heir Ladislav', the posthumous son of the deceased king Albert. He was subsequently overthrown by the Turks at Lake Warna. Casimir, who then held the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and who, influenced perhaps by his brother's example, wished to deprive the posthumous Ladislav' of the kingdom of Bohemia, succeeded his brother in the kingdom of Poland. He afterwards married Elizabeth, sister of that Ladislav', king of Hungary and Bohemia, and had by her the following sons:—Vladislav', king of Hungary and Bohemia; John Albert, Alexander, and Sigismund, kings of Poland; Frederick, a cardinal; and Casimir, who was enrolled amongst the number of the saints.

Vladislav' had a son Louis, and a daughter Anna. Louis succeeded him in the kingdom, and married the daughter of Philip, King of Castile and Archduke of Austria. He was overthrown by the Turks at Mohaez, in the year 1526. Anna married Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia and Archduke of Austria, and after giving birth to four sons and eleven daughters, died in childbed at Prague, A.D. 1547. John Albert died unmarried. Alexander married Helen, daughter of Ivan, Grand Duke of Muscovy; but died without children. Sigismund had by his first wife, Barbara,

daughter of Stephen, Count of Zips, Hedwige, who became wife of Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg. By his second, Bona, daughter of John Sforza, Duke of Milan and Bari, he had Sigismund, second king of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, who married Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, on the 6th of May 1543; who, however, died an untimely death, and without issue, on the 15th of June 1545. He then married, against the consent of his parents, Barbara, of the house of Radavil, who had previously been married to Gastold, the Lithuanian; but his subjects were so indignant at this marriage, that a rebellion, which had already sprung up amongst them, would have ended in a dangerous outbreak, had not King Ferdinand preferred burying his daughter's injuries in oblivion to revenging them: but she being dead, Sigismund, being desirous to reestablish his alliance and relationship with Ferdinand, took to wife Catherine, half sister of Elizabeth, widow of Francis, Duke of Mantua. The marriage was celebrated at Cracow, the 31st of July 1553. I myself, as master, or prefect of the court, conducted each of these sisters to her bridegroom.

Semovisten, Duke of Mazovia, had by Alexandra, the sister of Jagelon, many sons and daughters. The sons died childless. Of the daughters, Czimbargis married Ernest, Archduke of Austria, and had by her the Emperor Frederick, father of the Emperor Maximilian. Maximilian was the father of Philip, King of Spain; and Philip was father of the Emperor Charles Ferdinand.

Ovka was given in marriage to Voleslaus, Duke of Teschen.

Amelia married Voguslaus, Duke of Stolpen, who is now called Duke of Pomerania. Anne married Michael, Duke of Lithuania. Catherine died unmarried.

Moreover, if any one would review in order the brothers and nephews of Olgird and Jagelon, and the daughters'

children of the latter, as well as the descendants of Kestud, Casimir, and the other kings, the enumeration of the race would extend beyond all bounds ; yet rapidly as it increased, the male line, at the present day, survives only in the son of the late King of Poland, viz., Sigismund, the second King of Poland.

But since we have made reference to the posterity of Gedemin, and the kings of that race, it seems appropriate to lay before the reader the events which occurred during the reigns of Vladimir, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and his brother Sigismund, king of Poland, the sons of Casimir.

After Vladislav' had come into possession of Hungary by the concession of the Emperor Maximilian, who, however, reserved to himself the right of succession, Vladislav' being now an old man with only one daughter, Maximilian, with the view of strengthening the right of succession by a somewhat stronger bond, began to propose to Vladislav' a marriage between one of his grandchildren by his son Philip, king of Spain, and Anna, Vladislav's daughter. Now John Zapolski, son of Stephen, Count of Zips, whose influence with King Mathias, and consequently with Vladislav' himself, was very great, was extremely anxious to bring about a marriage between himself and Anne ; and in his pursuit of this object was strenuously assisted by his widowed mother, who bribed all the leading men in the counties and provinces of Hungary with presents and annual stipends, called in their language *Jargalass*, and thus held them bound to perform any service which she might require at their hands, nothing doubting, that by their contrivances and influence, she might bring about this marriage for her son, and thus procure him the kingdom : to these woman-like machinations the marriage between her daughter, John's sister, and Sigismund, king of Poland, added great weight. Maximilian observing this state of affairs, and considering that it now became still more necessary for him to urge his proposition of

a marriage between his grandson and Anna, and finding also that Vladislav' desired the same thing, but that he met with impediments from the plots and contrivances of those who were under the orders of John Zapolski, thought it necessary for his own interest to cast the die, and to put Hungary to the test by force of arms; in which war I made my first essay in the career of a soldier. But as it happened that Vladislav's son, Lewis, was born in the midst of this strife of arms, a truce was entered into, and hence a more solid peace was brought about, which ended in Vladislav's coming to Maximilian at Vienna, together with his son already crowned, and his daughter and his brother Sigismund, king of Poland. The nuptials with Anne were then solemnized at Vienna, and all the enmity and suspicious feeling which had been engendered by the ambition of John Zapolski being extinguished, these princes were united in a lasting bond of amity. So great was the mutual satisfaction occasioned by this union between King Sigismund and the Emperor Maximilian, that the latter has sometimes said, in my hearing, that he would willingly go to heaven or hell with such a king. It was a vulgar saying concerning Lewis, that he was immaturely born, came of age too soon, and was immaturely married; that he came too early to the throne, and met with an untimely death. To these sayings it may be added, that his death was as disastrous to his kingdom of Hungary, and all the neighbouring states, as it was immature. But although Lewis was not well advised, it is certain that he was excellently well disposed towards his country and his subjects, and sought every means of benefiting them; for when he became aware that Soliman, after the capture of Belgrade, was planning a new and formidable expedition against himself, he, being a young man, sent a Pole, the master of his household, named Trepca, to his uncle, King Sigismund, besecching him in the most anxious and earnest manner not to consider it a hardship to come to meet

him on the frontier of his dominions for the purpose of giving him his advice in this dilemma. But as this request met with a distinct refusal on the part of Sigismund, Trepca is said to have exclaimed to him, with tears in his eyes, "Never again, O king, shalt thou see thy nephew, nor receive another message from him"; which prophecy, in fact, came to pass; for as King Sigismund subsequently left the confines of Hungary, on a religious pretext, for Dantzic in Prussia, his nephew died, together with this same Trepca, in that most disastrous slaughter, which is named, from the place, "the slaughter of Mohacz". But now I return to the Russians.

While Vasiley Ivanovich was deliberating about his marriage, it struck him that it would be better that he should marry the daughter of one of his subjects than a foreigner, by which means he would not only spare himself very great expense, but also avoid having a wife accustomed to foreign habits and of a different religion. The suggestor of this idea was one George, surnamed the Little, the prince's treasurer and chief councillor, who thought it likely that the prince would marry his own daughter; but at length it happened that when at the public suggestion fifteen hundred daughters of the boyars were brought together into one place, that the prince might make his selection from their number, he chose for his wife, contrary to George's anticipation, Salomea, daughter of the boyar Ivan Sapur; but as after one-and-twenty years he had no children by her, chagrined at her barrenness, he thrust her into a convent in the principality of Susdal, in the same year that I came to Moscow, namely, 1526. When the metropolitan, upon her arrival at the convent weeping and sobbing, cut off her hair and then offered to put on the hood, she was so indignant at its being placed upon her, that she took it and hurling it to the ground, stamped upon it with her feet. One of the chief councillors irritated at the sight of this indignity,

not only reviled her bitterly, but beat her with a scourge, and asked her, "darest thou resist the will of my lord? and delayest thou to obey his commands?" When Salomea in return asked him by what authority he beat her, he replied, "by the will of his lord"; upon which she, broken-hearted, protested in the presence of all, that she took the hood unwillingly and under compulsion, and invoked the vengeance of God on her behalf for so great an injury. After Salomea was thus cast into the convent, the prince married Helen, daughter of the blind Duke Vasiley Lintzki (now dead)—I mean the brother of the Duke Michael Lintzki, who was then in prison; but this had no sooner taken place than a report became current that Salomea was pregnant and near the time of her delivery. This report was confirmed by two matrons, the wives of the chief councillors, George the Little, the treasurer, and Jacob Mazur, chamberlain,—which ladies said that they had heard from the mouth of Salomea herself that she was pregnant, and near the time of her delivery. The prince when he heard this was much disturbed, and drove both of them from his presence; he even punished one of them, the wife of George, with stripes, for not having earlier informed him of the fact; he then sent the councillor Theoderic Rack, and one Potal, a secretary, to the convent in which Salomea was confined, and desired them to inquire diligently into the truth of the case. While I was at Moscow, some persons declared solemnly that Salomea had brought forth a son, named George, but that she would not show the infant to any one; she is said, however, to have replied to some persons who were sent to her for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of the matter, that they were unworthy to set eyes upon the infant, who, when he came of age to be king, would revenge the injury done to his mother. Some, however, constantly denied that she had had a child. Thus the reports about this business are doubtful.

I have heard that there were two reasons why the



prince should marry the daughter of Vasiley Lintzki, the fugitive from Lithuania, besides the hope which he had of having children by her: the first was, that his father-in-law derived his lineage from the family of Petrovitz, which was formerly of great distinction in Hungary, and professed the Greek faith; the second was, that his children would have for their uncle Michael Lintzki, a man of uncommon talent and distinguished valour,—for the prince had two brothers-in-law yet living, George and Andrew, and therefore he thought that if he were to have any children by another wife they would not be safe in the government, while those brothers were alive; but he did not doubt that if Michael were again received into favour, and released from prison, the children whom he might have by Helen would enjoy greater peace by means of the authority of their uncle. His liberation was spoken of in my presence, and after having first had his chains removed, and then being honourably set free on his parole, I at length saw him at full liberty, and enrolled by the prince among the other dukes by patent, and finally appointed tutor to his nephews Ivan and George. But subsequently, after the death of the prince, when Michael saw that his widow was constantly dishonouring the royal bed with a certain boyar named Ovezina, and that she showed implacable enmity against her husband's brothers, who had been thrown into prison, and that she otherwise governed with much cruelty, he, actuated purely by a sense of piety and honour, took occasion sometimes to admonish her to live a more worthy and religious life. She received his admonitions, however, with so much offence and indignation, that it was not long before she took counsel as to the best means of putting him out of the way. She soon found a reason, for they say that Michael was immediately arraigned for the crime of treason, and again thrown into prison, where he died a wretched death. It is also said that the widow not long after was

carried off by poison, and that the adulterous Ovezina was cut to pieces. The eldest son Ivan, who was born in 1528, came to the throne after the death of his mother.

### Religion.

As Russia began, so to the present day it continues to observe the Christian faith according to the Greek ritual. The metropolitan formerly resided in Kiev, afterwards in Vladimir, but now in Moscow. It was a custom of the metropolitans to pay a visit every seven years to that part of Russia which was subject to the Lithuanians, and to return after exacting sums of money from them; but Withold fearing that his territories would become exhausted of coin, would no longer permit this. He therefore called a convocation of bishops, and appointed a special metropolitan, who at this day holds his seat at Wilna, the metropolis of Lithuania, a city which though observing the Roman ritual, has more Russian than Roman churches in it. The Russian metropolitans hold their authority from the Patriarch of Constantinople. •

The Russians openly boast in their annals, that before the times of Vladimir and Olha, the land of Russia was baptized and blessed by Andrew, the apostle of Christ, who came, as they assert, from Greece to the mouth of the Dnieper, and that he sailed up the river against the stream as far as the mountains where Kiev now stands, and there blessed and baptized all the country; that he planted his cross there, and preached the great grace of God, foretelling that the churches of the Christians would be numerous; that thence he went afterwards to the sources of the Dnieper, to the Great Lake Voloek, and descended by the River Lovat to Lake Ilmen, and thence by the River Volchov', which flows

out of the same lake, to Novogorod; thence by the same river to Lake Ladoga, and by the River Neva to the sea, which they call Varetzkoi, but which we call the German Sea [the Baltic], between Finland and Livonia, and so sailed to Rome. Finally, that he was crucified for Christ's sake in the Peloponnesus by Antipater. Such is the account given in their annals.

Metropolitans and bishops were formerly chosen at an assembly of all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors of monasteries; a man remarkable for sanctity was sought for through monasteries and deserts, and was selected. But they say that it is the custom of the present prince to summon certain ecclesiastics to him, and choose one of their number according to his own judgment. When I was the Emperor Maximilian's ambassador at Moscow, Bartholomew, a man of holy life, was the metropolitan; and on one occasion, when the prince had violated an oath made conjointly by him and the metropolitan himself to the Duke of Semeczitz, and had made assertions which appeared to him to be contrary to truth, he went to the prince and said:—Since thou usurpest all authority to thyself, I find it impossible to retain the charge of my office; and tendering the staff which he bore, which was in the form of a cross, he thus resigned his office. The prince without hesitation accepted the staff, together with the resignation of the office, and immediately sent the poor man bound with chains to Bielosero. They say that he was there a long while in chains, but that he was afterwards liberated, and privately passed the rest of his life in a monastery. One Daniel succeeded him as metropolitan, a man of about thirty years of age, of a large and corpulent frame, and with a red face, who, lest he should be thought more given to gluttony than to fastings, vigils, and prayers, used on all occasions when he had to perform any public ceremony, to expose his face to the fumes of sulphur to make himself pale; and when

he had by this means become thoroughly pale, he would present himself in public.

There are also two other archbishops in the Russian monarch's dominions in Novogorod, viz., the archbishop of Magrici and of Rostov'; also, the bishops of Tver, Resan, Smolensko, Permia, Susdal, Columna, Tczernigov', and Sari. All these are subject to the metropolitan of Moscow; but they have certain revenues of their own out of estates and other extraordinary accidentals (as they call them); they have, however, no forts, cities, or other secular administration (as they call it). They abstain constantly from meats. I only found two abbots in Russia, but very many priors of monasteries, all of whom are chosen at the will of the prince himself, whom no one dares resist.

The mode of electing the priors is described in the letters of one Varlamus, prior of the monastery of Hutten, established in the year 7034 [1525], from which I have only selected the leading particulars. In the first place, the brothers of any monastery beseech the Grand Duke to choose a fitting prior to instruct them in divine precepts. After the election, he is compelled, before he is confirmed by the prince, to bind himself by an oath and a bond, that he will live a pious and holy life in that monastery, according to the appointment of the holy fathers,—to appoint all officers with the consent of the elder brothers, according to the custom of their predecessors,—to advance such as are faithful in performing their duties, and to give diligent attention to the welfare of the monastery,—to consult three or four of the elders on important questions of business, and after deliberation to refer the matter to the whole fraternity, and to decide and settle according to their general opinion; not daintily to live in private, but constantly to be at the same table and eat in common with the monks; diligently to collect all the registers and annual returns, and deposit them faithfully in the treasury of the monastery. All these things he promises to observe

under a heavy penalty, which the prince can inflict on him even to the deprivation of his office. The senior monks also bind themselves by an oath that they will observe all the aforesaid rules, and faithfully and diligently obey the prior who shall be appointed.

Those who are consecrated secular priests are for the most part such as have served a long time in the churches as deacons. But no one is consecrated deacon unless he be married, whence they are very often married and ordained deacons at the same time. But if the betrothed of any deacon is in bad repute, he is not ordained deacon: it is necessary that he should have a wife of unblemished character.

When the wife of a priest is dead he is immediately suspended from officiating, but if he live in chastity, he may be present in the choir as a minister with the other minister of the church, at the offices and other divine engagements. Indeed it was the custom formerly for widowers who lived in chastity to administer the sacraments without blame, but now the custom is introduced that no widower be permitted to perform the sacraments, unless he enter some monastery and live according to rule. If any priest who is a widower enter on a second marriage, which he is free to do, he has nothing in common with the clergy, nor does any priest whatever dare either to administer the sacrament, to baptize, or to perform any other duty, unless a deacon be present.

Priests hold the first place in the churches, and if any one of them on any account were to do that which is contrary to religion and the priestly office, he is brought to a spiritual tribunal; but if he be accused of theft or drunkenness, or fall into any other vice of that sort, he is punished by the *secular* magistrate as they call him. I saw some drunken priests publicly whipped at Moscow, whose only complaint was, that they were beaten by slaves, and not by a gentleman. A few years ago, one of the prince's deputies caused a priest who had been caught in theft to be strangled, at which

the metropolitan was very displeased, and laid the matter before the prince. When the deputy was summoned to the prince, he replied, that "according to the ancient custom of the country a thief who was not a priest was hanged"; and so he was sent away unblamed. If a priest complain before a lay judge that he has been struck by a layman (for all kinds of assaults and injuries apply to the secular law), then the judge, if he happen to learn that the layman was provoked by the priest, or previously injured in any way by him, punishes the priest.

Priests are generally maintained from the contribution of people connected with the court, and have some small tenements allotted to them with fields and meadows, whence they derive their support by their own and their families' industry, like their neighbours. They have very slender offerings. Sometimes the church money is put out at interest at ten per cent., and they give the interest to the priest from fear of being compelled to maintain him at their own expense. There are some also who live by the liberality of the princes. Certainly, not many parishes are found endowed with estates and possessions, except the bishoprics and some monasteries. No parish or priesthood is conferred on any one but a priest. In every church there is only one altar, and they do not think it right that the service should be performed more than once a day. A church is very seldom found without a priest, who is bound only to perform the services three times a week.

They wear nearly the same dress as the laity, with the addition of a small round skull cap to cover the tonsure, and a broad hat to keep off the heat and rain, or they use an oblong beaver hat of a grey colour. They all carry staves to lean upon, called *Possoch*.

Abbots and priors, as we have said, preside over monasteries,—the latter are called *Igumens*, the former *Archimandrites*.<sup>1</sup> Their laws and regulations are very severe, but

<sup>1</sup> Dr. King, in his *Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*,

are gradually falling into disuse, and becoming obsolete. They dare not indulge in any sort of amusement. If any one is found to have a harp or any musical instrument, he is most severely punished. They constantly abstain from meat. They all obey, not only the commands of the prince, but all the boyars sent by the prince. I was present when my purveyor requested something at the hands of a certain prior, and finding that he persisted in refusing to comply with his request, he threatened to have him beaten, the hearing which immediately produced the desired effect. There are many who leave the monasteries and betake themselves into wildernesses and there build huts, in which they live sometimes alone and sometimes with companions. They seek their livelihood from the earth and the trees, eating roots and the fruits of the trees. These are called Stolpniki: for Stolp means a column: and their narrow little dwellings are raised up high in the air and supported on columns.

The metropolitan, the bishops, and archbishops, constantly abstain from all kinds of meat; but when they invite laymen or priests at seasons when meat is eaten, they have the prerogative of being permitted to place meat before them at their entertainment; but this is prohibited to abbots and priors.

The archbishops, bishops, and abbots, wear round black mitres; but the bishop of Novogorod alone wears a white two-horned mitre after our fashion. The daily garments of the bishops are like those of other monks, except that sometimes they have them of silk, especially the black pallium, which has three white strips waving, like the flowing of a river, from the breast in every direction, to signify that from their mouth and heart flow streams of the doctrine of faith

says: "The principal of a monastery is called either Archimandrite, from *μανδρα*, a fold; or Hegumen, from *ἡγοῦμαι*, *duco*. The former is equivalent to abbot or father, the appellation of him who has the government of the monks or friars, who are brethren. The Hegumen is much the same as prior, who is the chief of a smaller convent, of which he has the direction.

and good works. They carry a staff in the form of a cross, on which they lean, which in the common language is called *Possoch*. The bishop of Novogorod wears a white pallium. The bishops confine their attention entirely to matters of divinity and to the pious promotion and advancement of religion itself, and intrust the management of both private and public affairs to their officials.

They have in their list certain Roman pontiffs whom they venerate among the saints, but they execrate others who followed that schism as seceders from the ordinances of the holy fathers and the seven councils, and call them heretics and schismatics, and hate them even more than the Mahometans. For they say, that it was decided at the seventh general council, that those things which had been settled and determined upon in the previous councils should be maintained unalterably for ever, and that it was not lawful for any body thereafter either to summon or to attend at any other council, on pain of anathema; and this decision they themselves most rigidly observe. There was one metropolitan of Russia who, at the instance of Pope Eugene, went to a synod, where the two Churches were met in unison, but on his return to his own country he was seized, all his goods were confiscated, and he thrown into prison, from which, however, he after some time escaped.

What difference exists between our<sup>1</sup> creed and theirs may be learned from a letter addressed by John, metropolitan of Russia, to the Archbishop of Rome, as they call him, which is as follows:—

“ I have loved thy glory, O lord and blessed father, most worthy of the apostolic seat and vocation, who from afar hast looked down upon our humility and poverty, and cherishest us with the wings of love, and salutest us as thine own in thy charity, and inquirest specially concerning our true and

<sup>1</sup> The reader will recollect that Herberstein was a member of the Roman Church.



orthodox faith, and when thou heardest admired, for so the bishop related to us of your blessedness. And since thou art such and so great a priest, I therefore in my poverty salute thee, honouring thy head and kissing thy hands and arms. Mayst thou be joyful and protected by the supreme hand of God, and may God Almighty grant good order to thee, thy spirituals, and us. I know not whence heresies have arisen respecting the true way of salvation and redemption; and I cannot sufficiently wonder what devil was so malignant and envious, so hostile to the truth, and such an adversary to our mutual good-will, as to alienate our brotherly love from the whole Christian congregation, by saying that we are not Christians; we for our parts have from the beginning acknowledged that by the grace of God ye are Christians, although ye do not keep the faith of Christ in all things, and are in many things divided,—a fact which I will show from the seven great synods by which the orthodox Christian faith has been established and definitely confirmed, in which also the wisdom of God has built herself a house as it were upon seven pillars. Moreover, all the popes who sat in these seven synods were held worthy of the chair of St. Peter, because they agreed with us. In the first synod was Pope Sylvester;<sup>1</sup> in the second, Damasus;<sup>2</sup> in the third, Celestinus;<sup>3</sup> in the fourth, the most blessed Pope Leo;<sup>4</sup> in the

<sup>1</sup> Sylvester held the first œcumenical Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, against Arius, who ascribed different substances to the Trinity, and denied the divinity of the Word.

<sup>2</sup> Damasus held the first Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, against Macedonius and Eudoxus, who denied that the Holy Ghost was God.

<sup>3</sup> Celestine held the first Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, against Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who declared that the Virgin was only the mother of Christ's manhood, and that the Word consisted of two persons, God and man.

<sup>4</sup> Leo the Great held the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, against Eutyches, Abbot of Constantinople, who asserted that Christ, after becoming incarnate, had not two natures, but only the divine nature.

fifth, Vigil;<sup>1</sup> in the sixth, Oaphanius,<sup>2</sup> a venerable man, and learned in the Holy Scriptures; in the seventh, the holy Pope Adrian,<sup>3</sup> who first sent Peter as bishop and abbot of the monastery of St. Sabas, whence have subsequently arisen dissensions between us and you, which have principally prevailed in ancient Rana. Truly, there are many evil things done by you contrary to the divine laws and statutes, of which we will briefly write to thy charity. First, concerning the unlawful observance of fasting on the Sabbath; secondly, concerning the great fast from which ye cut off a week, and eat meats, and allure men to you by the gluttony of feasting. You reject also those priests who lawfully marry wives. Ye also anoint a second time those who have been anointed in baptism by the presbyters, and say that baptisms may not be performed by simple priests but by bishops only. So likewise with respect to unwholesome unleavened bread, which manifestly indicates Jewish service or worship. And, which is the chief of all evils, ye have begun to alter and pervert those things which were ratified by the holy synods, and say of the Holy Ghost, that he not only proceeds from the Father but also from the Son, with many more things, concerning which your Blessedness ought to refer to your spiritual brother, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and to use all diligence that such errors should be at some time removed, and that we should be united in spiritual harmony, as St. Paul says in his instructive words, ‘I beseech you, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Vigil held the second Council of Constantinople, A.D. 553, against Origen and Evagrius, who denied the Resurrection, and maintained that the soul is created before the body. In this synod it was ordered that the Blessed Virgin should be called Θεοτοκος, or Deipara, to express her being the mother of God as well as man.

<sup>2</sup> This Oaphanius must be Agathon, who held the sixth recognized œcumenical council of the Greek church—which was the third Council of Constantinople—A.D. 680, against the Monothelites, who asserted that Christ had only one will and one nature.

<sup>3</sup> Adrian I held the second Council of Nicæa, A.D. 787, against the iconoclasts.

brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye think and speak the same thing, and that there be no division among you, and that ye be joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.'

"We<sup>1</sup> have written to you as much as we could of these six excesses; we will hereafter write to thy charity of other things also. For if it be true as we have heard, thou thyself wilt acknowledge with me that the canons of the holy apostles are transgressed by you, as well as the institutes of the seven great councils, at which all your first patriarchs were present, and united in pronouncing your doctrine to be vain. And that you are manifestly wrong, I will now plainly prove. In the first place, with reference to fasting on the Sabbath, you see what the holy apostles, whose doctrine ye hold, taught respecting it, as well as the most blessed Pope Clement, the first after the Apostle St. Peter, who thus writes concerning the Sabbath, from the statutes of the apostles, as it is given in the sixty-fourth canon:—If an ecclesiastic be found to fast on the Lord's day or the Sabbath, except the great Sabbath, let him be degraded; but if a layman do so, let him be excommunicated and separated from the Church. Secondly, with reference to general fasting, which ye corrupt. It is a heresy of the Jacobites<sup>2</sup> and Armenians, who use sheep's milk even on the great holy fast, for what true Christian dares so to do or to think? Read the canons of the sixth

<sup>1</sup> The indiscriminate use of "we" and "I" in this letter, is literally translated from the original.

<sup>2</sup> A religious sect in the east, whose leader was Jacob Zanzale, Bishop of Edessa in Mesopotamia in 541. They still exist in different parts of Asia, particularly in Syria, Ethiopia, and Armenia. Their chief resides at Kara-Amid, capital of Diarbehir. They only recognize one nature in Jesus Christ, namely, the divine nature, a dogma originated by Eutyches (respecting whom, see note at page 64), and of which, after being nearly extinguished by the decision of the Council of Chalcedon and by Imperial edicts, the Jacobites were but the revivers.

great synod, in which your Pope Oaphanius forbids these things. We indeed, when we learned that in Armenia and some other places they ate cheese made from sheep's milk at the great fast, ordered our people who were there to abstain from such food and from every sacrifice to devils; from which, if a man abstain not, he should be separated from the Church; and if he be a priest, he should be suspended from performing the sacred offices. Moreover, the third error and sin is very great, concerning the marriage of priests, for ye forbid those who have wives to receive the Lord's body; whereas the holy council, which was held at Gangra, writes in the fourth canon, 'He who despises a priest who has a wife according to law, and says that it is not lawful to receive the sacrament at his hand, let him be accursed.' The council also says, 'Every deacon or priest putting away his own wife shall be deprived of his priesthood'. The fourth sin is the anointment or confirmation. Is it not everywhere said in the councils, 'I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins'. If, therefore, there is one baptism, there will be also one anointing, and the virtue of the bishop will be the same as that of the priest. The fifth error is with reference to unleavened bread, which error indeed is the beginning and root of all heresy, as I will prove; and although it might be necessary to bring to the proof many Scriptures, yet I will do otherwise, and for the present will merely say: That the Jews make unleavened bread in memory of their deliverance and flight from Egypt; but we are once for all Christians—we never were in Egyptian bondage—and we have been commanded to omit this kind of Jewish observances with respect to the Sabbath, unleavened bread, and circumcision. And as St. Paul says, whosoever follows one of them is bound to keep the whole law; for the same apostle says, 'Brethren, I have received from the Lord, that which also I have delivered unto you, how that the Lord on the night on which he was betrayed, took bread, blessed, and

sanctified it, broke it and gave it to the holy disciples, saying, 'Take and eat, etc.' Consider what I say: he did not say, 'The Lord taking unleavened bread', but bread. That on that occasion, no unleavened bread was used,—and that it was not the Passover,—and that the Lord was not then eating the Passover with his disciples, is probable from the fact, that the Jews' Passover was eaten standing, which was not the case at Christ's supper, as the Scripture says, 'While they were lying down with the twelve'; also, 'And the disciple lay upon his bosom at supper'. For when he himself says, 'With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you', he does not understand the Jews' Passover, which he had often before eaten with them. Nor when he says, 'This do in remembrance of me', did he impose the necessity of doing as at the Jews' Passover. Nor does he give them unleavened bread, but bread, when he says, 'Behold the bread which I give you'; and likewise to Judas, 'To whomsoever I shall give the bread when I have dipped it in the salt, he shall betray me'.<sup>1</sup> But if ye argue, 'we use unleavened bread in the sacrament, because in divine things there is no admixture of the earthly', why then have ye forgotten divinity, and follow the rites of the Jews, walking in the heresy of Julian himself, of Mahomet, of Apollinarius,<sup>2</sup> and Paul<sup>3</sup> the Syrian, of Samosata, and Eutychius,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These passages are literally translated from the original, but the reader will see that though placed between inverted commas, they are not given strictly in the language of Scripture.

<sup>2</sup> There were two Greek rhetoricians of this name, in the fourth century, father and son, who taught at Berytus and Laodicæa. They embraced Christianity; and Apollinaris the younger, who is here alluded to, became a bishop. He originated a dogma that there was nothing human in the soul of Jesus Christ. He was condemned by many councils.

<sup>3</sup> Paulus Syrius Samosatensis, Bishop of Samosata in Syria, and afterwards Patriarch of Antioch about 262. He was the author of a heresy which consisted in denying the Trinity, and the divinity of Jesus Christ: he was excommunicated at the Council of Antioch, 270: his followers were named Paulinists.

<sup>4</sup> Eutychius, more properly Eutyches, was abbot of a monastery near

and Diasterius,<sup>1</sup> and others, who were pronounced at the sixth Council to be most depraved heretics, and filled with the spirit of the devil? For why do ye say, 'I believe in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, who proceeds from the Father and the Son'? Truly it is marvellous and horrible to speak of, that ye thus dare pervert the faith, while from the beginning it has been constantly sung in all Churches throughout the whole world, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who, together with the Father and the Son, is worshipped and glorified'. Why then do ye not say as all other Christians do, instead of making additions, and introducing a new doctrine, while on the other hand the Apostle declares, 'If any man preach to you more than those things which we have declared to you, let him be anathema.' I hope ye may not fall under that curse, for it is a dangerous and a fearful thing to alter and pervert the Scripture of God, composed by the saints. Do ye not know how very great is your error? For ye

Constantinople at the time when Nestorius promulgated his heresy: he left his retreat in order to defend the faith, but fell himself into a new heresy, which he began to disseminate in 448. He taught that there was only one nature in Jesus Christ, namely the divine nature, in which his human nature was absorbed like a drop of water in the sea. His followers, many of whom still exist in the East, are called Eutychians, or Monophysites.

<sup>1</sup> The editor has sought in vain for information respecting this heresiarch. Neither Tillemont, Walch, Pluquet, nor Mosheim, make any allusion to the name of Diasterius. Possibly, by an error, this name has been written for that of Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, who adopted the opinions of Eutyches. He supported those opinions at the Council of Ephesus, in 449; and, on his return to Alexandria, had the boldness to excommunicate the pope, Leo the Great; but in the following year he was deposed from his patriarchate, at the Council of Constantinople, and in 451 was deprived of his bishopric and priesthood at the Council of Chalcedon. He died in exile, A.D. 458, at Gangra, in Paphlagonia,—the place above alluded to, at p. 63, as the seat of a council which was held in the year 324.

introduce two virtues, two wills, and two principles, with reference to the Holy Spirit, taking away and making of small account his honour, and ye conform to the Macedonian heresy,<sup>1</sup> from which God preserve us. I bow myself at thy sacred feet, and beseech thee to cease from errors of this kind which are amongst you, and above all abstain from unleavened bread. I wished also to write something concerning strangled and unclean animals, and of monks eating meat, but if it please God, I will write of these hereafter. Excuse me of thy extreme charity that I have written to thee of these things. Examine the Scriptures and thou wilt find whether the things which are done by you ought to be done. I pray thee, my Lord, write to my Lord the Patriarch of Constantinople, and to the holy metropolitans who have in themselves the word of life, and shine as lights in the world. For it may be, that by their means God may inquire concerning errors of this sort, and correct and settle them. Afterwards, if it shall seem good to thee, write to me who am the least among all others. I, Metropolitan of Russia, salute thee and all thy subjects, both clergy and laity. The holy bishops, monks, kings, and great men, salute thee also. The love of the Holy Spirit be with thee and all thine. Amen."

### **Here follow the Canons of one John, a Metropolitan**

CALLED THE PROPHET, WHICH I HAVE THOUGHT WELL TO SUBJOIN,  
ALTHOUGH COLLECTED AT INTERVALS AS I WAS ABLE TO  
OBTAIN THEM.

Children may be baptized in a case of necessity without a priest.

Animals and birds torn by birds or animals may not be

<sup>1</sup> Macedonius, Patriarch of Constantinople in the middle of the fourth century, did not believe that the divinity of the Holy Ghost was clearly declared in the Scriptures, but that they simply ascribed to him the characteristics of a creature.

eaten ; but those who eat them, who celebrate the sacrament with unleavened bread, or who eat meat during Septuagesima,<sup>1</sup> or consume the blood of animals, shall be corrected.

Birds and animals which have been strangled may not be eaten.

The Russians may, in case of necessity, eat with the Romans, but by no means receive the sacrament with them.

Russians should convert to the true faith all Romans not rightly baptized (inasmuch as they have not been entirely immersed in water) ; and when they are converted, the Eucharist is not to be immediately administered to them, any more than to Tartars or others of a different creed.

Old images and pictures which have been consecrated may not be burned, but buried in gardens or some other honourable place, lest they should be injured or disfigured.

If you build a house upon a spot that has been consecrated, let the place where the altar has stood be left void.

If a married man enter a monastery and his wife marry another, let him be consecrated to the priesthood.

A prince's daughter shall not be given in marriage to one who receives the communion in unleavened bread, or uses unclean meats.

Priests should wear in the winter time leggings, made of the skins of the animals which they have eaten.

Those who have not confessed, nor made restitution of the property of another, shall not be admitted to the communion.

Priests and monks may not be present at weddings at the time of the dances.

If a priest shall knowingly perform the marriage service

<sup>1</sup> Septuagesima Sunday being the first term of preparation for Lent, it is customary in the Greek Church to announce the approaching fast to the people on that day, and hence the week following is called the week of prophonesima, or week of publication.



for any one wishing to be married the third time, he shall be deprived of his office.

When a mother wishes her children to be baptized, and they are unable to fast, she shall fast for them.

If a husband leave his first wife and marry a second, or if the wife marry another, he shall not be admitted to the communion until he return into wedlock.

Let no one be sold to a strange faith.

Any one knowingly eating with the Romans must be purified by prayers of purification.

If a priest's wife be taken by the infidels, she should be redeemed, and be taken again into wedlock, because she has suffered violence.

Merchants and foreigners going into Roman parts shall not be deprived of the communion, but shall be admitted after making atonement by certain prayers enjoined as a penance.

No women shall be invited to any feast held in a monastery.

Marriages may only be contracted publicly, in churches.

**Here follow the questions of one Cyril to Niphon,  
BISHOP OF NOVOGOROD.<sup>1</sup>**

What if a man after the communion vomit from a surfeit of meat and drink? *Answer*: He shall do penance by fasting forty days. If it be not from a surfeit, but from nausea, he shall fast twenty days. If from some other trifling cause, a shorter time. A priest doing such a thing, shall abstain

<sup>1</sup> Some of these being more interesting to the theologian than acceptable to the good taste of the general reader, the translator has thought proper to omit them, and to supply their place with asterisks.

from sacred functions, and fast forty days; but if it happen from some slight cause, he shall fast for a week, and abstain from mead, flesh, and milk. If a man vomit on the third or fourth day after communion, he shall do penance; but if any one vomit the sacrament, he shall do penance for one hundred and twenty days, unless it be through infirmity, when he shall do penance for three days, but he shall burn the vomit in the fire and say one hundred psalms; but if a dog devour the vomit, he shall fast one hundred days.

If vessels of earthen ware or wood be unclean, what is to be done? *Answer*: Let them be cleansed with prayers of purification.

What is to be done for the soul of a deceased person? *Answer*: Let one grifna<sup>1</sup> be given for five masses, with fumigations, loaves, and cooked barley, called kuthia; but let the priest have his own wine.

What if I were to give nothing to eat for twelve days to a sick monk wearing the seraphic vestment? *Answer*: It were well done, since he belonged to the angelic order.

What if a member of the Roman Church wish to be initiated into the Roman ritual? *Answer*: Let him enter our church seven days; let a new name be given him, and on each day four prayers be devoutly offered in his presence; let him then wash himself in a bath, abstain seven days from meats and milk, and on the eighth day after washing, let him enter the church; then let those four prayers be said over him; let him put on clean robes; let a crown or garland be placed upon his head; let him be anointed with the chrism, and a wax light be put in his hand. While the mass is being performed, let him receive the communion, and be accepted as a new Christian.

Is it lawful to kill birds, fishes, and other animals, on festivals. *Answer*: A man should go to church on Sunday,

<sup>1</sup> A coin, to be referred to hereafter, under the head of Russian money.

because it is a festival; but under the demands of human nature, these animals may be killed.

Is it lawful to preserve for a whole year the sacrament that has been consecrated in Passion week? *Answer*: Let it be preserved in a clean vessel; but when the priest administers it to a sick man, let him add a little wine to it.

Is it lawful, in administering the communion to the sick, to add water to the wine? *Answer*: The wine alone is sufficient.

Is it lawful to administer the sacrament to demoniacs and to insane persons? *Answer*: Let their mouths only be touched with the sacrament.

Is it lawful for a priest, who has a wife in child-bed, to repeat prayers over her as he would over the wives of laymen? *Answer*: No,—for that custom is not retained in Greece, unless in case no other priest can be found.

What should be eaten on the day of the exaltation of the holy cross? *Answer*: Monks may not eat fish; but laymen, who have that day kissed the holy cross, may eat meat, unless it happen to fall on Friday or Wednesday.

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Are little infants to receive the communion after baptism? *Answer*: They may receive it in the church during the performance of service, or while vespers are being sung.

What kind of food is to be eaten during the great fast? *Answer*: On Sundays and Saturdays, fish; but on other days, ikhri, that is, fishes' entrails. In the great week, monks should eat honey, and drink kwas, that is, acid water.

In the consecration of the Kuthia, how many wax-lights should be burned? *Answer*: Two for the souls of the dead, three for the health of the living.

How should Kuthia be made? *Answer*: Three parts should be of cooked barley, the fourth of peas, beans, and vetches, also cooked. It should be seasoned with honey and

<sup>1</sup> Seven lines are here omitted.

sugar ; other condiments may also be used if they are at hand. This Kuthia is to be used in the church after the performance of funerals.

When may Bulgarians, Poles, and Czudi,<sup>1</sup> be baptized? *Answer* : After forty days' fasting, and prayers of purification being said over them ; but if it be a Slavonian, he need only fast eight days ; but let the priest who baptizes a child well gird up his sleeves, lest while he dips the child anything from the baptismal font remain upon his vestment. A woman after child-birth shall not enter a church for forty days.

\* \* \*

Is it lawful to enter the dwelling of a woman in child-bed? *Answer* : No one must enter the place where a woman has been delivered till after three days, for as unclean vessels are carefully washed, so should that dwelling be first purified by prayers.

Should persons be buried after sun-set? *Answer* : No one should be buried after the setting of the sun ; for it is the crown of dead men to see the sun before they are buried. But he is most deserving who buries the bones of the dead and ancient images under the ground.

\* \* \*

If any paper containing sacred writings happen to be torn and thrown upon the ground, is it lawful to walk over that spot? *Answer* : No.

<sup>1</sup> The north of Europe and also of Asia seem alike to be the country of the Czudi ; at all events, one can recognize no essential difference between them and the Huns who came from Tartary under Attila and spread themselves over Western Europe. It is perhaps to this resemblance to the Huns that they owe the name given to them by all foreigners, that of Finns (in Latin, Fenni), but which they themselves do not recognize.—Schnitzler, *Essai d'une Statistique générale de l'Empire de Russie*.

<sup>2</sup> Eleven lines are here omitted.

Is it lawful to use the milk of a cow on the same day that she has calved? *Answer*: No; because it is mixed with blood; but after two days it may be used.

\* \* \*

How is a man who has divorced his wife to do penance? *Answer*: Let him keep perpetual abstinence from the eucharist, except upon his death-bed.

Is it lawful to any one in life to undergo the ceremony of the burial of the dead for the health of his soul? *Answer*: It is lawful.

May husband and wife assist each other in performing penance. *Answer*: No; but a brother may assist a brother.

Ought a priest to undertake sacred duties on the same day that he has buried and kissed a dead person? *Answer*: He ought not.

Ought a woman in child-bed, whose health is despaired of, to have the communion administered to her? *Answer*: Only provided she be removed from the place where she was delivered, and be washed.

\* \* \*

Is it lawful to offer prayers in a church immediately after dinner or supper before going to sleep? *Answer*: Which is better, to sleep or to pray?

May a priest approach a sick man and administer the sacrament to him without wearing his sacerdotal robe? *Answer*: He may.

\* \* \*

May a woman take the advice of old women how she may conceive? *Answer*: Women, who by the advice of old crones, use herbs to produce conception instead of going to priests who might assist them with their prayers, shall do penance six weeks, and pay three griffnas to the priest. If

<sup>1</sup> Fifteen lines omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Five, ditto.

<sup>3</sup> Ten, ditto.

a drunken man injure a pregnant woman so as to produce miscarriage, he shall do penance half a year. Midwives also shall absent themselves eight days from church, and in the interim be purified by prayers.

### Baptism.

The mode of baptizing is as follows:—When a child is born, a priest is immediately sent for, who, standing before the door of the child-bearing woman's dwelling, repeats certain prayers, and gives the child its name. Afterwards, generally on the fortieth day, if the child happen to be ill, he is brought into the church and baptized, and is dipped three times entirely into the water, otherwise they would not consider him baptized. He is then sprinkled with the chrism, which is consecrated in the holy week, and lastly he is sprinkled with myrrh, according to their account.

The baptismal water is consecrated for each separate child, and is always poured away after the baptism outside the door of the church. Children are always baptized in the church, unless the distance be too great, or the cold injurious to the child: they never use warm water, except for sickly children.

Sponsors are adopted at the choice of the parents; and while the priest precedes them with certain words, they spit upon the ground for every time that they renounce the devil. The priest also cuts off some hairs<sup>1</sup> from the child's head, and mixes them with wax, and lays them up in a certain spot in the church. They use neither salt nor saliva in the mixture.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. King, quoting from Simeon of Thessalonica says:—"The hair is offered by the baptized person to Christ, as a sort of first fruits, as the sacrifice of his body, the hair being as it were the exhalation of the whole body: the chief priest therefore does not carelessly throw it away, but lays it apart in a sacred place."

### Here follows a Bull of Pope Alexander,

IN WHICH THE ORDINANCE OF BAPTISM AMONG  
THE RUSSIANS IS FULLY DESCRIBED.

The Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, for a perpetual remembrance. The loftiness of the divine wisdom, which no human reason can grasp, always originating out of the essence of its boundless goodness something for the welfare of the human race, produces and brings it to light at that convenient season which God himself, by a secret mystery, knows to be the suitable one; in order that men may know that they can do nothing by their own merits as of themselves, but that their salvation and every gift of grace proceeds from the supreme God himself, and from the Father of light. Truly it is not without great and lively joy in our mind that we have heard that some Russians in the Duchy of Lithuania, and others living according to the Greek ritual, but in other respects professing the Christian faith, dwelling in the cities and dioceses of Wilna and Kiev, Lukov<sup>1</sup> and Medniki,<sup>2</sup> and other places in the same duchy, have, by the illumination of the Holy Spirit working in them, expressed a desire utterly to reject from their minds and hearts some errors which while living in the ritual and custom of the Greeks they have hitherto observed, and to embrace the unity of the Catholic faith and of the Latin Roman Church, and to live according to the ritual of the said Latin and Roman Church. But as they have been

<sup>1</sup> A small town in Poland, six leagues south of Siedlec, and five north-east of Radzyn. Though it has only about twenty thousand inhabitants, of whom a large proportion are Jews, it contains a castle, several churches, and a college.

<sup>2</sup> A little town in the government of Wilna on the banks of the Varvitzza. It is the residence of a Catholic bishop, who calls himself Bishop of Samogithia.

baptized according to the ritual of the Greeks,—namely, in the third person, and some assert that they ought to be baptized anew,—the aforesaid, who have hitherto lived, and still live, under the Greek ritual, refuse to receive baptism again, as though they had been already rightly baptized. We therefore, who, in the pastoral office committed to us from above, though insufficiently deserving it, desire to bring every sheep entrusted to us to the true fold of Christ, that there may be one shepherd and one fold, and to the end that the holy Catholic Church may have no discordant or unsightly members at variance with the head, but all in harmony therewith; and taking into consideration that in the council held at Florence by our predecessor, Eugene the fourth of blessed memory, at which were present Greeks and Armenians agreeing with the Romish Church, it was decided that the form of this sacrament of baptism should be, “I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen”: and also that by the words, “Let such a servant of Jesus Christ be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, or such an one is baptized by my hands in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost”, a true baptism is performed: for the main source from which baptism derives its virtue, is the Holy Trinity—the instrument is the minister, and the exposition of the sacrament is effected by his ministry, in his invocation of the Holy Trinity; we, therefore, having maturely deliberated upon the subject with our brethren, declare by these presents, in virtue of the apostolical authority delivered to us and the other Roman pontiffs by our Lord Jesus Christ himself through Saint Peter (to whom and his successors was committed the dispensation of the ministry), that the repetition of such sacrament thus administered in the third person is not necessary. We declare that each and all of those who have been baptized in the third person of the Trinity, and wish to leave the Greek



ritual, and to conform to the forms and ritual of the Latin and holy Roman Church, are to be admitted in all simplicity, and without any contradiction, obligation, or compulsion to be rebaptized; it being moreover intended that such rites as they may have been accustomed to observe in the Eastern Church, may continue to be observed by them, provided there be no heretical depravity therein; always provided that they first solemnly abjure all errors of the Greek ritual, and such things as differ from the ritual and institutions of the Latin and Roman Church. At the same time we exhort by the bowels of the mercy of our God, that each and all of such as are so baptized, and who live according to the Greek ritual, repudiating the errors which they have hitherto held according to the custom and ritual of the Greek Church, and contrary to the immaculate and holy Catholic Latin and Roman Church and to the approved institutions of her holy fathers, do willingly conform to the said holy Catholic Church and to her wholesome doctrines, for the sake of the salvation of their souls and the advancement of the knowledge of the true God; and that their holy resolution may meet with no hindrance from any one, we now charge and enjoin upon our venerable brother the bishop of Wilna, by virtue of sacred obedience, that he receive and admit each and all who may be so baptized, and who wish to conform to the unity of the aforesaid Latin Church, and abjure the aforesaid errors either by themselves, or by proxy, or by committing the same abjuration to any of the secular prelates, ecclesiastics, or preachers, or to the learned and worthy professors of the regular observance of the minor orders, or any fitting persons to whom such abjuration might be entrusted. And by these presents we grant to all and singular of the aforesaid full and free liberty to induct, as often as may be expedient, any such, as aforesaid, who may have in any way incurred the sentence of excommunication, or any other sentence or penalties of the Church on account of the observance of such errors or

any heretical depravity proceeding therefrom, and by the aforesaid apostolical authority to absolve them, and by way of exculpation to inflict a salutary penance, or to adopt any measures which may be deemed necessary in the cases described. But since it might perhaps be difficult to convey this our letter to all the places where it may be needed, we will and by the same apostolical authority decree, that the rescript of this our letter be re-copied by the hand of a notary public, and sealed with the seal of the aforesaid bishop of Wilna, or some other bishop, or ecclesiastical prelate; and that this copy, or transcript, shall have as much validity as would be given to the original in every tribunal, and in every place where it shall be exhibited or declared, notwithstanding any apostolical institutions, orders, or ordinances whatsoever. Be it understood, therefore, that it shall not be lawful for any one whatever to infringe, or by any bold act of temerity to contravene this our letter of constitution, declaration, exhortation, commission, mandate, concession, will, and decree: and if any one whosoever shall dare to attempt this, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1501, 10<sup>o</sup> Calend., Septemb. in the ninth year of our Pontificate.

### Confession.

Although confession forms a part of their religious constitution, the common people nevertheless think it to be mainly the duty of princes, and to belong especially to noble lords and men of exalted rank. Confession is made about the feast of Easter with great contrition of heart and reverence. The confessor stands together with the

person confessing in the middle of the church, with his face turned towards a certain image placed for that purpose. When the confession is finished, and penance enjoined according to the nature of the offence, they bow before the image, mark their foreheads and breasts with the sign of the cross, and lastly cry out with great wailing, "O Jesus Christ, thou Son of God, have mercy upon us". For this is their common prayer. Some are enjoined to fast by way of penance; some to say certain prayers (for very few know the Lord's Prayer); and those who have committed any rather serious offence, are washed with water. For at the Epiphany of our Lord, they draw water from a spring, and after it has been consecrated in the church for a whole year, they draw it off for cleansing and washing away the more serious sins. They also judge more leniently a sin committed on the Sabbath, and enjoin less penance for it. There are also many very slight causes for which they are not admitted into the church; but when they are shut out, they are accustomed to stand at many of the church windows and doors, and thence see and hear as well as if they were in the church.

### Communion.

They communicate in both kinds, mixing the bread with the wine, or the body with the blood. The priest takes a small portion, in a spoon, out of the chalice, and hands it to the communicant. Any one may receive the Lord's body as often in the year as he will, provided he have confessed; otherwise they have a fixed time, at Easter. They administer the Sacrament to boys of seven years old, and say, that at that age man sins. If a boy happen to be sick, or near

death, so that he cannot take bread, a drop is poured out for him from the chalice. The Sacrament is not consecrated for the Communion unless it be already sacred; but it is consecrated on Thursday in the Holy Week for sick people, and kept through the whole year; and when it is wanted the priest takes a small piece of it and places it in the wine, and when it is well soaked he hands it to the sick person, and then adds a little warm water.

No monk or priest prays the canonical hours, as they are called, except in the presence of an image, which nobody touches without great reverence; and he who carries it in public, bears it in his hand high raised in the air, and all who pass by it cover their heads, crossing themselves and bowing with the greatest reverence. They only place the books of the gospel in places of honour, regarding them as a sacred thing; nor do they touch them with the hand, unless they have previously protected themselves with the sign of the cross, and then they manifest their devotion by bowing with the head covered, and after that, with the greatest reverence, they take the book in their hands. The bread also, before it has been consecrated as with us, with the usual words, is carried round the church, and they worship and adore it with words conceived in their own minds.

### **Feast Days.**

Men of superior rank observe the feast days by indulging, when the service of the church is over, in banquets, drunkenness, and elegant attire; the common people, the domestics, and the serfs, for the most part, work, and say that it is for their masters to make holiday and abstain from labour. The citizens and mechanics are present at the service, after which they return to their work, thinking it more holy to

stoop to labour, than idly to waste their substance and their time in drinking, playing, and so on; for beer and mead are forbidden to the common people, except on some of the more solemn feast days, such as Christmas Day, Easter Day, Whit Sunday, and some others, when they are permitted to drink them, so that, on these days, they abstain from labour, not for divine worship, but rather for the sake of the drink.

They keep the feast of the Trinity on Monday during the feast of Pentecost, and on the eighth day of Pentecost they keep the feast of All Saints; but they do not observe the day of Corpus Christi as we do.

In taking oaths and swearing, they seldom use the name of God; but when they swear, they confirm what they have said or promised by kissing the cross. Their common imprecation is like that of the Hungarians, "May a dog defile thy mother", etc. Whenever they sign themselves with the sign of the cross, they do it with the right hand, that they may first touch the forehead, then the breast, then the right, and lastly the left side of the breast, in the form of a cross; but if any one guide his hand otherwise, they do not regard him as a follower of the same creed,<sup>1</sup> but as a stranger; for I remember that I myself, being ignorant of this ceremony, and guiding my hand otherwise, was noticed and reproached with this appellation.

### Purgatory.

They do not believe in Purgatory, but say that every one who is dead receives a place according to his desert; that to the pious is ordained a bright abode with the peaceful angels, and to the ungodly, a gloomy place beset with black darkness, with the angels of terror, where they await the last

<sup>1</sup> *Domestico fidei sue.*

judgment ; and, that from the angelic realms of peace, the souls there experience the favour of God, and always long for the final judgment ; but the others contrariwise. Nor do they think that the soul, when separated from the body, is exposed to punishment ; for as the soul had contaminated itself in the body, they think it must be expiated with the body. They do, however, believe that, by performing sacred funeral rights for the dead, they may obtain a more tolerable place for their souls, in which they may, with the greater ease, wait for the judgment to come. No one sprinkles himself with holy water, but is sprinkled by the priest. They do not consecrate cemeteries for burying bodies in, but say that the earth itself is consecrated by anointed and consecrated bodies, and not the bodies by the earth.

### The Worship of Saints.

They reverence Nicolas of Bari<sup>1</sup> as first among the saints, and preach daily of his numerous miracles, one of which, which happened a few years ago, I have thought right to relate. One Michael Kysaletski, a large and powerful man, in one of the engagements with the Tartars, pursued a certain renowned Tartar, who fled from him, and when he found he could not catch him, however much he spurred his horse, he said, "O Saint Nicolas, bring me up with this hound!" The Tartar hearing this, cried out in affright, "O Saint Nicolas, if this man catch me by thy assistance, thou wilt perform no miracle ; but if thou rescuest me who am a stranger to thy faith from his pursuit, thy renown will be

<sup>1</sup> St. Nicolas, Bishop of Myra in Lycia, called by Herberstein, Barenensis, from Bari in Apuglia, where he was buried, and where his body is said to be still preserved. He is the patron saint of Russia.

great." They say that Michael's horse immediately stopped, and the Tartar escaped ; and that every year of his life afterwards the Tartar made an offering to Saint Nîcolas of certain measures of honey on account of his rescue, and as many measures to Michael likewise in memory of his delivery, with the addition of a robe of honour made of marten skins.

### Fasting.

They fast in Lent seven consecutive weeks. The first week they use preparations of milk or a sort of cheese, which they call *Syrna*, but in the other weeks they all, with the exception of foreigners, abstain even from fish. Some take food on the Sundays and Saturdays, and abstain from all food the other days : some take food on Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, and abstain the remaining three days. There are many who content themselves with a piece of bread taken with water on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. They do not observe the other fasts throughout the year so strictly, but they fast from the eighth day after Pentecost, which is their All Saints' Day, till the holidays of St. Peter and St. Paul, and this is called the fast of St. Peter. Then they have the fast of the Blessed Virgin from the first of August until the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Also the fast of St. Philip, six weeks in Advent, which is called St. Philip's fast, because the beginning of that fast happens on the feast of St. Philip according to their calendar. Moreover, if the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, and that of the Assumption, fall on Wednesday or Friday, then they do not eat meat on that day. They do not keep the vigil of any Saint with fasting except the beheading of St. John, which they observe yearly on the 29th of August. If, moreover, any Saint's day, such as the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, hap-

pen in the great fast of Lent, they eat fish on that day. But the monks have many more severe and trying fasts imposed upon them, for they are obliged to content themselves with an acid drink, called kwas, and water mixed with yeast. The priests also are prohibited the use of warm water and beer at that time, although now all the laws and statutes are becoming lax and are abused. Moreover, besides the time of fasting, they eat meat on the Sabbath, but abstain on Wednesday. The teachers whom they follow are Basil the Great, Gregory, and John Chrysostom, whom they call Slatousta, *i.e.*, golden mouth. They have no preachers. They think it enough to have been present at the service, and to have heard the words of the Gospel, the Epistles, and other teachers, which the priest recites in the vernacular. For this purpose, as they think that they avoid various opinions and heresies which often arise out of sermons, the festivals of the following week are announced on the Lord's Day, and they repeat the public confession. Moreover, whatever they see that the prince himself thinks and believes, that they set down to be right, and to be followed in all things.

I heard at Moscow that the patriarch of Constantinople, at the request of the prince of Russia himself, sent a certain monk named Maximilian to reduce judiciously into order all the books and canons, and all the statutes appertaining to the faith; and when he had done so, and when having corrected many most serious errors, he pronounced in the presence of the prince, that he who did not follow the Roman or Greek ritual, was evidently a schismatic: when, I say, he said this, not long after (although the prince treated him with the greatest kindness) he is said to have disappeared, and many think he was drowned. It was in the third year of my residence at Moscow that one Marcus, a Greek merchant from Caffa, was reported to have said this, and he also was seized (although the Turkish



ambassador at the time interceded for him even with somewhat unworthy petitions) and put out of the way. Georgius, a Greek, surnamed the "Little", who was the prince's treasurer, chancellor, and chief counsellor, was immediately removed from all his posts which he held, and lost the prince's favour, because he encouraged and defended the same cause. But as the prince could by no means dispense with his assistance, he was again restored to favour, and placed in a different office, for he was a man of remarkable learning and extensive experience. He had come to Moscow with the prince's mother; and the prince respected him so much, that on one occasion when he had summoned him, and found that he was sick, he ordered some of his counsellors of the first rank to fetch him in a sedan to his own residence. But when he reached the palace, he refused to be carried up so many steep steps, and being taken out of the sedan, he commenced ascending slowly up to the prince. When the prince accidentally saw this, he began to be extremely angry, and commanded that he should be brought up to him in a litter; and after he had consulted him, and his business was over, he ordered that he should be carried down the steps in a litter, and that he should be carried up and down ever afterwards.

The principal care of the monks is to convert all men whatsoever to their own creed. The hermit monks have already brought over to the faith of Christ a great part of those who were idolaters through daily and industriously disseminating the word of God amongst them. Even now they go to various countries in the north and east, which they can only reach by the greatest toil, at the risk of both fame and life, and without hope of the least personal advantage; nor do they seek it, for they have an eye to this one thing only, viz., that they may be able to do an acceptable service to God, and to recall into the right path the souls of many who have gone astray (sometimes confirming the doc-

trine of Christ by death), and to bring them in as gain to Christ.

The principal monastery in Moscow is that of the Holy Trinity,<sup>1</sup> which is twelve German miles to the west of Moscow, where St. Sergius was buried, and is said to perform many miracles. He is honoured by the prayers of a wonderful assemblage of nations and peoples. The prince himself often goes there and takes a meal at the expense of the monastery; but the common people only go on certain annual occasions. There is said to be a copper cauldron there, in which certain food—especially herbs—is cooked, and whether few or many go there, there is always enough food remaining in it to feed the inmates of the monastery, so that there is never either a deficiency nor a surplus.

The Muscovites boast that they are the only true Christians, and condemn us as deserters from the Primitive Church, and from the old sacred institutions. But if any one of our religion of his own accord goes over to the Muscovites, or even flees to them against the will of his master, as though for the sake of learning and embracing their religion, they say that he ought not to be let go or restored to his master, even if he should demand him back, a fact which came to my knowledge in a certain instance which I have thought right to insert here. A certain leading citizen of Cracow, when I was starting for Moscow, recommended and delivered to me, almost against my will, a not ill-educated young man named Erasmus, of the respectable family of the Bethmans. He was, however, so given to drinking, that he would sometimes be intoxicated even to madness, and compelled me, by his repeated drunkenness, to have him put in the stocks. Over-

<sup>1</sup> This monastery, which is named the "Laurel of St. Sergius, under the invocation of the Blessed Trinity", is the richest in all Russia, and perhaps in the whole world, and one of the most remarkable for the great historical events associated with it, both as to the important services rendered by it to the country, and the illustrious men it has produced.

come then by a sense of his error, he ran away from the city of Moscow one night, accompanied by three of the citizens and my Polish coachman. He swam across the river Occa, and proceeded towards Azov. When the prince learned this, he immediately sent his couriers, whom they call Gonecz, in every direction, to bring them back. These men fell in with the out-liers who were stationed in those parts to guard against the continual incursions of the Tartars, and explaining the case to them, made them also ride about in search of the fugitives; and they met a man who said that five men, availing themselves of the cover of the night, had compelled him to show them the right road for Azov. The out-liers, therefore, following close upon their footsteps, at nightfall saw a fire which they had lighted; and while their horses were wandering on the pastures in the neighbourhood of the place where they were about to spend the night, they crept up silently like serpents and drove them further away. When, therefore, my coachman rose up and went to bring back the horses which had strayed, the men rushed upon him from the grass, and threatened him with death if he uttered the least sound, and thus they kept him bound. Again they drove the horses farther, and as one and another and a third tried to bring them back, they were all by turns in the same manner taken in the snare, Erasmus only excepted, who, when they rushed upon him, drew his weapon and defended himself, and called to Stanislaus, which was the name of my coachman. When the latter answered that he was taken and bound, Erasmus said, "Since you are taken, I neither care for freedom nor life," and thus surrendered himself when only about two days journey from Asov. When the prisoners were brought back, I asked the prince to restore me my men, but he replied that it was not lawful for any one to render up a man who had gone over to the Muscovites for the sake of learning the true religion, which, as I have said, they preach that they alone maintain. He did, however,

shortly afterwards restore me my coachman ; and when he refused to give up Erasmus, I told the purveyor who had been attached to my household, and whom they call *pristav'*, that men would both think and speak ill of the prince if he took away the servants of ambassadors. In order that neither the prince nor I should be blamed, I asked him to allow him to come before me in the presence of the prince's counsellors that I myself might understand his wish on the subject. The prince agreed to this, and it was done ; and when I asked Erasmus whether he wished to remain with the prince on the score of religion, he answered, " Yes " ; upon which I said, " If you have made your bed well, well may you lie on it. " Afterwards a certain Lithuanian, who had attached himself to the family of Count Nugarol, dissuaded him from his purpose, when his reply was that he dreaded to encounter my severity. The Lithuanian then asked him if he would come back if the count would receive him into his family, to which he consented. When the count heard of the matter, he asked me if I would agree to the arrangement. I replied that he was free to act as he pleased in the matter for me ; for I myself wished it to be so, lest the relatives of the young man should interpret the matter otherwise than as it really occurred.

However they seldom flee to the Russians unless when there is no place to live in, and no security elsewhere. Such was the case in my time with one Severinus Nordwed, admiral of the sea to Christian, king of Denmark, a warlike man indeed, but accustomed to invoke the auspices of the devil upon all his undertakings, of whom I have heard many things which in prudence I leave unsaid. When he saw that the king was hated on account of his cruelty at Holmia (which is the capital of Sweden, and called in their own language Stockholm), and that he of his own accord left his kingdom, Severinus took possession of a certain place in the island of Gothland (which is twelve German miles in extent), from which he daily infested the Baltic Sea, sparing nobody, and

plundering alike both friends and enemies. At length being afraid that all would be opposed to him as to some common plague, and seeing that there was no place in which he could be safe from snares, he took to himself a certain number of freebooters and fled to the prince of Moscow, and came with certain ships into the river Narva to Ivanogorod, a fortress of the prince of Russia; thence by a land journey he came to Moscow the same year that I was there. Being discharged at the request of the emperor Charles V, he died in his service, pierced through with a cannon ball at the siege of Florence, a city of Italy.

### Concerning Tithes.

Vladimir, who was initiated into the mysteries of the life-giving font in the year 6496 (A. D. 987), instituted, in conjunction with the metropolitan see, tithes of all things to be given on behalf of the poor, orphans, the sick, the aged, strangers, prisoners, as well as for the burial of the poor; for the assistance also of those who had a numerous offspring, or who had lost their property by fire,—in short, for the relief of the necessities of all the wretched, for the churches of poor monasteries, and chief of all, for the solace of the dead and of the living. The same Vladimir subjected all abbots, presbyters, deacons, and the whole establishment of the clergy, to spiritual power and jurisdiction, as well as monks, nuns, and those women who make *proscura* for the services, and are called *proscurnicæ*,<sup>1</sup> also

<sup>1</sup> These words, *proscura* and *proscurnicæ*, appear to have been taken by Herberstein from hearsay, as from the description contained in the following paragraph, “*proscura*” is evidently written in error for “*prophora*”, the usual term for the loaves offered in the sacrament.

the wives and daughters of priests, physicians, widows, midwives, and those who have been the subjects of a miracle from any of the saints, or those who have received manumission for the salvation of any soul ; lastly, all the servants of monasteries and hospitals, and those who make the clothes of the monks. Whatever difference or disagreement, therefore, arises among the aforesaid persons, the bishop himself has power, as a competent judge, to decide upon and settle it ; but if any controversy arise between these and laymen, it is decided by common law.

The *proscurnicæ* are women who, being past child-bearing, make the bread for the sacrifice, which bread is called *proscura*.

It is the duty of the bishops to adjudge divorces, not only among the *Knesi* and *Boyars*, but all laymen who keep concubines. It also appertains to the episcopal jurisdiction to decide if at any time a wife does not obey her husband ; if any one be taken in adultery or fornication ; if a man marry a woman who is a blood-relation ; or if any married person plot any injury to his or her husband or wife. Also in cases of divination, incantations, poisonings, quarrels about heresy or fornication ; or if a son injure his parents, or beat his sisters too severely. Moreover, they have the punishment of sodomites, sacrilegious persons, spoilers of the dead, and of such as tear away anything from the images of saints or from crucifixes for the sake of incantations, as well as of persons who either bring a dog, a bird, or any other unclean animal, into any sacred edifice, or who eat such things. In these cases, they have the ordering and appointing the measure of punishment for each. Let no one, however, be surprised, if he find the foregoing details differ in any way from the canons and traditions themselves, for some of them have been changed in some respects, not so much from age as that they have been allowed to become corrupted and vitiated for the sake of money.

If at any time the prince receives a metropolitan at an entertainment, he usually gives him the first seat at table, when his own brethren are not present. At a funeral ceremony, when he invites the metropolitan and the bishops, he himself hands them both their meat and drink at the commencement of the dinner; afterwards he appoints his brother, or some person of princely rank, to supply his place till the end of the dinner.

I succeeded, indeed, in witnessing their ceremonies in the churches on one solemn occasion; and in each of my embassies, I went on the 15th of August, which is the feast of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin, into the great church in the citadel, which was strewed with boughs of trees, and saw the prince standing against the wall to the right of the door at which he had entered, with his head covered, leaning on his staff, called *posoch*, and one holding before him in his right hand a *kalpak*;<sup>1</sup> his ministers were standing against the pillars of the church, whither I also was conducted. In the middle of the church, upon a platform, stood the metropolitan in the sacred dress, wearing a round mitre adorned with images of saints on the upper part, and on the lower with ermine. He leaned on a *posoch* in the same manner as the prince did, and while some were chanting he prayed, accompanied by the priests who attended him. Afterwards, advancing towards the choir, he turned to the left, after our own fashion, and went out by a smaller door, preceded by the choristers, priests, and deacons, one of whom carried on his head in a *patera* the bread already prepared for the sacrifice; another carried the chalice uncovered; the rest followed promiscuously, bearing images of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. Nicolas, and the Archangel, the people around making great acclamations with obeisances. Some of the bystanders cried, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" others,

<sup>1</sup> A Tartar hat.

after the fashion of the country, touched the ground with their foreheads, and wept. Finally, the crowd followed the emblems, which were carried about with various manifestations of devotion. After the circuit was completed, they entered by the middle door of the choir, and the service or highest office (as they call it) began to be performed. It is the custom, however, among them to perform the whole service or mass in the vulgar or vernacular tongue. Moreover, the Epistle and the Gospel for the day are read in a clear voice outside the choir to the people who stand round, in order that they may more distinctly hear them. In my first embassy, I saw on the same festival above a hundred men working in the moat of the citadel; for, as we shall have occasion to say hereafter, only the princes and boyars are accustomed to make holidays.

### **Their mode of contracting Marriages.**

It is held to be dishonourable and a disgrace for a young man to address a girl, in order that he may obtain her hand in marriage. It is the part of the father to communicate with the young man upon the subject of his marrying his daughter. It is generally the custom for them to use such words as the following: "As I have a daughter, I should wish to have you for a son-in-law." To which the young man replies: "If you desire to have me for a son-in-law, I will, if you think fit, have a meeting with my parents, and confer with them upon the subject." Then, if his parents and nearest relatives agree, a meeting is held to treat of the sum which the girl's father is willing to give by way of dowry. After the dowry is settled, a day is appointed for the wedding. Meanwhile, the young man is forbidden the house of his betrothed; so strictly indeed, that if he should



happen to try to get a sight of her, the parents usually reply: "Learn what she is from others who have known her." Certainly, unless the espousals have been first confirmed with very heavy penalties, so that the young man who is betrothed could not, if he would, repudiate her without a heavy punishment, no access is permitted to him. Horses, dresses, weapons, cattle, servants, and the like, are generally given as dowry. Those who are invited to the wedding, seldom offer money, but send presents to the bride, each of which is carefully marked and put away by the bridegroom. When the marriage is over, he again arranges them in order, and examines them, and sends such of them as please him, and as he thinks likely to be of use to him, to the market, and orders them to be valued by the appraisers; he then sends back all the other things to their respective donors, with an expression of thanks. He makes compensation in the course of the following year, either in money or in something else of equal value, for those things which he has kept. Moreover, if any one make out his gift to be of greater value, the bridegroom then sends back immediately to the sworn appraisers and compels the party to stand by their valuation. Also, if the bridegroom should not make compensation when a year has elapsed, or restore the accepted gift, then he is bound to return double. Finally, if he should neglect to send any one's gift to be valued by the sworn appraisers, he is compelled to repay according to the will and decision of the party who gave it. And this custom the common people themselves are wont to observe with all liberality, as a kind of donation.

They do not contract marriages within the fourth degree of consanguinity or relationship. They think it heretical for brothers to marry their sisters. Also, no one dare take to wife the sister of his kinsman. They likewise most rigidly observe that no marriage take place between those who are connected by the spiritual relationship of bap-

tism. If any one marry a second wife, and become a bigamist, they allow it indeed, but scarcely think it a lawful marriage. They do not permit a third marriage, except for some weighty cause; but a fourth they allow to nobody, and do not even consider it Christian. They admit divorces, and grant a writ of repudiation; but they mostly conceal it, because they know it to be contrary to religion and the statutes.

We have said a little before, that the prince himself repudiated his wife Salomea on account of barrenness, and thrust her into a convent, and married Helen, daughter of the Knes Basil Lynski. Some years ago, a certain Duke Basil Bielski had fled from Lithuania into Moscow, and his friends detained his wife, who was young and recently married, a long time at his own house (for they thought that he would return again from love and desire of his bride). Bielski referred the case of his absent wife to the council of the metropolitan. After receiving the result of their deliberation, the metropolitan gave for answer: "Since the fault was not yours, but rather your wife's and your relations', that you could not have her company, I will give you the benefit of the law, and release you from her." On hearing this, he soon after married another woman, daughter of the princely race of the Resanenses, by whom he had some sons, whom we now see in great authority about the prince.

They do not call it adultery unless one have the wife of another. Love between those that are married is for the most part lukewarm, especially among the nobles and princes, because they marry girls whom they have never seen before; and being engaged in the service of the prince, they are compelled to desert them, and become corrupted with disgraceful connexions with others.

The condition of the women is most miserable; for they consider no woman virtuous unless she live shut up at home, and be so closely guarded, that she go out nowhere. They

give a woman, I say, little credit for modesty, if she be seen by strangers or people out of doors. But shut up at home they do nothing but spin and sew, and have literally no authority or influence in the house. All the domestic work is done by the servants. Whatever is strangled by the hands of a woman, whether it be a fowl, or any other kind of animal, they abominate as unclean. The wives, however, of the poorer classes do the household work and cook. But if their husbands and the men-servants happen to be away, and they wish to strangle a fowl, they stand at the door holding the fowl, or whatever other animal it may be, and a knife, and generally beg the men that pass by to kill it. They are very seldom admitted into the churches, and still less frequently to friendly meetings, unless they be very old and free from all suspicion. On certain holidays, however, men allow their wives and daughters, as a special gratification, to meet in very pleasant meadows, where they seat themselves on a sort of wheel of fortune, and are moved alternately up and down, or they fasten a rope somewhere, with a seat to it, in which they sit, and are swung backwards and forwards; or they otherwise make merry with clapping their hands and singing songs, but they have no dances whatever.

There is at Moscow a certain German, a blacksmith, named Jordan, who married a Russian woman. After she had lived some time with her husband, she one day thus lovingly addressed him: "Why is it, my dearest husband, that you do not love me?" The husband replied: "I do love you passionately." "I have as yet," said she, "received no proofs of your love." The husband inquired what proofs she desired. Her reply was: "You have never beaten me." "Really," said the husband, "I did not think that blows were proofs of love; but, however, I will not fail even in this respect." And so not long after he beat her most cruelly; and confessed to me that after that process his wife showed much greater affection towards him. So he repeated the exercise fre-

quently ; and finally, while I was still at Moscow, cut off her head and her legs.

All confess themselves to be Chlopos, that is, serfs of the prince. Almost all the upper classes also have serfs, who either have been taken prisoners, or purchased ; and those whom they keep in free service are not at liberty to quit at their own pleasure. If any one goes away without his master's consent, no one receives him. If a master does not treat a good and useful servant well, he by some means gets a bad name amongst others, and after that he can procure no more domestics.

This people enjoy slavery more than freedom ; for persons on the point of death very often manumit some of their serfs, but they immediately sell themselves for money to other families. If the father should sell the son, which is the custom, and he by any means become free or be manumitted, the father can sell him again and again, by right of his paternal authority. But after the fourth sale, the father has no more right over his son. The prince alone can inflict capital punishment on serfs or others.

Every second or third year the prince holds a census through the provinces, and conscribes the sons of the boyars, that he may know their number, and how many horses and serfs each one has. Then he appoints each his stipend, as has been said above. Those who have the means to do so, fight without pay. Rest is seldom given them, for either they are waging war against the Lithuanians, or the Livonians, or the Swedes, or the Tartars of Cazar ; or if no war is going on, the prince generally appoints twenty thousand men every year in places about the Don and the Occa, as guards to repress the eruptions and depredations of the Tartars of Precop. He generally summons some also every year by rotation out of his provinces, to fill the various offices in his service at Moscow. But in war time, they do not serve in annual rotation, or by turns, but each and all are compelled,

both as stipendiaries and as aspirants to the prince's favour, to go to battle.

They have small gelded horses, unshod, and with very light bridles, and their saddles are so adapted that they may turn round in any direction without impediment, and draw the bow. They sit on horseback with the feet so drawn up, that they cannot sustain any more than commonly severe shock from a spear or javelin. Very few use spurs, but most use the whip, which always hangs from the little finger of the right hand, so that they may lay hold of it and use it as often as they need; and if they have occasion to use their arms, they let it fall again so as to hang from the hand. Their ordinary arms are a bow, a javelin, a hatchet, and a stick, like a *cæstus*,<sup>1</sup> which is called in Russian, *kesteni*; in Polish, *bassalich*. The more noble and wealthy men use a lance. They have also suspended from their arm oblong poignards like knives, which are so buried in the scabbard, that they can scarcely touch the tip of the hilt, or lay hold of them in the moment of necessity. They have also a long bridle perforated at the end, which they attach to a finger of the left hand, so that they may hold it at the same time as they use the bow. Moreover, although they hold the bridle, the bow, the short sword, the javelin, and the whip, in their hands all at the same time, yet they know how to use them skilfully without feeling any incumbrance.

Some of the higher classes use a coat of mail beautifully worked on the breast with a sort of scales and with rings; some few use a helmet of a peaked form like a pyramid.

Some use a dress made of silk stuffed with wool, to enable them to sustain any blows. They also use pikes.

They never have infantry or artillery in an engagement; for whatever they do, whether they are attacking, or pursu-

<sup>1</sup> This instrument is more fully described in the German edition as a stick having a thong attached to it, from which depends a knot or ball covered with spikes.





RUSSIAS

1870



*Etched by Sarah E. Major.*





ing, or fleeing from the enemy, they do everything suddenly and rapidly, so that neither infantry nor artillery can be of any use to them. Both infantry and artillery have however been used by the present Prince Vasiley, for when the King of Precop, on his return from investing his nephew with the sovereignty of Kasan, had pitched his camp at thirteen miles' distance from Moscow, the Prince Vasiley in the following year pitched his camp by the River Occa, and then for the first time made use of infantry and artillery, perhaps with the view of displaying his strength, or to blot out the disgrace which he had incurred the year before from a most disgraceful flight, in which he was said to have hidden himself some days under a hay stack; or possibly he may have done so with the intention of ridding his territories of a king whom he thought likely to invade his throne. It is certain that he had to my knowledge, for I saw them, nearly fifteen hundred infantry, consisting of Lithuanians, and a host of men of various nations.

They make the first charge on the enemy with great impetuosity; but their valour does not hold out very long, for they seem as if they would give a hint to the enemy, as much as to say, "if you do not flee, we must". They seldom take a city by storm, or by a sudden assault, but prefer a long siege, and to reduce the people to surrender by hunger or by treachery. Although Vasiley besieged the city of Smolensko with cannon, some of which he had taken with him from Moscow, and some he had founded there during the siege, and though he battered the city to pieces, he accomplished nothing. In like manner he besieged Kasan with a large force of men, and brought up some cannon against it, which he had conveyed thither by the river, but on that occasion also he produced no beneficial result; for such was the cowardice manifested on this occasion, that during a lapse of time while the citadel was in flames and was burning down to the ground—aye, and even might have been completely

built a second time—not a single soldier had the courage to scale the naked hill to take possession.

The prince has now German and Italian cannon-founders, who cast cannon and other pieces of ordnance, and iron cannon balls such as our own princes use ; and yet these people, who consider that everything depends upon rapidity, cannot understand the use of them, nor can they ever employ them in an engagement. I omitted also to state, that they seem not to comprehend the different kinds of artillery, or rather I should say, what use to make of them. I mean to say, that they do not know when they ought to use the larger kind of cannon which are intended for destroying walls, or the smaller for breaking the force of an enemy's attack. This has occurred on several occasions, but especially at the time when the Tartars were said to be on the point of besieging Moscow, for on that occasion the officer to whom the command was deputed, to the amusement of a German bombardier, ordered one of the largest cannons to be placed under the gate of a fortress, where it could scarcely be brought in the space of three days, and with only one discharge of it he would have blown the gate to pieces.

There is a great difference and variety of conduct amongst men in fighting as well as in other things. The Russian, for instance, when he once takes flight, thinks there is no safety beyond what flight may obtain for him ; and if he be pursued or taken by the enemy, he neither defends himself nor asks for quarter. The Tartar, on the contrary, if he be thrown from his horse and stripped of all his weapons, and be even very severely wounded, will generally defend himself with his hands, feet, and teeth, when and how he can, as long as he has any breath in his body. The Turk, when he finds himself beyond the reach of all help, and has no hope of escaping, suppliantly begs pardon, and throwing down his arms, holds out his hands to his conqueror joined together ready for binding, and hopes that by captivity he may secure his life.

They select a very extensive space for pitching their camp, where the leading men erect tents, others make a sort of arch of bushes on the ground, and cover it with wrappers, and under these they place their harness, and bows, etc., and protect themselves from the weather. They drive their horses loose to pasture, which is the reason of their having their tents so wide apart. They never fortify their camp with their chariots, or with a ditch, or any other impediment, unless the place itself happen to be naturally defended either by woods, or rivers, or marshes.

It may appear wonderful to anybody that they can support themselves and their people so long on so little pay as I have stated above. I will therefore briefly describe their frugality and parsimony. A man who has six or perhaps more horses, only uses one of them as a sumpter horse to carry the necessaries of life. In the first place he has some ground millet in a bag two or three palms long, then eight or ten pounds of salt pork, with some salt in a bag, mixed, if he be rich, with a little pepper. Besides this, every man carries with him a hatchet, some fuel, and a kettle or a copper porringer, so that if he chance to come to a place where he finds no fruits, or garlic, or onions, or game, he then lights a fire and fills his porringer with water, into which he throws a spoonful of millet with some salt, and boils it, and both master and serfs live content with this fare. Moreover, if the master be very hungry, he eats it all, and the serfs thus undergo a severe fast sometimes for two or three days. If in addition to this the master wish to indulge in a more luxurious repast, he then adds a very small portion of pork to the meal. I do not say this of the superior classes, but of men of middle condition. The generals of the army and other military officers sometimes invite such as are poorer, who, after they have had one good dinner, sometimes abstain from meat for two or three days. Also when they have fruits, or garlic, or onions, they can easily dispense with everything else.

When they are about to go into an engagement, they place more reliance in their numbers, and the amount of forces with which they may be able to encounter the enemy, than in the strength of their soldiers, or any degree of discipline in their army. They fight much more comfortably at a distance than hand to hand, and therefore their principal aim is to circumvent the enemy, and attack him in the rear. They have a great many trumpeters, and when they blow their trumpets all together, as is the custom of the country, and play in unison, you hear a remarkable and most uncommon kind of melody. They have also another sort of musical instrument, which in the common language they call szurnu. When they use this, they will by some means blow it for an hour more or less, apparently without any respiration or inhalation of air. They first fill their cheeks with air, and then being trained to draw in their breath at the same time through the nostrils, they are said to pour out the voice through the tube without any cessation.

They all use the same kind of dress and body-gear ; they wear oblong tunics without folds and with rather tight sleeves, almost in the Hungarian style, in which the Christians have buttons to fasten the breast on the right side ; but Tartars, who wear a similar garment, have the buttons on the left side. They wear boots of a colour approaching to red, and rather short, so as not to reach the knees—the soles are protected with iron nails. They nearly all have shirts ornamented round the neck with various colours, fastened with necklaces, or with silver or copper-gilt beads, with clasps added for ornament's sake.

They never gird in the belly, but they gird the thighs, and then fasten the girdle as low as their middle to give prominence to the belly. Moreover, the Italians and Spaniards, nay, even the Germans, have now accustomed themselves to the same habit.

Both young men and boys are alike accustomed to meet

on holidays, but in some large and well-known place in the city, where they can be seen and heard by a great number whom they muster round them together by hisses or some other signal. When they are assembled, they run towards each other and wrestle; they then engage in boxing matches, and afterwards promiscuously kick each other with great force with their feet on the face, throat, breast, and belly, etc., or in any other way they can, they throw each other down, struggling for conquest, so that they are often carried away lifeless. He then who conquers the greatest number, stays longest on the field, and endures blows with the greatest fortitude, receives the highest praises, and is accounted a distinguished conqueror. This kind of contest was instituted in order that young men might be able to sustain blows and to endure strokes of any kind.

Justice is carried out very strictly against thieves; when they are caught, the order is, that they shall first have their heels broken, and then rest two or three days while they swell, and then while they are yet broken and swollen they make them walk again. They employ no other method of torturing malefactors to confess robberies or to inform against their accomplices. But if a man, when brought up for examination, be found to deserve death, he is hanged. Criminals are seldom punished with any other kind of punishment, unless they have committed some uncommonly heinous crime. Thefts, and even murders, unless they have been committed for the sake of gain, are seldom visited with capital punishment. If, indeed, a man catch a thief in the act and kill him, he can do so with impunity, always provided however that he bring the man that he has killed to the prince's palace, and explain how the matter occurred.

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Few magistrates have authority to inflict capital punish-

<sup>1</sup> A sentence is here omitted for the sake of propriety.

ment. No subject dares to put another to the torture. Most malefactors are brought to Moscow or the other principal cities, but convicts are generally punished in winter time, for in summer military pursuits preclude the opportunity of attending to these matters.

### The following are Ordinances made by the Grand

DUKE IVAN VASILEIVICH, ANNO MUNDI 7006 (1497).

When a culprit is condemned one ruble, he must pay two altins to the judge and eight dengs to the notary. But if the parties come to terms before they reach the place of contest, they are to pay no less to the judge and notary than if judgment had been passed. But if they come to the place of contest, which can only be decided by Ocolnick and Nedelsnick,<sup>1</sup> and there come to terms, they are to pay as above to the judge, fifty dengs to the Ocolnick, and likewise fifty dengs and two altins to the Nedelsnick, and four altins and one deng to the scribe. But if they come to the contest, and one be overcome, then the guilty man must pay to the judge as much as is demanded by him; he must give a poltin and the arms of the conquered man to the Ocolnick, fifty dengs to the scribe, and a poltin and four altins to Nedelsnick. But if the duel is undertaken on account of an act of incendiarism, the slaying of a friend, plunder, or theft, then the accuser, if he conquer, may take from the guilty man whatever he sought; a poltin and the arms of the vanquished are to be given to the Ocolnick, fifty dengs to the scribe, a poltin to the Nedelsnick, and four altins to the veston (the veston is he who arranges the duel for both parties under the prescribed conditions), and whatever property the guilty man has left, is to be sold and given to the judges, and he is to receive corporeal punishment according to the character of his offence.

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of these offices see *post*, page 106.

Men who slay their masters, betrayers of the camp, church robbers, kidnappers, and also those who secretly introduce things into another man's house, and then say that they have been stolen from themselves (whom they call podmetzhek), as well as incendiaries, and such as are evident malefactors, are liable to capital punishment. He who is convicted of theft for the first time, unless perhaps he be accused of sacrilege or kidnapping, is not to be punished with death, but to receive public correction, that is, he is to be beaten with rods and to be fined in money by the judge. If he be caught a second time in theft, and have not wherewith to satisfy his accuser or the judge, he must suffer death. If otherwise a convicted thief have not wherewith he can satisfy his accuser, he must be beaten with rods, and delivered to his accuser.

If any man be accused of theft, and any person of respectability declare with an oath that he has also been convicted of theft before, or has been reconciled to another on the score of theft without a judicial verdict, he must suffer death, and his goods are to be disposed of as above.

If any man of low condition or suspected life be charged with theft, he must be summoned to an examination. But if he cannot be convicted of theft, he is remanded on bail for further inquiry.

For the giving sentence or delivering judgment in an arbitration of one ruble, ten dengs are to be paid to the judge, one altin to the secretary who has the seal, and three dengs to the notary.

Governors who have no authority, on hearing a case, to decide or give a verdict, may condemn either party in so many rubles, and then send the case for judgment to the ordinary judges; and if the sentence seem to them just and according to equity, then for every ruble one altin must be paid to the judge, and four dengs to the secretary.

Whoever wishes to lay an accusation against another for



theft, plunder, or manslaughter, goes to Moscow and asks that such an one be summoned to justice. Nedelsnick is given to him, and he appoints a day, which he announces to the man against whom the accusation is laid, and on that day he brings him to Moscow. Afterwards, when the guilty man is brought to judgment, he often denies the crime which is laid to his charge. If the prosecutor produces witnesses, then both parties are asked whether they will stand to their words. The common reply to that is, "Let the witnesses be heard according to justice and custom." If they bear witness against the guilty man, he immediately objects, makes exceptions against themselves and their testimony, saying: "I demand an oath to be administered to me, and I commit myself to the justice of God, and desire a fair field and a duel." And thus, according to the custom of the country, a duel is adjudged to them. Either of them may appoint any other person to take his place in the duel, and each may supply himself with what arms he pleases, except a gun or a bow. But they generally have oblong coats of mail, sometimes double, a breast-plate, bracelets, a helmet, a lance, a hatchet, and a peculiar weapon in the hand, like a dagger sharpened at each end, which they use so rapidly with either hand as never to allow it to impede them in any encounter, nor to fall from the hand; it is generally used in an engagement on foot. They commence fighting with the lance, and afterwards use other arms. For the last many years the Russians, in fighting with foreigners, whether Germans, or Poles, or Lithuanians, have generally been beaten. But on a very recent occasion, when a certain Lithuanian of twenty-six years of age encountered a certain Russian (who had come off conqueror in more than twenty duels), and was killed, the prince in a rage immediately ordered him to be sent for that he might see him; and when he saw him he spat upon the ground, and ordered that in future no duel should be adjudged to any foreigner against his own subjects. The

Russians load themselves, rather than protect themselves, with a great number of different kinds of weapons, but foreigners go to an attack trusting to judgment rather than arms. They take especial care not to let their hands join, for they know that the Russians are very strong in their arms, and it is only by wearying them by perseverance and activity that they in most cases conquer them. Each side has many friends, abettors, and spectators of the contest, who are quite unarmed, except with sticks, which they sometimes use. For if any unfairness seem to be practised upon either of them, the friends of that one immediately rush to avenge his injury, and then the friends of the other interfere, and thus a battle arises between both sides, which is very amusing to the spectators, for the hair of their heads, fists, clubs, and sticks burnt at the points, are all brought into play on the occasion.

The testimony of one nobleman is worth more than that of a multitude of low condition. Attorneys are very seldom allowed: every one explains his own case. Although the prince is very severe, nevertheless all justice is venal, and that without much concealment. I heard of a certain counsellor who presided over the judgments being apprehended, because in a certain case he had received bribes from both parties, and had given judgment in the favour of the one who had made him the largest presents: when he was brought to the prince he did not deny the charge, but stated that the man in whose favour he had given judgment was rich, and held an honourable position in life, and therefore more to be believed than the other, who was poor and abject. The prince revoked the sentence, but at length sent him away with a laugh unpunished. It may be that poverty itself is the cause of so much avarice and injustice, and that the prince knowing his people are poor, connives at such misdeeds and dishonesty as by a predetermined concession of impunity to them.

The poor have no access to the prince, but only to the counsellors themselves; and indeed that is very difficult. Ocolnick holds the place of a prætor or judge appointed by the prince, otherwise the chief counsellor, who is always near the prince's person, is so called. Nedelsnick is the post of those who summon men to justice, seize malefactors and cast them into prison; and these are reckoned amongst the nobility.

Labourers work six days in the week for their master, but the seventh day is allowed for their private work. They have some fields and meadows of their own allowed them by their masters, from which they derive their livelihood: all the rest is their master's. They are, moreover, in a very wretched condition, for their goods are exposed to plunder from the nobility and soldiery, who call them Christians and black rascals by way of insult.

A nobleman, however poor he might be, would think it ignominious and disgraceful to labour with his own hands; but he does not think it disgraceful to pick up from the ground and eat the rind or peeling of fruits that have been thrown away by us and our servants, especially the skins of melons, garlic, and onions; but whenever occasion offers, they drink as immoderately as they eat sparingly. They are nearly all slow to anger, but proud in their poverty, whose irksome companion they consider slavery. They wear oblong dresses and white peaked hats of felt (of which we see coarse mantles made) rough from the shop.

The halls of their houses are indeed large and lofty enough, but the doors are so low, that in entering, one must stoop and bend one's self.

They who live by manual labour and work for hire, receive a deng and a half as one day's pay; a mechanic receives two denges, but these do not work very industriously unless they are well beaten. I have heard some servants complain that they had not received their fair amount of beating from

their masters. They think that they have displeased their master, and that it is a sign of his anger if they are not beaten.

### Of entering another Man's House.

In all houses and dwellings they have the images of saints, either painted or cast, placed in some honourable position : and when any one goes to see another, as he enters the house, he immediately takes his hat off and looks round to see where the image is, and when he sees it he signs himself three times with the cross, and bowing his head says, " O Lord, have mercy." He then salutes the host with these words, " God give health." They then shake hands, kiss each other, and bow, and then each looks at the other, to see if he have any more bowing to do, and thus bowing their heads three or four times alternately, and paying their respects to each other, they by some means come to an understanding. They then seat themselves, and after their business is settled, the guest walks straight into the middle of the dwelling, with his face turned towards the image, and again signing himself three times with the cross, bows his head and repeats the former words. At length when they have saluted each other with the above-mentioned words, he departs. If he be a man of some authority, the host follows him to the steps, but if he be of a superior position in life, he accompanies him further, due respect being observed for the rank of each person. They are wonderfully ceremonious, for no man of small fortune is permitted to ride within the gate of the house of one of higher rank. The poor and obscure classes also find access difficult even to the common nobles, who walk out but seldom in public, in order that they may retain greater authority thereby, and have more respect paid to them. Likewise no nobleman who is

moderately rich walks on foot so far as the fourth or fifth house from his own without his horse being led in attendance. In winter time, however, when they cannot use their horses without danger on account of the ice, for they are unshod, or on occasions when they may have to go to the prince's palace, or to the temples of the saints, they generally leave their horses at home. Gentlemen always sit within their own houses, and seldom or never transact business walking. They used to wonder extremely when they saw us walking in our hotels, and frequently transacting business while we were walking.

The prince has post stations in all parts of his dominions, with a regular number of horses at the different places, so that when the royal courier is sent anywhere, he may immediately have a horse without delay; and the courier has authority to choose any horse he pleases. When I was making a rapid journey from Great Novogorod to Moscow, the post-master, who in their language is called jamschnick, would have sometimes thirty and occasionally forty or fifty horses brought out to me the first thing in the morning, when there was no need of more than twelve. Each of my people, therefore, took the horse which he thought would best suit him, and when they were tired we constantly changed them on reaching another inn on the road (they call their inns jama), but kept the same saddle and bridle. Every one is at liberty to ride at full speed, and if his horse happen to fall, or can go on no longer, he may take another with impunity from the first house he comes to, or from any one he may chance to meet, the prince's courier alone excepted. If, however, a horse be exhausted and left on the road, the jamschnick requires restoration; and it is customary to give another to him from whom it was taken, or to pay a price according to the length of the journey. Six dengs are generally reckoned for from ten to twenty wersts.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The werst is equal to 1166 $\frac{2}{3}$  English yards, or somewhat less than two-thirds of an English mile.

On one occasion, a servant of mine rode on such post horses from Novogorod to Moscow, a distance of six hundred wersts, that is, a hundred and twenty German miles, in seventy-two hours, which is the more remarkable, because they are small ponies, and far less carefully tended than ours, and yet such is the work that they will perform.

### Of their Money.

They have four kinds of silver money,—that of Moscow, of Novogorod, of Tver, and of Plescow. The money of Moscow is not round, but oblong, and of a sort of oval form, called a deng. It has different impressions, the old deng having on one side the figure of a rose, and the later one the figure of a man sitting on horseback ; both of these have an inscription on the reverse. A hundred of them go to one Hungarian gold piece ; six denges make an altin ; twenty a grifna ; one hundred a poltin ; and two hundred a ruble.

There are new coins now struck, with characters on both sides, forty of which are worth one ruble.

The coin of Tver has an inscription on both sides, and is of the same value as that of Moscow.

The coin of Novogorod has on one side the figure of the prince sitting on his throne, and a man opposite him making his obeisance ; on the other it has an inscription, and is worth twice as much as that of Moscow. Moreover, the grifna of Novogorod is worth fourteen rubles, and the ruble of Novogorod two hundred and twenty-two denges.

The coin of Plescow has the head of an ox crowned, and an inscription on the other side. They have also a copper coin called polani ; sixty of these are worth one deng of Moscow.

They have no gold money, nor do they themselves coin any, but mostly use Hungarian, and occasionally Rhenish money. They often change their valuation of these coins, especially when a foreigner wishes to purchase anything with gold, for then they immediately depreciate its value; but if any one is about to go anywhere on a journey and wants gold, they then raise the price again.

They use the rubles of Riga on account of its proximity, one of which is worth two of those of Moscow. The money of Moscow is of pure and good silver, although that is also adulterated now. Yet I never heard of any one being reprehended for this misdemeanour. Nearly all the goldsmiths of Moscow coin money; and when any one brings masses of pure silver and asks for money for them, they weigh both the money and the silver and balance it equally. There is a small fixed price above the equal weight to be paid to the goldsmiths, who otherwise charge but little for their labour. Some have written<sup>1</sup> that in some very few spots in this country there is an abundance of silver, and that the prince forbids its exportation. The truth is that the country contains no silver, except (as I have said) what is imported; but the prince may rather be said to guard against than to forbid its exportation, and to that effect orders his subjects to barter their commodities, and to give and receive some articles in exchange for others, such as skins (in which they abound), or anything else of the kind, so as to keep their gold and silver in the province. It is scarcely a hundred years since the silver money which they used was principally of their own coining. When silver was first introduced into the province, they used to cast little oblong pieces of silver without any impression or inscription, of the value of one ruble, not one of which is now to be seen. Money was also coined in the principality of Galicia; but as that had no constant value,

<sup>1</sup> Myechov, in his *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* (*Tractatus* ii, lib. 2), says, "Estque terra dives argento et custodia undique clausa."

it disappeared. In early times, moreover, before they had money, they made use of the snouts and ears of squirrels and other animals, whose skins are brought to us in lieu of coin, and bought the necessaries of life with them as with money.

They use such a kind of reckoning that they count or divide things by sorogh or devenost, that is, either by the number forty or ninety, in the same manner as we do by a hundred. So that in counting they repeat and multiply by two sorogh, three sorogh, four sorogh, that is, forty ; or two, three, or four dwenost, that is, ninety. A thousand in the vulgar tongue is tissutzæ ; ten thousand is expressed in one word, tma ; twenty thousand by dwetma ; and thirty thousand by tritma.

When any one brings any articles of merchandize to Moscow, he is compelled to declare them, and show them immediately to the gate-keepers or officers of the customs ; and these latter examine them at a stated hour and put a value on them ; and when they have been valued, no one dares either to sell or buy until they have been reported to the prince. Moreover, if the prince should wish to buy anything, the merchant is not allowed to show his goods, nor propose a price for them, to any one ; and hence it sometimes happens that merchants are detained a considerable time.

Nor is it allowed to every merchant to come to Moscow, but only to Lithuanians, Poles, or persons subject to those governments. For Swedes and Livonians and Germans from the maritime states may only go to Novogorod ; and Turks and Tartars are permitted to traffic and carry on business in the town of Chlopigrod, whither at the time of the markets men congregate from the most distant places. But when legates and ambassadors go to Moscow, then all merchants from all places who have been taken under their countenance and protection are accustomed to enter freely into Moscow, and can pass without paying custom.



The principal part of their merchandize consists of masses of silver, cloths, silk, clothes of silk and gold, clasps, jewels, and gold in filagree ; and sometimes, at its proper season, they bring some things of a paltry character from which they derive no little profit. It often even happens that every one is anxious to buy a certain article, and he who becomes the first possessor of it makes more than a fair profit by it. Then when several merchants bring a great quantity of the same articles, the price will fall to such an extent, that he who sells his goods for the highest price will buy them again when the price has fallen, and carry them back again to his own country after having made a large profit. The articles of merchandize which are exported from Russia into Germany are skins and wax ; into Lithuania and Turkey, leather, skins, and the long white teeth of animals which they call mors,<sup>1</sup> and which inhabit the northern ocean, out of which the Turks are accustomed very skilfully to make the handles of daggers ; our people think they are the teeth of fish, and call them so. Into Tartary, moreover, are exported saddles, bridles, clothes, and leather ; but arms or iron are not exported to other places towards the east or north, except by stealth, or by the express permission of the officers. They take, however, cloth and linen dresses, knives, hatchets, needles, mirrors, and purses, or anything of that sort. They traffic most deceitfully and craftily, and not with few words, as some have stated that they do. Moreover, when they are bargaining and bating down an article to less than half its value, in order to cheat the seller, they will sometimes hold the merchants in suspense and uncertainty for a month or two, and indeed lead them on to the point of desperation. But any one who is aware of their habits and the cunning language with which they depreciate the value of an article and lengthen out the time, makes no to-do or dissimulation, but sells his goods without any abatement. A certain citizen

<sup>1</sup> The morse, walrus, or sea-horse.

of Cracow had brought two hundred-weight of copper, which the prince wished to buy, and he detained the merchant so long, that at last he became weary of the delay, and started to take the copper back to his own country. But when he was at some miles' distance from the city, some underlings pursued him, and stopped his goods, and put him under an interdict, under pretence that he had not paid duty. The merchant returned to Moscow and laid a complaint before the prince's counsellors of the injury that had been done to him. When they had heard the case, they immediately of their own accord took upon themselves to be mediators, and promised that they would arrange the matter if he would ask it as a favour. The crafty merchant, who knew that it would be a disgrace to the prince if such goods were to be taken back from his territory and no one be found to buy and pay for them, would ask no favour, but demanded that justice should be done to him. At length, when they saw that he was so determined, that he could not be turned from his purpose, and that he would not yield to their trickery or cheating, they bought the copper in the name of the prince, and having paid the just price they sent him away.

They sell everything dearer to foreigners, so that what might be bought elsewhere for one ducat they mark at five, eight, ten, and sometimes twenty ducats; although they themselves in their turn sometimes buy a rare article from foreigners for ten or fifteen florins, which is scarcely worth one or two florins. Moreover, in making bargains, if you happen to say or promise anything somewhat imprudently, they carefully remember it, and urge its performance; but if they themselves in their turn promise anything, they do not hold to it at all. Whenever, also, they begin to swear and protest, you may know for a certainty that there is some trick underneath, for they swear with the very intention of deceiving and overreaching.

I once asked a certain counsellor of the prince to assist

me, that I might not be deceived in buying certain skins, and he so readily promised me his assistance, that he again threw me for a longer time into a state of doubt. He wished to obtrude his own skins upon me; and, moreover, other merchants came to him, promising him douceurs if he would sell their goods to me at a good price. For it is the custom of the merchants to constitute themselves go-betweens in buying and selling, and to receive presents from both parties under the promise of their faithful assistance.

There is a spacious walled building not far from the citadel, called the "Hall of the Master Merchants", in which the merchants live and store their goods, and where are sold pepper, saffron, silks, and that sort of merchandize, at a far lower price than in Germany. But this is to be attributed to the bartering of goods. For while the Russians put a high price upon skins purchased cheaply elsewhere, foreigners in their turn, perhaps influenced by their example, offer goods also bought for a small sum, and quote them at a higher price; the result is, that as each makes an equal barter of commodities, the Russians can sell goods, especially such as they receive in exchange for skins, at a low price, and without profit.

There is a great difference in the skins. In sable skins, the blackness, length, and thickness of the hair, argue full growth. If also the animal be taken at a fitting season, they raise the price, a rule which is also observed with reference to other skins. The sables are found very seldom on this side of the Ustyug and the province of Dwina, but more often, and of a finer sort, about Petchora.

Marten skins are brought from different parts; good ones from Sewera, better from Switzerland, and the best from Sweden.

I have sometimes heard of sable skins being seen at Moscow, some of which have been sold for thirty, and some for twenty gold pieces. But I never had the good fortune

to see any such skins myself. Ermine skins also are brought from various places turned inside out, by which, however, many buyers are imposed upon. They have certain marks about the head and tail, by which they are known whether they have been caught at the proper season. For directly this animal is caught it is skinned, and the skin is turned inside out, lest it should be injured by the hair being rubbed. If one of them be taken at an unseasonable time, and the skin be deficient in its natural good colour, they then pull out and extract (as it is said) certain significant hairs from the head and tail, lest it should be known that the animal was caught at the wrong time, and so they deceive the purchasers; they are mostly sold, however, for three or four denges a-piece; those which are a little larger are deficient in that whiteness which is otherwise seen pure in the smaller ones.

Fox skins, and especially black ones, which they usually make into caps, are valued very highly, for sometimes ten of them are sold for fifteen gold pieces. Squirrel skins also are brought from different parts, but the greater number from the province of Siberia; but those of the finest quality from Schwaii [Svhajsk?], not far from Kazan. These skins are brought also from Permia, Viatka, Ustyug, and Vologda, always bound up in bundles of ten; in each of which bundles there are two best, which they call Litzschna; three, somewhat inferior, which they call Crasna; four, which they call Pocrasna; and the last one, called Moloischna, is the worst of all. These skins are sold for one or two denges a-piece.

The merchants take the best and picked ones into Germany and other parts, and derive great profit therefrom.

Lynx skins are of little value, but wolves' skins, since they began to be held in esteem in Germany and Moscow, have a very high price attached to them; but wolves' skins are much less costly here than with us.

Beavers' skins are held by them in high esteem, and nearly

all have the borders of their garments made of this fur, because it is black, which is the natural colour.

The women use the skins of domestic cats. There is a certain animal, which in their common language they call *pessetz*,<sup>1</sup> the skin of which they use on a journey or in expeditions, because it generally gives most warmth to the body.

The customs or duty on all goods, either imported or exported, is carried into the treasury. Seven denges are levied on everything of the value of one ruble, except wax, on which the duty is demanded, not only according to its value, but also its weight. Four denges are levied on a certain weight, commonly called *pud*.

I shall give a full description below in the "Chorography of Russia", of the roads which the merchants take in importing and exporting their merchandize, and also through the different districts of Russia.

Usury is prevalent; and although they acknowledge it to be a great sin, yet scarcely any one refrains from it. Moreover, it is absolutely intolerable, for it is always taken at one in five, that is, twenty per cent. They seem to treat the church more leniently (as it is called), and accept from it ten per cent. (as they term it).

<sup>1</sup> *Canis lagopus*. The arctic fox of Pennant.

## ERRATA.

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- Introduction, page vi, line 8, for "1599-60", read "1599-1600".  
" ix, 30, for "Royal", read "Royale".  
" xxi, 14, for "Aut.", read "Ant."  
" xxviii, Note, for "Humbolt", read "Humboldt".  
" lxxi, 12, for "Weid", read "Wied".  
" lxxxviii, 3, for "Polschaftn", read "Potschaftn".



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NOTES UPON RUSSIA.

VOL. II.

M.DCCC.LII.









Engraved by W. Brenchley Esq., Esq.

THE GIANT PRINCE VASILY IVANOVICH.

From Heberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*.

# NOTES UPON RUSSIA:

BEING A TRANSLATION OF THE

*Earliest Account of that Country,*

ENTITLED

RERUM MOSCOVITICARUM COMMENTARIJ,

BY THE BARON

SIGISMUND VON HERBERSTEIN,

AMBASSADOR FROM THE COURT OF GERMANY TO THE GRAND  
PRINCE VASILEY IVANOVICH, IN THE YEARS  
1517 AND 1526.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED,

*With Notes and an Introduction,*

BY

R. H. MAJOR,

OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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VOL. II.

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" — if thou list to know the Russes well,  
To Sigismundus booke repayre, who all the trueth can tell."  
*Turbervile, 1568.*

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M.DCCC.LII.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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SINCE the publication of the first volume of the present work, the Editor has been kindly favoured by the Prince Alexis Lobanoff Rostovski, of Berlin, with the following four points of additional information (respectively marked I, II, III, IV) touching the bibliography of those writers who preceded the date of Herberstein's first embassy to Russia in 1517.

1. The existence of a traveller in Russia, previously unknown to the Editor, named

GUILLEBERT DE LANNOY,

whose family derived its origin from the small town of Lannoy, in Flanders.

Guillebert de Lannoy was born about 1386, and seems to have early adopted the career of arms. In 1413-14, he made a journey through Prussia, Russia, Lithuania, and Poland; and in 1421, being dispatched to the east on various commissions, principally from Henry V. of England, passed through Poland, on his way to Egypt and Syria. He left an account of these



and his other travels, which was first published by the "Société des Bibliophiles de Mons", in No. 10 of their publications, with the title—

Voyages et Ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy, chevalier de la toison d'or. Seigneur de Santes, etc., etc. 1399-1450. Mons, 1840 (or rather 1842);

under the editorial care of Mr. C. P. Serrure, from a manuscript in his library.

For our information respecting this edition, and the incorrectness in its date, we are indebted to an edition, by the learned Joachim Lelewel, of those portions of De Lannoy's work in which he relates his travels in Prussia, Russia, Lithuania, and Poland. It is entitled—

Guillebert de Lannoy et ses Voyages en 1413, 1414, et 1421. Commentés en Français et en Polonais par Joachim Lelewel, Bruxelles et Posen, 8vo.

To the preface of this work we would also refer the curious reader for observations on the manuscript originals, which it would be tedious for us to dwell upon in this advertisement.

II. Two editions of Æneas Sylvius' work, on Prussia and Livonia. The first, entitled—

Enee Silvii episcopi Senensis de situ et origine Pruthenorum—De Livonia ejusque ortu et situ, etc. Sine anno et loco; but, according to Brunet, Cologne, about 1470.

The second edition referred to by the Prince, occurs in the "Æneæ Silvii opera Geographica et Historica". Helmstadii, 1699, 4to., pp. 272-83.

III. An edition of Marco Polo, published at Venice in 1847, entitled—

*I Viaggi di Marco Polo Veneziano tradotti per la prima volta dall' originale francese di Rusticiano di Pisa e corredati d' illustrazioni e di documenti da Vincenzo Lazari. Venezia, 1847, 8vo.*

The Editor's attention was also kindly directed to this publication by the Vicomte de Santarem, and by Dr. Henderson, a member of the Hakluyt Society. The latter gentleman in his letter states, that "it appeared towards the close of the scientific meeting, which was held at Venice in the autumn of 1847, and which was commemorated by a medal in honour of Marco Polo, and by the erection of his bust in one of the galleries of the Ducal Palace."

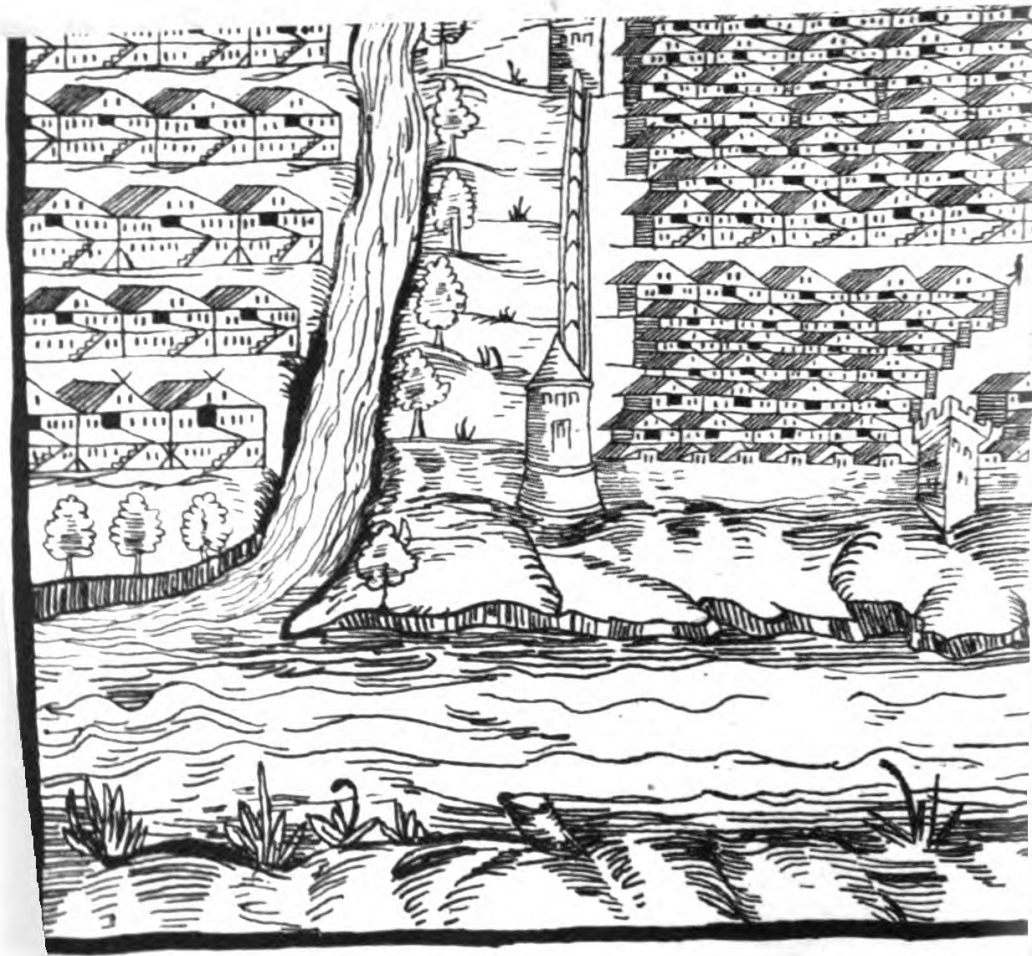
IV. An edition of Herberstein, in the first volume of "*Historiæ Ruthenicæ Scriptores exteri sæculi xvi. Collegit et ad veterum editionum fidem edidit Adalb. de Starczewski.*" Berolini et Petropoli, 1841-42, 2 vols., 8vo., without note or comment.

The curious and interesting documents appended to this work have been selected, not only as matter supplementary and akin to the *Commentarii*, but because the originals of them appeared in the interval between the period of Herberstein's first journey to Russia, and the publication of his great work in 1549; while the longest and most important, viz., that by Paulus Jovius, is given as an appendix to most of the early Latin editions. They were first published collectively in Ramusio's "*Navigazioni et*

Viaggi", and afterwards "gathered in parte and done into Englyshe by Richarde Eden", as he himself expresses it, in his "History of Travayle in the West and East Indies, etc." The first edition of Eden was in 1555, but for the convenience of the reader, on account of the improvement in the language and spelling, the present reprint is given from the edition of 1577.



Viaggi", and afterwards "gathered in parte and done  
to the ... ..



H O C F L V V I C  
O c c

## NOTES UPON RUSSIA.

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**I shall now undertake the "Chorography" of the principality and lordship of the grand duke of Muscovy, taking Moscow, the principal city, as the starting point; and proceeding thence, I shall describe the surrounding and more famous principalities only, for in so great an expanse I have not been able to trace exactly the names of all the provinces. The reader must, therefore, content himself with the names of the cities, rivers, mountains, and some of the more remarkable places.**

THE city of Moscow then, the capital and metropolis of Russia, together with the province itself, and the river which flows by it, have but one and the same name, and in the vernacular language of the people are called Mosqwa. Which of the three gave its name to the other two is uncertain; but it is likely that the name was derived from the river. For although the city itself was not formerly the capital of the nation, yet it is evident that the name of Muscovites was not unknown to the ancients. The river Mosqwa, moreover, has its source in the province of Tver, nearly seventy wersts above Mosaisko (a werst is nearly the length of an Italian mile), not far from a place called Oleskno, and measuring thence a distance of ninety wersts, flows down to the city of Moscow, and having received some streams into itself, flows eastward into the river Occa. It begins, however, to be navigable six miles above Mosaisko, at which place materials for building houses and other purposes are

placed on rafts and brought down to Moscow. Below the city the merchandize, etc., imported by foreigners, is brought up in ships. The navigation is, however, slow and difficult, on account of the numerous turnings and windings with which the river is indented, especially between Moscow and the city of Columna, situated on the bank of the river about three miles from its mouth, where, by its many long windings, it increases the length of the passage by two hundred and seventy wersts. The river is not very abundant in fish, for indeed, with the exception of mean and common sorts, it has none at all. The province of Moscow also is not over extensive or fertile, for the sandy soil which covers it and which kills the corn with the least excess of dryness or moisture, is a very great obstacle to fertility. To this must be added the immoderate and excessive inclemency of the atmosphere, for as the severity of the winter overpowers the heat of the sun, the seed which is sown cannot in some places reach maturity. For the cold is sometimes so intense there, that in the same manner as with us in summer time the earth splits into clefts with too much heat, so with them it does so from the extreme cold, and water thrown into the air, or saliva spit from the mouth, freezes before it reaches the ground. We ourselves, when we arrived there in the year 1526, saw some boughs of fruit-bearing trees that had entirely perished with the rigour of the preceding winter, which had been so severe that year, that many couriers (whom they call gonecz) were found frozen in their carriages. There were some men driving cattle tied together with ropes from the neighbouring districts to Moscow, who, overpowered by the excessive cold, perished together with the cattle. Several itinerants also, who were accustomed to wander about the country with bears taught to dance, were found dead in the roads. The bears also, stimulated by hunger, left the woods and ran about hither and thither through the neighbouring villages and rushed into the houses, while the rustic multitude, terri-

fied at their aspect and strength, fled and perished miserably out of doors with the cold. This excess of cold is sometimes equalled by the too great heat, as in A.D. 1525, when nearly everything that had been sown was burnt up by the immoderate heat of the sun ; and such a want of provision followed that drought, that what could previously be bought for three dings, would afterwards cost twenty or thirty. A great many districts, and woods, and corn-fields, were seen burnt up by the excessive heat. The smoke of this so filled the country, that the eyes of those who walked out were severely injured by it ; and besides the smoke, a certain darkness supervened, which blinded many.

It is evident from the trunks of large trees which still exist, that the whole country was not long since very woody ; but although the husbandmen give care and labour to the cultivation of trees, all except such as grow in the fields are brought hither from the neighbouring provinces. There is abundance of corn and common vegetables, but none of the sweeter kinds of cherries or nuts (except filberts) are found in the whole country. They have indeed the fruits of other trees, but they are insipid. They cultivate melons with particular care and industry. They put earth mixed with manure into beds of a good depth, and set the seed in them, by which plan it is equally protected against immoderate cold or heat ; for if the heat should happen to be too great, they prevent it from suffocating the seed by making little spiral chinks in the earth, which has been thus mixed with manure, while in excessively cold weather the warmth of the manure itself affords protection to the buried seed.

There is no honey in the province of Moscow, nor is there any game, except hares. Their cattle are much smaller than ours, but not without horns, as a certain person has written,<sup>1</sup> for I have seen there oxen, cows, goats, and rams, all horned. The city of Moscow has a very eastward position among the

<sup>1</sup> This assertion is made by Miechow (*Tract.* ii, lib. 2).



other cities of the north, which we easily perceived in our journey thither ; for when we left Vienna, we proceeded direct to Cracow, and thence travelled nearly a hundred German miles northward ; at length the road turning eastward, we reached Moscow, situated, if not in Asia, at any rate on the very extreme confines of Europe, where it joins Asia, of which circumstance I shall say more hereafter in my description of the Don.

The city itself is built of wood, and tolerably large, and at a distance appears larger than it really is, for the gardens and spacious court-yards in every house make a great addition to the size of the city, which is again greatly increased by the houses of smiths and other artificers who employ fires. These houses extend in a long row at the end of the city, interspersed with fields and meadows. Moreover, not far from the city, are some small houses, and the other side of the river some villas, where, a few years ago, the Prince Vasiley built a new city for his courtiers, called Nali (which in their language means "pour in"), because other Russians were forbidden to drink mead and beer, except on a few days in the year, and the privilege of drinking was granted by the prince to these alone ; and for this reason they separated themselves from intercourse with the rest of the inhabitants to prevent their being corrupted by their mode of living. Not far from the city are some monasteries, which alone appear like a great city to persons looking from a distance. Moreover, in consequence of the great extent of the city, it is confined by no settled boundary, nor has it any useful defences in the shape of walls, fosses, or ramparts. The streets are, however, blocked up in some places by beams thrown across them, and are guarded by watchmen placed there at early nightfall, so that no one is allowed access by that way after a stated hour ; and any who are taken after that by the watchmen are either beaten, stripped, or thrown into prison, unless they happen to be persons of distinction or respecta-

bility: and even these are generally accompanied home by the watchmen. Such watches are generally set wherever there is an open entrance into the city, for the Mosqwa flows by one side of the city, and the river Jausa, which flows into it under the city itself, has such steep banks, that it scarcely admits of being forded. In this latter river many mills have been erected for the public use of the city, which seems to be mainly defended by these rivers; with the exception of a few stone houses, churches, and monasteries, it is entirely a city of wood. The number of houses which it is said to contain is scarcely credible. For they say, that six years before my arrival at Moscow, the houses were counted by an order of the prince, and that the number exceeded 41,500. This city is so broad and spacious, and so very dirty, that bridges have been constructed here and there in the highways and streets and in the other more distinguished parts. There is a fortress in it built of burnt tiles, which on one side is washed by the Mosqwa and on the other by the River Neglima [Neglinaia]. The Neglima flows from certain marshes, but is so blocked up before the city around the upper part of the fortress, that it comes out like stagnant water, and running down thence, it fills the moats of the fortress, in which are some mills, and at length, as I have said, is joined by the Mosqwa under the fortress itself. The fortress is so large, that it not only contains the very extensive and magnificently built stone palace of the prince, but the metropolitan bishop, the brothers of the prince, the peers, and a great many others, have spacious houses of wood within it. Besides these, it contains many churches, so that from its size it might itself almost be taken for a city. This fortress was at first surrounded only by oaks, and up to the time of the Grand Duke Ivan Danielovich was small and mean in appearance. It was he, who, by the persuasion of Peter the metropolitan, first transferred the imperial residence to

this place. Peter had originally selected that place from love of one Alexius, who was buried there, and who is said to have been famous for miracles; and after his death, being buried in this place, miracles were likewise done at his tomb, so that the place itself acquired such a celebrity, from a certain notion of its sacredness and religious character, that all the princes who succeeded Ivan thought that the seat of empire ought to be held there. For on the death of Ivan, his son of the same name retained his seat there; and after him, Dimitry; and after Dimitry, that Vasiley, who married the daughter of Withold, and left behind him Vasiley the Blind. Of him was born Ivan, the father of that prince, at whose court I was ambassador, and who first surrounded the fortress with a wall; and his descendants, nearly thirty years after, have brought the work to completion. The ramparts and battlements of this fortress, as well as the prince's palace, were built of brick, in the Italian style, by Italians, whom the prince had sent for from Italy with the offer of large remuneration. There are also, as I have said, many churches in it, nearly all of wood, except the two handsomest, which are built of brick. One of these is consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, the other to St. Michael. In the church of the Blessed Virgin are buried the bodies of the two archbishops who were the cause of the prince's transferring thither the seat of empire and the metropolis; and principally on that account they have been enrolled among the number of the saints. The other church is used as a burial-place for the princes. There were also many churches, being built of stone, at the time that I was there.

The climate of the country is so wholesome, that, from the sources of the Don, especially northwards, and a great way towards the east, no plague has raged there in the memory of man. They sometimes, however, have a disorder of the bowels and head, not unlike the plague, which they call "the heat": those who are seized with it die in a few days.

That disorder was very prevalent when I was at Moscow, and took off one of my servants; but from the people being accustomed to live in so wholesome a climate, if the plague at any time be raging in Novogorod, Smolensko, or Plescow, from fear of contagion they exclude from their own country any people who come thence to them.

The people of Moscow are more cunning and deceitful than all others, their honour being especially slack in business contracts,—of which fact they themselves are by no means ignorant, for whenever they traffick with foreigners, they pretend, in order to attain greater credit, that they are not men of Moscow, but strangers.

The longest day in Moscow in the summer solstice, is said to be seventeen hours and three quarters. I could not, at that time, ascertain from any body the exact elevation of the pole, although one man told me, but upon uncertain authority, that he had heard it was fifty-eight degrees. At length I myself made a venture with the astrolabe, and on the ninth day of June, at noon, observed that the sun was at fifty-eight degrees. From which observation it was deduced, by the reckoning of men skilled in these things, that the elevation of the pole was fifty degrees, and that the longest day was seventeen hours and one quarter.

Moscow having received the first place in this description, I shall proceed to the other provinces subject to the Grand Duke, taking them in order as they lie eastward, whence going round by the south, and west, and north, we shall in due course come down again to the equinoctial east.

First comes the great city, Vladimir, which has a fortification of wood attached to it. This city, from the time of Vladimir, who was afterwards called Vasiley, to the reign of Ivan Danielovich, was the metropolis of Russia. Between the Wolga and the Occa, there are two great rivers, situated thirty-six German miles eastward from Moscow, in a spot so

fertile, that from one bushel of wheat often twenty, and sometimes thirty bushels, may be produced. The river Clesma [Kleasma] washes the city; in other respects it is begirt with large extensive woods. The Clesma, moreover, rises four German miles from Moscow, and is alike famous for, and rendered useful by, the numerous mills upon it; it is navigable twelve miles, as far as the town of Murom, situated on the bank of the Occa, into which river it falls. There was formerly a principality, situated amidst vast forests, twenty-four miles due east from Vladimir, inhabited by a people called Muromani, and which abounded in furs, honey, and fish.

Lower Novogorod is a large wood-built city, situated on a rock at the confluence of the Volga and Occa, with a stone fortification, built by the present monarch, Vasiley. They say that it is forty German miles east from Murom; and if so, Novogorod will be a hundred miles from Moscow. The country equals Vladimir in fertility and abundance. It forms the boundary, in this direction, of the Christian religion; for although the Prince of Muscovy has beyond this Novogorod a fortress named Sura, yet the intermediate people, who are called Czeremissi, do not follow the Christian, but the Mahometan religion. Moreover, there are other people, called Mordwa, mixed with the Czeremissi, who occupy a great part of the country this side of the Volga, as far as Sura. The Czeremissi live northwards beyond the Volga, and to make a distinction from them, those that live above Novogorod are called the Upper or Mountain Czeremissi; not, indeed, from any mountains, for there are none, but rather from the hills which they inhabit.

The river Sura divides the dominions of the Prince of Russia and the King of Kazan. Coming from the south, it bends its course eastward twenty-eight miles below Novogorod, and flows into the Volga. At the confluence of the two rivers, Prince Vasiley has built, on the further bank, a fort-

ress, which he has named after himself, Vasilovgorod, which has subsequently become the hotbed of many misfortunes. Not far hence is the river Mosqwa, which also flows from the south, and falls into the Occa above Murom, not far from the town of Cassimovgorod, which the Prince of Moscow has given up as an abode for the Tartars.

The women of the latter people, by a certain art, stain their nails a black colour, for the sake of beauty, and constantly go about with their heads uncovered and their hair dishevelled. Eastward and southward of the river Mosqwa are immense forests inhabited by the Mordwa people, who have a dialect of their own, and are subject to the Prince of Moscow. Some maintain that they are idolaters, while others say that they are Mahometans. They dwell in villages scattered here and there, and cultivate the ground. Their food is game and honey, and they abound in valuable skins; they are especially hardy men, for they have often bravely repulsed those Tartars who rove about in quest of plunder. They are nearly all foot soldiers, remarkable for their long bows, and very skilful in archery.

The province of Rezan is situated between the Occa and the Don, and has in it a wood-built city not far from the bank of the Occa. There was formerly a fortress in it, called Jaroslaw, of which nothing now remains but the ruins. Not far from that city the river Occa forms an island, called Strub, once a large duchy, whose prince was subject to no one. South-east, or as some maintain, north-east<sup>1</sup> of Moscow, stands the city of Columna. After that Rezan, which is thirty-six miles distant from Moscow. This province is more fertile than all the other provinces of Russia, for they say that in it each grain of wheat produces sometimes two or more ears, and the stalks grow so thick that horses cannot

<sup>1</sup> Columna is situated, as Herberstein correctly states, south-east of Moscow.

easily pass through it, nor the quails fly out of it. There is a great abundance there of honey, fish, birds, and wild beasts; and the fruits are far superior to the fruits of Moscow. The people are most daring and warlike.

The Don flows out of the province of Moscow up to this fortress, and nearly twenty-four German miles beyond it; it passes near a place called Donco, where the merchants going to Azov, Caffa, and Constantinople, load their ships. This they do generally in autumn in the rainy season, for the Don is not full enough of water at other times of the year to bear laden vessels. The Grand Duke Vasiley, who had married the sister of Ivan Vasileivich, Grand Duke of Moscow, and had by her Ivan and Feodor, once ruled over Rezan. When Vasiley died, his son Ivan succeeded him; and his sons by the daughter of the knes, Feodor Babitz, were Vasiley, Feodor, and Ivan. On the death of their father, the two eldest of these contended for the dominion, and fought a battle on the plains of Rezan. One of them died in this battle; and the victor not long after died on the same plains, where an oaken cross was erected to his memory. The youngest of the three brothers, who still survived, on learning their death, made alliance with the Tartars, and took forcible possession of the principality for which his brothers had contended, and which was hitherto in the possession of his mother. Having done this, he applied to the Duke of Moscow for permission to govern, as his ancestors had done, unchecked by any one in the free tenure and possession of the principality. While he was making this proposal, the Grand Prince heard that he was seeking in marriage the daughter of the king of Taurida, with whom the prince was then at war. Wherefore, when the prince sent for him, he, through fear, hesitated and delayed to go. At length, by the persuasion of Simon Crubin, one of his counsellors, he went to Moscow, where he was seized by the prince's command, and placed under custody, but not in prison (*liberis*

*custodiis*). The prince then deposed his mother, and threw her into a monastery, and took possession of the citadel and the principality; and to prevent any subsequent revolt on the part of the people of Rezan, he dispersed a great portion of them through different colonies, so that the strength of the entire principality was loosened and broken. Moreover, in 1521, when the Tartars pitched their camp before Moscow, Ivan escaped from custody in the tumult, and fled into Lithuania, where he still continued in exile [when I was in Russia?].

The town of Tula is nearly forty German miles distant from Rezan, but thirty-six southward from Moscow; it is the last city one comes to before reaching the desert plain. It contains a stone citadel built by Vasiley Ivanovich. A river of the same name flows by it. Another river, called the Uppa, washes the citadel on the east, and joining the river Tula, flows into the Occa, nearly twenty German miles above Worotinski. Not far from its mouth is the fortress of Ovoyov'. The town of Tula, moreover, had its own prince in the time of Vasiley.

The very famous river Don, which divides Europe from Asia,<sup>1</sup> rises nearly eight miles south and a little by east from Tula,—not in the Riphæan [*i. e.*, Ural] mountains, as some have stated, but in the Ivanovosero, that is, the Great Lake of Ivan, which in length and breadth stretches over about 1,500 versts, and takes its rise in a wood which some call Okonitzkilies, others Jephphanovlies. From this lake, the two great rivers, the Schat and the Don, take their rise. The Schat flows westward, and after receiving the river Uppa, flows in a north-west direction into the Occa. But the Don in its first course flows due east, and runs between the kingdoms of Kazan and Astrachan, six or seven German miles from the Volga; it then takes a southward course, and forms the

<sup>1</sup> This notion of Herberstein, that the Don separated Europe from Asia, accounts for his elsewhere describing Moscow as situated in Asia.



marshes which have received the name of the *Palus Mœotis*. The nearest city to its source is Tula; but on the shore nearly three miles above its mouth is the city of Azov, which was originally called Tanas. Four days' journey above this is the town of Achas, situated on the same river (called in Latin, Tanais), which the Russians call the Don. This place is so remarkable for its abundance of excellent fish, and also for its pleasantness,—each side of the river being laid out and cultivated with considerable industry, in the fashion of a garden, with a variety of plants and most delightful roots, and a great number of fruit-bearing trees,—that it is impossible to praise it too highly. There is also such an abundance of game there, which they kill with their arrows without much trouble, that persons travelling through the country want nothing else to support life, except fire and salt for cooking. In these parts they do not reckon by miles, but days' journeys. So far as I could form a conjecture, the Don is nearly eighty German miles from its source to its mouth, going in a straight line. Nearly twenty days' sail from Donco, where, as I said, the Don is first navigable, we come to Azov, a city which is tributary to the Turks; and, according to them, is five days' journey from the Isthmus of Taurica, otherwise called Precop. Here is a famous emporium of many nations, who come thither from different parts of the world; and as free access is permitted to all people of every country, with abundant liberty of buying and selling, so also on going out of the city are all permitted to do what they please with impunity.

As to the altars erected by Alexander and Cæsar, or their ruins, which several writers describe as being in these parts, I have not been able to learn anything for certain, either from the natives, or others, who have very frequently travelled in those places. The soldiers also, whom the prince is accustomed to have there in garrison every year to reconnoitre and repress the excursions of the Tartars, have told

me when I have made inquiries upon the subject, that they have neither seen nor heard anything of the sort. They confessed, however, that about the mouth of the Lesser Don, four days' journey from Azov, near the site of Velikiprevos, in the holy mountains, they have seen some statues of marble and stone. The Lesser Don, moreover, rises in the principality of Sewerski, whence the Donetz is called Sewerski, and falls into the Don three days' journey above Azov. Those who travel by land from Moscow to Azov, cross the Don near the old and ruined city of Donco, and turn southwards and a little by east, where, if a straight line be drawn from the mouth of the Don to its source, you will find that Moscow is in Asia, and not in Europe.—[See note, page 11.]

Misceveck is a marshy place, in which there was formerly a fort, the remains of which yet exist. There are still some people who dwell in huts near this place, who in times of danger take refuge among those marshes, or flee into the fortress. Misceveck lies nearly sixty German miles south of Moscow, and nearly thirty from Tula. The river Occa rises nearly eighteen miles to the left of Misceveck. It first flows eastward, then northward, and lastly, towards the summer east (as they themselves call it); and thus the Occa shuts in Misceveck with a figure of nearly a semicircle, and then flows by many towns, namely, Worotin, Cologa, Cirpach, Corsir, Columna, Rezan, Casimovgorod, and Murom, and finally enters the Volga below Lower Novogorod, and is enclosed on both sides with woods, which are extremely abundant in honey. All the lands which it waters are most fertile. The river is very celebrated, especially for its abundance of fish; and its fish is preferred to those of the other rivers of Russia, particularly those which are taken near Murom. It has, moreover, some kinds of fish peculiar to itself, which are called in their language Beluga,—a fish of a wonderful size without fins, with a large head and mouth,—

Sterlet, Schevriga, Osseter,—the three last are a kind of sturgeon,—and Bielaribitza, which is a little white fish of most excellent flavour. It is supposed that the greatest part of these come down thither from the Volga. Moreover, they say, that two other rivers take their rise at the sources of the Occa, namely, the Sem and the Schosna. The Sem flows through the principality of Sewera, and passing by the town of Potivlo, falls into the river Desna, which last river runs through the town of Czernigov, and joins the Dnieper below Kiev. The Schosna, however, makes its way directly into the Don.

Corsira is a town on the banks of the river Occa, six miles above Columna. It formerly had a governor, who held it in his own right; but being reported to Prince Vasiley as one who conspired against his life, he was invited, under a plausible pretext from the prince, to join him in the chase. He armed himself (for some one advised him not to go unarmed), and went to the prince during the hunt. He was not admitted, however; but was ordered to be taken, under the charge of Michael Georgiovich, the prince's secretary, to the neighbouring town of Czerpach, and there to be confined. On his arrival, the prince's secretary desired him, according to the usual custom, to drink to the prince's health. When he found himself thus caught in a snare, which he had no means of escaping, he sent for a priest, drained the cup, and died. By this infamous crime, Vasiley became possessor of the town of Czerpach, which lies eight miles from Corsira, on the banks of the Occa, near which there are iron mines situated in a plain.

Coluga is a town on the river Occa, thirty-six miles from Moscow, and fourteen from Czerpach. They make there cleverly carved cups of wood, and other articles for domestic purposes of the same material, which are exported thence into the various provinces of Russia, as well as into Lithuania, and other surrounding countries. The prince is accus-

tomed to place garrisons every year in this spot, against the incursions of the Tartars.

Worotin is a city and fort, bearing the same name as its principality. It lies three miles above Coluga, not far from the bank of the Occa. The principality was formerly possessed by the Knes Ivan Worotinski, a warlike man, and excelling in various accomplishments, through whose generalship the Prince Vasiley had often won distinguished victories over his enemies. In the year 1521, however, when the King of Taurida crossed the Occa, and, as has been already said, invaded Russia with a large army, the Knes Dimitry Bielski, a young man, was sent with an army by the prince to check and repel him; but he, neglecting the wise counsels of Worotinski and others, disgracefully took to flight at the first sight of the enemy. After the departure of the Tartars, the prince made diligent inquiries respecting the authors of the flight, but acquitted Andrew, the prince's own brother (who really had been the cause of it), and others; while Ivan Worotinski not only fell under the prince's severest displeasure, but was seized and driven out of his principality. He was, it is true, finally discharged from custody, but only on the condition that he should never leave Moscow. I have myself seen him at Moscow among the principal men at the prince's court.

Sewera is a great principality, whose citadel, Novogrodek, not long since was the seat of the Sewerian princes, before they were ejected from the principality by Vasiley. It lies a hundred and fifty German miles due south from Moscow, the road passing through Coluga, Worotin, Serensko, and Branski; and the principality extends as far as the Dnieper. It contains some vast deserts, with fields interspersed here and there; there is, however, a large wood in the neighbourhood of Branski. It contains many forts and towns; the most celebrated of which are Staradub, Potivlo, and Czernigov. The land is fertile wherever it is cultivated.

The woods are extremely abundant in squirrel and martins, and also in honey. The people are very warlike, through their constant engagements with the Tartars. Vasiley Ivanovich, however, reduced this principality, like many others, into subjection to himself, in the following manner: Vasiley had two nephews, sons of his brothers, — one surnamed Semetzitz, who possessed the fortress of Novogrodek, while the other held the city of Staradub. At the same time a certain prince named Dimitry possessed Potivlo. Now Vasiley Semetzitz, who was strong in arms, and a terror to the Tartars, was so strongly infected with the lust of power, that he coveted the whole principality for himself, and could not rest until he had brought Vasiley of Staradub to a most abject condition, and then driving him away, he took possession of his province.

After succeeding in this attempt, he attacked Dimitry in a different manner. He traduced him to the prince as one who was plotting treachery. The prince, indignant at this, ordered Vasiley to seize Dimitry by any contrivance, and to send him forthwith to him to Moscow. Vasiley accordingly contrived to have Dimitry waylaid while hunting; and stationed horsemen at the gates of his town to seize him if he should endeavour to flee thither; and being thus captured, Dimitry was taken to Moscow and thrown into prison. His only son, Dimitry, took this injury so much to heart, that he immediately fled to the Tartars, and with the view of effecting a more speedy and heavy revenge for the wrong done to his father, he abjured the Christian faith, was circumcised, and became a Mahometan. During his stay amongst the Tartars, he chanced to fall violently in love with a very beautiful girl, and as he could not gain possession of her by any other means, he privately carried her off without the consent of her parents. The servants who were circumcised with him, made this known to the girl's relations, and they suddenly attacked him one night, and put both him and the

girl to death by a discharge of arrows. When Prince Vasiley heard of the flight of Dimitry's own son to the Tartars, he ordered the father to be placed in still closer confinement, and when the old man shortly after heard of the death of his son in Tartary, he died worn out with grief and imprisonment in that same year, 1519. All this was done through the agency of Vasiley Semetzitz, at whose instigation the prince had previously seized his relative, the lord of Corsira, and slain him in prison. But as it often occurs that they who lay snares for others fall into them themselves, so it happened to this Semetzitz. For he also was accused to the prince of the crime of rebellion, and was summoned on that charge to Moscow, but refused to go thither unless he first received letters of safe conduct, ratified by the oath of the prince and the metropolitan. Upon his receiving these, which were formally made out and sent to him, he went to Moscow on the 19th of April 1523, and was honourably received by the prince, who even offered him presents; but a few days after he was seized and thrown into prison, and was still kept in confinement [at the time that I was there]. They say that the reason of his being imprisoned was, that he had sent letters by the governor of Kiev to the king of Poland, expressing a wish to desert to him; and that the governor, when he became acquainted with his base intention towards his prince, resigned his charge of the letters, and sent them immediately to the prince of Moscow. Others, however, ascribe a more likely reason, viz., that as Semetzitz was the only one in all the empire of the prince of Muscovy who now remained in possession of fortified towns and principalities, the latter, in order the more easily to eject him, and for the greater safety of his own government, invented against him the charge of treason, as a means of removing him. In allusion to this, a certain jester went about carrying brooms in the streets at the time that Semetzitz went into Moscow, and on being asked what he meant by this,

answered, that the prince's dominions were not yet cleansed, but that now the fitting time was come for sweeping all garbage out of the empire. Ivan Vasileivich first added this province to his dominions after he had routed the army of Alexander, the grand-duke of Lithuania, at the river Vedrosch.

The princes of Sewera, moreover, derive their race from Dimitry, grand-duke of Muscovy. Dimitry had three sons, Vasiley, Andrew, and George. Of these, Vasiley, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the kingdom; and from the other two, Andrew and George, the princes of Sewera have derived the origin of their race.

Czernigov is thirty miles distant from Kiev, and as much from Potivlo. Potivlo is a hundred and forty German miles distant from Moscow, sixty from Kiev, and thirty-eight from Branski. This latter lies beyond a large wood, twenty-four miles in breadth.

Novogrodeck is eighteen miles from Potivlo, and fourteen from Staradub. Staradub is thirty-two miles from Potivlo.

In going through the desert of Potivlo into Taurida, one meets with the rivers Ina, Samara, and Ariel,—the two last of which are rather broad and deep, and travellers are sometimes detained a long time in crossing them, upon which occasions it will often happen that they are surrounded and captured by the Tartars. Next come the rivers Koin-skawoda and Moloscha, the passage across which is effected by a novel kind of ferry boat. They bind together bundles of small wood into faggots, and place themselves and their goods upon them, and thus by paddling and availing themselves of the stream, they are carried to the opposite side. Others fasten faggots of this kind to the tails of horses, which, by a plentiful use of the whip, they force to drag them over to the opposite shore.

Ugra is a deep and muddy river, which rises in a wood not far from Drogobusch, and empties itself into the Occa,

between Coluga and Vorotin. This river formerly divided Lithuania from Moscow.

Demetrioich is a fortified town lying eighteen miles south-west from Viesma, and about twenty from Vorotin. Smolensko is an episcopal city situated on the river Dnieper, and on the eastern bank of the river it has a fortress constructed of oak, containing a considerable number of houses like a city. On that side of it which stretches towards the hill (for on the other side it is washed by the Dnieper), it is protected with ditches, and in addition to these, with sharp stakes, which form a barrier against the attacks of the enemy. Vasiley Ivanovich very often attacked this place in the most desperate manner, but never could take it by force. At length he gained possession of it through the treachery of the soldiers, and of a certain Bohemian who was governor, and of whom we have spoken before in the account of Michael Linski. The city lies in a valley, is surrounded on all sides with fertile hills, and is begirt by immense forests, from which is derived a great supply of furs of various kinds. In the citadel there is a church dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and other buildings constructed of wood. In the suburbs there are considerable ruins of monasteries built of stone. In going southwestwards from Moscow towards Smolensko, a journey of eighteen miles will bring you first to Mosaisko; twenty-six miles more to Viesma; eighteen more to Drogo-busch; and another eighteen to Smolensko: the whole journey making eighty German miles, although the Lithuanians and Russians reckon it a hundred. I have myself, however, travelled through these places three times, and never found the distance more than eighty miles. While Vasiley reigned over this principality, Vithold, grand-duke of Lithuania, took it from the Russians in the year 1413. Vasiley Ivanovich took it from Sigismund king of Poland, on the 30th of July, in the year 1514.

Drogobusch and Viesma are fortified towns built of wood,



situated on the Dnieper, and were formerly under the sway of the princes of Lithuania. By the town of Viesma runs the river of the same name, which at no great distance, viz., two wersts, falls into the Dnieper, and vessels laden with merchandise are carried down by it to the Dnieper and back again from the Dnieper to Viesma.

Mosaisko also is a fortified wood-built town, in the neighbourhood of which is a great abundance of hares of various colours, and the prince is accustomed to hold an annual hunt there. Sometimes also he receives ambassadors from different princes there, as was the case while we were at Moscow, when he received the Lithuanian ambassadors; and it was to this place also that we were summoned from Moscow to receive our discharge, after having fulfilled the instructions of our respective princes. I may further add that, in the time of Vithold, the boundaries of the dominion of the princes of Muscovy extended to about five or six miles beyond Mosaisko.

Biela is a principality, with a fortified city of the same name, on the river Opscha. It is situated amidst vast forests, more than sixty German miles to the west of Moscow, thirty-six from Smolensko, and thirty from Toropetz. Its rightful princes in former days were the descendants of Gidemin, but in the time of Casimir king of Poland, the sons of Jagellon gained possession of this principality, for at that time Vasiley, otherwise called Bielski, the prince of Biela, deserted to Ivan, Vasiley's father, and surrendered both himself and his property to him. In his removal, he also left his wife behind him in Lithuania, and as we have before said, married another woman in Russia. By the latter he had three sons, whom I saw at the court of the prince; and one of them, named Demetrius, was held in great esteem and honour from respect to his father's rank. These three brothers, however, although they lived upon the paternal inheritance which they received from their father from Biela, and derived their

support from the yearly revenues supplied from Biela, dared not go thither, for the prince of Muscovy had deprived them of the lordship of the principality, and usurped the title to himself.

Rsova of Demetrius is a fortified city, lying twenty-three miles due west of Moscow. This fortress, from which the prince usurps to himself a title, is situated on the river Volga, and commands a very extensive domain. There is also another Rsova, called the deserted, a hundred and forty miles from Moscow, twenty from Velikiluki, and as many from Plescov. Beyond Rsova, some miles to the westward, is a wood called Volkonski, from which four rivers take their rise. In this wood is a marsh, named Fronov, out of which flows a river of no great size, and after a course of about two miles, falls into a lake, named Volgo. From this lake it again emerges, increased by a multitude of streams, and is called Volga from the name of the lake. After passing through many marshes, and receiving into itself many rivers, it empties itself by five-and-twenty, or, as some say, seventy mouths into the Caspian sea (called by the Russians Chvalensko Morie), and not into the ocean, as a certain author has written.<sup>1</sup>

The Volga is called Esk by the Tartars, and Rha by Ptolemy, and is so near to the Don that it is said they are only seven miles apart from each other. We shall speak in the proper place of the cities and towns by which it passes. In the same wood, about ten miles from the marsh of Fronov, is the village of Dnyepersko, near which rises the Borysthenes, called by the natives the Dneiper, but which we here call Borysthenes. Not far from that place is the monastery of the Holy Trinity, where rises another river smaller than the former, called Niepretz, a name given to it by way of a diminutive. Both these rivers, however, meet between the source of the Borysthenes and the marsh of Fronov, and

<sup>1</sup> Miechov, *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis*.

the merchandise of the Russians is shipped at this place and carried into Lithuania, and the merchants usually put up at the monastery or at the inn.

I have, moreover, discovered that the Rha and the Borysthenes do not rise from the same source as some think. This I have learned from others, especially from the positive statement of several merchants who have trafficked in those parts. The course of the Borysthenes is as follows:—first, it flows southward past Viesma, then bending eastward, it passes by the towns of Drogobusch, Smolensko, Orscham, and Mohilev; then again turning southward, it passes by Kiev, Circassia, and Otzakov, and finally, falls into the ocean at a point where the sea seems to take the form of a lake; and Otzakov is, as it were, on a corner at the mouth of the Borysthenes. Our own route lay from Orscham to Smolensko, and we brought our baggage by ship as far as Viesma, where there was so great an inundation, that a monk conveyed Count Nugaroli and me a great distance through the woods in a fishing boat, and the horses accomplished the greater part of their journey by swimming.

The lake Dwina is nearly ten miles distant from the sources of the Borysthenes, and as many from the marsh of Fronov. Westward out of it there flows a river of the same name, at a distance of twenty miles from Vilna. It afterwards turns northwards, and falls into the German Ocean (called by the Russians, Vareczkoie Morie), near Riga, the capital of Livonia. It washes Vitepsko, Polotzko, and Dunenbourg; but does not flow through Plescov, as a certain author has said. The Livonians call this river, which is for the most part navigable, Duna.

Lovat, the fourth river, is not at all to be compared with the other three. It rises either between the lake of Dwina and the marsh of Fronov, or out of the marsh itself, for I could not completely explore its source, although it is not far from the source of the Borysthenes. This is the river to

which, according to their records, the Apostle St. Andrew brought a little boat by dry land from the Dnieper. It has a course of nearly forty miles, flows by Velikiluki, and falls into the lake Ilmen.

Volock is a fortified city twenty-four miles due west from Moscow, nearly twelve from Mosaisko, and twenty from Tver. The prince usurps to himself the title to this place, and usually amuses himself here every year with the sport of hunting hares with falcons.

Velikiluki is a fortified city a hundred and forty miles west of Moscow, nearly sixty from Great Novogorod, and thirty-six from Polvezko. It is on the road from Moscow into Lithuania.

Toropecz is a fortified city between Velikiluki and Smolensko, on the borders of Lithuania. It is nearly eighteen miles distant from Luki.

Tver, or Otwer, formerly a most extensive domain, and still one of the great principalities of Russia, is situated on the river Volga, thirty-six miles south-west from Moscow. It has a great city, through which the Volga flows, with a fortress on that bank from which Tver looks towards Moscow; while at the opposite point the river Tvertza falls into the Volga. It was by this river that I came into Tver by water, and on another day sailed up the Rha [or Volga].

This city, moreover, was the seat of a bishopric in the lifetime of Ivan, the father of Vasiley, and at that time the Grand Duke Boris ruled over the principality of Tver. Ivan Vasileivich, prince of Muscovy, married his daughter Mary, and had by her his first-born son, Ivan, as has been related above. When Boris died, his son Michael succeeded him, but was afterwards driven from the principality by his sister's husband, the Grand Duke of Muscovy, and died in exile in Lithuania.

Tersack is a town ten miles from Tver. One half of it used to be under the government of Novogorod, the other

under that of Tver, and was thus under the command of two lieutenant-governors. Two of the rivers already mentioned take their rise there, namely, the Tvertza and the Sna,—the latter flows westward to Novogorod, the former takes an eastward course.

Great Novogardia is the most extensive principality in all Russia. It is called in the language of the country, Novogorod, meaning new city or new fortress. For whatever is surrounded with a wall, defended with oak stakes, or in any way enclosed, they call *gorod*. The city of Novogorod is large, and traversed by the navigable river Volchov, which rises out of the lake Ilmen scarcely two versts above the city, and falls into the lake Neva, which they call Ladoga, from the town in its neighbourhood. Novogorod is a hundred and twenty miles south-west from Moscow, though some reckon it only a hundred; thirty-six from Plescov; forty from Velikiluki; and as many from Ivanovgorod. But in former times, when this city was flourishing and under its own jurisdiction, it possessed a very extensive domain, which was divided into five parts. Each of these divisions not only referred all matters of public or private importance to the ordinary competent magistrate of its own district, but could transact business or conveniently traffic with other of the citizens only in its own municipal boundary; nor was any one allowed to summon another in any matter before any other magistrate of the same city. It was at that time the greatest commercial town in all Russia, for an immense crowd of merchants resorted thither on all sides from Lithuania, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany itself; and the citizens increased their riches and their stores from this repeated concourse of many nations. Indeed, at the present day, the Germans are allowed to have their own treasurers or registrars. Its dominion extends for the most part eastward and northward; it used nearly to reach to Livonia, Finland, and Norway. The merchants of that place earnestly

begged me, after I had travelled thither from Augsburg in one and the same carriage, to leave them the vehicle in which I had accomplished so great a journey, that they might place it in their church, as a perpetual memento of the occurrence. Novogorod had also the principalities of Dwina and Vologda on the east, and on the south the town of Tersack, not far from Tver. And although these provinces, from being filled with rivers and marshes, are unproductive, and cannot conveniently be inhabited, nevertheless, the princes who used to rule over these districts would make great profit of the furs, honey, wax, and fish, with which this country abounded. The princes not only themselves constituted by their own will and pleasure the authority which they held, but increased it by subduing the neighbouring nations upon any pretext, and compelling them to pay tribute in their own defence, as if such tribute were levied upon some fairly constituted principle.

From this sort of connexion with nations, whose assistance the people of Novogorod have been obliged to use in preserving their republic, it has arisen that the Russians boast that they maintain their own governors in that country; while the Lithuanians, on their part, acknowledge that they are tributary to them.

At the time that the archbishop himself was directing the affairs of this principality, with his counsel and authority, Ivan Vasileivich, duke of Muscovy, invaded it, and oppressed it seven long years with a disastrous war. At length, in the month of November, A.D. 1477, he overcame the Novogradians in a battle on the river Scholona, and compelled them to surrender on certain conditions, and appointed a governor over the city in his own name. But thinking that he did not yet hold absolute sway over them, and finding that he could not obtain it without arms, he went to Novogorod under the religious pretext that the people wished to forsake the Russian ritual, and that he would bind them to its observance; and under this pretence he took possession of the city, and re-

duced it to submission. He despoiled the archbishop, the citizens, merchants, and foreigners, of all their goods, and carried away three hundred carriages, laden, according to some accounts, with gold, silver, and jewels, to Moscow. Indeed, I myself made diligent inquiries at Moscow about this business, and heard that a far greater number of carriages were taken away laden with booty. And no wonder, for after the city was taken, he took the archbishop and all the richest and most powerful men with him to Moscow, and sent his own subjects as new colonists into their estates. Consequently, out of their possessions he derived annually an immense revenue into his treasury beyond the ordinary returns. Out of the proceeds of the archbishopric he only granted a small portion of the returns to a certain bishop then appointed by himself, and at his death the episcopal see was for a long time vacant. At length, in consequence of the urgent request of the citizens and of his subjects, that they might not always be without a bishop, he instituted one again at the time that we were there.

The people of Novogorod formerly offered their chief worship and adoration to a certain idol named Perun, which was placed on the spot where now stands the monastery named Perunski, after the same idol. When subsequently they received baptism, they removed it from its place, and threw it into the river Volchov; and the story goes, that it swam against the stream, and that near the bridge a voice was heard, saying, "This for you, O inhabitants of Novogorod, in memory of me"; and at the same time a certain rope was thrown upon the bridge. Even now it happens from time to time on certain days of the year, that this voice of Perun may be heard, and on these occasions the citizens suddenly run together and lash each other with ropes, and such a tumult arises therefrom, that all the efforts of the governor can scarcely assuage it.

It is also related in their annals, that when the people of

Novogorod were besieging Corsun, a city of Greece, with a grievous siege of seven years' duration, their wives becoming weary of their solitary life, and being also doubtful of the safety or return of their husbands, married their slaves. At length the city was taken, and the victorious husbands returned from the war, bringing with them the bronze gates of the conquered city, as well as a great bell, which we ourselves saw in their cathedral church. The slaves endeavoured to repel by force the masters whose wives they had married. Their masters, in great indignation, at the suggestion of some one, laid down their arms, and took thongs and ropes in their hands, as the proper mode of dealing with slaves, at which the latter became terrified, and fled. They betook themselves to a place still called Chloppigrod,—*i. e.*, the Slaves' Fortress,—and defended it. They were conquered, however, and received the merited punishment from their masters.

The longest day in the summer solstice at Novogorod is eighteen hours and more. The climate is much colder even than that of Moscow. The people used to be very courteous and honourable; but now, doubtless from the Russian contagion introduced by the people who emigrated thither from Moscow, they are become most degraded.

The lake Ilmen, which in ancient Russian documents is named Almer, and which others call Limidis, lies two wersts above Novogorod. It is twelve German miles long and eight broad, and receives, besides others, two rather famous rivers, the Louat and the Scholona, which latter rises in another lake. Another river takes its rise in lake Ilmen, viz., the Volchov, which flows through Novogorod, and after a course of six-and-thirty miles enters lake Lodoga. It is sixty miles broad and nearly a hundred long, interspersed with some islands. It discharges the large river Neva, which flows westward nearly six miles into the German sea. At its mouth lies Oreschak, called by the Germans



Nuremburg, situated in the middle of the river. It is under the dominion of the Muscovite.<sup>1</sup>

Russ, formerly called Ancient Russia, is an ancient little town under the government of Novogorod, from which it is twelve miles distant, and thirteen from lake Ilmen. It has an artificial river, which the townspeople have formed, in a large ditch like a lake, and from it each man has water brought down by channels to his own house, and prepares salt.

Ivanovogorod is a fort built of stone, on the bank of the river Nerva, by Ivan Vasilievich, from whom it took its name. Opposite to it, on the other bank, is a fort of the Livonians, named Nerva, from the said river. The river Nerva flows between these two forts, and divides the domain of the people of Novogorod from that of the Livonians. The river Nerva, moreover, which is navigable, rises in that lake which is called by the Russians Czutzko or Czudin, by the Latins Bicis or Pelas, and by the Germans Peiifues. After receiving two rivers into itself, namely, the Plescov and the Velikareca, which comes from the south, it passes by the town of Opotzka, leaving Plescov on the right. The navigation from Plescov to the Baltic would be easy, were it not obstructed by some rocks which lie near Ivanovogorod and Nerva.

The city of Plescow is situated on the lake from which the river of the same name emerges. This river flows through the middle of the city, and after a course of six miles falls into the lake which the Russians call Czutzko. Plescov is the only city in all the Muscovite's dominions which is surrounded by a wall. It is divided into four parts, each of which is surrounded with its own walls. This has led some into the error of saying that it was surrounded with a quadruple wall. The domain or principality of this city is called,

<sup>1</sup> Oreschak, or Orekhov, was the ancient name for Schlüsselburg, situated at the point where the Neva flows out of lake Ladoga.

in the language of the people, Pskov or Obskov. It was formerly very extensive, and had its own jurisdiction ; but in the year 1509, Ivan Vasileivich took possession of it through the treachery of some priests, and reduced it to servitude. He also took away the bell, by the ringing of which the senate used to be summoned to the parliament of the republic ; and by dispersing the citizens through the colonies, and sending Muscovites into their place, he utterly abolished their liberty. Hence it followed, that in place of the more refined and, consequently, more kindly manners of the people of Plescov, were introduced those of the Muscovites, which are more debased in almost everything. For there was always so much integrity, candour, and simplicity in the dealings of the Plescovians, that they dispensed with all superfluity of words, for the purpose of entrapping a buyer, and briefly stated the case exactly as it stood. I would here mention by the way, that the Plescovians still wear their hair parted in the middle,—not in the Russian, but in the Polish fashion. Plescov lies thirty-six miles westward from Novogorod, forty from Ivanovogorod, and as many from Velikiluki. You must pass through this city in going from Moscow and Novogorod to Riga, the metropolis of Livonia, which is sixty miles distant from Plescow.

The country of Votska lies twenty-six, or, at the most, thirty miles north-west of Novogorod, leaving the fort of Ivanovogorod on the left. In this country it is related as a miracle, that all animals, of whatever kind, that are brought into it, change their colour to white. This place seems to demand that I should make a slight allusion to the places and rivers near the sea, as far as the borders of Sweden. The river Neva, as I have already said, divides Livonia from the Russian's dominions, from which, if leaving Ivanovogorod you go along the seashore northward, you come to the river Plussa, at whose mouth lies the fortress of Iamma. Twelve miles from Ivanovogorod, and as many from Iamma,

which are four miles from each other, is the fort of Coporoia and a river of the same name. Thence to the river Neva and the fort Oreschak are six miles. From Oreschak to the river Corela, whence the city takes its name, seven miles. Twelve miles thence you come at last to the river Polna, which divides the territory of the Russian from Finland, which country is called by the Russians, Chaniska-Semla, and is under the dominion of the kings of Sweden.

There is another Carela besides that already named. It is a province which has its own territory and dialect, and lies sixty miles more or less north of Novogorod. Although it demands tribute from some of the neighbouring nations, it is nevertheless itself tributary to the king of Sweden, and also to the Muscovite, by reason of the dominion of Novogorod.

The island of Solovki lies to the northward in the sea, eight miles from the continent, between the Dwina and the province of Carela. Its distance from Moscow has not been ascertained, on account of the frequent marshes, woods, and vast deserts, which intervene. Some, however, state it to be three hundred miles from Moscow, and two hundred from Bieloiesero. There is abundance of salt prepared in this island. There is a monastery there, into which it is considered a great crime for any woman married or unmarried to enter. There is also a great fishery, of a sort of fish called by the native *selgi*, which we think are herrings. They say that in the summer solstice the sun shines here constantly, with the exception of two hours in the twenty-four.

Dimitriov is a fortified city twelve miles a little northward of west from Moscow. George, the grand-duke's brother, at that time possessed it. It is watered by the river Jachroma, which flows into the river Sest. The Sest receives also the Dubna, and empties itself into the Volga. This convenience of river navigation is the cause of the great wealth of the merchants of the country, who are thus enabled.

without much trouble, to convey their merchandize from the Caspian by the Volga into different parts, and bring it up even as far as Moscow.

Bieloiesero is a fortified city, situated on a lake of the same name. The Russian word Bieloiesero, means "White Lake". The city, by the way, does not stand in the lake itself, as some have said, but is surrounded on all sides with marshes, so that it seems to be impregnable. For this reason, the princes of Russia are accustomed to store up their treasures there. Bieloiesero is a hundred miles north of Moscow, and the same distance from Great Novogorod. Indeed, there are two roads from Moscow to Bieloiesero; one, the nearest, by Uglitz, for the winter time; the other by Jaroslav, for the summer. Both of these roads, however, on account of the frequent marshes and woods, intersected with streams, are difficult to travel by, unless by making bridges of ice to pass over,—so that from the obstacles presented by these places the miles are reckoned shorter. In addition to this difficulty of travelling, this frequent occurrence of marshes, woods, and interlacing streams, causes the country to be uncultivated, and to have no cities built in it. The lake itself is twelve miles long, and as many broad; and it is said that three hundred and sixty rivers empty themselves into it. Only one, the Schocksna, emerges from it, and falls into the Volga fifteen miles above Jaroslav, and four below Mologa. The fishes which pass from the Volga into this river and lake, improve; nay, the longer they remain in it, the finer they become. The fishermen have such skill in recognizing them, that when they catch fish that have returned from this river into the Volga, they can tell how long they had been in it. The inhabitants of this place have a dialect of their own, although now nearly all of them speak Russian. Their longest day in the summer solstice is said to be nineteen hours. I was told by a person of no small reputation, that he had made a rapid journey from Moscow

to Bieloiesero in the spring, when the trees were budding, and that after he had crossed the river Volga, he performed all the rest of his journey in carriages, for everything was covered with snow and ice. And although the winter is longer there, yet the fruits ripen, and are gathered at the same time as in Moscow. At an arrow-shot from the lake of Bieloiesero is another lake, producing sulphur; and a river which rises out of it, carries the sulphur down with it in abundance, like foam on its surface. Through the ignorance of the people, however, there is no use made of it.

The fortified city of Uglitz stands on the shore of the Volga, and is twenty-four miles distant from Moscow, thirty from Jaroslav, and forty from Tver. The citadel is on the south bank of the Volga, while the city stands on both sides.

Chloppigrod,<sup>1</sup> the place to which I have said before that the slaves of Novogorod fled, is two miles distant from Uglitz. Not far from it is seen a fort, now in ruins, on the Mologa. This river has a course of eighty miles after leaving the territory of Great Novogorod, and falls into the Volga. At its mouth is a fortified city of the same name;

<sup>1</sup> This town no longer exists, and its very site is a matter of antiquarian inquiry; and although Herberstein describes it as having been so important in his time, that the largest fair in all Russia used to be held in it, the very fact of its existence would but for him—as far as we can learn—have been lost to history.

It is true that Zedler, in the fifth volume of his *Grosses Universal Lexicon*, which was published in 1733, when Chloppigrod no longer existed, speaks of it as “a Russian town in the principality of Rosdow, on the Volga, between Novogorod, Veliki, and Rosthow. It is populous, carries on a good trade, and is celebrated for its fairs for all kinds of commodities.” The authority is not given, but there is a strong reason to suppose that the account was unsuspectingly taken from Herberstein himself.

A dissertation was written on the subject by Count Alexei Mussin Pusckin (Moscow, 1810, 4to.), in which he adduces arguments to show that such a town had really existed, and not far from the position described by Herberstein, but somewhat more westerly, namely, where the village of Starij Cholopije now stands.

and two miles from thence, on the bank of the same river, stands the church only of Chloppigrod. The fairs (which I have elsewhere alluded to) are more frequent in that place than in the whole Russian dominions; for the Tartars, and many other nations from the east and north, resort thither to barter with the Swedes, Livonians, and Russians. There is scarcely any use made of gold or silver amongst these nations; but they exchange ready-made dresses, needles, knives, spoons, hatchets, and other such things, mostly for skins.

Pereaslav is a fortified city twenty-four miles somewhat eastward of due north from Moscow. It stands on a lake, in which, as at the island of Solovki, those little fish, the selgi, are taken, of which I spoke above. The land is tolerably fertile and productive; and, after harvest, the prince is accustomed to amuse himself there with hunting. There is in the same country a lake from which salt is obtained by evaporation. Those who go from Castroma, Jaroslav, and Uglitz, to Little Novogorod, pass through this city. It is impossible to make any calculation of the roads in these parts, on account of the great number of marshes and woods. There is there also a river called Nerel, which rises from a certain lake, and falls into the Volga above Uglitz.

Rostov is a fortified city and an archiepiscopal see. After Great Novogorod, it is held with Bieloiesero and Murom amongst the principal and most ancient of the principalities of Russia. The road thither from Moscow is direct through Pereaslav, from which it is ten miles distant. It stands on the lake, which gives rise to the Cotoroa, a river which, after passing by Jaroslav, falls into the Volga. The nature of the soil is fertile, and the country is particularly abundant in fish and salt. This territory used to belong to the second sons of the grand-dukes of Russia; but their posterity have very recently been thrust out and banished by Ivan, the father of Vasiley.

Jaroslav is a fortified city on the bank of the Volga, twelve miles from Rostov, on the direct road from Moscow. The country is tolerably fertile, especially in the parts near the Volga. Like Rostov, it belonged to the second sons of the princes, but was forcibly taken by the same monarch; and although there still remain dukes of the province called *knesi*, yet the prince usurps the title to himself, the country being granted to the *knesi* as to subjects. The country is held by three *knesi*, however, descended from the second-born princes, whom the Russians call Jaroslavski. The first is Vasiley, who conducted me to and fro from my dwelling to the prince. The second is Simeon Federovitz, named Kurb-ski, from Kurba, his inheritance. He is an old man, and very reduced in body, from the remarkable abstinence and severity of life which he has adopted since the time that old age began to come upon him. For many years he has abstained from eating meat. He only eats fish on Sunday, Tuesday, and Saturday; but on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at fast time, he abstains from these. The grand- duke used sometimes to send him with an army through Permia into Jugaria to the great emperor, to subdue distant nations; and he has accomplished a great part of the journey on foot on account of the quantity of snow; and when the snow was melted, after crossing the mountain of Petchora, performed the remainder in boats. The last is Ivan, sur-named Possetzen, who, in the name of his prince, went as ambassador to the Emperor Charles in Spain, and returned with us. He was so poor, that (as we know for a certainty) he borrowed clothes and a kolpack (which is a head-dress) of somebody else to travel in. He must have been greatly mistaken, therefore, who wrote to the effect, that this man could in any necessity send thirty thousand horse soldiers to his prince out of his own territory or inheritance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Russian chronicles, where allusion is made to this prince, he appears to have been described under the name of Ivan Ivanovich,

The province, city, and fortress of Vologda, in which the bishops of Permia hold their see, though without jurisdiction, took their name from a river of the same name. The city stands north-west of Moscow in a line from Jaroslav. It is fifty German miles from Jaroslav, and nearly forty from Bieloiesero. The whole country is marshy and woody, so that travellers can take no exact account of the road, on account of the numerous marshes and windings of the rivers. The further you go, the more marshes, rivers, and woods, you encounter. The river Vologda flows northward by the city, and eight miles below the city is joined by the river Suchana, which rises from a lake named Koinski. It then takes the name of Suchana, and flows north-west. The province of Vologda was formerly under the jurisdiction of Great Novogorod, where they say the prince used to lay up a great part of his treasure, as from the nature of the place it was a strong fortification. In the year in which we were at Moscow, there was so great a scarcity of provision, that one bushel of the corn, which they use, was sold for fourteen dengs, which otherwise used to be sold in Moscow for four, five, or six, dengs.

The Vaga is a river well stocked with fish. It rises between Bieloiesero and Vologda, amidst marshes and the densest forests, and flows into the river Dwina. The people who live by the river exist by hunting, for they have scarcely any bread. Black and ash-coloured foxes are caught there. It is, moreover, but a short journey thence to the province and river of Dwina.

more properly Feodorovich Jaroslavski Sassekin, or Zassekin. The surname, Possetzen, stands in the original for the word Posadnik, which means the governor of a district. The writer here alluded to is Johann Fabri, to whose book reference is made at page 120 of the introduction to the present work, as being recommended to Herberstein and his companions as an indispensable guide in making the observations required of them in their journey. The prince Zassekin was one of the ambassadors alluded to on the same page as being joined by Herberstein on their return to Moscow by way of Vienna.



The province of Ustyug took its name from a fortified city situated on the river Suchana. It is a hundred miles from Vologda, and a hundred and forty from Bieloiesero. It was formerly situated on the mouth of the river Jug, which flows from south to north. Afterwards, on account of the convenience of the locality, it was removed nearly a mile above the river's mouth, but still retains its old name. For in Russian Usteie is a mouth; whence Ustyug is the mouth of the Jug. This province used to be subject to Great Novogorod. Little or no bread is used there; their food consisting of fish or game. They have salt from the Dwina. They have their own dialect, but more frequently speak Russian. There are not many sable skins there, nor are they very excellent. They abound, however, in the skins of other beasts, especially black foxes.

The province and river of Dwina took their name from the confluence of the rivers Jug and Suchana; for Dwina signifies two or double in Russian. After a course of a hundred miles, this river falls into the Northern Ocean, where it washes Sweden and Norway, and divides them from the unknown country of Engroneland. This province lies in the very north, and was formerly under the jurisdiction of the people of Novogorod. It is reckoned to be three hundred miles from Moscow to the mouth of the Dwina; although, as I have before said, in the countries beyond the Volga, no calculation can be made of the roads, on account of the numerous marshes, rivers, and vast woods. We are inclined, however, to reckon it, from conjecture, as scarcely two hundred miles; since from Moscow to Vologda, and from Vologda to Ustyug, one goes somewhat in an easterly direction; but from Ustyug by the Dwina due north. There are no towns or forts in this province, except the fort of Colmogor and the city of Dwina, which stands nearly midway between the source and the mouth of the river, and the fort of Pienega, which stands at the very mouth of the Dwina. It is said to contain many villages, however, which

lie wide apart, on account of the barrenness of the soil. The people earn their livelihood by fish, game, and the skins of beasts, which are abundant of all kinds. In the maritime parts of this country they say that white bears are found, and those for the most part living in the sea; their skins are often brought to Moscow. I brought back two with me from my first embassy to Moscow. This country abounds in salt.

### **Journey to Petchora Jugaria, as far as the River Obi.**

The territory of the Prince of Muscovy extends far to the east, and somewhat to the north, as far as the following places. A paper written in Russian upon this subject, containing the plan of this journey, was presented to me, which I have translated, and have here purposely subjoined; although those who go thither from Moscow would take a more frequented and a shorter road, by Ustyug and the Dwina, through Permia. The distance from Moscow to Vologda is reckoned at five hundred versts; from Vologda to Ustyug, along the right bank of the river, descending the Suchana, which joins it, is five hundred versts, which rivers are joined by the river Jug near the town of Streltze, two versts below Ustyug; this river comes from the south, and is computed to be more than five hundred versts in length from its source to its mouth. These two rivers, the Suchana and Jug, below their junction lose their former names, and take that of the Dwina; five hundred versts along the Dwina, bring us to Colmogor, at six days' journey below which the Dwina falls into the ocean by six mouths. The greatest part of this journey is made by water, for the land route from Vologda to Colmogor, crossing the Vaga, is equal to a thou-

sand versts. Not far from Colmogor, the river Pienega, which flows from the east on one's right hand, falls into the Dwina, after a course of seven hundred versts. At a distance of two hundred versts from the Dwina, in travelling along the river Pienega, we come to a place called Nicolai, whence by a sail of half a verst, vessels are brought into the river Kulvio. This river takes its rise from a lake of the same name in the north, and is six days' journey in length from its source to its mouth, where it falls into the ocean. In sailing then along the right bank of the sea, we pass the following territories, namely, Stanwische, Calunczcho, and Apnu. Having sailed round the promontories of Chorogoskinosz, Stanwische, Gamenckh, and Tolstickh, we at length reach the river Mezen, along which, in six days' journey, we come to a village of the same name, situated at the mouth of the river Piesza, ascending which towards the south-east, after three weeks' journey, we arrive at the river Piescoya. After the ships have then traversed five versts through two lakes, two courses lie open to us; one of which, to the left, leads by the river Rubicho into the river Czircho; some take the other course, which is shorter, and runs direct from the lake into the Czircho, by which course in favourable weather a passage may be made in three weeks to the river and mouths of the Czilme, the great river of Petchora, which at that place is two versts in breadth. Sailing downwards thence, we come in six days' journey to the town and fortress of Pustoosero, near which the Petchora falls by six mouths into the ocean. The inhabitants of this place, who are very simple-minded, did not receive baptism till the year of our Lord 1518. From the mouths of the Czilme through Petchora, to the mouths of the river Ussa, is one month's journey. The Ussa takes its rise in the mountain of Poyas Semnoi, which lies on the left in the direction of the south-east: the river flows out of a huge rock of that mountain called Kamen Bolschoi. The distance from the sources of the

Ussa to its mouth is reckoned at more than a thousand versts. The Petchora flows from south to north; and the ascent of this river from the mouths of the Ussa to those of the river Stzuchogora, is a journey of three weeks. They who compiled this itinerary, said that they halted between the mouths of the Stzuchogora and the Potzscheriema, and deposited the provisions they had brought with them from Russia in the neighbouring fortress of Strupili, which is situated to the right in the mountains on the Russian shore. Beyond the rivers Petchora and Stzuchogora, as far as the mountain Camenipoias, reaching to the sea and its neighbouring islands, and the fortress of Pustoosero, are various innumerable races, who are called by the one common name of Samoged, which implies, "men who eat one another". In this country there is a great abundance of birds, and different kinds of animals, such as sables, martins, beavers, ermins, squirrels, and in the ocean the morse, of which I have spoken above, and also vess;<sup>1</sup> there are likewise white bears, wolves, hares, the equus woduanus,<sup>2</sup> and a fish named semfi,<sup>3</sup> with a great variety of others. These races do not come to Moscow, for they are savage, and avoid communion with other people, and civilized society. From the mouths of the Stzuchogora up to Poiassa, Artavische, Cameni, and the greater Poiassa, is a journey of three weeks. The ascent up the mountain of Camen occupies three days; after descending which, we come to the river Artavishche, then to the river Sibut, and afterwards to the fortress of Lepin on the river Sossa. The dwellers on this river are called Vogolici. Leaving the Sossa on the right, we come to the river Oby, which rises in the lake Kitaisko; the crossing this river occupies nearly a whole day, even with a rapid passage, for its breadth is so vast as

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to conjecture what fish or mammal is here alluded to.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the equus hemionus, or dziggetai.

<sup>3</sup> Query, the schuyp, or acipenser schypa of Guedenstadt, a species of sturgeon.

to extend to nearly eight versts. The Vogolici and Ugritz-schi dwell upon the banks of this river. In ascending the river Oby, it is three months' journey from the fortress of Obea to the river Irtische, where the Sossa falls into it. In these parts are the two fortresses of Jerom and Tumen, governed by the Knesi Juhorski, who are said to be dependants of the Grand Duke of Muscovy. There are many animals there, and a great variety of furs.

From the mouths of the river Irtische to the fortress of Grustina is a journey of two months, and thence to the lake of Kitai by the river Oby, which, as I have said, has its sources in that lake, is more than three months' journey. From this lake come many black men who speak one common language, and who bring with them a variety of merchandize, which they barter with the Grustintzi and Serponiotzi: these latter people derive their name from the fortress of Serponov Lucomoryae, situated in the mountains beyond the river Oby. It is said that a certain marvellous and incredible occurrence, and very like a fable, happens every year to the people of Lucomoryae, namely, that they die on the 27th of November, which among the Russians is dedicated to St. George, and come to life again like the frogs in the following spring, generally on the 24th of April. These people hold a novel and otherwise unusual kind of intercourse with the Grustintzi and Serpovtzi; for when their stated period for dying or sleeping is approaching, they deposit their merchandize in a certain spot, which is taken away in the interim by the Grustintzi and Serpovtzi, who leave their own merchandize in exchange; but when the former come to life again, they require their own property to be given back if they find it has been taken at an unfair valuation, and hence occasion arises for many conflicts and quarrels among them. In descending the river Oby on the left, we come to the Calami nation, who migrated thither from the Obiosa and Pogosa. Below the Oby up to the

Golden Old Woman, which is situated at the confluence of the Oby with the ocean, are the rivers Sossa, Berezva, and Danadim, all of which have their rise in the mountain of Camen, Bolschega, Poiassa, and the neighbouring rocks. All the races which dwell between these rivers and the Golden Old Woman, are said to be tributary to the Prince of Russia.

Slata Baba, that is, the Golden Old Woman, is an idol situated on the mouths of the Oby on its further bank, in the province of Obdora. There are many fortresses scattered here and there along the banks of the Oby, and about the neighbouring rivers, the lords of which are all said to be subject to the Prince of Moscow. The story, or I should more correctly call it the fable, runs, that this idol of the Golden Old Woman is a statue, representing an old woman holding her son in her lap, and that recently another infant has been seen, which is said to be her grandson; they also say that she has placed certain instruments upon the spot, which constantly give forth a sound like that of trumpets. If this be the case, I think that it must arise from the vehement and constant blowing of the wind through those instruments.

The Cossin is a river which flows down from the mountains of Lucomorya; at its mouth is the fortress of Cossin, which was formerly possessed by the Knes Ventza, but now by his sons: from the sources of the great river Cossin to this point is a journey of two months. Moreover, from the sources of the same river, rises another river Cassima, which, after passing through the district of Lucomorya, flows into the great river Tachnin; beyond which are said to dwell men of prodigious stature, some of whom are covered all over with hair, like wild beasts, while others have heads like dogs, and others have no necks, their breast occupying the place of a head, while they have long hands, but no feet. There is also in the river Tachnin a certain fish, with a

head, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, feet, and in other respects almost entirely resembling a man, but without voice, which, like other fish, affords excellent food.

Hitherto, whatever I have related, has been literally translated by me from a Russian itinerary, which has been placed at my service; and although in my narrative some things may appear to be fabulous and scarcely credible,—such as men being dumb, dying and coming to life again, the Golden Old Woman, men of monstrous shape, and fishes having the appearance of men,—yet I myself, in spite of diligent investigation respecting them, have not been able to get certain information from any one who has seen them with his own eyes, although by universal report they are held to be true; at the same time, in order to afford others a more ample opportunity of investigating these matters, I have been reluctant to omit anything, and have therefore quoted the very names of the places just as they are called by the Russians.

*Noss* is the Russian name for nose; hence this name is given to headlands protruding like a nose into the sea. The mountains near the river Petchora are called Semnoi Poyas, which signifies the girdle of the world or of the earth; for *poyas* in Russian signifies a girdle. The lake Kithai gives its name to the great Khan of Chathaia, whom the Russians call the Czar of Kythai. *Chan* amongst the Tartars signifies king.

The districts of Lucomorya, which lie on the sea-coast, are covered with wood, and the inhabitants do not dwell in houses. But although the author of the itinerary described most of the nations of Lucomorya as subject to the Prince of Moscovy; yet as the kingdom of Tumen is near to it, and the prince of that country is a Tartar, and is called in their native language the Tumenski czar, which means king in Tumen, and has not very long ago done great injury to the Prince of Moscovy, it is very probable from the

vicinity that these nations are in reality subject to the latter prince.

On the river Petchora, of which mention has been made in the itinerary, is situated the city and fortress of Papin, or Papinogorod ; its inhabitants are called Papini. Beyond this river are some very lofty mountains stretching down to its banks, whose summits, from their continual exposure to the winds, are almost entirely destitute of grass or any other vegetation. Although these mountains are differently named in different places, they are commonly called the "Girdle of the Earth". In these mountains, the birds called gyr falcons make their nests, of which I shall speak below, when I come to the description of the prince's hunting. Cedar trees also grow there, in the neighbourhood of which are found very black sables. In the dominions of the Prince of Moscow there are no mountains seen but those which probably were regarded by the ancients as the Rhiphæan or Hyperborean mountains ;<sup>1</sup> and as from the severity of the perpetual snow and ice they are very difficult to pass, they are supposed to constitute the unknown province of Engroneland. Vasiley Ivanovich, grand-duke of Muscovy, at one time sent two of his governors, named Simeon Feodorovich Kurbski (so called from his paternal estate, but sprung from the race of Jaroslav), and the Knes Peter Uschatoi, through Permia and Petchora, to explore the districts and subdue the nations beyond these mountains. Kurbski was still alive at the time that I was at Moscow, and told me, when I inquired about this expedition, that it took him seventeen days to ascend the mountain, and that after all he could not pass the summit, which, in the language of the country is called Stolp, meaning a column. This mountain extends to the ocean, as far as the mouths of the rivers Dwina and Petchora.

And let this suffice for the itinerary.

<sup>1</sup> The Oural mountains.



### I now return to the Principalities of Moscow.

The principality of Susdal, with the fortress and city of the same name, which is an episcopal see, is situated between Rostov' and Vladimir. At the time that the imperial court was held at Vladimir, this was considered one of the chief principalities, and formed the metropolis of the neighbouring cities. At a later period, when the grand-duke's dominions had increased, and the seat of the court was removed to Moscow, the principality of Susdal became the *apanage* of the second sons of the princes; but their descendants were at length driven therefrom by Ivan Vasileivich. Two of these, namely, Vasiley Schinski and his brother's son, were still alive at the time I was at Moscow. In the city of Susdal is a famous convent of nuns, in which Solomea was shut up after her repudiation by Vasiley.

Amongst all the principalities and provinces of the Prince of Muscovy, Rezan claims the first place for richness of soil, and abundance of all kinds; next to it in fertility come Jaroslav, Rostov, Pereaslav, Susdal, and Vladimir.

Castromovgorod, which is a city with a fortress, is situated on the banks of the Volga, nearly twenty miles south-east of Jaroslav, and about forty from Lower Novogorod; the river from which the city takes its name, flows into the Volga at that point.

Galitz, another principality with a city and fortress, lies on the road from Moscow eastward in journeying by Castromovgorod.

The province of Viatka lies beyond the river Kama, at a distance of nearly a hundred and fifty miles south-east of Moscow; the shortest road to which is by Castromovgorod and Galitz; but this road is the most difficult, not only on account of the marshes and forests which lie between Galitz

and Viatka, but on account of the tribes of Czeremisse, which rove about in search of plunder. Hence the road by Vologda and Ustyug, though longer, presents greater facilities and security for travelling. Viatka is one hundred and twenty miles distant from Ustyug, and sixty from Kazan. The district derives its name from a river, on whose banks are situated Klinova, Orlov, and Solovoda. Orlov lies four miles below Klinova. Six miles lower down to the west lies Solovoda. Cotelnitz is eight miles from Klinova on the river Rhecitza, which flows from the east between Klinova and Orlov, and empties itself into the Viatka. The region is marshy and barren, and forms a sort of asylum for fugitive serfs; it abounds in honey, wild beasts, squirrels, and fish. It was formerly under the dominion of the Tartars; and, indeed, up to the present day, the Tartars hold rule over the country on both sides of the Viatka, especially about its mouths, where it falls into the Kama. Journeys in that country are reckoned by *czunckhas*. The *czunckha* is equal to five versts. The river Kama empties itself into the Volga twelve miles below Kazan. The province of Siberia is watered by this river.

Permia is a large and extensive province lying at a distance of two hundred and fifty, or, according to some, three hundred miles directly north-east of Moscow. It has a city of the same name on the river Vischora, which ten miles below it flows into the Kama. It is scarcely possible to travel thither by land, except in winter, on account of the numerous marshes and rivers; but in summer, the journey thither is made with tolerable facility in boats by the Vologda, the Ustyug, and the river Vitzechda, which flows into the Dwina twelve miles from Ustyug. Those who travel from Permia to Ustyug must go in boats up the Vischora, and after making the passage of several rivers, have to transport their boats to other rivers, and so at length come down to Ustyug, at a distance of three hundred miles from Permia.

Bread is very seldom used in that province; and they pay their yearly tribute to the prince in horses and furs. They have an idiom of their own; they have also characters peculiar to themselves, which were invented by one Stephen, a bishop, who had been the means of confirming them in the faith of Christ, at a time when they were vacillating in the matter of religion: indeed, at a former period, while they were yet infants in the faith, they flayed a certain bishop who had made a similar attempt. This Stephen was afterwards enrolled amongst the number of the gods by the Russians, in the reign of Dimitry Ivanovich. There still remain many idolaters amongst them, scattered here and there in the woods, whom the monks and hermits who wander into those parts strive unceasingly to reclaim from their error and profitless worship. In winter they travel here, as in most parts of Russia, almost entirely in *artach*, which are a sort of oblong wooden shoes, nearly six palms in length, which they fasten on the foot, and perform their journeys with great speed. They use for beasts of burden large dogs, which are very useful for this purpose, with which they convey baggage in carriages, in the same manner as will be hereafter described in speaking of the deer. They say that that province borders eastward upon the Tartar province called Tumen.

The situation of the province Jugaria is shown by what has been already said. The Russians pronounce the word Juhra with an aspirate, and call the people Juhrici; this is Juharia, whence the Hungarians proceeded when they took possession of Pannonia, and subdued many provinces of Europe under their leader Attila. The Muscovites are very boastful of this name, because their subjects formerly devastated great part of Europe. George, called the Little, who was a Greek by birth, wishing, in the treatises which he wrote at the time of my first embassy, to extend the sway of his prince over the grand duchy of Lithuania, the kingdom

of Poland, etc., described the Juhari as having been subjects of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, and as having located themselves on the Palus Mæotis [the Sea of Azov], but that they then wandered to Pannonia on the Danube, and thence derived the name of Hungary. He further stated, that Moravia was so named from a river which waters it; and that Poland took its name from *polle*, which signifies a plain; and that Buda derived its name from a brother of Attila. For my own part, I have at least desired to give the account as I have received it. They say that the Juhari up to the present time use the same dialect as the Hungarians, but whether this be true, I cannot say from my own knowledge; for though I have made diligent search, I have been unable to find any man of that country with whom my servant, who is skilled in the Hungarian language, might have an opportunity of conversing. These people pay a tribute to the prince in furs; and although pearls and gems are brought thence into Muscovy, they are not collected upon that coast, but are principally brought from the shores of the ocean near the mouths of the Dwina.

The province of Siberia borders upon Permia and Viatka; but I have been unable to learn whether it contains any cities or fortresses. In this province rises the river Jaick, which empties itself into the Caspian Sea. They say that this region lies waste on account of the neighbourhood of the Tartars; or, if it is cultivated in any part, it is where the country has been taken possession of by the Tartar Schich-mamai. The natives use a dialect of their own. They trade principally in squirrel skins, which surpass in size and beauty those of other provinces; but we have not been able to see any great plenty of them in Moscow.

The people of Czeremissi dwell in the woods below Lower Novogorod. They have their own dialect, and follow the tenets of Mahomet. They are now subservient to the King of Kazan, although the greatest part of them were formerly

tributaries of the Duke of Muscovy, whence they are still reckoned as Russian subjects. The prince had several of these people brought to Moscow on suspicion of rebellion, whom I saw when I was there ; but as they were afterwards sent back to the borders towards Lithuania, they at length dispersed themselves into various parts. These people, who have no fixed abodes, inhabit a region stretching far and wide, from Viatka and Vologda as far as the river Kama. All of them, both men and women, are exceedingly swift in running, and very skilful archers, never laying down the bow out of their hands ; and so great is the delight which they take in this exercise, that they will not give their children food until they hit a mark with their arrows.

Two miles from Lower Novogorod is a settlement of several houses, having the appearance of a municipal town, where salt used to be prepared. These houses were burnt some time since by the Tartars, but afterwards restored by order of the prince.

The Mordva are a people situated on the southern shore of the Volga below Lower Novogorod ; they resemble the Czeremissi in all things, except that they are more frequently found dwelling in houses. And here let us terminate our digression as well as our description of the Muscovite empire.

I shall now subjoin some details respecting the neighbouring and surrounding nations, observing the order in which they came under my notice in travelling from Moscow eastwards. In this arrangement, the Tartars of Kazan come first ; of whom, before I proceed to their peculiar characteristics, it is necessary that I should first make some general observations.

### Of the Tartars.

Concerning the Tartars and their origin: besides what is contained in the annals of the Poles, and in the little books upon the two Sarmatias, much has been written by various authors, which it would be more tedious than useful to repeat here. I have, however, thought it right briefly to write down such things as I have learned from the Russian annals, and from the accounts given me by a great number of persons. They say that the Moabites, who were afterwards called Tartars, and who differed from the rest of mankind in language, manners, and dress, came to the river Calka; but that no one knew whence they came, or what religious doctrine they held. Although they were called by some Taurimeni, by others they were known as Pieczenigi, and by others under another name. Methodius, bishop of Patanczki,<sup>1</sup> says that they wandered out of the deserts of Ieutriskie, lying between the north and east, and gives the following as the reason of their emigration. He says, that a certain man of the highest rank amongst them, named Gideon, filled them with terror, by saying that the end of the world was at hand; and that they being led away by his preaching, and anticipating the destruction of the boundless wealth of the globe, made expeditions with an innumerable multitude to plunder the surrounding provinces, and cruelly ransacked the whole territory westward as far as the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf; and thus, after ravaging the provinces which lay in their way, routed at the river Calka, A.M. 6533 [A.D. 1025], the nations of the Polovtzi, who alone, with the assistance of the Russian

<sup>1</sup> Misspelt for Patarski, *i. e.*, of Patara. The substance of this passage appears to be taken from the ancient chronicler, known as the chronicler of Novogorod, but involves an evident anachronism, as Methodius the celebrated opponent of Origen, who died A.D. 311, could not have recorded the battle of Calka.

forces, dared to arrest their progress. On this subject, it is evident that the author of the little book, *De Duabus Sarmatiis*, was in error in speaking of the people of the Polovtzi, when he interpreted their name as meaning hunters; for *Polovtzi* means men of the plain; *poli* signifying a plain—*lovatz* and *lovtzi* both signifying hunters, the termination *tzi* and *ksi* not changing the signification, which does not depend upon the last, but upon the first syllables. But as it is a general custom with the Russians to add the generic syllable *ski* to this kind of words, the man has been deceived by this circumstance, so that Polovtzi ought to be interpreted “men of the plain”, and not hunters. The Russians maintain that the Polovtzi were Goths, but I do not agree with that opinion. He who attempts to describe the Tartars will have to describe many races; for they derive this name from one sect alone, while they consist of various nations lying wide apart from each other. And now I return to the task I proposed to myself.

Bathi, proceeding with a strong force northwards, took possession of Bulgaria, which lies on the Volga below Kazan. In the following year, A.M. 6745 [A.D. 1237], following up his victory, he advanced into Muscovy and took the royal city, which surrendered to him after a siege which lasted a considerable time. He afterwards, however, broke his faith with respect to the terms upon which this surrender had been made; and proceeding onwards, carrying slaughter wherever he went, he desolated the neighbouring provinces of Vladimir, Pereaslav, Rostov, and Susdal—comprising many towns and fortresses—with fire, slaughtering the inhabitants or reducing them to servitude. He routed and slew the Grand Duke George, who had come out to meet him with a trained army; he also took Vasiley Constantinovitch prisoner, and put him to death: all which took place in the above-mentioned year 6745.

From that time nearly all the princes of Russia were in-

augurated by the Tartars, and paid allegiance to them, until the time of Withold, Grand Duke of Lithuania, who valiantly defended his own provinces and those which he had taken possession of in Russia against the arms of the Tartars, and was a terror to all around him. The Grand Dukes of Vladimir and Muscovy, after they had once yielded allegiance and submission to the Tartar princes, continued therein up to the time of the present Duke Vasiley. The annals say that this Bathi was killed in Hungary by Vlaslav, king of the Hungarians (who on his baptism was named Vladislaus, and was enrolled amongst the number of the saints); for he had carried off the king's sister, whom he had accidentally met with during the spoiling of the kingdom, and the king, moved by love for his sister, and by the indignity of the deed, pursued him; but when he made his attack upon Bathi, his sister took up arms in the cause of the adulterer, against her brother, which so enraged the king that he slew his sister together with the adulterous Bathi. These things were done A.M. 6745 [A.D. 1237].

Bathi was succeeded in the empire by Asbec, who died A.M. 6834 [A.D. 1326], and was succeeded by his son Zanabeck, who, after slaying his brother in order that he might reign alone without apprehension, died in the year 6865 [A.D. 1357]. He was followed by Berdebeck, who after in like manner killing his twelve brothers, died in 6867 [A.D. 1359]. After him came Alculpa, who did not reign more than a month; for immediately after assuming the reins of government he was slain, together with his children, by a certain prince named Naruss. As the latter now became the possessor of the kingdom, all the princes of Russia came together to him, and did not depart till each of them had obtained the power of ruling independently in his own province. Naruss was slain in the year 6868 [A.D. 1360]. He was succeeded in the kingdom by Chidir, who was slain by his son Themerhoscha, who, gaining the kingdom by a crime, scarcely



enjoyed it for a week ; for being driven out by Temnick Manais, and fleeing beyond the Volga, he was slain by the soldiers who pursued him, in the year 6869 [A.D. 1361]. After these Thachamisch obtained the empire, A.M. 6890 [A.D. 1382], and going forth on the 26th of August with an army, he laid waste Muscovy with fire and sword. Being routed by Themirkutlu, he fled to Withold, Grand Duke of Lithuania. Themirkutlu reigned over the kingdom of Savai, A.M. 6906 [A.D. 1398], and died 6909 [A.D. 1401]. His son Schatibeck succeeded him in the empire, after whom came Themirassack, who led an immense army into Retzan with a view of depopulating Russia, and inspired such terror into the princes of Muscovy, that, despairing of victory, they threw down their arms and betook themselves to the protection of the saints. They immediately sent to Vladimir for a certain image of the blessed Virgin Mary, which was celebrated for having performed many miracles ; and as this image was being brought into Moscow the prince went out to meet it with all the multitude, to give it an honourable reception ; and first most humbly imploring it to repel the enemy, he brought it into the city with the greatest respect and veneration : and they say that by this act of worship they obtained grace from the Virgin, so that the Tartars did not advance beyond Retzan. And for a perpetual memorial of this event, a temple was erected on the spot where the image was waited for and received ; and that day, which is called by the Russians *stretimue*, that is the day of meeting, is solemnly celebrated every year on the 26th of August. These things took place in the year A.M. 6903 [A.D. 1395].

The Russians relate that this Themirassack was of obscure birth, and rose to this high degree of dignity by plunder ; they say also that he was an extremely clever thief in his youth, and that it was by one of these exploits that he derived his appellation ; for having once stolen a sheep, and being caught

by the owner, he received a violent blow from a stone which broke his leg, and as he bound it up with a piece of iron, the name he afterwards bore was given to him from the iron and from the lameness, for "Themir" signifies iron, and "Assack", lame. At the time that the people of Constantinople were sorely besieged by the Turks, he sent his son thither with auxiliary forces, who, after routing the Turks and forcing them to raise the seige, returned victoriously to his father in the year 6909 [A.D. 1401].

The Tartars are divided into hordes, amongst which the horde of Savolha stands first in numbers and in fame; for all the other hordes are said to have derived their origin from it. The word "horde" among them signifies a concourse or multitude. But although each horde has its peculiar name, such as the horde of Savolha, Precop, Nahaisa, and many others, and all are of the Mahometan religion, yet they are highly offended if they are called Turks, and consider it a reproach, but delight in being called Besermani, a name which the Turks also are pleased to be called by. But as the regions inhabited by the Tartars are scattered far and wide in various directions, so do they differ from each other considerably in manners and mode of life. The men are of middle stature, with a broad, fat face, with eyes turned in and hollow, wearing no hair but the beard, shaving the rest of their hair; the more distinguished persons only wear their hair, which is very black, and curling down to their ears; they are strong in frame and of a daring courage, preposterously depraved in the indulgence of their passions, and feeding contentedly on the flesh of animals in whatever manner they may have been killed, except pork, from which they are obliged to abstain by law. They are so patient under the want of food and sleep, that they will sometimes endure these privations for four days together, without in the least relaxing any needful exertion. Again, when they by chance have lighted upon something to eat, they gorge themselves

beyond measure, leaving nothing uneaten ; and with this kind of surfeit they make amends for their previous fasting. When thus overcome by food and labour they sleep continuously for three or four days, and while in this state of deep sleep the Lithuanians and Russians, into whose country they are accustomed to make sudden irruptions and carry away much booty, fall upon them, and, defenceless as they are, having no sentinels nor any order amongst them, by degrees overwhelm them. Moreover, if during a long ride they are troubled with hunger or thirst, it is a practice to lance the veins of the horses on which they sit, and relieve their craving by drawing their blood ; and they think that this is an advantage to the animals. As they nearly all wander on uncertain tracks, they are accustomed to direct their course by the observation of the stars, especially the polar star, called in their language Selesnicoll, which means an iron nail.

They are particularly fond of mare's milk, for they think that it makes men fat and strong : they use many herbs for food, especially those which grow near the river Don : very few use salt. Their kings, on occasions when they distribute food to their people, are accustomed to give one cow or one horse amongst forty men ; and when these are killed, the chief men take only the intestines and divide them amongst themselves, warming them first at the fire to cleanse them before eating them : they not only complacently lick and suck their fingers, greasy with the fat, but also both the knife and its handle which have been used for the cleansing process. They consider horses' heads as great a luxury as we do boars' heads, and they are only served at the tables of men of rank. They have abundance of horses, low in the neck and small, but strong, alike able to endure labour and want of food, and to support themselves on the boughs and bark of trees, or on the roots of herbs, which they scratch out of the earth with their feet. These horses, thus inured to labour, are used with great effect by the Tartars ; and the Russians say

they are far swifter when ridden by Tartars than by other men. This breed of horses is called Pachmat. Their saddles and stirrups are of wood, unless they happen to seize or purchase any from the Christians. To save their horses' backs from being rubbed, they protect them with grass or the leaves of trees. They swim across rivers; and if they happen to be fleeing from an enemy whose force they greatly dread, they throw away saddles and dresses, and all their baggage, and escape in the greatest confusion. Their arms are bows and arrows; a sword is rarely found amongst them. They enter into a contest with the enemy with the greatest boldness from a distance; they do not, however, continue this mode of warfare long, but pretending flight, take an opportunity while their enemies are pursuing them to discharge their arrows backwards, and then, when the ranks of the enemy are broken, turn their horses suddenly round and attack them. When a battle is to be fought upon their native plains, and they have the enemy within arrows' flight, they do not enter into the engagement in regular battle-array, but draw out their forces into a winding circle, so as to afford themselves a freer and more certain opportunity of discharging their weapons at the enemy. They observe a wonderful degree of order, both in advancing and retreating; for performing which manœuvres they have leaders, who are very skilful in these matters; but if these should happen to fall under the enemy's weapons, or through fear should make an error in generalship, the confusion of the entire army becomes so great that they cannot again be restored to order, nor be prevailed upon to turn their shafts against the enemy. This kind of contest, they themselves, from the resemblance, call a dance; but if threatened with an engagement in a narrow defile, this stratagem cannot be used, and in that case they betake themselves to flight, because they are not armed either with shield, lance, or helmet, so as to be able to meet the enemy in an engagement hand to hand. Their

style of riding is such, that they sit with the feet drawn up towards the saddle, so as to be able to turn round easily to either side; and if anything should happen to fall which they wish to pick up, they can lean upon their stirrups and easily lift it; and they are so skilful in this manœuvre, that they can perform it while their horses are galloping. When attacked with spears, they avoid the adversary's blow by suddenly lowering themselves on the opposite side, only holding on to their horses with one hand and foot. When they go out on ravaging expeditions to the neighbouring provinces, each man takes with him two or three horses as a supply, so that when one is tired out he may use one of the others: they lead the weary horses meanwhile by the hand. Their bridles are very light, and they use whips instead of spurs; they only use geldings in warfare, because they consider them more capable of sustaining fatigue and abstinence. The men use a similar dress to that of the women, except that the latter cover the head with a linen veil, and wear linen breeches like those of sailors. When their queens go into public they are accustomed to cover their faces; but the rest of the people, who live a roving life in the fields, wear dresses made of sheeps' skins, which they never change until they are entirely worn out and ragged with long use. They never stay for any length of time in one spot, for they consider it a great calamity to be obliged to remain long in the same place; hence, when they are angry with their children, and wish to utter a heavy imprecation against them, they are accustomed to say, "may you abide in one place continually like a Christian, and inhale your own stink!" So that when they have consumed the pasture which they may find on one spot, they migrate elsewhere, together with their cattle, wives, and children, which they always lead about with them in marshy places. Those, however, who live in towns and cities follow another course of life; when they are engaged in a war at all of a

serious character, they place their wives, children, and old men, in the safest spots they can find.

They have no justice among them. When a man stands in need of anything, he can with impunity plunder another of it; and if any one is complained of before a judge for an act of violence, or for having inflicted any injury, the accused does not deny the fact, but simply says that he could not dispense with the article in question; upon which the judge usually gives his judgment [by addressing the plaintiff] in the following manner:—"If you in your turn stand in need of anything, seize it from other people." There are some who say that they are not plunderers: I leave it to others to decide whether they are plunderers or not. For a certainty, the men are most rapacious, because very poor, and are always coveting what is not their own,—taking away other men's cattle, plundering, and even kidnapping men, whom they sell to the Turks and others; or else surrendering them upon ransom, reserving the maidens only for their own use. They seldom besiege cities and fortified places; but take great pleasure in burning and plundering small towns and villages, thinking that the greater number of provinces they thus desolate, the larger is the dominion that they have gained to themselves. If in any quarrel among themselves a man be killed, and the perpetrators of the crime be taken, they are simply deprived of their horses, arms, and clothing, and are then set free. Even a murderer, after giving up his horse and his bow, is dismissed by the judge, merely with the charge to go and mind his own business.

Gold and silver is scarcely ever used amongst them, except by merchants, and that only in the way of commerce. Once, when a fat Tartar was taken by the Russians, a Russian asked him: "How, you dog, did you, who have nothing to eat, become so fat?" To which, the Tartar replied: "Why should not I have something to eat who own so vast a terri-

tory from east to west? can I not derive therefrom food enough in all conscience to satisfy me? I should rather think it is you who have not enough to eat, possessing so small a portion of the globe as you do, and having daily to contend for it."

The kingdom of Kazan, with the city and fortress of the same name, is situated on the further bank of the river Volga, nearly seventy miles below Lower Novogorod. The king of this province can raise an army of thirty thousand men, principally foot soldiers, amongst whom the Czere-missi and Czubaschi are the most skilful archers. They say that the Czubaschi excel in the art of navigation. The city of Kazan is sixty German miles distant from the principal fortress of Viatka. These Tartars are more civilized than the rest, in as much as they cultivate their lands, live in houses, and carry on various branches of merchandize. But Vasiley, Prince of Moscow, has so subjugated them, as to bring their kings entirely under his sway; which undertaking was the less difficult, not only from the convenient position of the rivers, which flow from Moscow into the Volga, but also from the commercial intercourse, which they could not dispense with. The people of Kazan formerly had a king named Chelealeck, who died, leaving a wife named Nursulta, without children, and she was taken to wife by one Abrahemin, who by this means gained possession of the kingdom. Abrahemin had by her two sons, named Machmedemin and Abdelatiw; by a former wife, named Batmassasolta, however, he had had a son named Alega, who, upon the death of his father, succeeded as the first-born to the throne. But as he was not entirely obedient to the commands of the Prince of Moscow, he was on a certain occasion made drunk at a festival by some of the councillors of the Prince of Moscow, whom he had sent thither to watch the disposition of the king, and who in that state placed him in a carriage, as if with the intention of conveying him home; but on that

same night he was driven towards Moscow, and after being confined for a considerable time, was finally sent by the prince to Vologda, where he ended his days. His mother, together with his brothers Abdelatiw and Machmedemin, had been already removed to Bieloiesero. One of the brothers of Alega, named Codaiculu, was baptized, and received the name of Peter, and the present Prince Vasiley gave him his sister in marriage. Another of Alega's brothers, named Meniktair, continued in his own creed as long as he lived, but had many sons, all of whom, after their father's death, except one Theodore (who lived at Moscow when I was there), were baptized together with their mother, and died [in the Christian faith]. After Alega's abduction into Moscow, Abdelatiw succeeded him, but was removed from the sovereignty for a similar reason to that which had caused the removal of Alega, and Machmedemin was released by the prince from Bieloiesero, and placed on the throne in his stead. He continued to reign until the year of our Lord 1518. Nursulta, whom I have described as the wife of the kings Chalealeck and Abrahemin, after the death of Alega, married Mendliger, King of Precop. Having no offspring by Mendliger, she, from love of her first children, went to Moscow to Abdelatiw, and subsequently, A.D. 1504, to her other son Machmedemin, who ruled over Kazan.

The people of Kazan have now rebelled against the Prince of Moscow ; and as this rebellion has given rise to many wars, and daily conflicts among the various princes who have united in the cause of each contending party, and as the war remains untermiated up to the present day, I have thought it right to describe its reason below. Upon the rebellion becoming known to Vasiley, Prince of Moscow, his indignation and thirst for revenge was such, that he sent an immense army with artillery against the people of Kazan. When the latter, who had to fight for life and liberty, heard of the terrible preparations made by the prince against them, and saw that



they were unequal to contend with the enemy in an engagement hand to hand, they reasoned how they might circumvent them by stratagem. After having, therefore, first openly pitched their camp in front of the enemy, they placed the flower of their forces in ambush in convenient spots, and then assuming the appearance of being struck by panic, suddenly deserted their camp and betook themselves to flight. The Russians, who were at no great distance, becoming aware of the flight of the Tartars, broke their ranks, and rushed precipitately upon the camp of the enemy, and while they were engaged in plunder, and trusting in their own security, the Tartars came forth from their ambush, together with the Czeremissian archers, and carried such slaughter amongst them, that the Russians were compelled to leave their artillery and flee.

In that flight, two bombardiers left their guns and fled, but were kindly received by the prince upon their return to Moscow. One of them, named Bartholomew, who was an Italian by birth, afterwards conformed to the Russian ritual, and received large presents, together with great authority and favour, from the prince. A third bombardier returned from the slaughter, with the gun under his charge, and hoped that he should receive great and substantial favour from the prince, for the care with which he had preserved and brought back his piece. But the prince addressing him with reproaches, said: "In thus exposing me and thyself to so great danger, thou hast shewn a wish either readily to take to flight, or else to surrender both thyself and thy gun to the enemy. To what purpose is this preposterous diligence in preserving thy gun? I make no account of thy boasting. I have still men remaining who know not only how to found artillery, but also how to use them."

Upon the death of King Machmedemin, under whom the people of Kazan had revolted, Scheale, who married his widow, attained possession of the kingdom of Kazan by the

assistance of the prince of Moscow and his wife's brother. He reigned only four years, greatly hated and despised by his subjects. These feelings were increased by his effeminate and degraded constitution of body, for he was a corpulent man, with a small beard, and an almost feminine face, which showed that he was by no means fit for a warrior. In addition to this, he despised and slighted the good will of his own subjects, showed an unreasonable spirit of conciliation to the Prince of Moscow, and trusted foreigners rather than his own people. The people of Kazan were induced, by these circumstances, to offer the kingdom to Sapgirei [Sahib Girei], son of Mendliger, one of the kings of Taurida; upon which Scheale [Schich Alei], being ordered to give up the kingdom, and finding himself inferior in forces, and that the minds of his own subjects were set against him, thought it best to yield to his fate, and returned with his wives, concubines, and all his chattels, to Moscow, whence he had come. This took place A.D. 1521. After this flight of Scheale from the kingdom, Machmetgirei, King of Taurida, conducted his brother Sapgirei into Kazan with a great army, and after confirming the good will of the people of Kazan towards his brother, on his road back to Taurida crossed the Don, and bent his steps towards Moscow. Vasiley, feeling at that time tolerably secure, and not apprehending an occurrence of the kind, when he heard of the approach of the Tartars, hastily collected an army, which he placed under the command of the General Dimitry Bielski, and sent it towards the river Occa, to check the advance of the Tartars. Machmetgirei speedily crossed the Occa, and pitched his tent near certain fish ponds thirteen versts from Moscow itself: sallying thence he spread fire and plunder over all the country; at the same time Sapgirei, who had also left Kazan with an army, laid waste Vladimir and Lower Novogorod. After these transactions, the two brother kings met at the city of Columna and united their forces. Vasiley, finding himself unequal to engage with so powerful an enemy,

fled from Moscow, leaving his half brother Peter, a descendant of the kings of Tartary, together with some other noblemen, with a garrison to defend the fortress. So great was his fright, that he is said in his despair to have hidden himself for some time under a hay stack. On the 29th of July the Tartars made a farther advance, and devastated the country with fire in all directions; and such was the terror which they inspired amongst the people of Moscow, that they had little confidence in their security even in the city and the fortress. Such was the tumult which arose at the gates from the thronging of women, children, and other helpless people, who in their intrepidity fled into the fortress with carriages and vehicles of all kinds, that in their haste they checked each other's progress, and many were trampled under foot. This immense concourse of persons caused the air to become so pestilential in the fortress, that if the enemy had remained three or four days under the walls of the city, they must have been seized by the plague and died, for in so great a crowd huddled together, they was obliged to satisfy nature wherever they could find place. There were at that time at Moscow some Livonian ambassadors, who mounted their horses and betook themselves to flight, and seeing nothing around them but fire and smoke, and supposing themselves to be surrounded by the Tartars, made such speed, that in one day they reached Tver, which is thirty-six German miles distant from Moscow. The German bombardiers deserved great praise on that occasion, especially one Nicholas, born not far from Spier, an imperial city of Germany, near the Rhine, to whom was committed in very flattering terms the task of defending the city by the governor and all the counsellors, who were almost stupified with excess of fear, and who begged him to bring up the larger guns which were used for breaching walls, under the gate of the fortress, in order to drive away the Tartars. The size of these guns, however, was such, that three days would scarcely

be sufficient to convey them to that spot, and they had not enough gunpowder even to load the largest gun with one charge. For it is constantly the custom with the Russians to be behindhand in everything, and never to have anything ready ; but when necessity presses, they are anxious to finish everything rapidly. Nicholas, therefore, considered it advisable to have the smaller guns, which were kept hidden at a distance from the fortress, quickly fetched into the interior on men's shoulders ; but during the delay a cry suddenly arose that the Tartars were at hand, which caused so much fear amongst the towns-folk, that the guns were left scattered about the streets, and even the defence of the walls was neglected. If a hundred of the enemy's cavalry had at that time attacked the city, they might easily have rased it to the ground with fire. In the midst of their fear, the governor and the garrison thought it best to appease King Machmetgirei by sending him a great number of presents, principally consisting of mead, in order to induce him to raise the siege. Machmetgirei accepted the gifts, and promised that he would not only raise the siege, but would also quit the province, if Vasiley would bind himself in writing to pay him a perpetual tribute as his father and ancestors had done. Letters to this effect having been willingly written and accepted, Machmetgirei withdrew his army to Rezan, and after granting the Russians permission to redeem and exchange prisoners, he sold the rest of his booty by auction. There was at that time in the camp of the Tartars one Eustace, surnamed Taskowich, a subject of the King of Poland, who had brought forces to the assistance of Machmetgirei, for hostilities were at that time pending between the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Muscovy. This man brought up to the fortress some of the spoils for sale, with the intention that when opportunity offered he should rush into the gates, together with the Russians, who had come out to make purchases, and beating down the sentinels, thus take possession of the for-

tress. The king was willing to aid the attempt with corresponding subtlety.

He sent one of his people, in whom he could place confidence, to demand of the governor of the fortress, as the servant of his tributary, to supply him with whatever he required, and to come himself to him. The governor, however, Ivan Kovar, who was well acquainted with warlike matters and with the stratagems employed therein, could not be induced on any account to leave the fortress, but simply replied, that he had not yet learned that his prince had become the tributary and servant of the Tartars, but that when he should be officially informed on that point, it would be necessary that he should receive instructions as to what he should do. Whereupon the prince's letters, in which he had bound himself to the king, were produced and exhibited. While the governor was thus perplexed by the exhibition of these letters, Eustace, in pursuance of his own plan, approached nearer and nearer to the fortress, and in order the more perfectly to conceal his plan, the Knes Feodor Lopata, a man of distinction, with several other Russians who had fallen into the enemy's hands, in the taking of Moscow, were restored upon payment of a certain ransom. In addition to this, several of the prisoners who had been too negligently guarded, or who had in any manner been relieved from labour, had escaped into the fortress, and as the Tartars approached the fortress in great multitudes to demand them back again, and did not withdraw from the fortress, although the Russians in their fright gave up the refugees, this accession of new comers greatly increased the number of the Tartar assailants, so that the terror and despair of the Russians on account of the danger which threatened them was so complete that they were quite at a loss what to do. At this juncture one Johann Jordan, an artillery-man, a German, who came from the Innthal, estimating more clearly than the Russians the magnitude of the danger, of his own accord

discharged the guns which had been ranged in order against the Tartars and Lithuanians, and so terrified them that they all left the fortress and fled. The king sent Eustace, the contriver of the above plan, to remonstrate with the governor on account of the injury thus inflicted; but the latter declared that the bombardier had fired the guns without his consent or knowledge, and laid all the blame of the offence upon him; upon which the king demanded that the bombardier should be delivered up to him, and, as often occurs in desperate cases, the greatest number decided that the man by whom they had been delivered from the fear of their enemies should be given up. The governor, Ivan Kovar, alone refused, and by his extreme goodness that German was on that occasion saved; for it so happened that the king, either from impatience of further delay, or because he considered his soldiers already sufficiently encumbered with booty, and that his own interests required it, raised his camp, and departed for Taurida, leaving behind him in the fortress those letters of the Prince of Moscow by which he had bound himself to pay him a perpetual tribute. But he took with him from Moscow so great a multitude of prisoners as would scarcely be considered credible; they say that the number exceeded eight hundred thousand, part of whom he sold in Kaffa to the Turks, and part he slew.

The old and infirm men, who will not fetch much at a sale, are given up to the Tartar youths (much as hares are given to whelps by way of their first lesson in hunting), either to be stoned, or to be thrown into the sea, or to be killed by any sort of death they might please. Those who are sold are compelled to serve for full six years; after that they are set free, but dare not leave the province. Sapgirei, king of Kazan, sold all the captives which he took from Moscow to the Tartars in the mercantile city of Astrachan, which is situated not far from the mouths of the Volga.

After the departure of the Tartar kings from Moscow, the

Prince Vasiley returned again to Moscow, and as he entered he saw standing, at the very gate of the fortress, where a great number had assembled to receive the prince, Nicholas, the German, by whose shrewdness and forethought the fortress, as I have said, had been saved, and said to him in a loud voice : “ Thy fidelity towards me, and the zeal which thou hast shown in preserving the fortress, are known to me, and I will abundantly repay the obligation under which this act of duty has laid me.” Upon the approach of the other German, Johann, who had suddenly routed the Tartars from the fortress of Rezan by discharging his guns, he said : “ Art thou well ? God has granted us life, but thou, in preserving it, hast given it to us a second time : great shall be our favour towards thee.” Each of them therefore confidently hoped that they should receive liberal rewards from the prince ; but nothing was given them, although they often wearied the prince on the subject, and reminded him of his promises. Disgusted at length with the prince’s ingratitude, they begged their discharge, that they might visit their country and kinsfolk, from whom they had been long absent ; which was allowed them, with a grant from the prince of ten florins to each, in addition to their former stipend.

Meanwhile a contention arose at the court of the prince as to the originator of the flight of the Russians at the Occa. The elder courtiers threw all the blame upon the Knes Dimitry Bielski, the commander-in-chief in the army, a young man, who had slighted their counsels, and through whose want of prudence they said that the Tartars had crossed the Occa. He, in rebutting the charge, declared that Andreas, a younger brother of the prince, was the first to take to flight, and that the rest followed him. Vasiley, in order that he might not appear too severe against his brother, who was evidently the author of the flight, imprisoned one of the governors who had fled together with his brother,

caused him to be put in irons, and deprived him of his rank and his principality.

Afterward, as summer came on, Vasiley, resolving to revenge the slaughter inflicted by the Tartars, and to wipe out the shame which he himself had incurred from his flight and his concealment under the haystack, levied a large army, and providing himself with great store of guns and various kinds of offensive contrivances, such as had never been used in battle before by the Russians, and marching out of Moscow with all his army as far as the river Occa, took up his quarters before the city of Columna. Thence he dispatched heralds into Taurida, to Machmetgerai, to provoke him to a conflict, saying, that in the previous year he had been insidiously attacked, without a proclamation of war, after the fashion of thieves and plunderers. To this the king replied, that, in warfare opportunities were of as much importance as arms, and that consequently he made it his custom to choose his own time for fighting, in preference to allowing others to choose for him. Vasiley, being irritated by this language, and burning with the thirst of revenge, moved his camp, A.D. 1523, to Lower Novogorod, with the view of laying waste and taking possession of the kingdom of Kazan. Thence marching as far as the river Sura, on the confines of Kazan, he built a fortress, which he called after his own name: beyond this point he made no advance, but led his army back. In the following year, however, he sent out Michael Georgiovich, one of his chief counsellors, with greater forces than before, to subjugate the kingdom of Kazan. Sapgerai, king of Kazan, being alarmed at so formidable an array, sent for his nephew, the son of his brother the king of Taurida, a youth of thirteen years of age, to preside over the kingdom in the interim, and himself fled to the emperor of the Turks to beg his assistance and cooperation. As the youth, in obedience to his uncle's suggestion, arrived on his road at Gostinovosero,—that is, the island of



merchants, lying amidst the waters of the Volga, not far from the fortress of Kazan,—he was received with honour and liberality by the princes of the kingdom. For the chief priest in that district was one Seyd, who was held in such great authority and veneration amongst them, that even kings in meeting him would stand, and bowing the head, take his hand as he sat on horseback, an honour otherwise granted only to kings. Dukes did not salute even his hand, but his knees, simple nobles merely saluted his feet, while plebeians were content if they could only touch his garments or his horse with their hand. As this Seyd secretly favoured the cause of Vasiley, he took diligent measures to seize the youth, in order that he might send him bound to Moscow ; but when the lad was at length captured, he was publicly put to death by the knife.

Meanwhile Michael, the commander-in-chief of the Russian forces, hastened with his army to Kazan, and for that purpose despatched so great a number of vessels to Lower Novogorod, for the purpose of transporting away his guns and provisions, that the river, otherwise large, seemed to be absolutely covered all over with the crowd upon it ; and on arriving at Gostinovosero, the island of merchants, he pitched his camp on the 7th of July, and remained there twenty days awaiting the arrival of his cavalry. In the meanwhile the fortress of Kazan, which was built of wood, was set on fire by some of the Russians who had been bribed for that purpose, and was burnt to the ground under the eyes of the Russian army. Even this favourable opportunity of taking the fortress was so completely neglected through the cowardice and indolence of the Grand Duke, that not only did he not lead out his soldiers to attack the castle hill, but he took no measures to prevent the Tartars building it again. But on the 28th day of the same month he crossed the Volga, at that point where the fortress lay, and encamped with his army on the river Kazanca, and waited

twenty days for a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his object. While stationed there, the *Regulus* of the Kazan army pitched his tent not far from him, and often annoyed the Russians, though fruitlessly, with skirmishes of Czeremissian infantry. Upon this, King Scheale, who had come with his vessels to engage in that way, sent letters to him to demand his surrender to his hereditary sovereign. To which the latter briefly replied: "If you wish to have my kingdom, take it by the sword; let us settle it between ourselves, and let him to whom fortune gives it, hold it."

While the Russians thus uselessly delayed, they began to suffer hunger from having sent away the provisions which they had brought with them; for as the Czeremissi had laid waste all the surrounding territory, and diligently watched the track of the enemy, there was nothing left to be seized upon; so that the prince was unable to gain information respecting the scarcity which oppressed his army, nor could they make any communication to him. Two governors had been appointed by Vasiley to attend to this business, one of whom, the Knes Ivan Palitzki, after loading the vessels with provisions from Novogorod, had to descend the river to join the army; but he, after depositing the provisions, returned home rather precipitately, considering the existing state of affairs. The other had been sent for the same purpose with five hundred soldiers over land, but was slaughtered with his men by the Czeremissi, into whose hands he fell, scarcely nine of them escaping by flight amidst the confusion. The governor himself, being severely wounded, fell three days after into the hands of the enemy and died. When the rumour of this slaughter reached the army, so great a consternation arose in the camp, increased by a groundless report that the whole of the cavalry were slain to a man, that nothing was thought of but flight; and though all were agreed upon this point, the only subject of doubt was whether they should return against the tide, which was very

difficult, or wait to descend the river when time served, so as to enable them to reach other rivers, from which they might afterwards return home by a circuitous land journey.

During these consultations, the army meanwhile suffering under extreme famine, the nine men whom I have described as escaping from the slaughter of the five hundred, happened to arrive, and announced that Ivan Palitzki was come with provisions; but although the latter had hastened his journey, he had had the misfortune to lose the greater part of his vessels, and had but few remaining when he reached the camp. For, being weary with his daily labour, he had laid up one night to rest himself on the shore of the Volga, but was hailed by the Czeremissi, who came upon him with great clamour, inquiring who sailed by that way; they were answered by the servants of Palitzki, who took them for servants a-shipboard, and with much abuse threatened them with stripes on the following day for disturbing their master's sleep with their unseasonable vociferations. The Czeremissi replied: "You and we shall have other business to attend to to-morrow, for we will take you all bound to Kazan." In the morning, accordingly, before the sun was up, and while the entire bank of the river was covered with a thick fog, the Czeremissi made a sudden attack upon the ships, and threw such terror amongst the Russians, that Palitzki, the commander of the fleet, left ninety of his largest vessels, each containing thirty men, in the hands of the enemy, and loosing his vessel from the shore, and taking the Volga in mid-stream, escaped under cover of the mist, and reached the army almost in a state of nudity. A similar misfortune afterwards occurred to him in returning with several vessels in his train, when he again fell into the snares of the Czeremissi, and not only lost his vessels, but himself escaped only with great difficulty, and with very few of his men.

While the Russians were thus oppressed on all sides by hunger and the enemy's force, a troop of horse, dispatched by

Vasiley to join the army, was twice surprised by the Tartars and Czeremissi in crossing the river Viega, which flows northward into the Volga. The engagement was keen on both sides, but the Tartars at length gave way, and the Russians were enabled to join the rest of the army, which being thus reinforced with cavalry, commenced the siege of the fortress of Kazan on the 15th of August. On learning this, the governor pitched his own camp also on the other side of the town in sight of the enemy; and as the enemy sent out from time to time detachments of cavalry to ride about the fortress and challenge them to fight, many skirmishes took place between the opposing armies. We were informed by men worthy of credit, who were engaged in that war, that sometimes six Tartars had advanced into the plain to the Russian camp, and when King Scheale would have attacked them with one hundred and fifty Tartar horsemen, he was forbidden by the general of the army; and with two thousand horsemen drawn up before him in battle array, he was thus deprived of the opportunity of achieving his object. When the Russians attempted to surround the Tartars, and, as it were, to preclude their taking to flight, the latter would elude the attempt by gradually retreating before the Russians, and after gaining a little distance, would halt; but as the Russians would then do the same, the Tartars observing their timidity, would presently take to their bows, and send a flight of arrows amongst them, and thus putting them to the route, would pursue and would kill a great number. When the Russians a second time turned upon them, they would give way for a little space, again come to a halt, and thus baffled the enemy by pretending flight. While these manœuvres were going on, two of the Tartar horses were struck with cannon balls, but their wounded riders were carried off by their four remaining comrades, who were safe and sound in the sight of the two thousand Russian cavalry. During this by-play of the horse soldiers, a great force was

brought up against the fortress with artillery, to besiege it ; but the besieged defended themselves with no less activity, and also discharged their artillery against the enemy ; but in the engagement they lost the only artilleryman that they had in the fortress, who fell struck by a cannon shot from the Russian station. On discovering this, some of the German and Lithuanian mercenaries conceived the hope of taking the fortress, which would unquestionably have been taken that day had the inclination of the general responded to their wish ; but as he, observing the daily increasing famine under which his men were suffering, had already privately treated by messengers for a truce with the Tartars, he so strongly disapproved of this attempt of his soldiers, that he angrily reprimanded them, and threatened them with stripes for daring to attack the fortress without his knowledge or sanction. For he considered that he should best consult his prince's interests in so great a strait if he could enter into any kind of truce with the enemy, and could only carry back his artillery and army in safety. The Tartars also, on learning the wish of the commander, regarded it as a hopeful circumstance, and willingly fell in with the conditions proposed, that they should make peace with the prince by sending ambassadors to Moscow ; which being thus settled, the General Palitzki raised the siege, and marched to Moscow with his army. There was a report that the general had been bribed with presents from the Tartars to raise the siege ; and this report was strengthened by the fact, that a certain Savoyard had been caught in the attempt to decamp to the enemy with the gun which had been intrusted to him, and acknowledged, upon close examination, that he had received from the enemy silver money and Tartar goblets, that he might induce many to desert with him ; but although taken in so manifest a crime, the general did not inflict a very heavy punishment upon him.

After this withdrawal of the army, which was said to have

consisted of a hundred and eighty thousand men, ambassadors came from the King of Kazan to Vasiley, to ratify the peace, and were still at Moscow at the time that I was there ; and even at that time no permanent hope of peace was yet established, for Vasiley had, to the great prejudice of the people of Kazan, transferred to Novogorod the fairs which it had been the custom to hold near Kazan, in the Island of Merchants, and had proclaimed a heavy penalty upon any of his subjects who should in future go to the island for purposes of merchandize, in the hope that this removal of the fair might prove a great inconvenience to the people of Kazan ; and that being prevented from buying salt, which they received in large quantities from the Russians at that fair alone, they might be induced to surrender. It happened, however, that by the removal of a fair of this sort, the Russians suffered as much inconvenience as the people of Kazan ; for it produced a scarcity and dearness in many articles, which it had been the custom to import through the Caspian Sea from Persia and Armenia by the Volga from the emporium of Astrachan, and especially of the finer kinds of fish, amongst which was the beluga, which is taken in the Volga, both on this side and the other of Kazan.

Thus far I have been treating of the war which the Prince of Moscow waged against the Tartars of Kazan. I now return a second time to the general description of the Tartars, from which I had digressed.

Next to the Tartars of Kazan, we come to the Tartars known by the name of Nagai, who are located beyond the Volga, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, and dwell mainly by the shores of the river Jaick, which flows down from the province of Siberia. These people have no kings, but are governed by chiefs, or dukes. At the time that I was in Russia, three brothers gained possession of those duchies, and divided the provinces equally between them. The first of them, Schidack, had allotted to him the city of

Scharaitzick, lying eastward beyond the Volga, together with the district immediately adjacent to the river Jaick; the second, named Cossum, had the territory lying between the rivers Kama, Jaick, and Volga; while the possessions of Schichmamai, the third brother, included a part of the province of Siberia, with the country immediately surrounding it. The meaning of the name Schichmamai, is holy or powerful. Nearly all these countries are covered with wood, except that which borders upon Scharaitzick, which is all champaign country.

Between the Volga and Jaick, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, formerly dwelt the kings of Savolha, of whom we shall say more hereafter. In connexion with these Tartars, I heard a wonderful and almost incredible story from one Dimitry Danielovich, a man who, considering that he was a barbarian, was of remarkable dignity and truthfulness. He stated that his father had been on a former occasion sent by the Prince of Moscow to the King of Savolha, and that in that embassy he had seen in the island a certain seed, somewhat larger and rounder, but not unlike the seed of a melon, from which, when planted, grew up something very like a lamb, of the height of five palms, and that it was called in their language "boranetz", which signifies a lambkin, for it had a head, eyes, ears, and everything else in the form of a lamb. He also stated, that it bore a very fine wool, which was used by many people in those countries for making caps; and, indeed, I was assured by many people, that they had seen wool of that kind. He said, moreover, that the plant,—if plant it could be called,—had blood in it, but no flesh; but in lieu of flesh, there was a kind of matter very like the flesh of crabs; it also had hoofs, not horny like those of a lamb, but covered with a hairy substance resembling horn. Its stem came to the navel, or middle of the belly; it continued alive until the grass around it was eaten away, so that the root dried up for want of nourishment.

The sweetness of this plant was said to be remarkable, so that it was very much sought after by wolves and other ravenous beasts.<sup>1</sup>

Although I received this account about the seed and the plant as a passing observation, yet I have related it, as described to me by men by no means given to vain talking; and I repeat it with the less hesitation, because I was told by William Postel, a man of great learning, that he had heard from one Michael, who was public interpreter of Turkish and Arabic in the Venetian republic, that he had seen certain very delicate furs from a plant growing in those countries, which were used by the Mussulmauns to keep their heads warm after shaving them, and were applied also to their naked breasts, and which were brought from the neighbourhood of the Tartar city of Samarcand, and the countries lying north-east of the Caspian Sea, to Chalibontis. He said, moreover, that it was from an animal fixed on the ground like a plant, but that he had not seen the plant, nor knew its name, except that it was called "Samarcandeos". "As these details are not incompatible, they almost lead me to think," says Postel, "that this statement is not altogether fabulous, but rather that it is a fact, redounding to the glory of the Creator, to whom all things are possible."

Twenty days' journey eastward from the territory of Prince Schidack, we come to a people whom the Russians call Jurgeni, whose sovereign is the Sultan Barack, brother to the Great Khan or King of Cathaia. Ten days' journey from the dominions of Sultan Barack we come to those of the Khan Bebeid, this is that same Great Khan of Cathaia.

<sup>1</sup> The stems and leaf-stalks of ferns are often covered with scales, and with woolly-like false leaves. The *Polypodium baromez* is one of these. This plant is cut artificially to represent a lamb, and as such used to be regarded as a great curiosity in museums. For a representation of it, see Rymdyk's *Museum Britannicum*, p. 38, tab. 15, fig. 2.



Astrachan is a wealthy city, and the great emporium of the Tartars, which gives its name to all the surrounding country. It lies on this side of the Volga, near to its mouth, ten days' journey below Kazan. Some say that it is not situated on the mouths of the Volga, but some days' journey thence. I think that the position of Astrachan is at that point where the Volga divides itself into many branches, described by some as seventy in number, and after making many islands, falls into the Caspian by the same number of mouths, with so great an abundance of water, that to people looking from a distance it has the appearance of a sea. There are some who call the city Citrahan.

Between Viatka and Kazan, in the neighbourhood of Permia, dwell the Tartars, who are severally named Tamenskii, Schibanskii, and Cosatzskii; of these the Tamenskii are said to dwell in the woods, and not to exceed ten thousand in number. There are, moreover, other Tartars beyond the Volga, called Calmucks, because they alone let their hair grow; and on the Caspian Sea is Schamachia, which gives its name to the country around it, and whose inhabitants excel in weaving silk dresses. The city is six days' journey distant from Astrachan, and was not long since, they tell me, subject, together with its district, to the King of Persia.

The city of Azov, of which I have already spoken, is situated on the Don, and is seven days' journey distant from Astrachan. It is five days' journey from the Taurica Chersonesus, reckoned principally from the city of Precop. Between Kazan and Astrachan, in an extensive tract along the Volga as far as the Dneiper, lie desert plains, which are inhabited by Tartars, having no fixed abodes, with the exception of Azov and the city of Achas, which lies on the Don twelve miles above Azov, excepting also those Tartars who live in the neighbourhood of the lesser Don, and who cultivate the soil and have settled habitations. The distance from Azov to Schamachia is twelve days' journey.

Returning in a south-west direction towards the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis and the Black Sea, we come to the people of the Aphgasi, who dwell on the river Cupa, which flows into the said marshes [the Palus Mæotis] at the point where the mountains, inhabited by the Circassians or Ciki, meet the river Merula, which flows into the Black Sea. These people, relying on their mountain fastnesses, yield no obedience either to the Turks or the Tartars. The Russians assert that they are Christians, that they live under their own independent laws, conform to the Greek ceremonies and ritual, and perform their sacred service in the Slavonic language, which, indeed, they use in general. They are most audacious pirates, and sail down to the sea by the rivers which flow from their mountains, and plunder whomsoever they can, especially those merchants who take the route from Caffa to Constantinople. Beyond the river Cupa is Mengarlia, which is washed by the river Eraclea, and after it comes Cotatis, which some think to be Colchis. After it we come to Phasis, which, before it meets the sea, but not far from its mouth, forms the island of Satabellum, where report states that the fleet of Jason once anchored. Beyond Phasis is Trapezus.

The marshes of the Taurica Chersonesus, which are said to extend three hundred Italian miles in length, from the mouths of the Don up to St. John's Headland, measure in the narrowest part only two Italian miles. There stands the city of Krim, formerly the seat of the kings of Taurida, from which they received the name of Krimskii. The whole isthmus being hollowed out in the form of an island, to the extent of a mile and a fifth, the kings took the name of Precopskii instead of Krimskii, deriving the term from that hollowing out; for *precop* in the Slavonic language signifies "dug through", whence it is evident that a certain writer was in error, when he said that one Procopius had reigned

there.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the whole Chersonesus is divided in two by a wood, and that part which looks towards the Black Sea, in which is situated the celebrated city of Caffa, and which was peopled by a colony from Genoa, formerly called Theodosia, is entirely in the possession of the Turks. The Turkish sultan, however, after the seige of Constantinople and the overthrow of the Greek sovereignty, bought Caffa from the Genoese. The other part of the island is possessed by the Tartars. All the Tartar kings of Taurida, however, derive their origin from the kings of Savolha, and after some of them were driven out from the kingdom by internal sedition, being unable to find any fixed abode in the neighbourhood, they took possession of that part of Europe, and still mindful of the ancient grievance, continually carried on war with the people of Savolha. At length, within the memory of the last generation, Scheachmet, King of Savolha, came into Lithuania at the time that Alexander, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, held sway in Poland, and entering into a treaty with him, with their united forces drove out Machmetgerei King of Taurida. Both of the princes agreed in this movement, but afterwards, when the Lithuanians, according to their custom, delayed the war to an unreasonable period, the wife of the king of Savolha, together with the army which was then kept in the field, becoming impatient both of the delay and the cold, begged of their king, who was busying himself in some of the towns, to get rid of the King of Poland, in order that they might provide for their own interests in good time. As, however, they could not prevail upon him, the wife deserted her husband, and went over with part of the army to Mach-

<sup>1</sup> The editor has not succeeded in discovering the writer here alluded to; but Herberstein's explanation is borne out by the following passages in Botero's *Relationi Universali* (Ven. 1608, 4<sup>o</sup>, parte 1, lib. i, fol. 118):—"Il Prencipe de' Tartari habita in Precopi, terra, onde prendono nomi i Tartari chi si dicono Precopiti. . . . Il Precopo, che essi chiamano Zar, che vuol dir Cesare," etc.

metgerei, king of Precop, who at her instigation dispatched the army of Precop to disperse the remainder of the forces of Savolha.

After the rout of these forces, Scheachmet, king of Savolha, seeing the miserable plight in which he was, fled, accompanied by nearly six hundred horsemen, to Alba, which is situated on the river Thyra, in the hope of obtaining assistance from the Turks; but learning that a plot was laid in that city to take him he turned back, and arrived with scarcely half of his cavalry at Kiev. In that city he was surrounded by Lithuanians and taken, and on being conducted to Vilna by order of the king of Poland, the king came forward to meet him, and after giving him an honourable reception, escorted him in his own company to a convention of the Poles, at which the desirableness of a war against Mendligerei was decided upon. But as the Poles took an unreasonable time in mustering their army, the Tartar took grievous offence, and began a second time to contemplate flight, but was apprehended in the attempt and taken back to the castle of Troky, four miles from Vilna, where I saw him and dined with him. This was the termination of the reign of the kings of Savolha, and together with them ended the race of the kings of Astrachan, who derived their origin from the same royal line.

After their extinction the power of the kings of Taurida received a great accession, and they became so formidable to the neighbouring nations, that they compelled the king of Poland to pay a certain stipend on condition that he should have their assistance in any case of pressing necessity. The prince of Muscovy also used from time to time to conciliate him [the king of Taurida] by sending presents, which he did because, as they [the prince of Muscovy and the king of Poland] were constantly embroiled in mutual wars, each strove to overwhelm the other by engaging the cooperation of the Tartar forces. He being aware of this, deluded both

with vain hopes while he accepted presents from each, a course of conduct which became very apparent at the time that I was treating with the prince of Muscovy, in the name of the Emperor Maximilian, upon the subject of concluding a treaty of peace with the king of Poland. For as the prince of Muscovy could not be induced to enter upon equitable terms of peace, the king of Poland gained over the king of Precop by a bribe to attack Moscow with an army on one side, while he on the other should make an onset on the Russian territory in the direction of Opotzka. By this contrivance the king of Poland hoped to be able to compel the prince of Muscovy to reasonable terms of peace. The prince of Muscovy perceiving this, on his part sent ambassadors to negotiate with the Tartar prince, for the purpose of persuading him to turn his forces against Lithuania, which he stated to be entirely off its guard and unprotected by garrisons. The Tartar, consulting only his own advantage, followed his advice. As his power thus increased by the quarrels of these princes, and as he was occupied solely with the restless desire of increasing his own domain, his ambition enlarged itself in proportion, and having gained the alliance of Mamai, prince of Nahaica, he marched from Taurida with an army in the month of January, A.D. 1524, and attacked the king of Astrachan; and as the latter deserted the city and took to flight in great trepidation, he besieged and took it, and remained housed within the walls as conqueror.

Meantime Agis, one of the princes of Nahaica, rebuked his brother Mamai for having lent the aid of his forces to so powerful a neighbour; he at the same time warned him to keep a suspicious eye upon the daily increasing power of King Machmetgerei, for that it was possible from his intractable disposition that he might turn his arms both against himself and his brother, and not only expel both from the kingdom, but perhaps slay them or reduce them to slavery. Mamai, under the influence of these suggestions, sent a mes-

senger to his brother, to exhort him to hasten to him with all the forces that he could muster, for that it was possible that Machmetgerei might, from the elation naturally consequent upon his great successes, be resting in comparative security, and that thus they might both be relieved from the fears which they entertained. Agis, yielding to his brother's advice, promised implicitly to be on the spot at the appointed time with an army which he had already levied for the purpose of defending the outposts of his kingdom in the midst of so many wars. Upon this understanding, Mamai immediately sent to King Machmetgerei, advising him not to corrupt his soldiery, and neglect their discipline, by keeping them constantly housed, but rather to leave the city and dwell in the open field, according to the custom of the Tartars. The king, in accordance with his advice, brought out his troops and encamped in the open country, upon which Agis advanced with his army and joined his brother. A short time after, they made a sudden onslaught upon King Machmetgerie, while he was dining with the son of the Sultan Bathir and far from having any apprehension of such an attack, and slew him ; and overwhelming the greater part of his army, put the rest to flight. They pursued their conquest with great slaughter beyond the Don, even to Taurida. They laid siege to the city of Precop, which, as I have said, lies at the entrance of the Chersonese ; but finding that they could not reduce it to surrender by force or any kind of effort, they raised the siege and returned home.

The King of Astrachan having thus by the agency of these princes regained his kingdom, the strength of the kingdom of Taurida gave way under the loss of their valiant and successful King Machmetgerei, who had reigned over them for a considerable time with great power.

After the murder of Machmetgerei, his brother Sadachgerei gained possession of the kingdom of Precop by the aid of the sultan of the Turks, in whose service he was at

the time ; but being accustomed to Turkish habits, he offended the prejudices of the Tartars, by not appearing much in public, and did not allow himself to be seen by his subjects. The result of this was, that the Tartars, who could not endure so unusual a mode of conduct in their prince, expelled him, and put his brother's son in his place. Sadachgerai, being taken prisoner by his nephew, implored him suppliantly not to pursue him to the death, and from pity to his old age not to shed his blood, begging to be allowed to spend the remainder of his life in private in some fortress, and to retain only the name of king, while his nephew held the entire administration of the kingdom. His request was granted.

The titles of dignity amongst the Tartars are nearly as follows :— *khan*, as I have said above, signifies a king ; *sultan*, the son of a king ; *bü*, a duke ; *mursa*, the son of a duke ; *olbond*, a noble or councillor ; *olboadula*, the son of a nobleman ; *said*, a chief priest. A private man is called *ksi*. The post of rank next to that of the king is called *ulan*. The Tartar kings have four councillors, whose advice they mainly take in matters of importance. The first of these is called *schirni* ; the second, *barni* ; the third, *gargni* ; the fourth, *tziptzan*. Thus much about the Tartars. I must now speak of Lithuania, which is the country next bordering upon Muscovy.

### Of Lithuania.

Lithuania is the province which lies nearest to Muscovy ; but it is not of the province alone that I now mean to speak, but also of such districts immediately adjacent to it as are comprehended under the name of Lithuania. This country extends in a long tract from the town of Circass on the

Dnieper as far as Livonia. I may here remark, that the Circassians who dwell upon the Dnieper are Russians, and are distinct from those whom I have described above as dwelling in the mountains near the Black Sea. At the time that I was at Moscow, these people were governed by one Eustace Tascovitz, whom I have before spoken of as going with King Machmetgeri to Moscow; he was a man of great skill in military matters, and remarkable for his shrewdness, and from the frequent intercourse he had had with the Tartars, was able the more repeatedly to conquer them. He often even drew the Prince of Moscow himself, whose captive he had for some time been, into great dangers. In the same year that I was at Moscow, he showed remarkable skill in routing the Russians, a circumstance which I have thought worthy of description here. He led certain Tartars dressed in the Lithuanian costume into Russia, knowing that the Russians, taking them for Lithuanians, would fearlessly rush out upon them without hesitation. After having set an ambush in a suitable position, he awaited the arrival of the vengeful Russians. The Tartars, meanwhile, after depopulating the province of Severa, directed their march towards Lithuania; upon which the Russians, supposing them to be Lithuanians, changed their route, and, inspired with a thirst of vengeance, marched impetuously with a great force upon Lithuania. After laying waste the country, as they were returning laden with spoil, they were surrounded by Eustace, who came forth from his ambuscade, and were all of them slaughtered, to a man. When the Prince of Muscovy heard of this, he sent ambassadors to the King of Poland to complain of the injury which had been done to him. To which complaint the king replied: "That his people had not inflicted an injury, but had simply revenged one done to themselves." The Prince of Muscovy having been thus deceived on both sides, was ignominiously compelled to put up with his loss.



Beyond the country of the Circassians, there are no habitations of Christian men. At the mouth of the Dnieper stands the fortress and city of Otchakov, forty miles from Circass. It was not since in the possession of the King of Taurida, who took it from the King of Poland. It is now held by the Turks. From Otchakov to Alba (anciently called Moncastro), near the mouths of the Thira, is fourteen miles. From Otchakov to Precop is also fourteen miles. Seven miles beyond Circass, going up the Dnieper, lies the town of Cainov; eighteen miles from which is Kiev, the ancient metropolis of Russia, whose magnificence and evidently royal condition are shown by the ruins of the city, and the monuments, which are still seen lying in heaps. There may still be traced to this day on the hills in the neighbourhood the remains of churches and deserted monasteries, as well as numerous caverns, in which may be seen very ancient tombs, with the bodies in them not yet decayed. I have heard from men worthy of credit, that the maidens there seldom preserve their chastity beyond seven years of age. I have heard various arguments, none of which are satisfactory to me, to show the lawfulness of merchants abusing these maidens, although they are on no account allowed to carry them away. For if any one should be detected in the act of abducting a maiden, both his life and goods are forfeited, unless he be spared through the prince's clemency. There is also a law, that the property of foreign merchants who happen to die there, is confiscated to the king or his viceroy; and the same rule, which is observed among the Tartars and Turks with respect to the natives of Kiev, is also observed by the people of Kiev with respect to the Tartars and Turks after their death. There is a certain hill at Kiev, over which the merchants have to pass by a road which is none of the easiest; if any part of the carriage should happen to be broken in the ascent, all the articles in it are confiscated to the treasury. All these details were

related to me by the Lord Palatine, Albert Gastol, who was the King of Vilna's viceroy in Lithuania.

Thirty miles from Kiev, going up the Dnieper, we come to Mosier, on the river Prepetz, which flows into the Dnieper twelve miles above Kiev. The Prepetz itself receives the waters of the river Thur, which abound in fish. The distance of Mosier from Bobranzko is thirty miles. Twenty miles above the latter place is Mohilev, which is six miles distant from Orsa. Such of the above-mentioned towns upon the Dnieper as lie upon its western shores are subject to the King of Poland, and those on the eastern to the Prince of Muscovy, except Dobrovna and Mistislav, which appertain to the dominions of Lithuania. After crossing the Dnieper, four miles bring us to Dobrovna, and twenty more to Smolenzko. Our route lay from Orsa to Smolenzko, and thence to Moscow.

The town of Borisov lies twenty-two miles west of Orsa, and is washed by the river Beresina, which flows into the Dnieper below Bobranzko. The Beresina, as I have seen with my own eyes, is even broader than the Dnieper at Smolenzko. I certainly am of opinion, that this Beresina, judging from the sound of the word, was what the ancients call the Borysthenes; for if we look to the description of Ptolemy, the sources of the Beresina agree more [with his account?] than those of that Borysthenes which they call Dnieper.

I have already, at the commencement of my work, spoken at sufficient length of the princes who ruled over Lithuania at the time when Christianity was first introduced into the country. The affairs of this nation were always prosperous up to the time of Vitold. If a foreign war threatened them, and they had to defend themselves against the forces of an enemy, when summoned they came forth with a great appearance of warlike demeanour, but more from ostentation than from any readiness to go to war; and when the selec-

tion was made, they soon began to fall off. And even those who remained would send back their best horses and clothing, with their names attached to them, and followed their general with a small outfit, as if acting under compulsion. The nobles also, who are compelled to supply a certain number of soldiers for the war at their own expense, would buy themselves off with a sum of money paid to the general, and remain at home; and this thing was thought so little disgrace, that the captains of militia and commanders made a public proclamation, both at the councils and throughout the fortresses, that any who wished it, might exonerate themselves by the payment of a sum of money, and remain at home. Indeed, so great was the licence which prevailed amongst them to do whatever they pleased, that they seem not only to have used, but to have abused, this unreasonable state of liberty, so as even to hold the property of their princes in pawn; so that princes who came into Lithuania could not live upon their own revenues, unless they were relieved by the assistance of their subjects. The people wear a long dress, and carry bows like the Tartars; but they have also a spear and shield, like the Hungarians. They have excellent geldings, which they ride unshod, and with soft bits.

Vilna is the capital of the country. It is a large city, lying embosomed among the hills, at the confluence of the rivers Velia and Vilna. The river Vilna flows into the Cronon some miles below Vilna. The Cronon washes the town of Grodno, the name of which is not very unlike the name of the river; and at the point where it falls into the German Ocean, separates the people of the Pruten (formerly subject to the Teutonic order, but now governed by Albert, hereditary Marquis of Brandenburg, who, since his submission to the King of Poland, has laid aside the cross and order) from the Samogithians. At the point I have described stands the city of Memel, for the Germans call Cronon, Memel, or in the

country idiom Nemen. Vilna is surrounded by a wall, and contains many temples and houses built of stone; there is an episcopal palace there, in which on our return we were kindly received by Ivan, the natural son of King Sigismund, who was a man of great kind-heartedness and lived in the palace at that time. It has also a parish church and several monasteries, with a convent of Franciscans, which was constructed at immense expense, and remarkable for the strictness of its discipline. The Russian churches in it are much more numerous than those which have been built for the observance of the Roman ritual. There are three Roman bishoprics in the principality of Lithuania, namely, those of Vilna, Samogithia, and Kiev. The Russian bishoprics in the kingdom of Poland and Lithuania and their incorporated principalities, are the archbishopric of Vilna and the bishoprics of Plotzk, Vladimir, Lutsk, Pinski, Kholm, and Premisl. The Lithuanians traffic in horns, wax, and cinders, in which they principally abound, and great quantities of which are exported to Dantzic, and thence into Holland. Lithuania gives an abundant supply of pitch and timber for ship-building, and also wheat. At the time that Christian was ejected from the throne of Denmark, and when the sea was infested with pirates, salt was not imported from Britain but from Russia, and the same is now used among the Lithuanians.

At the time that I was in Lithuania, there were two men principally distinguished for warlike renown, namely, the Knes Constantine Ostroski and the Knes Michael Linzki. Constantine had routed the Tartars very frequently. It was his custom not to attack the horde while out on their predatory excursions, but to pursue them when returning laden with booty; for as they retired to a spot where they thought they might have an opportunity of resting and refreshing themselves without fear of disturbance, but which spot was known to him and fixed upon as the point of attack, he would give notice to his own soldiers to cook their food

for that night beforehand, for that he would not be able to allow them much fire the following night. On the following day, therefore, the Tartars would continue their journey, and when night came, seeing no flame or smoke, would suppose that the enemy had either retreated or dispersed themselves, and would then let their horses loose upon the pasture, take their meal, and go to sleep. Constantine would then make his onset at break of day, and thus overwhelm them with a terrific slaughter. The Knes Michael Linzki, who had gone into Germany while yet a youth, and had demeaned himself valiantly under Albert, Duke of Saxony, in his war with Friesland, and had gained himself great renown amongst all ranks of soldiers, returned to his own country imbued with the manners of the Germans, among whom he had grown up, and had high rank and authority given to him at the court of the King Alexander; so much so, indeed, that the king took his advice and decision in every question of difficulty. It happened, however, that he fell into a quarrel with Ivan Saversinski, palatine of Troca, on account of the king, but the quarrel being at length arranged, everything remained quiet between them during the life of the king; but after the king's death, the hatred which had been buried in the mind of Ivan, on account of having been deprived of his palatinate through his antagonist's influence, again awoke. The consequence was, that the latter, with his accomplices and friends, was charged with treason to King Sigismund, who had succeeded Alexander, was slandered by certain of his rivals, and declared to be a traitor to his country. The Knes Michael, smarting under such an injury, often appealed to the king, and demanded that the cause should be equitably judged between himself and Saversinski, declaring that he would then be able to clear himself from so heavy a charge; but finding that the king would not listen to his petition, he went over to Hungary to Vladislav, the king's brother. Thence he sent both

letters and messengers to the king, imploring him to recognize his plea; but when he found that all his efforts were of no avail, incensed at the indignity offered him, he told the king that he should resent such infamous conduct, and that he himself would one day live to repent it. Then betaking himself to his home in anger, he dispatched a confidential servant to the Prince of Muscovy, with letters and instructions. He wrote, that if the king would promise him a safe and independent livelihood, granted him in writing and under his oath, that it should be to the prince's honour and profit, and that he would go over to him with the fortresses which he possessed in Lithuania, and all the other places which he had taken either by force or surrender. The Prince of Muscovy knowing the valour and skill of the man, was overjoyed at receiving this message, and promised that he would do all which Michael demanded of him, and gave the letters and the oath which he desired.

When every thing had been done by the Prince of Muscovy according to agreement, Michael, burning with revenge against Ivan Saversinski, who was staying at that time in his villa near Grodno (in which I afterwards spent a night), fell upon him with all his forces, and, to prevent his escape, set a guard of soldiers round his house, and sent in a Mahomedan assassin, who attacked him while asleep in his bed, and cut his head off. This done, he advanced with his army against the fortress of Miensko, and strove to take it either by force or surrender. Frustrated in his attempt on Miensko, he laid siege to other fortified towns; but learning that the forces of the king were advancing against him, and that they were far superior to his own, he gave up the siege of these fortresses, and betook himself to Moscow, where he was honourably received by the prince, who was well aware that there was no man in Lithuania equal to him. The prince entertained the hope, that by his counsels, operations, and industry, he might be able to gain possession of the whole of Lithuania;

and in this hope he was not altogether mistaken, for after taking counsel with him, he a second time laid siege to Smolensko, one of the chief principalities of Lithuania, not so much by the strength of his forces, as by the perseverance of this one man, for the very presence of Michael alone took away from the soldiers who formed the garrison all hope of defending the city; and he prevailed on them, through the combined agency of their fears and his promises, to surrender the fortress. He did this the more boldly, and with greater zeal, because Vasiley had promised him that if, by any means, he could succeed in taking Smolensko, he would make a grant to him in perpetuity of the fortress, together with the adjacent province. These promises, however, he afterwards broke; and when Michael appealed to him on the score of his covenant, he did nothing but delude and cajole him with vain hopes. Michael becoming seriously offended at this conduct, and not having yet forgotten King Sigismund, whose favour he hoped he might easily gain through the medium of some friends of his who dwelt at the court of that sovereign, sent one of his confidential servants to the king, promising that if he would pardon any offence that he might have committed against him, he would return into his service. This message was very acceptable to the king, and he ordered that the letters of safeguard which Michael requested, should be immediately sent to him by a messenger. As, however, Michael did not place implicit confidence in the king's letters, and in order that he might return with the greater security, he petitioned that similar letters should be sent him from Georg Pisbeck and Johann von Rechenberg, who were German knights and councillors of the king, and whom Michael knew to have such authority over him, that they could compel the king against his will to keep his promise. This request was granted him; but as it happened that the messenger who was sent upon this business fell into the hands of the sentinels of the prince of Muscovy, and was

taken, the whole affair became known, and was speedily communicated to the prince, by whose order Michael was seized. At the same time, a certain Polish youth, of the noble family of Trepko, had been despatched to Moscow by King Sigismund to communicate with Michael, and in order to execute the king's commands with the greater success, he pretended to be a refugee; but he also fell into a similar misfortune, and was seized by the Russians; and when he stated that he was a refugee, he was not believed, but he kept his secret so faithfully, that though he was put to severe torture, he would not reveal it.

After the capture of Michael, he was brought into the prince's presence at Smolensko, who said to him, "Traitor, I will inflict on thee a punishment worthy of thy deserts!" To which he replied: "I do not acknowledge the crime of treason which thou layest to my charge, for if thou hadst kept faith towards me with respect to thine own promises, thou wouldst have found me a most faithful servant to thee in every respect; but when I saw that thou madest light of them, and madest it thy chief aim to evade me, it became a heavy grievance to me that I had not been able to accomplish those things which I had conceived in my mind respecting thee. I have always despised death, and will therefore willingly undergo it; but never more let me see thy face, O tyrant." Upon this he was led away, by the prince's command, through a great concourse of people to Viesma, where the commander-in chief of the army, after having caused the heavy chains with which he was to be bound to be thrown before him, thus addressed him: "The prince, as thou knowest, O Michael, honoured thee with the greatest favour whilst thou faithfully servedst him, but since thou hast thought fit to carry on thy treasonable practices with a high hand, he presents thee with this reward as suitable to thy merits;" saying which, he ordered the fetters to be fastened on him. While Michael was thus being bound with chains,



he turned to the surrounding populace, and thus addressed them : “ Lest a false rumour should be spread amongst you as to the cause of my imprisonment, I will briefly unfold to you what I have done, and why I have been taken prisoner, and that you may learn from my example what kind of prince you have over you, and what every one of you can or ought to expect from him.” With this commencement, he related to them the entire reason of his coming into Muscovy, as well as the promises which the prince had made, under the confirmation of written documents, and with the addition of his oath, and shewed how he had, in no respect, adhered to those promises. He then proceeded to state, that as he had been deceived in his expectations from the prince, he had wished to return to his own country, and for that reason he had been taken prisoner ; since this injury was unjustly inflicted upon him, he should take no great pains to escape death, especially as he knew that it was alike the lot of all to die by the common law of nature. As he was a man of strong frame, and of an intellect which could turn itself to any subject, and whose judgment in council had great weight, and of ready wit, alike in matters of humour as in those of more serious moment, and evidently a man for all occasions, as the saying is, he had, by this versatility of genius, won for himself great favour and authority with all men, especially with the Germans amongst whom he had been brought up. He had routed the Tartars in the reign of King Alexander with a signal slaughter, nor since the death of Vithold had the Lithuanians ever gained so renowned a victory over the Tartars. The Germans designated Michael, in the Bohemian language, “ Pan” ; but as he, in the first instance, had followed the ritual of the Greeks, as a Russian, but afterwards left it to follow the Roman ritual, when in chains he again adopted the Russian form of worship, in order to soothe and mitigate the wrath and indignation of the prince against him. Many men of rank, at the time that

I was in Moscow, pleaded with the prince for his liberation, and above all the prince's wife, who was Michael's niece, being his brother's daughter ; the Emperor Maximilian also interceded for him, and sent special letters to the prince, in his own name, in my first embassy ; but so little effect had all these intercessions, that permission was not granted me to see him : indeed, no great opportunity of seeing him was allowed to any body ; but in my second embassy, his liberation being accidentally spoken of, I had the question rather frequently put to me by the Russians, whether I knew him, to which I replied, that I had only occasionally heard his name mentioned, and I believed that was all I was ever likely to know of him. At length Michael was liberated and discharged : the reason of which was, that the prince, who had married his niece during the lifetime of his former wife, put such reliance in his valour, that he thought his children would, through his means, be kept safe in possession of the kingdom, from interference on the part of his brothers ; and he finally appointed him, by his will, tutor to his sons. Subsequently, after the death of the prince, Michael having reproached the prince's widow with wantonness, was charged by her with treason, and died an unhappy death in prison. Not long after the perpetration of this crime, she is said to have been carried off by poison in the midst of her recklessness, and her paramour, Ovczina, was butchered and torn to pieces.

Volonia contains the most warlike people amongst the principalities of Lithuania.

Lithuania is extremely woody, and has in it extensive marshes and numerous rivers ; some of which latter, namely, the Bog, the Prepetz, the Thur, and the Berisina, flow eastwards into the Dnieper ; others, namely, the Boh, the Cronon, and the Nareo, flow towards the north. The climate is severe, and the animals of all kinds small. Corn is very abundant, but the crop rarely comes to maturity. The people are miserable,

and oppressed with heavy servitude ; for when any man who is attended by a host of servants, enters the house of any husbandman, he is at liberty to do with impunity whatever he thinks fit, to seize and consume any of the necessaries of life, and even cruelly to beat the husbandman himself. The husbandmen are not allowed access to their masters on any account without bringing presents, and when they are admitted, they are referred to the stewards and officials, who, unless they receive presents, will make no arrangement, nor give any decision to the advantage of the applicant. Nor was this the case only with the poor, but also with the nobles, whenever they wished to obtain any favour from their official superiors. I once heard a certain youthful minister, of high rank about the king, say that the only word in Lithuania was "gold". The king has an annual tax paid to him for defending the boundaries of the kingdom. Beyond the ordinary assessment, the people have to work for their masters six days out of the week. When a serf marries, or when his wife dies, or when his children are born, and also when they die, he is compelled to pay a certain sum at the time of the event being acknowledged. So heavy is the servitude in which they have been kept up to the present day, that if any man happen to be condemned to death, he is compelled, if his master order it, to take the infliction of the punishment upon himself, and to hang himself with his own hands ; and if he should refuse to do so, he is first cruelly beaten, and then hanged, nevertheless, and brutally cut to pieces. With such severity is this process carried out, that if the judge or governor appointed to decide upon the case, should see any attempt at delay on the part of the culprit, and use a threat, or only say "make haste", the man's master becomes angry, upon which the wretch, in his dread of the extremity of punishment, puts an end to his own life with the noose.

### Of their Wild Beasts.

Lithuania possesses other wild beasts, besides such as are found in Germany, namely, bisons, buffaloes, and alces, which are wild horses, called by some onagri [wild asses]. The Lithuanians call the bison, in their own language, "suber". The Germans improperly call it "aurox" or "urox", which name better suits the buffalo, which manifestly has the form of an ox, while the bison is a very dissimilar kind of animal; for the bisons have manes, and are hairy about the neck and shoulders, with a kind of beard hanging from their chins, their hair smelling of musk, their heads short, their eyes large and fierce, as if they were on fire, and their foreheads broad, with horns generally so wide apart and stretched out, that the space would take in three tolerably stout men; a fact which was shown by Sigismund, King of Poland, father of the present King Sigismund Augustus, whom we know to have been a man of well-built and strong frame, who tried the dangerous experiment with two others of no less bulk than himself. The back of the bison is raised as with a kind of hump, the anterior and posterior parts of the body being more depressed.

Those who hunt the bison had need be men of great strength, agility, and cunning. A suitable spot for the hunt is selected, where there are trees growing at equal distances from each other, with trunks of moderate thickness, so that it may be easy to run round them, and yet sufficiently large to protect the body of a man. Each of the hunters places himself at one of these trees, and when the bison has been roused by the dogs that are set upon him, and is driven towards the spot, he rushes with great ferocity upon the first hunter who presents himself. The latter, however, protects himself by placing the tree between them, and strikes the beast with his hunting-spear, wherever he can; the

animal does not often fall under the blow, but, exasperated with fury, not only tosses with his horns, but also darts out his tongue, which is so rough and strong, that if it only touch the garment of the hunter, it will lay hold of it and draw him, and the beast will never leave him until he has killed him. But if the huntsman should become weary with chasing about and striking, he presents to the beast his red cap, against which he will rage both with feet and horns. If, however, another of the hunters wishes to join the contest before the beast is slain, which must be done if the men wish to get away with a whole skin, it is easy to call off the beast against himself by once shouting the barbarous cry of "lululu!"

Masovia, which borders on Lithuania, is the only province which has in it the kind of buffalo which in the language of the country is called thur, but which we Germans may with propriety call urox. They are a sort of wild oxen, not unlike tame oxen, except that they are entirely black, with a line down the back having white blended with it. They are not very plentiful, and there are certain districts which are charged with the care of them; and it is only in some few preserves that they are kept. They are allowed to herd with tame cows, but have a mark set upon them to distinguish them. This is done because they are afterwards looked upon as degraded by the other buffaloes, and are not admitted into their herd; and the calves which are produced by the cross breed are not long lived. The King Sigismund Augustus, at the time I was ambassador at his court, made me a present of one which was just dropped, and which the hunters had taken, driven half-lifeless from the herd. It had the skin which covers the forehead cut away, which I suppose was done for some purpose, but from thoughtlessness I neglected to enquire why it was done. This is certain, that girdles made of the hide of the urox are much esteemed, and it is a vulgar opinion that parturition is assisted by wearing them.

Queen Bona, the mother of Sigismund Augustus, presented to me two girdles of this kind, one of which my most serene mistress, the Queen of the Romans, graciously accepted as a present from me.

There is an animal in Lithuania, named in their language "loss", which the Germans call "ellem", and to which others give the Latin name "alce".<sup>1</sup> The Poles maintain that it is the "onager", which means wild ass; but it does not correspond in form to that animal, for it has cloven hoofs, although it is true that some are found with the hoof solid, but this is of rare occurrence. The animal is taller than a stag, with rather prominent ears and nostrils, with horns somewhat differing from those of a stag, and of a colour more tending to white. It is very swift of foot; it does not run like other animals, but rather with an ambling gait. Their hoofs are worn as amulets against the falling sickness.

In the desert plains about the Dnieper, the Don, and the Volga, is a wild sheep, called by the Poles "solhac", by the Russians "seigack", of the size of a doe, but with shorter hoofs, with high stretching horns, marked with rings, of which the Russians make transparent knife-handles. They are swift of foot, and take very lofty leaps.<sup>2</sup>

Samogithia is a province which lies to the north of the Baltic sea, and is next to Lithuania. It divides Prussia from Livonia by the space of four German miles. It is not remarkable for any fortress or fortified town. It is governed by a prince from Lithuania, who is designated in their language Starosta, which signifies an elder: this governor is not easily removed from his office, except upon very serious charges, but holds it in perpetuity as long as he lives.

The province has a bishop, who is subject to the Pope of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> The elk.

<sup>2</sup> This is either the capra ibex, or capra ægagrus, two allied species belonging to the genus *ægoceros* of Pallas.

This one thing is principally worthy of notice in Samogithia, that while the men of the country are remarkably tall in stature, some of their children will also prove of great height, but others, by a sort of freak of nature, are extremely small, and decided dwarfs.

The people of Samogithia wear a mean-looking dress, mostly of an ash colour: they dwell in low, long-shaped cottages, in the middle of which they make their fires, and when the father of the family is seated at his fire-side, he sees all his cattle and household stuff around him, for it is their custom to have their flocks under the same roof with themselves, without any separation. The elders use buffalo horns for goblets.

The men are courageous and warlike: in battle they make use of coats of mail and various other kinds of armour, but their principal weapon is a rather short lance, like a hunting-spear. They have such small horses, that it is scarcely credible that they should prove equal to the great exertions which they undergo. Abroad they are used in battle, and at home in agriculture.

In ploughing the land, they do not use iron, but wood, which is the more remarkable, that the soil is not sandy, but so stiff that a fir tree will never grow in it. It is the custom of the ploughmen to carry out with them several pieces of wood to work the ground with, instead of a ploughshare, so that when one is broken they may have another at hand, that no time may be lost. One of the governors of the province, in order to relieve the peasants from the severity of their labour, introduced a considerable number of iron ploughshares; but as it happened, from the unfavourableness of the season in that and a few following years, that the crops did not answer the expectations of the husbandmen, the barrenness of their fields was ascribed by the common people to the iron ploughshare, for they could think of no other cause: and the governor, fearing an insurrection, took away the iron

shares, and allowed them to till their fields in their own fashion.

This province abounds in woods and forests, in which horrible sights may occasionally be witnessed ; for in them there dwell a considerable number of idolators, who cherish, as a kind of household gods, a species of reptile, which has four short feet like a lizard, with a black fat body, not exceeding three palms in length. These animals are called "givoites";<sup>1</sup> and on certain days are allowed to crawl about the house in search of the food which is placed for them. They are looked upon with great superstition by the whole family, until the time when, having satisfied their hunger, they return to their own place. But if any accident should occur to them, they believe that their household god, the reptile, has been ill-received and ill-fed. On my return from my first journey to Moscow, I came to Troki, and was informed by the landlord of the house at which I happened to put up, that he had in that same year purchased some bee-hives of one of these reptile-worshippers, and had by his reasoning won him over to the true faith of Christ, and persuaded him to kill the reptile which he worshipped: but some time after when he returned to look at his bees, he found the man with his face deformed, and with his mouth drawn in a hideous manner up to his ears. On inquiring the cause of so fearful a disaster, he replied, that he was punished with this calamity by way of expiation and penance for having laid guilty hands upon the reptile his god, and that he should have to suffer many more grievous penalties, unless he returned to his former mode of worship. Although this did not take place in Samogithia, but in Lithuania, I have quoted it as a specimen of their customs.

They say that there is no better or finer honey found than in Samogithia ; that it is white, and has but little wax with it.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a species of *scincus*, or rather perhaps *gecko*.



The sea which washes Samogithia, and which is called by some the Baltic, by some the German, by others the Prussian, and by others the Venetic sea, and which the Germans call Pelts, in allusion to the Baltic, is properly named a gulf; for it flows within the Cimbrian Chersonese, which is now called by the Germans, Yuchtland and Sunder Yuchtland, but in Latin, Jucia,—a word derived from the same source. It washes also that part of Germany which is called by the Germans Low, beginning at Holstein, which lies next to the Cimbrian Chersonese, then flows by the country of Lubeck, then by Vismar, Rostock, the cities of the dukes of Mecklenburg, and the whole region of Pomerania, which country derives its name from the circumstance of which we are speaking; for in the Slavonic language, Pomoriæ, signifies near the sea, or maritime. After that it flows by Prussia, the capital of which is Gdanum, which is also called Gedanum and Dantiscum. The Duke of Prussia, however, has a seat which is called Mons Regius [Konigsberg]. In that locality they fish, at a certain time of the year, for the amber which floats upon the sea. This fishery is carried on at great risk by persons engaged in it, on account of the sudden ebb and flow of the sea.

The sea skirts Samogithia only by the space of about four miles, after which it flows along an extensive tract comprising Livonia and the country called Khurland, doubtless so named from the Cureti, as well as some districts which are subject to the Russians; it then flows round Finland, which belongs to the Swedes, whence also the name of the Venedi is supposed to have derived its origin. On the other side it flows by Sweden.

The whole of the kingdom of Denmark, which principally consists of islands, is comprised in this gulf, with the exception of Jucia and Scandia, which are attached to the continent. The island of Gothland also, which is subject to the King of Denmark, lies in this gulf. Some

have thought that the Goths came thence; but it is too small to have been able to hold such a multitude of men; besides, if the Goths had come from Scandia, they must have returned from Gothland into Sweden, and again bent their course backwards by Scandia, which is not at all consistent with reason. In the island of Gothland there are still remaining the ruins of the city of Wisby, in which the quarrels and disagreements of the sailors who passed by that way used to be judged and settled, and questions of business concerning distant maritime places were brought to that city and argued.

The province of Livonia extends a long distance by the sea shore; its metropolis is Riga, which is under the government of the master of the Teutonic order. The province comprises two bishoprics, namely that of Revel and Oesel, besides the archbishopric of Riga. It contains several towns, the chief of which is Riga, which is situated on the Dwina, not far from its mouth, as well as Revel and Derbt. The Russians call Revel, Bolivar; and Derbt, Turgovgorod: Riga retains its name in both languages. It has in it the navigable rivers, the Rubo and the Nerva.

The prince of this province, as well as the brothers of the order, the principal of whom are styled commanders, as also the nobles and citizens, are nearly all German.

As three languages are used by the common people, so they are divided into three orders or tribes. Every year a fresh supply of labourers and soldiers are brought into Livonia out of the German principalities of Juliers, Gelderland, and Munster, to replace those who have died, or those who, after fulfilling their yearly duty, return in freedom to their own country.

They possess so great a quantity of horses of a remarkably fine strong breed, that hitherto they have been able to endure, and vigorously to withstand, the repeated hostile inroads

made upon their territory both by the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Muscovy.

In the year of our Lord 1502, in the month of September, Alexander, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, prevailed upon Walter von Pletenberg, the lord of Livonia, under certain stipulations, to lead an army against the provinces of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, promising that by the time he reached the enemy's country, he himself would be present with a large force. But as the king did not come at the appointed time, and as the Russians, when they heard of the approach of an enemy, came forth to meet the master with a vast multitude; the master finding that he was deserted, and that he could not retreat without extreme disgrace as well as peril, first addressed his soldiers in a few words, as time was pressing, and then discharged his artillery and vigorously attacked the enemy, and at the first onslaught routed the Russians, and put them completely to flight. But as the conquerors were few in number in comparison with the enemy, and loaded with heavier furniture, they were unable to pursue the enemy very far; the Russians perceiving this, took fresh courage, and again returning to the ranks, made a vigorous attack upon Pletenberg's infantry, who could only present to the enemy a force of about one thousand five hundred. In that battle, the general, Matthew Pernauer, with his brother Henry, and the standard-bearer Conrad Schwartz, perished. A glorious action is related of this standard-bearer; for when overwhelmed with the darts of the enemy, and unable to stand any longer from exhaustion, before he fell, he called out with a loud voice for some brave man near him to take the flag from him: on hearing which, Lucas Hamerstete, who boasted of being sprung, although illegitimately, from the dukes of Brunswick, ran to the spot, and endeavoured to take the standard from the hands of the dying man; but Conrad, either from suspicion of his fidelity, or thinking him unworthy of so

great an honour, refused to deliver it up to him. Indignant at this affront, Lucas drew his sword and cut off Conrad's hand, which held the standard; Conrad, however, grasped the standard with his other hand and with his teeth, and held it till it tore; Lucas then snatching up the fragments of the flag, betrayed the infantry, and deserted to the Russians. The result of this treachery was, that nearly four hundred foot soldiers were horribly slaughtered by the enemy; the remainder, who kept the ranks, returned safe with the cavalry. Lucas was the cause of this slaughter. Being subsequently taken prisoner by the Russians, and sent to Moscow, he held for some time an honourable position at the prince's court; but writhing under the injury he had sustained from the Russians, he subsequently escaped secretly from Moscow, and went over to Christjern, King of Denmark, who made him his captain of artillery; but as some of the foot soldiers who had escaped from the above slaughter, and had fled into Denmark, informed the king of his treachery, and declared that they would not fight in his company, King Christjern sent him to Stockholm, and changes afterwards taking place in the state of the kingdom, Josterick *alias* Gustavus, King of Sweden, on recovering Stockholm, admitted Lucas, whom he found there, into the number of his intimates, and made him governor of the town of Viburg; but finding himself accused of I know not what crime, and fearing somewhat serious consequences, he again betook himself to Moscow, where I saw him honourably enrolled among the stipendiaries of the prince.

Sweden, which adjoins the Russians' dominions, is united to Norway and Scandia, much as Italy is united to the kingdom of Naples and Piedmont. It is washed on nearly all sides: first, by the Baltic Sea, and then by the ocean which we now call the Frozen Ocean. Sweden, whose royal city is Holmia,—called by the inhabitants Stockholm, and by the Russians Stecolna,—is a very extensive kingdom, comprising

many different nations. Amongst these, the Goths are remarkable for their valour in war. They are divided into Ostrogoths and Westrogoths; the former meaning eastern, and the latter western Goths, from the situation of the countries which they inhabit. Marching out of this country, they became in former times a terror to the whole world, as several authors have recorded.

Norway, called by some Nortwagia, lies in a long range contiguous to Sweden, and is washed by the sea; and as the latter took its name from *sud*, that is, south, so the former derives its name from *nort*, that is, the north, in which direction it lies. For the Germans have used their own vernacular names for the four cardinal points, to designate provinces lying in those respective directions; for *ost* signifies east, whence the name of Austria, which the Germans properly call Osterreich. *West* is the German word for the Occident, whence comes the name of Westphalia; and in the same manner as I have above said, from *sud* and *nort*, come Swetia and Nortwagia.

Scandia is not an island, but a continent, forming part of the kingdoms of Sweden, and skirting the country of the Goths in a long tract. A great part of it now belongs to the King of Denmark; but as writers on these matters have described it as larger than Sweden itself, and have stated that the Goths and Lombards proceeded thence, these three kingdoms seem, according to my opinion, to have been comprehended as one great body, under the single name of Scandia; for at that time that part of the land between the Frozen Ocean and the Baltic Sea, which washes Finland, was unknown, and is indeed but little known to this day, on account of the great number of marshes and innumerable rivers, together with the inclemency of the climate; this has been the cause that many have described the whole of this immense island [peninsula] under the single name of Scandia.

With respect to Corela, we have already said that it is tri-

butary both to the King of Sweden and the Prince of Russia, and lies between the dominions of both of these princes; hence each claims it as his own. Its boundaries extend as far as the Frozen Ocean. As, however, many various accounts have been given of the Frozen Ocean by different writers, I have thought it not inappropriate to subjoin a brief description of the navigation of that sea.

### The Navigation of the Frozen Ocean.

At the time that I was at the court of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, as the ambassador of the Most Serene Prince my master, there happened to be there Gregory Istoma, the interpreter of that prince, an industrious man, who had learned the Latin language at the court of John, King of Denmark; and as he had been sent by his prince in the year 1496 to the King of Denmark, in company with one Master David (a Scotchman by birth, and at that time the King of Denmark's ambassador, with whom also I became acquainted in my first embassy), he gave me a short account of his journey; and as from the great difficulties of the road, this journey seemed to be an extremely laborious one, I have conceived the wish briefly to describe it just as I received it from him. In the first place, he said that being dispatched by his prince, in company with the aforesaid ambassador David, he had reached Great Novogorod; but as at that time the kingdom of Sweden had revolted from the King of Denmark, and the Grand Prince of Muscovy was on that account at issue with the Swedes, so that the travellers could not follow the ordinary road in consequence of the disorders occasioned by the war, they were obliged to take a route which, though safer, was much longer. The first portion of it, which was difficult enough, was from Novo-

gorod to the mouths of the Dwina and Potivlo ; he stated that there could not be a more abominable road than this for the trouble and difficulties which it exposed them to, and that it was three hundred miles long. The party then embarked in four boats at the mouths of the Dwina, and sailed along the right-hand shore of the ocean, and there saw some lofty and bluff mountains, and after accomplishing sixteen miles, and crossing a certain gulf, they sailed along the left shore, and leaving the open sea to their right, which, like the adjacent mountains, takes its name from the river Petchora, they came to the people of Finlapeia. Although these people dwell in low cottages, scattered here and there along the sea coast, and lead an almost savage life, they are yet more gentle in their manners than the wild Laplanders. He stated that they were tributary to the Prince of Muscovy.

A voyage of eighty miles, after leaving the land of the Laplanders, brought them to the country of Nortpoden, which is subject to the King of Sweden. The Russians call the country Kaienska Semla, and the people, Kaiemai. Then coasting along a winding shore which stretched out to the right, he said that they came to a certain headland called Holynose [Sviatoi Nos]. Holynose is a huge rock, in the shape of a nose, protruding into the sea, under which is seen a cave which every six hours receives the waters of the ocean, and forms a whirlpool, and alternately discharges them with great uproar, causing a similar whirlpool. Some have called it the navel of the sea. He stated that the force of this vortex was so great, that it would draw into it ships and other things in the neighbourhood, and swallow them up ; and that he himself was never in greater danger, for finding that the whirlpool began suddenly and violently to draw the ship in which they sailed towards itself, they escaped with great difficulty by laboriously plying their oars. Having passed the Holynose, they came to a certain rocky mountain, which they were obliged to sail round. Here they were

detained several days by contrary winds, upon which a sailor said, "This rock which you see is called Semes, and unless we appease it with a gift we shall not easily pass it." Istoma, however, reproached him with his vain superstition. The sailor, upon this rebuke, held his peace; and, after being detained there four days by the tempest, the wind abated, and they weighed anchor. When a favourable wind arose for carrying them on, the pilot said, "You laughed at my warning about appeasing the rock Semes, as though it were an empty superstition; but if I had not secretly climbed the rock in the night, and propitiated Semes, you would on no account have had a passage granted to you." Upon being questioned as to the offering which he had made to Semes, he said that he had poured out upon the projecting rock which we had seen some oatmeal mixed with butter.

He further stated that, in sailing onwards, they came to another huge promontory, forming a peninsula, named Motka, at the point of which was the fortress of Barthus, which signifies a garrison house, for the kings of Norway maintain a military garrison there for the defence of their borders. He stated that this promontory jutted so far into the sea that it would take nearly eight days to sail round it, so that to prevent the delay which this would occasion, at the expense of great exertion they carried over their boats and baggage on their shoulders, a distance of half a mile across the isthmus. They afterwards sailed up to the country of the Diticiloppi, who are wild Laplanders, to a place named Dront [Drontheim], two hundred miles north of the Dwina; and they say that the Prince of Muscovy exacts tribute even as far as this place. They then left their boats and performed the rest of their journey by land, in sledges. He further related that there are herds of deer there, as plentiful as oxen are with us, which are called in the Norwegian language, "rhen". They are somewhat larger than our stags, and are used by the Laplanders instead of oxen, and in the following manner: they yoke the deer to



a carriage made in the form of a fishing boat, in which the man is bound by his feet lest he should fall out while the deer is at full speed ; in his left hand he holds a bridle, to guide the course of the deer, and in his right a staff, with which to prevent the upsetting of the carriage, if it should happen to lean too much on either side. He stated that, by this mode of travelling, he himself had accomplished twenty [German] miles in one day, and had then let loose the deer, which returned of its own accord to its own master and its accustomed home. Having at length accomplished this journey, they came to Berges [Bergen], a city of Norway, quite in the north, amongst the mountains, and then reached Denmark on horseback.<sup>1</sup> At Dront and Berges the day is said to be twenty-two hours long in the summer solstice.

Blazius, another of the prince's interpreters, who a few years before had been sent by his prince into Spain to the emperor, gave me another and more compendious account of his journey ; for he said, that when he had been dispatched from Moscow to John, King of Denmark, he had travelled as far as Rostov on foot ; that he took boat at Pereaslav, and sailed thence by the Volga to Castromos ; thence he travelled by a land journey of seven versts up to a certain small river, along which he sailed first to Vologda, thence to Suchana and Dwina, and so on, as far as Berges, a city of Norway ; that in his passage he overcame all the dangers and toils related above by Istoma ; and at length came straight to Hafnia, the metropolis of Denmark, which is called by the Germans, Kopenhagen. Both of them stated that they returned to Moscow through Livonia, and each accomplished the journey in the space of one year ; though Gregory Istoma said, that in the middle portion of that time he had been detained in many places by storms, and suffered great delays. Each distinctly affirmed, that he had traversed seventeen

<sup>1</sup> He must of course mean the nearest point to Denmark.

hundred versts, that is, three hundred and forty [German] miles in this journey.

The said accounts are confirmed by that Demetrius, who recently went to Rome as ambassador to the Pope, and from whose relation Paulus Jovius drew up his description of Russia, and who took this same route in his embassy to Norway and Denmark. But all of these, upon my questioning them respecting the Frozen or Icy Ocean, gave me no other reply, than that on the sea-coasts they had seen several very large rivers flowing into the sea with such force and abundance as to drive back the very waters of the sea for a considerable space from the shore, and that the rivers themselves were frozen together with the sea to a certain distance from the shore. This takes place in Livonia and other parts of Sweden; for although in the sea the ice may be broken by the force of opposing winds, yet in the rivers the ice is seldom raised or broken, unless an inundation occur, for the blocks of ice which are carried down by the rivers into the sea float about upon it for nearly a whole year, and afterwards, through the intensity of the frost, become united together, so that sometimes the ice of many seasons may be seen combined in one mass. This may be easily understood from the blocks of ice which are driven on shore by the winds. Indeed, I have heard from persons of good authority, that the Baltic Sea is often frozen over in many places.

The persons above-mentioned stated that in that country, which is inhabited by the wild Laplanders, the sun does not set during the summer solstice for forty days, but that during three hours of the night the body of the sun seemed to be obscured by a kind of dimness, so that its rays were not visible; but nevertheless it afforded so much light that no one was prevented by darkness from doing his work. The Russians boast that they receive tribute from these wild Laplanders, which, although a thing not to be expected, need not create surprise, as they have no other neighbours

who demand tribute from them. In lieu of tribute-money, they pay skins and fish, for they have no other possessions. When they have paid their annual tribute, they boast that they owe no one anything, and that they are their own masters.

Although the Laplanders have no bread or salt, or other provocatives of the palate, and only live upon fish and game, they seem to be very prone to sensuality.

They are all very skilful bowmen; so that if they meet with any of the nobler kinds of game in the chase, they will kill it, by discharging their arrows at the snout, so that they may procure the skins entire and uninjured. When going out to hunt, they leave merchants and other foreigners, who are their guests, at home with their wives; and if upon their return they find the wife cheerful and more joyous than usual from the company of the guest, they make him some present; but if otherwise, they expel him with disgrace. Already they begin to lay aside their innate ferocity, and to show more courtesy in the company of foreigners, who travel thither for the sake of merchandize. They give free admission to merchants, who bring them clothes made of thick cloth, hatchets, needles, spoons, knives, cups, pottery, meal, and a variety of other things; so that now through feeding on cooked victuals they have become more civilized in their manners. The garments which they wear consist of the skins of various animals sewn together, and sometimes they come to Moscow in this kind of dress; a very few wear leggings and hats made of deer-skin. They use no gold or silver money, but confine themselves to simple barter; and as they know no other language than their own, they appear like dumb men amongst foreigners. They cover their huts with the bark of trees, but nowhere do they keep to any fixed habitation; but after they have taken what game and fish they can find in any one spot, they migrate elsewhere.

The above-mentioned ambassadors of the Prince of Moscow declared that they had seen very lofty mountains in those parts, always vomiting flames like Etna ; and that in Norway itself there were many mountains, which had become exhausted by constant burning. This has led some to assert that the fires of purgatory were situated there ; and when I went on my embassy to the court of Christian, King of Denmark, I heard nearly the same story concerning these mountains from those who happened at the time to be governors of Norway.

The ocean which lies about the mouths of the river Petchora, to the right of the mouths of the Dwina, is said to contain animals of great size. Amongst others, there is one animal of the size of an ox, which the people of the country call *mors*. It has short feet, like those of a beaver ; a chest rather broad and deep compared to the rest of its body ; and two tusks in the upper jaw protruding to a considerable length. This animal, together with other animals of its kind, on account of its offspring and for the sake of rest, leaves the ocean and goes in herds to the mountains, and before yielding itself to the very deep sleep which naturally comes over it, sets, like the crane, one of its number to keep watch ; and if this one should slumber or happen to be killed by a hunter, the others may easily be taken ; but if he give the customary sign, by lowing, the rest of the herd immediately take the alarm. They precipitate themselves into the ocean with great rapidity, as if they were carried down the mountain in a carriage, and there they rest for a time upon the surface of the floating blocks of ice. The hunters pursue these animals only for the tusks, of which the Russians, the Tartars, and especially the Turks, skilfully make handles for their swords and daggers, rather for ornament than for inflicting a heavier blow, as has been incorrectly stated. These tusks are sold by weight, and are described as fishes' teeth.

The Frozen Ocean extends far and wide beyond the Dwina to Petchora, and as far as the mouths of the Obi, beyond which is said to lie the country of Engroneland.<sup>1</sup> I am given to understand that this country is separated from intercourse with our people by lofty mountains covered with eternal snow, as well as by the ice, which is constantly floating upon the sea, throwing danger and impediments in the way of navigation; and hence the country is as yet unknown.

### On their Manner of receiving and treating Ambassadors.

When a person going to Russia as ambassador approaches the frontiers of that country, he dispatches a messenger to the nearest city, to intimate to the governor of such city, that he is about to enter the territory of the prince as ambassador from such and such a sovereign. Upon which the governor makes careful inquiry not only as to the prince by whom he is sent, but also as to the condition and dignity of the ambassador himself, and with what retinue he comes; and having informed himself upon these points, he sends some one with a company to receive and escort the ambassador, taking into consideration the dignity of the prince by whom the ambassador is sent, and the rank of the ambassador himself. At the same time also he signifies to the grand-duke whence and from whom the ambassador comes. The person dispatched by the governor to meet the ambassador in the same manner

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to imagine by what blunder Herberstein assigns this locality to Engroneland, a country whose name is first found mentioned in the account of the reputed voyage of the two Zeni, and appears in the map accompanying that account to represent Greenland.

sends one of his people in advance to intimate to him that a great man is coming, who intends receiving him at a certain place, which he specifies. They use the expression "great man", because it is given to all persons of superior rank, for that is the title which they bestow upon every powerful or noble personage, or baron, or other illustrious or distinguished man. But at the point of meeting the said delegate is so jealous of giving place, that in winter time he orders the snow to be swept away wherever it may lie, so that the ambassador may pass, but he himself will not give way on the public beaten road. This further custom also they observe at the meeting: they send a messenger to the ambassador to desire him to alight from his horse or carriage, and if the latter should excuse himself on the plea of weariness or sickness, the servant makes answer, that the message of his master is not allowed either to be delivered or heard, unless the parties are standing. The delegate takes watchful heed not to alight first from his horse or carriage, lest by so doing he should seem to derogate from his master's dignity, and will not himself alight till he has first seen the ambassador dismount from his horse.

In my first embassy, I told the person who came to meet me from Moscow, that I was weary with travelling, and that we could transact our business on horseback; but for the reason I have mentioned, he did not think fit to go through the ceremony in this fashion. The interpreters and the rest had already alighted, and advised me to do the same; to which I replied, "That as soon as the Russian alighted, I would alight". The fact was, that when I found they laid so much stress upon the matter, I was equally unwilling to fail in my duty to my own master, or to compromise his dignity. But as he refused to descend first, and as this question of pride was causing some little delay, in order to put a stop to the business I moved my foot from the stirrup as if I were about to alight, and the delegate seeing this,

immediately dismounted ; I, however, got down from my horse very slowly, which made him greatly vexed that he had been cheated by me.

After this, he approached me, and with uncovered head, said, "The Captain N., of the province, etc., representative of the great lord Vasiley, by the grace of God, king and lord of all Russia, and grand-duke, etc. (repeating the names of the chief principalities), hath ordered me to inform thee, that having understood thou wert come as ambassador of so great a prince to our great master, he hath sent us to meet thee, and to conduct thee to him (repeating the title of the prince and governor). He also desired us to inquire whether you had ridden well?" (for this is their fashion in receiving you, to inquire, have you travelled well). The delegate then holds out his right hand to the ambassador ; but after this, he no more takes the lead in showing respect, unless he sees the ambassador also uncover his head. After this, perhaps actuated by the duty of courtesy, he of his own accord presses upon the ambassador the inquiry as to whether he has travelled in comfort ; he finally gives a signal with his hand, as much as to say, "mount, and proceed". When all have mounted their horses, or entered the carriages, he remains together with his people in the same spot, nor does he give place even to the ambassador, but follows a long way behind, and is particularly careful that no one shall go backward or ride behind him. As the ambassador proceeds, he soon begins to make inquiries, first as to the name of the ambassador and each of his servants, then as to the names of his parents, and from what province such an one comes, what language such an one knows, and what is his condition in life, and whether he is the servant of any prince, or a relative or kinsman of the ambassador, or whether he had ever been before in that province ; all which points are immediately reported by letter to the grand-duke. After the ambassador has proceeded a little distance, a man

meets him saying, that he has an order from the governor to provide him with everything that he requires.

The consequence was, that after leaving Dobrovna, a little town of Lithuania, situated on the Dnieper, and having that day accomplished eight [German] miles, when we reached the frontiers of Russia, we had to pass the night in the open air. We threw a bridge across a little river which had overflowed its banks, so as to enable ourselves when midnight was passed to proceed, in order to reach Smolensko; for the city of Smolensko is only twelve German miles distant from the frontier or entrance into the principality of Russia. On the morrow, when we had advanced nearly one German mile, we were entertained with every mark of distinction; but after proceeding half a mile further, we found that we had patiently to pass the night in a place appointed for us in the open air. Having again made an advance of two miles on the following day, a spot was again allotted to us for passing the night, where we were sumptuously and gaily received by our attendant.

But on the following day, which was Palm Sunday, although we had ordered our servants to make no stoppages whatever, but to proceed straight on to Smolensko with our luggage; yet, after advancing two German miles, we found that they had been detained in a place allotted to them for passing the night. When they found that we were proceeding further, they begged us at least to take dinner there, to which request we were obliged to yield, for on that day our conductor had also invited some of his master's ambassadors, the Knes Ivan Posetzen Jaroslavski, and Simeon Trophimov, his secretary, who were returning from the emperor with us on their road from Spain.

I, who knew the reason of their detaining us so long in these deserts (for they had sent on a messenger from Smolensko to the grand-duke announcing our arrival, and waited for an answer as to whether they should conduct us to the



fortress or not), wished to put their intentions to the test, and started on my road towards Smolensko. When the other caterers observed this, they immediately ran to our conductor to inform him of our departure, and soon returned and besought us, mingling even threats with their prayers, that we would remain. But while they were running backwards and forwards, and as we had nearly reached the third station for passing the night, my caterer said, "What art thou doing, Sigismund? why, in pursuance of thine own will, dost thou venture to advance in a strange country against the command of its sovereign?" To which I replied: "I am not accustomed to live in woods like the wild beasts, but under shelter and amongst men. The ambassadors of your sovereign have passed through my master's kingdom at their own pleasure, and have been conducted through cities, towns, and villages; let the same privilege be granted to me. Nor, indeed, is it the command of your master; nor do I see any cause or necessity for such delay." They afterwards said that they intended to make a little digression from the main road, giving as a reason that night was already drawing on; and that, moreover, it was by no means expedient to enter the fortress at a late hour. We, however, despising the arguments which they advanced, bent our steps direct to Smolensko, where we were received at a distance from the fortress in such narrow sheds, that we could not have led our horses in without first breaking down the doors. On the following day, we again sailed along the Dnieper, and passed the night upon that river, nearly opposite the fortress. The lieutenant-governor at length sent his people to receive us, and honoured us with almost a quintuple quantity of drink,—namely, Malmsey and Greek wines,—and also with different kinds of mead, bread, and various dishes of meat.

We remained ten days in Smolensko awaiting the reply of the grand-duke; two nobles came from the grand-duke to

take charge of us, and to conduct us to Moscow, but on entering either of our houses, dressed as they were, in suitable apparel, they by no means thought of uncovering their heads, and considered that it was our place to do so first; but this we neglected to do. When, however, the message of each prince had, in its turn, to be delivered and received, at the mention of the prince's name we made our obeisance. In the same manner, however, as our arrival at Smolensko had been delayed through our detention at various places, so were we also detained longer than was seemly in that city. But to prevent our being too seriously offended by the extension of the delay, and that they themselves might not seem in any way to slight our wish, they came to us more than once to say that we should depart tomorrow morning; we consequently rapidly prepared ourselves for departure in the morning, and waited in readiness the whole of the day. At length in the evening they came with a considerable amount of ceremony; but the reply was, that they could by no means start on that day. A promise, however, was again given, as before, that they would enter on the journey in the morning; but a similar delay occurred, for with difficulty we made our departure on the third day after, and the whole of that day we were kept fasting.

On the day following they made arrangements for a longer journey than we could accomplish by our means of conveyance. Meanwhile all the rivers had overflowed, through the quantity of water occasioned by the melting of the winter snows; the smaller streams also, which were not confined by any banks, poured down so great a force of water as to render them impassable without the greatest exertion; even the bridges were set afloat, by the superabundance of the water, within one, two, or three hours of their construction. Count Leonhard Nugaroli, the emperor's ambassador, very narrowly escaped drowning on the second day after our departure from Smolensko. In fact, while I was standing upon the

floating-bridge, and looking after the transportation of our luggage, his horse fell under him, and left him on the bank. The two caterers, who were then close to the count, could not stir a foot to render him any assistance, so that, had not others, who were at a good distance, run forward to help him, it would have been all over with him. We came that day to a certain bridge, which the count and his people had already crossed with extreme risk, when I, who knew that the carriages could not follow, remained on this side of the bridge, and entered the house of a certain peasant; and, as I observed that the caterer showed great negligence in providing food for us, telling us, in answer to our questions on the subject, that he had sent on the provisions beforehand, I commenced purchasing some food from the housewife, with which she readily supplied us at a fair price; but when the caterer became aware of this, he forthwith laid his commands upon the good woman not to sell me anything. On perceiving this, I sent back his messenger, and ordered him to tell the caterer that he must either himself immediately provide food for us, or give his permission for me to purchase a stock, for if he did not, I would make him shorter by the head. "I know," said I, "your plans; ye are put in possession of considerable supplies by the command of your sovereign, and that in our name; but you do not afford us the advantage of them, and this is the reason why you do not allow us to live at our own expense." I then threatened him that I would report all these matters to the prince. By this language I lowered his dignity to such a degree, that he afterwards not only shewed me attention, but a certain amount of respect.

After this, we came to the confluence of the rivers Voppi and Dnieper, and thence sent on our baggage, in boats, by the Dnieper, which were carried against the stream as far as Mosaisko; we, however, crossed the Dnieper, and passed the night in a certain monastery. On the following day our

horses were obliged, at considerable risk, to swim, for the space of half a German mile, across three rivers, and several other smaller streams, which were overflowing with water. We overtook them by a circuitous route, being conveyed in fishing-boats along the Dnieper, by a certain mark; and at length we reached Moscow on the 26th of April. When we were half a German mile distant from that city, there met us that old secretary, who had been ambassador in Spain, full of haste, and covered with perspiration, to announce that some grandees had been despatched by his master to receive us on the road, mentioning the names of those who had been appointed to await our coming, and to give us an honourable reception; at the same time he remarked that it behoved us, at the meeting, to alight from our horses, and to hear the words of his master standing. We afterwards shook hands and talked together; among other things, I asked him the cause of his being in such a violent perspiration, upon which, raising his voice, he replied, "Sigismund, our mode of serving our sovereign is different from thine." As we proceeded, we saw a number of men drawn up in long array, like a regiment, and as we drew near they alighted from their horses, upon which we did the same; and, at the moment of our meeting, one of them took the initiative, and commenced his communication in the following manner: "The great Lord Vasiley, by the grace of God, King and Lord of all Russia, etc. (repeating every title), has understood that ye are come as ambassadors from his brother Charles, chosen Emperor and supreme King of the Romans, and his brother Ferdinand; and hath sent us, his councillors, with an injunction to inquire of you with respect to the health of his brother Charles, Emperor and supreme King of the Romans." Then followed the same respecting Ferdinand. The second speaker, addressing the count, said: "Count Leonhard, my great master (repeating every title) hath ordered me to come forth to meet thee, and to escort thee to thy residence, and to see

that thou art provided with every necessary." The third speaker said the same to me.

While these various intercommunications were made we all kept our heads uncovered, after which the foremost spokesman again addressed us, saying, "Our great master (repeating the title) has ordered me to inquire of thee, Count Leonhard, whether thou hast been well on thy journey." He then put the same question to me. We replied to these questions agreeably with the etiquette customary amongst them: "God give health to the grand-prince, by the mercy of God and the favour of the grand-duke we have been well on our journey." The same person again spoke as follows: "The grand-duke, etc. (repeating the title at length), has sent thee, Leonhard, an ambling nag with a saddle, together with another horse from his own stable." He then made a similar address to me. On our expressing our thanks for these presents, they held out their hands to us, and inquired of each of our party in turn whether we had been well on our journey.

At length they said that it was fitting that we should do their master the honour to mount the horses which he had presented to us, which we accordingly did; and having sent on our people crossed the river Mosque, and followed in the rear. On the bank of that river there is a monastery, whence we journeyed across a plain, and were conducted into the city through crowds of people, who assembled around us from all quarters; and in this fashion we reached our hotels, which were situated at the further side of the city. The houses were empty, both of inmates and furniture; but each of the caterers signified to his respective ambassador that he, as well as those ambassadors who had travelled with us from Smolensko, had orders from their sovereign to provide us with every necessary. They also appointed us a scribe, stating that it would be his duty to bring us daily food and other necessaries, and concluded by begging us, if

there was anything which we wanted, to intimate it to them. They afterwards paid us a visit nearly every day, always making inquiry respecting our necessities. They have one fixed allowance of provisions appointed for German ambassadors, another for Lithuanian ambassadors, and another for the ambassadors from other countries. The appointed caterers, I say, have a certain number attached to each person, with instructions as to how much bread, drink, meat, straw, hay, and other things they shall give to each according to his number. They know how much wood they have to allow for the kitchen, and also how much for heating the stoves, as well as how much salt, pepper, oil, onions, and other minor things they have to supply for each day. The same calculation is to be observed by the caterers who accompany ambassadors into and out of Moscow; but although they used to provide us with a superfluity both of meat and drink, they would give us in exchange nearly everything which we desired. They always brought us five different kinds of drink, namely, three sorts of mead, and two of beer. I had sometimes sent to the market to purchase certain articles with my own money, especially live fish, but this they took as a great affront, stating that their master would be greatly offended at it. I also intimated to the caterer, that I wished to provide beds for the noblemen whom I had with me, five in number; but he immediately replied, that it was not the custom to provide beds for anybody: to which I answered, that I did not ask for them, but wished to buy them, and that I made the remark to him that I might not again offend him as I had previously done. On the following day he returned to me, and said, "I have made a report to the councillors of my master respecting the subjects upon which we were conversing yesterday. They have ordered me to tell you not to spend your money for beds, for they promise that they will treat you in the same manner as you have treated our people who have visited your country."

After we had remained in the hotel two days, we inquired of our caterers on what day the prince would summon us to an audience. "Whenever you wish," was their reply, "we will refer the question to our sovereign's councillors." We requested that it should be done immediately. A period was then appointed, which was put off to another day. On the day before that day the caterer himself came to say, "My lord's councillors have commanded me to announce to thee that thou must appear before our prince to-morrow." Moreover, on every occasion that they summoned us, they had interpreters with them. On that same evening the interpreter returned, and said: "Be in readiness, for you will be summoned into the presence of our master." Again in the morning he returned, repeating the same piece of warning: "To-day you will be in the presence of our master." Then within a quarter of an hour one or other of our caterers would come to say: "Some grandees will shortly come for you, so that it behoves you to be assembled together under the same roof." As soon therefore as I had gone to the house of the imperial ambassador, an interpreter came immediately to say that the grandees and chief men about the prince's court, who were to conduct us to the palace, were already arrived. One of these was the Knes Vasiley Taroslovski, allied by blood to the grand-duke, another was one of those who had previously received us in the name of the prince, and these were accompanied by a considerable number of noblemen.

Meanwhile our caterers endeavoured to persuade us to show honour to these grandees, and to go forth to meet them; to which we replied, "That we knew our duty and should do it." But as they had already alighted from their horses and were entering the count's hotel, the caterers forthwith urged us to advance to meet them, and thus, by a deferential expression of respect, in some degree give precedence to their prince over our own masters. But we, while they were

coming up stairs, made various pretences of delay, so as to retard the meeting ; and we encountered them right in the middle of the staircase, and invited them to enter the house so as to rest a little, but that they refused to do. The *knes* himself said : “ Our great sovereign (repeating the whole title) has given orders that you should come to him.”

We then mounted our horses, and went on our way accompanied by a great escort ; but on approaching the Kremlin fell into so great a crowd, that in spite of the exertions of our attendants, we had much difficulty in passing through. For it is a custom amongst these people, that on all occasions when distinguished ambassadors from foreign kings and princes are to be conducted to the court, the lower class of nobles, stipendiaries, and soldiers, assemble together by command of the prince, from the neighbouring and surrounding districts. All the taverns and shops of the city are on such occasions shut up, all buyers and sellers are expelled from the market-place, and the citizens gather together to the scene of display from all quarters. The result of this is, that the power of the prince appears very great in the eyes of foreigners, from such an immense concourse of men as his subjects ; while, on the other hand, his dignity is made apparent to all his subjects, when they see such embassies sent to him by foreign princes.

On entering the Kremlin, we saw men of different ranks arranged in different parts or divisions of the building. Near the gate stood the citizens, the soldiers and stipendiaries occupied the fore-court, accompanying and preceding us on foot, and prevented us, by halting, from approaching or alighting from our horses near the steps ; for no one is permitted, except the prince, to alight from his horse near the steps. This is done by way of showing greater honour to the prince. Then first, as we come to the middle of the steps, certain of the prince’s councillors came forward to meet us, presenting us their hands and lips, and led us a little further on our



way. Then, having passed the steps, other councillors of higher rank came forward to meet us, offering their right hands, by way of salutation, their predecessors meanwhile retiring; for it is the custom, that those who advance first, should make way for those who follow, and these again for the next in rotation, and so take their place in order, according to previous arrangement. Then, upon our entering the palace, where the lower order of nobles stood ranged around, the chief councillors in like manner came forward to meet us, and saluted us in the same order, and after the same fashion. At length we were conducted into another hall, which was crowded with the knesi and other persons of high rank, from whose number and of whose rank the councillors are chosen, and thence to the prince's chamber, before which stood the gentlemen who attend daily upon the prince. During this time, not a single one of those who stood around showed the least mark of respect to us; but on the contrary, if we happened in passing to salute or speak to any one with whom we were familiarly acquainted, he would make no reply, just as if he had never known any of us, or had never received a salute from us before. At length, on our entering the presence of the prince, the councillors immediately arose (the prince's brethren, if any happen to be present on these occasions, do not rise, but remain seated, with their heads uncovered), and one of the chief councillors addressed the prince in their manner, without being required to do so, in our name, in the following words: "My great lord, the Count Leonhard strikes his forehead before thee, for thy great favour." He then says the same for Sigismund. The first is as much as to say he bows and pays thee honour; the second, he offers thee thanks for the favour received: for they regard striking the forehead as expressive of salutation, rendering of thanks, and everything of that kind. For whenever any one makes a petition, or offers thanks, it is the custom to bow the head; if he wishes to do so in a very marked

manner, he bends himself so low as to touch the ground with his hand ; but if he desires to offer his thanks to the grand- duke for any great favour, or to beg anything of him, he then bows himself so low as to touch the ground with his forehead. The prince sat with his head uncovered in a place of distinction higher than the rest, against a wall decorated with a picture of a certain saint, with his hat, called *kopack*, on a stand at his right hand ; and on his left, his staff, with a cross on it, called *possoch*, and a washhand basin and two ewers, with a towel placed by them. They say that the prince believes that in giving his hand to an ambassador of the Roman creed, he gives it to an unclean and impure person ; and that, therefore, after their departure, he immediately washes his hands. Opposite the prince, but in a less elevated position, was placed a decorated seat for the ambassadors.

After we had offered our salutation, as above described, the prince himself pointing to the seat with his hand, directed us to it, both by word and gesture. When we had duly saluted the prince from this spot, an interpreter came forward, who translated our communication, word by word. When, among other things, the names of Charles and Ferdinand transpired, he arose, and descended from his seat ; and after hearing the salutation to the end, said, " Is our brother Charles, elect emperor and supreme king of the Romans, well ?" To which the count replied : " He is well." He then ascended the steps, and sat down. Afterwards, when my salutation was completed, he put the same question to me respecting Ferdinand. He then called each of us in turn to him, and said : " Give me thy hand ;" with the addition of the question, " Hast thou been well on thy journey ?" To which each of us replied after their fashion : " God grant that thou mayst live in health many years. By the grace of God and thy favour, I have been well." Thereupon he ordered us to be seated ; before doing so, however, we offered

thanks, according to their custom,—first to the prince, then to the councillors and knesi, who remained standing, in compliment to us, and bowed our heads in each direction. Sometimes it is the custom for ambassadors from foreign princes,—especially those from Lithuania, Livonia, Sweden, etc.,—when admitted into the prince's presence, each, together with his retinue and servants, to distribute their respective gifts.

The mode of offering gifts is after this wise. When the embassy has been heard and explained, the councillor who has introduced the ambassadors to the prince, rises, and addresses all the audience in a clear and distinct voice: My great Lord N., the ambassador M. strikes his forehead to thee with such and such a gift; and this he repeats a second and a third time. He then announces, in the same manner, the names of each of the nobles and attendants, and their respective gifts. Meanwhile a secretary is appointed to stand by his side, to note down the names, not only of the ambassadors, but also of each person who brings an offering, according to their rotation, and of the presents attached to each name. They call such presents "pominki", which is a kind of remembrance. They gave a hint to our people respecting these presents, to which they replied that it was not our custom. But I return to my subject.

After the salutation had been gone through, and we had been some time seated, the prince invited each of us in rotation, with these words, "You will dine with me." I may here add that, in my first embassy, he had, according to their custom, invited me in this manner, "Sigismund, thou wilt eat our salt and bread with us." Presently after, he called our caterers to him, and spoke to them in a low voice, but I know not what he said, but each of them in his turn gave instruction to the interpreters, who said to us, "Arise, let us retire to another house;" where, while we explained the remainder of the embassy, and our commissions, to certain coun-

cillors and secretaries appointed by the prince, the tables were set in order. When the preparations for dinner were made, and the prince, his brothers, and the councillors, already seated, upon our being shown into the banqueting-room, the councillors and all the others immediately arose in deference to us ; and we, in our turn, having been informed of their habits, before they sat down, offered our thanks to them by bowing on all sides, and took a place at the table which the prince himself indicated to us with his hand. The tables were arranged around the banqueting-room. In the middle stood a table laden with a variety of gold and silver goblets. At the table at which the prince sat, a space was left at each side of him, as wide as he could reach with his hands extended, beyond which it is the custom for his brothers to sit, if any are present, the elder on his right hand, and the younger on his left ; at a somewhat greater distance from the brother, is the seat of the elder knesi and councillors, who take precedence according to the place which each holds in the prince's favour. We sat at another table opposite the prince, with our friends and attendants at a small distance from us ; opposite whom, on the other side, sat those who conducted us from our hotel to the palace. At the lower tables, on both sides, sat those whom the prince had invited as a special favour, in which number the stipendiaries are occasionally included. On the tables were placed vessels, some filled with vinegar, some with pepper, and others with salt, which were all arranged along the length of the table, so that every fourth guest had each of these three articles before him. Then came in the servers, dressed in magnificent robes, and walking round the centre table, stood opposite the prince.

Meantime, when all were seated, the prince called one of his servants to him, and giving him two long pieces of bread, said : " Give this to Count Leonhard, and this to Sigismund." The servant taking the interpreter with him accordingly

presented the bread to each of us in rotation, accompanied by the following speech: "O Count Leonhard, the Grand Duke Vasiley, by the grace of God, King and Lord of all Russia, and Grand Duke, extends his favour to thee, and sends thee bread from his own table." These words the interpreter delivered to us in a loud voice. We received this expression of the prince's favour standing. The other guests also, with the exception of the prince's brothers, rose up in compliment to us. For such an expression of honour and favour as this, it is not necessary that any answer should be given, except in so far as that you accept the offered bread, place it upon the table, and express your thanks by an inclination of the head, first to the prince himself, and then to the councillors and the rest of the guests, turning the head round in every direction and bowing. Bread is used by the prince to express his favour towards anybody, but when he sends salt, it is intended to express his affection—indeed it is not possible for him to show greater honour to any one at an entertainment given by himself, than by sending him salt from his own table. I may, moreover, state that the loaves, which are made in the form of a horse's collar, seem in my opinion to serve as emblems of the hard yoke and perpetual servitude of those who eat them. At length the servers going out for food, again without showing any honour to the prince, first brought in brandy, which they always drink at the commencement of the dinner; then they brought in roasted swans, which it is almost always their custom to lay before their guests for the first dish whenever they eat meat. Three of these being placed before the prince, he pierced them with his knife to try which was the best, and which he would choose in preference to the rest, and immediately ordered them to be taken away. The sewers going out in the same order in which they had entered, placed the swans, after they had been cut up and divided into parts, in smaller dishes, laying four pieces of a swan upon each dish. Then

coming in again they placed five dishes before the prince, and distributed the remainder among the prince's brothers, the councillors, the ambassadors, and the rest of the guests in rotation. A certain person stands by the prince to present him his cup, and it is he by whom bread and various dishes are sent by the prince to different individuals. The prince generally gives a small portion of the swan to his sewer to taste, and then cuts off portions from different parts and tastes them; after which he sends one of his brothers, or one of the councillors or ambassadors, a dish of which he has tasted. Viands of this kind are always offered with especial solemnity to ambassadors, in the same manner as has been related respecting the bread, and in receiving them it is not only the duty of him to whom they are sent, but of all the rest, to rise; so that one is put to no slight fatigue in rising, standing, offering thanks, and then bowing one's head in all directions as often as the prince's favour is shown to any of the company. In my first embassy, when I served as ambassador from the Emperor Maximilian, I had to rise several times in honour of the prince's brothers; but as I saw that they offered me no thanks in return, and made no response whatever, every time afterwards when I perceived that they were about to receive a favour from the prince, I began immediately to talk with somebody and to pretend to know nothing about it; and although somebody opposite would beckon to me and call to me while the prince's brothers were standing, I pretended so long to know nothing about it, that it was not till after the third admonition from them that I would inquire what they wanted, and while they were telling me in reply that the prince's brothers were standing, the ceremonies would in some sort be over before I looked and rose up. Then, as sometimes I rose too late and sat down again immediately, they who sat opposite would laugh, and I, pretending to be otherwise engaged, asked them what they were laughing at; but as no one liked to tell the reason, at

length appearing to understand the case, I put on a grave countenance and said: "I am not here now as a private person, I shall certainly show disrespect to him who shows disrespect to my master." Moreover, when the prince sent food to any of the younger people, and an observation was made upon my not rising, I answered: "Whoever honours my master, him also I will honour." When we began to eat the roast swans, they placed vinegar on the table with salt and pepper mixed in it, which they used instead of sauce or gravy. Sour milk was also placed on the table for the same purpose, with pickled cucumbers, and prunes cooked with the same object, which are not removed during dinner time. The same fashion is observed in bringing in the other dishes, unless they be again taken away to be cooked. Various kinds of drink are placed on the table, namely, malmsey, Greek wine, and different kinds of mead. The prince generally orders his goblet to be presented to him once or twice, and after drinking from it, he calls the ambassadors to him in rotation, and says, "Leonhard," or "Sigismund," as the case may be, "thou hast come from a great sovereign to a great sovereign, thou hast made a great journey; after thou hast experienced our favour it shall be well with thee; drink, and drink well, and eat well even to thy heart's content, and then take thy rest, that thou mayst at length return to thy master."

They say that each and every vessel which we looked upon, in which were placed meat, the drinks, the vinegar, the pepper, the salt, and all the other things which were set upon the table, were of pure gold; and from their weight this would seem to be true. Four persons stood on each side of the centre table, each holding his goblet, out of which the prince often drank, very frequently addressing the ambassadors, inviting them to eat. Sometimes he put questions to them, and showed great courtesy and kindness. He asked me among other things, whether I had shaved my beard,

which is expressed in one word, namely, "brill". When I answered in the affirmative, he said: "The same thing has occurred to ourselves;" which is as if he were to say, "We also have shaved." For when he married his second wife he shaved off the whole of his beard, which I was told had never been done by any other prince.

The sewers used to be dressed in dalmatics, similar to those worn by the Levites when performing their sacred functions; but they also wore girdles. Now, however, they wear a different kind of robe, called in their language "terlick", which is loaded with gems and pearls.

The grand-prince sometimes spends three or four hours over dinner. During my first embassy, our dinner was prolonged till one o'clock in the morning; for just in the same manner as they often spend the whole day in deliberating over matters involving doubt and difficulty, and do not leave it till it has been maturely discussed and decided upon, so also they will sometimes consume a whole day over their banquets and convivial meetings, and only retire when darkness overtakes them.

The prince often honours his guests by sending them dishes and drink. He never meddles with matters of serious moment during dinner; but when the dinner is over, it is his custom to say to the ambassadors, "Now you may depart." When thus dismissed, they are escorted back to their hotels by the same persons who had conducted them to the palace, who state that they have orders to remain with them in the hotel, to make merry with them. Silver goblets, and various other vessels containing liquor, are then produced, and all strive to make each other drunk; and very clever they are in finding excuses for inviting men to drink, and when they are at a loss for a toast to propose, they begin at last to drink to the health of the emperor and the prince his brother, and after that to the welfare of any others whom they believe to hold any position of dignity and honour.



They think that no one ought or can refuse the cup, when these names are proposed. The drinking is done in this fashion. He who proposes the toast takes his cup, and goes into the middle of the room, and standing with his head uncovered, pronounces, in a festive speech, the name of him whose health he wishes to drink, and what he has to say in his behalf. Then after emptying the cup, he turns it upside down over his head, so that all may see that he has emptied it, and that he sincerely gave the health of the person in honour of whom the toast was drunk. He then goes to the top of the table and orders many cups to be filled, and then hands each man his cup, pronouncing the name of the party whose health is to be drunk, on which each is obliged to go into the middle of the room, and, after emptying his cup, to return to his place. He who wishes to escape too long a drinking-bout, must pretend that he is drunk or sleepy, or at least declare that, having already emptied many cups, he cannot drink any more ; for they do not think that their guests are well received, or hospitably treated, unless they are sent home drunk. It is the common practice for the nobles and those who are permitted to drink mead and beer, to observe this fashion.

In my first embassy, when I had brought my business to a conclusion, and had received my dismissal, at the close of the dinner to which I was invited (for it is the custom to invite ambassadors to dinner on their departure, as well as on their arrival), the prince rose, and standing up at the table, ordered his cup to be given him, and said : “ Sigismund, I wish to drink this goblet to the affection that I bear to our brother Maximilian, elect Emperor and supreme King of the Romans, and to his health ; which toast thou also shalt drink, and all the others in rotation, that thou mayest witness our love towards our brother Maximilian, and report to him what thou seest.” He then handed me the cup, and said, “ Drink to the health of our brother Maximilian, elect Emperor and

supreme King of the Romans." He then handed it to all the other guests, as well as to those who were otherwise present, using the same words to each. Having received the cups, we drew back a small space, and, bowing our heads towards the prince, drank. When all this was finished, he called me to him, held out his hand, and said, "Now depart."

It is, moreover, the common custom for the prince to invite ambassadors, after their business is concluded, to join him in the amusement of hunting. There is, near Moscow, a place planted with thickets, forming an excellent preserve for hares, in which a very great number of hares are preserved, as in a warren, and no one dare catch them, or cut the plantations, under a very heavy penalty. He also has a great number of chaces and other places for preserving game, and whenever he wishes to enjoy this amusement, he orders hares to be brought from different places; for the more hares he takes, the greater amusement does he think it, and the greater is the honour that he thinks he has gained to himself. Also, when he comes into the field, he sends some of his councillors, together with some of the courtiers or knights, to summon the ambassadors to his presence. When they are brought to him, and approach the prince's presence, they are required, at the suggestion of the councillors, to alight from their horses, and to advance some steps towards the prince. When we were brought to him in this manner, during the hunt, he was sitting on a richly-caparisoned horse, and covered with a splendid robe, and taking off his gloves, but keeping his head covered, he received us condescendingly; and, holding out his bare hand, said, through an interpreter, "We have come out for our amusement; we have summoned you to take part in it, hoping that you may derive pleasure therefrom: mount your horses, therefore, and follow us." He had on his head a cap called a "kolpack", with jewelled ornaments hanging on each side, from back to front, from which rose plates of gold in the form of feathers, moving up and down with

his motion. His robe was like the terlick, and made of cloth of gold. From his girdle hung small knives, after the fashion of the country, as well as a dagger; behind him hung, below his girdle, a kind of weapon like a cæstus, such as they commonly use in war. The handle is somewhat more than a cubit long, with a thong of two palms' length attached to it; at the end of which is a knob, or kind of block, of brass or iron, which is gilt all over. At the right side of the prince was the banished Tartar King of Kasan, named Scheale, and on the left two young knesi, one of whom carried an ivory hatchet, which they call "topar", very like what we see stamped on Hungarian coins. The other carried a club, also like an Hungarian club, which they call "schestpero", which means six-winged. King Scheale carried two quivers at his girdle, one of which contained his arrows and the other his bow. There were more than three hundred horsemen in the field. As we rode along, the prince would order us from time to time to stop at this or the other place, and occasionally to come nearer to him. When we reached the hunting ground, he spoke to us and said, that it was the custom whenever he amused himself with hunting, for himself and other gentlemen of rank to lead the hounds with their own hands, and recommended us to do the same. He then appointed two men to each of us, each of whom led a dog for our own especial amusement. To which we replied, that we gratefully accepted this favour; and told him that such was the custom also in our own country: but he made this remark by way of excuse, because a dog is regarded among them as an unclean animal, and it is a defilement to touch a dog with the naked hand. Moreover, about an hundred men stood in long array, one half of whom were dressed in black, and the other in yellow; not far from them stood all the other horsemen, to prevent the hares from running through and escaping. Nor was any one permitted from the commencement to let a hound slip, except King Scheale and

ourselves. The prince first cried out to the huntsman, ordering him to commence the sport, and he immediately galloped at full speed to the other huntsmen, who were there in great number, and who all of them at once gave the halloo, and let loose both the mastiffs and grey-hounds, and a merry thing it was to hear the cry of so many different kinds of dogs, for they have a great many kinds of most excellent hounds. Some of them, called "kurtzi", are only intended for hunting hares; they are very handsome, with hairy tails and ears; generally bold dogs, but not adapted for going over much ground. When the hare shows herself, three, four, five, or more dogs are slipped, and set after her on all sides; and when she is taken, there is loud hallooing, as if they had taken a large wild beast. If the hares happen to run out somewhat slowly, the prince immediately calls to any one whom he may see in the thickets, holding a hare in a bag, and cries out to him, "hui! hui!" which means that he is to let the hare loose. Thus the hares sometimes come out as if they were asleep, and leap about amongst the dogs, just as goats or lambs do in the midst of the flocks. He is thought to have done the cleverest day's work whose dog catches the greatest number of hares. The prince himself openly praised the ambassador whose dog caught the greatest number.

When the chase was over, all mustered together, and brought the hares they had caught into one place; and when they were counted, the number amounted to about three hundred. The prince's horses which were used on that occasion were not so numerous or so handsome as I should have expected; for on my first embassy, when I was present at a similar entertainment, I saw a far greater number of beautiful horses, especially of that race which we call Turkish, but which they call "argamak". There were also a great number of falcons, some white and some purple, and remarkable for their size, such as we call gyr-falcons, and they "kretzet",

which they use for taking swans, and cranes, and other birds of that kind.

The kretzet are very bold birds, but not so fierce or so formidable in their attack, that other birds, even birds of prey, should fall down and die at the sight of them flying in the air, as a certain person, in writing of the two Sarmatias,<sup>1</sup> has fabulously related. It is, indeed, consistent with experience, that if any one is hunting with a hawk or nisus, or any other falcon, and a kretzet, which they immediately detect by its flight from a long distance, should fly towards them, they dare not pursue their prey any further, but become frightened, and stop in their career.

Trustworthy, and indeed distinguished, gentlemen have told me, that the kretzet, when they are taken from the places where they make their nest, are sometimes shut up, four, five, or six together, in a kind of carriage prepared for that purpose, and that they observe a certain order of seniority in taking the food which is offered them,—whether it is by reason, or instinct, or by what process this is done, is uncertain. Moreover, in the same degree as they are fiercer and rapacious in their attack upon other birds, they are very gentle amongst themselves, and never use their beaks against each other. They never wash themselves in water like other birds, but only use the sand, with which they clear themselves of lice. They take so much pleasure in the cold, that they make a practice of standing either upon ice or upon stone.

I return to my subject. The prince, after the hunt, proceeded to a certain tower constructed of wood, at five miles distance from Moscow, where certain tents were stretched. The first, which was like a house, was for himself; the second for King Scheale; the third for us; then others for different persons and purposes: and after we had arranged ourselves in them, the prince also entered his tent, and

<sup>1</sup> Micchov.

changing his dress, immediately sent for us ; and when we had entered, seated himself on a chair of ivory. On his right sat King Scheale [Scheik Ali], and we opposite, on a seat allotted to ambassadors at times when an audience is given to them, or when they have matters of business to treat about. Below the king sat certain knesi and councillors, and on the left side such of the younger knesi as were honoured with the prince's especial favour and regard. When all were seated, there were first brought some confections (as they call them) of coriander, aniseed, and almonds ; then nuts, almonds, and a whole pyramid of sugar, which the servants presented on their knees to the prince, the king, and ourselves. The drink was presented in a similar manner ; and the prince showed his favours in the same way as he does at dinners. In my first embassy we had dinner at that place ; and it happened, that through the tent being shaken, the bread, which they call the "Blessed Virgin's bread", and which they worship and eat as consecrated bread, and keep with great reverence deposited in some distinguished part of the house, fell on the ground, and the prince and all the rest were so thunderstruck at the accident, that they stood trembling until a priest was sent for, who picked it up from the grass with the greatest care and reverence. When the collation was finished, and we had taken the cup sent to us by the prince and drunk, he dismissed us, saying, "Now depart". After our dismissal, we were escorted with all honour to our hotels.

There is another kind of amusement at which, as I have heard, he entertains other ambassadors. Bears are kept confined in a very large house used for that purpose, in which the prince is accustomed to exhibit games for the amusement of ambassadors. He has some men of the lowest condition, who, by the command and under the observation of the prince, attack the bears with pitchforks, and provoke them to fight ; and if in the encounter they happen to be wounded

by the irritated and maddened bears, they run to the prince, crying, "See, my lord, we are wounded". To which the prince replies, "Go, I will show you favour", and then he orders them to be taken care of, and clothes and certain measures of corn to be given them.

Moreover, when the time was come for us to receive our discharge and to be dismissed, we were honourably invited, as before, to dinner, and conducted to the palace. Each of us also was presented with a robe of honour, trimmed with sables. Upon our being ushered, dressed in these robes, into the prince's council-room, the marshal immediately announcing the name of each of us in rotation, said, "My great lord, Leonhard and Sigismund, by thy great favour, strike their foreheads to thee"; *i. e.*, they return thanks for the presents they have received. He added to the robe of honour eighty sables, three hundred ermine, and fifteen hundred squirrel skins. In my first embassy, he gave me in addition, a carriage or sledge, with a beautiful horse, with white bear-skin trappings, and all the necessary appendages. Lastly, he presented me with a great quantity of fish, belugæ, ozetri, and sterled,<sup>1</sup> enclosed in copper vessels, but unsalted, and dismissed me with extreme kindness. I have already described at large, in speaking of the dismissal of the Lithuanian ambassadors, the remainder of the ceremonies adopted by the prince in dismissing ambassadors, as well as in receiving them, when they enter the frontiers of his territory, and how they maintained and treated them until their return to the same point. On this occasion, however, as we had been sent by the Emperor Charles and his brother Ferdinand, the Archduke of Austria, for the purpose of bringing about a lasting peace, or at the least a truce, between the Prince of Muscovy and the King of Poland, I have thought right to subjoin an account of the ceremonies adopted by the Prince

<sup>1</sup> The first is a kind of porpoise, the two others are sturgeon, see pages 13 and 14.

of Muscovy in signing the articles of truce. When, therefore, the truce with Sigismund, king of Poland, was agreed upon, and the articles drawn up, we were summoned to the prince's palace, and being conducted into a certain apartment, found the Lithuanian ambassadors already there. Those councillors of the prince also who had concluded the treaty with us came into the room, and turning to the Lithuanian ambassadors, addressed them to the following effect:—"Our prince was willing, out of especial regard to the request of certain great princes, to enter into a lasting peace with your King Sigismund, but though it was impossible on any terms to do that at present, he has willingly consented, at the instance of the said princes, to enter into a truce. Which truce being arranged and lawfully signed, the prince has ordered you to be sent for, and requested your presence." Moreover, they held letters made out by the prince to be given to the King<sup>1</sup> of Poland, sealed with a small red seal, which was attached to them. On the obverse was the figure of a naked man, sitting on a horse without a saddle, and transfixing a dragon with a spear.<sup>1</sup> On the reverse, an eagle with two heads, with a crown on each head. They had also the letters of truce drawn up in a certain form, with corresponding letters, only with the names and titles changed, which were to be sent back to the prince in return, in which there was no difference of expression, except in this clause, which was added at the end of the letters: "We, Peter Giska, palatine of Polotsk, and captain of Droגיעzin, and Michael

<sup>1</sup> The St. George on the seal attached to the letter sent by the Grand Duke of Muscovy to Edward VI. by the hands of Richard Chancellor, is described by Hakluyt (vol. i, fo. 255, ed. 1598-9), as "the image of a man on horseback, *in complete harness*, fighting with a dragon." The Greeks, from whom the Russians in all probability derived their reverence for this saint, always represented St. George clad in armour. The naked figure, as above described, is represented in the corner of the frontispiece to the present volume, and shows a coarseness of design, betraying more of the uncultivated Tartar than the civilized Greek.



Bohusch Bohutinovich, treasurer of the grand duchy of Lithuania, and captain of Schlovin and Kamenetz, ambassadors of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, declare, and have thereto kissed the sign of the cross, and have bound ourselves that our king will also confirm the same letters in the same manner by kissing the cross; and for the better confirmation of this engagement, have sealed these letters with our seals." After these letters had been heard and witnessed, we were all summoned together into the presence of the prince. On entering his presence, he ordered us to be seated, and addressed us in the following words:—"John Francis, Count Leonhard, and Sigismund, ye have besought us in the name of Pope Clement VII, and of our brother Charles and his brother Ferdinand, to enter into a lasting peace with Sigismund, king of Poland. As we have not been able to effect this on terms convenient to both, ye have requested that at least we should enter into a truce, which truce we now make and accept, out of our love to your respective princes; and while in so doing we show our justice to the king, and confirm these letters of truce, we desire you to be present, and to report to your respective masters that you were present at the completion and lawful signing of this truce, and that you have seen that we have done all this for love of them."

At the conclusion of this speech he called his councillor, Michael Georgeovich, and ordered him to take the gilt cross which hung by a silken cord on the opposite wall. The councillor then took a clean napkin, which was placed on a ewer in a basin, and laying hold of the cross with great reverence, held it in his right hand. At the same time the secretary held the letters of truce in both hands, in such a manner that the letter of the Lithuanians, which lay at the bottom, protruded far enough for the clause by which the Lithuanians bound themselves to be distinctly seen. At the same moment as Michael placed his right hand holding the

cross upon these letters, the prince arose, and addressing the Lithuanian ambassadors, explained in a long speech that he should not have refused peace, recommended by the special request and instigation of the great princes, whose ambassadors they saw then present, if that peace could have been brought about upon any suitable terms; but as it was impossible to enter upon a lasting peace with their king, he had, out of consideration to those princes, entered into a truce of five years by virtue of those letters (pointing to the letters with his finger). "Which truce," said he, "we shall observe as God will, and show our justice to our brother King Sigismund—on this condition, however, that the king give us letters corresponding in every respect, and written in the same tenor; and confirm them in the presence of our ambassadors; and do justice by us; and see that they be at length conveyed to us through our ambassadors. In the meantime you will also bind yourselves with an oath, that your king will perform and observe each and all of these articles." He then looked upon the cross, and signed himself three times with the sign of the cross, bowing his head each time so that his hands nearly touched the ground; then advancing nearer, and moving his lips as if in prayer, he wiped his mouth with the napkin, and spitting upon the ground he kissed the cross, and then first touched it with his forehead and afterwards with each eye; then receding, he again bowed his head and signed himself with the cross. After this he desired the Lithuanians to advance and do the same. Before the ambassadors did so, the one named Bohusch, who was of the Russian creed, repeated the formula by which they had bound themselves, and which was drawn up at great length, although containing little or nothing more than was contained in the sentence above given. Peter, the colleague of Bohusch, who was of the Roman Church, also repeated each word of it, and the prince's interpreter likewise translated it to us word for word. After the formula

had been repeated and interpreted, Peter and Bohusch, each in his turn, kissed the same cross in the presence of the prince. This done, the prince sat down and spoke to the following effect. "Ye have seen that at the special request of Clement, Charles, and Ferdinand, we have performed our part in justice to our brother, Sigismund, king of Poland: do thou therefore, John Francis, report to the pope; and thou, Count Leonhard, to Charles; and thou, Sigismund, to Ferdinand, that we have done these things for love of them, and to prevent the effusion of Christian blood by wars between the two nations."

After he had made these statements in a long speech, in which the usual titles were given at length, we in our turn promised that we would faithfully carry out his instructions. He then called to him two of his principal councillors and secretaries, and intimated to the Lithuanians that they had been already appointed ambassadors to the king of Poland: he finally ordered several goblets to be brought, and with his own hand presented them to us and to the Lithuanians, as well as to each of our own and the Lithuanian noblemen present. Finally, calling the Lithuanian ambassadors by name, he said: "You will explain to our brother, King Sigismund, what we have now done, and what otherwise you have understood from our councillors." Having said this, he arose and again said: "Peter and Bohusch, ye will in our name make obeisance (here he slightly bowed his head) to our brother, Sigismund, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania." He then sat down and called each one to him, and presenting his right hand to them and the noblemen of their company in rotation, he said: "Now depart." And so he dismissed them.

### My Journeys into Russia.

In the year 1515 there came to Vienna, to the Emperor Maximilian, Vladislaus and his son Louis, kings of Hungary and Bohemia, and Sigismund, king of Poland; and after marriages had been contracted and solemnized in that city, between various members of their families, and a mutual friendship established between them, the emperor, among other things, made a promise that he would send ambassadors to Vasiley, Grand Duke of Russia, who had brought about the peace between himself and the King of Poland. The persons appointed by the emperor to undertake the embassy, were Christopher, Bishop of Laybach, and Peter Mraxi; but as the bishop delayed the undertaking, although John Dantiscus, afterwards Bishop of Helsingborg,<sup>1</sup> who was King Sigismund's secretary, growing impatient of the loss of time, continually urged him to start, the task of undertaking this embassy was allotted to me shortly after my return from Dantzic.

Immediately on my receiving the emperor's commands, at Hagenau, a town of Alsace, I departed; and first crossing the Rhine, passed through the territory of the marquises of Baden, touching at the towns of Rastadt, Erlingen, Pfortzach, and so into the duchy of Wirtemberg. I then came to the imperial city of Erlingen, situated on the Neckar, and thence to Goppingen and Geislingen.

Afterwards, crossing the Danube at Ulm, I passed through Gunsburg and the town of Purgow, from which the marquissate of Burgow takes its name, and so reached Augsburg,

<sup>1</sup> Johann Flachsbinder, named Dantiscus, from Dantzic, his birth-place, editor of the *Soteria*, a collection of panegyrics on Herberstein, of several of which he was also the author.

which is situated on the Lech ; and there I was met by Gregory Sagrevski, the Russian ambassador, and Chrysostom Columnus [Colonna?], the secretary of Elizabeth, widow of John Sforza, of Milan and Bari, who became the companions of my journey. Leaving Augsburg in the beginning of the year 1516, we crossed the Lech, and passed through the following cities and towns of Bavaria,—Fridberg, Inderstorff, Freysingen, the seat of a bishopric on the river Ambor [Iser?], Landschuct, on the Iser, Gengkhofn, Pfarkirchen, and Scharding, on the Inn. Crossing the Inn, and proceeding along the banks of the Danube, we reached Austria, above the Ens. We then entered Linz, a town on the banks of the Danube, and capital of that province ; and crossing a bridge thrown across the Danube at that place, passed through the towns of Galneukirchen, Pregarta, Pierpach, Kunigsvishn, Arbaspach, Rapolstein, into the archduchy of Austria, and so through the towns of Claraval, commonly called Zvetl, Rastafeld, Horn, and Retz. We then proceeded direct to Snoima [Zneym], a town in Moravia, beyond the river Teya, which for the most part separates Austria from Moravia. At this place I heard of the death of my colleague, Peter Mraxi ; and thus, agreeably with the emperor's wish, I took upon myself alone the task which had been assigned to us conjointly.

From Zneym to Wolfernitz [Wolframitz] and Brunn, then to Olmutz, the seat of a bishopric, on the river Moraw. These three cities, Zneym, Brunn, and Olmutz, are the principal cities in the marquisate. Thence to Lipnik.

Hranitza, in German, Weissenkirchen.

Itzin, in German, Tischen.

Ostrava, in German, the town of Ostra, where we crossed the river Ostravitza, which washes the town, and separates Silesia from Moravia.

Afterwards to Freistatt, a town of Silesia, belonging to the dukes of Tischen, and situated on the Elsa.

Strumen, in German, Schwartzwasser.

Ptzni, in German the principality of Ples, at two miles from which is a bridge across the Istula [Vistula], the boundary of the Bohemian territory.

Beyond the bridge, over the Vistula, is the territory of Poland; and at one mile from that spot we enter the principality of Oschwentzin [Osvieczin], in German, Auschwitz, where the river Sola falls into the Vistula.

Beyond Oschwentzin, we crossed the Vistula by a bridge, and after completing eight miles, reached Cracow, the capital of the kingdom of Poland, and put our carriages on sledges.

Proceeding from Cracow

To Prostovitza, four miles.

Vislitz, six miles.

Schidlov, five miles.

Oppatov, six miles.

Savichost, four miles; where again crossing, and leaving the river Vistula to the left.

Ursendov, five miles.

To the palatinate of Lublin, seven miles; where, at a fixed time of the year, are held some celebrated fairs, at which assemble people from all parts of the world, Russians, Lithuanians, Tartars, Livonians, Prussians, Germans, Hungarians, Armenians, Walachians, and Jews.

Cotzko, eight miles; but before reaching it, we came to the river Viepers, which flows towards the north.

Meseriz, eight miles; a little beyond which is the frontier of Poland.

Melnik, a town of Lithuania, on the river Bug, six miles.

Bielsco, eight miles.

Narev, where a river of the same name flows out of a lake, and certain marshes, and takes a northward course, four miles.

From Narev, crossing a wood, eight miles; beyond which

is the town of Grinki, in which came royal messengers to meet us (called Pristavl), who supplied us with provisions, and escorted us to Vilna.

Thence to Grodna, six miles. This principality is comfortable enough, considering the nature of the climate. There is a fortified city, called by the Germans Mumel, situated on the river Nemen, which also flows by Prussia itself. This city was formerly governed by the grand-master of the Teutonic order, but is now held under the title of a duchy by Albert, hereditary marquis of Brandenburg. I think, from the name of the town, that this is the river Cronon. It was there, and in the same house or palace (as they call it) in which I was entertained, that Ivan Savorsinski was slain by Michael Linski. Here also I left the Russian ambassador, whom the king had forbidden to go to Vilna.

Prelai, two miles.

Wolronick, five miles.

Rudniki, four miles.

Vilna, also four miles.

Before arriving at Vilna, some persons of distinction were sent out in readiness to meet me, and to give me an honourable reception in the name of the king, and who escorted me to my hotel in a sledge, or wide carriage, spread with cushions, and with furniture of silk and gold, accompanied on each side by the servants of the king. Then came Peter Tomitzki, who was then Bishop of Premisl, and vice-chancellor of the King of Poland, a man whose distinguished virtue and integrity were acknowledged by all, and who received me most kindly in the name of the king. Shortly afterwards he conducted me, under escort of a great number of courtiers, to the presence of the king himself, who received me most kindly in the presence of a great number of the chief men and nobles of the grand duchy of Lithuania.

At that time, the marriage which the emperor had promoted through my medium as ambassador, between the king

himself and Bona, the daughter of Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza, was contracted and solemnized.

There were there in close confinement three Russian generals, to whom, in the battle of Orsa in the year 1514, the chief command of the Russian army had been intrusted. By the king's permission I was allowed to pay my respects to them, and consoled them to the best of my ability.

Vilna, the capital of the grand duchy of Lithuania, stands at the point where the rivers Velia and Vilna meet; they flow into the Nemen or Cronon. I left Chrysostom Columna [Colonna?] there, and did not stay there any length of time.

I left Vilna on the 14th of March, but not by the public and usual road into Russia (one of which is by Smolensko, and the other by Livonia); but taking the road which lies between these two, four miles brought me to Nementschin, and eight miles further to Svintrawa, crossing the river Schamena.

On the following day to Disla, six miles, where is a lake bearing the same name; and four miles to Drismet, where the Russian ambassador, whom I had left at Grodno, returned to me.

Four miles to Braslaw, on the lake Nawer, which is a mile in length.

After five miles, we reached Dedina, and the river Dwina, which the Livonians, whose territory it runs through, call Duna. Some call it Turantum.

Seven miles thence to Drissa; and hastening on, we again came to the river Dwina, at the town of Betha; and as the river was frozen over, we were carried sixteen miles up it in sledges, after the fashion of these people, and then we came upon a point where two high roads met. While we were doubting which one we should take, I sent a servant into a peasant's house which stood on the bank to inquire; but as the ice was fast melting under the noonday sun, the messen-



ger fell in amongst the melting and broken ice near the bank, and was only extricated with difficulty. It happened also that at a certain place the river was entirely melted on both sides, and the ice being removed, we had only that part of the ice which continual traffic had hardened, and which was comprised within the tracks of the carriage-wheels, to serve us by way of a bridge to cross over, which we did with great dread and risk. The general rumour increased our alarm; for we were told, that not long before, about a hundred Russian nobles, in crossing over the same river when it was frozen, had been all drowned to a man.

From Drissa to Doporoski, six miles; and thence to the principality of Polotzko, which they call Waiwodate, seated on the river Dwina, which some call the Rubo. At this place we were received with distinction in the midst of a large concourse of people, and were treated with magnificence and cordiality, and finally conducted to our residence.

Between Vilna and Polotzco are numerous lakes, and a considerable number of marshes, with woods of immense extent, stretching even as far as fifty German miles.

On proceeding further, we found the road on the frontiers of the kingdom by no means safe, on account of the frequent skirmishes made on each side, and there were either no inns, or they were deserted. But after passing through several marshes and woods, we came to the cottages of the shepherds Harbsle and Milenki, in which journey my Lithuanian guide deserted me. In addition to the discomforts of the inns, must be mentioned the extreme difficulty of the road, in as much as we had to travel amongst lakes and marshes slippery with snow and ice, until we came to the town of Nischa, seated on a lake of the same name.

Thence four miles to Quadassen; at which place we crossed with great fear and peril a certain lake, in which the waters stood above the ice, and reached the hut of a certain peasant, where, by the foresight of my companion George, we were

supplied with provisions from the Russian territory. Indeed, at that place I was unable to distinguish or take any observation of the boundaries of each prince.

Corsula is, without dispute, in the Russian dominions. Having crossed the two rivers, Velicaricka and Dsternicza, at this place, after two miles we came to Opotzka, a fortified city on the Velicaricka, where is a floating-bridge, over which the horses passed for the most part up to their knees in water. The King of Poland besieged this fortress at the time that I was at Moscow treating for peace. Although in those places it would seem to be impossible to draw up an army, on account of the great number of marshes, woods, and innumerable rivers; nevertheless, they march straight on in whatever direction they please, for they send before them a great number of peasants, who cut down and remove the trees and every other impediment, and throw bridges over the marshes and rivers.

Thence eight miles to Voronecz, a town situated on the river Szoret, which, after receiving the waters of the river Voronecz, a little lower down, passes by the town of Velicaricka.

Fiburg, five miles.

Volodimeretz, a town with a fort, nearly three miles.

Brod, a house of a certain peasant, also three miles. Five miles from thence we crossed a bridge over the river Ussa, which flows into the Scholona.

The fortified city of Parcho, seated on the river Scholona.

A certain house, called Opoca, near which the river Vidocha falls into the Suchana, five miles.

Thence, after crossing seven rivers, to a house named Reisch, also five miles.

The house of Dverenbutig, five miles; half a mile below which, the river Pschega, after receiving the waters of the river Strupin, flows into the Scholona; into which flow four other rivers, which we crossed on that day.

Five miles to Sotoki, a little fellow's house, at four miles from which we at length reached Great Novogorod, on the fourth of April. But between Polotzko and Novogorod we crossed so many marshes and rivers, that even the inhabitants have no names for them; much less can any one record or describe them.

During a short stay of seven days for rest at Novogorod, I was received at a banquet by the governor himself, on Palm Sunday, and kindly recommended by him to leave my servants and horses there, and to travel to Moscow with post-horses, as they are commonly called. In compliance with which, I departed, and we first came to Brodnitz, a journey of four miles; after which, we made a whole day's journey along the Msta, a navigable river, which takes its rise in lake Samstin. It happened on that day, as we were riding with the said post-horses through a meadow where the snow was melting, the horse of my Lithuanian servant fell, and went quite over together with the servant, but rolling himself over a second time, like a wheel, he came upon his hind legs, and stood up again, without in the meanwhile touching the earth with his sides, or injuring the servant, who lay prostrate under him.

After this, straight to Seitskov, beyond the river Nischa, six miles.

To Harosci, beyond the river Calacha, seven miles.

To Oreat Rechelvitza, which lies on the river Palamit, seven miles. On that day we crossed eight rivers, and one lake, frozen over indeed, but covered with water above the ice.

At length, on the sixth day before Easter, we came to the post-house, and crossed three lakes. The first, lake Voldai, which is one mile in breadth, and two in length; the second, lake Lutinitsch, of no very great size; and the third, lake Jhedra, on which stands a town of the same name, at eight miles distance from Oreat. In truth, on that day we had a

most difficult and dangerous journey in following the beaten track through these lakes, which were still frozen, but inundated with a vast quantity of water from the melting snow; nor dared we turn aside from the public road, both on account of the depth of the snow, and because no sign of any path was visible. After completing this difficult and dangerous journey, we came to

Choitilova, seven miles; below which, after crossing two rivers, Schlingva and Snai, at the point of their confluence, and where they flow into the river Msta, we reached Voloschak, and there rested on Easter Day. Afterwards, having completed seven miles, and crossing the river Tverza, we came to

Wedrapusta, a town on its banks; and thence descending seven miles, came to the city of

Dverschak; two miles below which we crossed the river Schegima in fishing boats, and came to the town of

Ossoga, where we rested a day; and the day after, sailed seven miles along the river Tverza, and reached

Medina; and after dinner again took boat, and travelled seven miles on that most celebrated river, the Volga, and so came to the principality of

Tver. Here taking a larger vessel, we sailed along the Volga, but before long came to a part where the river was frozen over and blocked up with masses of ice, but by dint of great exertion and labour we managed to get to land at a certain point; but as the ice was frozen into a thick mass, it was with difficulty that we at length reached the bank. Thence we went on foot to the house of a certain peasant, and mounting some ponies that we happened to find there, came to the monastery of Saint Elias, where we changed our horses, and reached, at a distance of three miles in a straight line from that place, the town of

Gerodin, seated on the Volga.

Thence to Schossa, three miles.

To Dschorno, a post station, three miles.

To the town of Clin, on the river Januza, six miles.

To Prissack, a post station, three miles.

To Schorna, situated on a river of the same name, three miles.

At a distance of three miles from that place, we at length reached Moscow on the 18th of April. Of our reception and treatment in that city, I have already spoken at sufficient length, in describing the mode of treating and receiving ambassadors.

### My Return.

I said at the outset that I was sent to Moscow by the Emperor Maximilian, to make peace between the princes of Poland and Muscovy, but that I returned without accomplishing my object; for while the ambassadors of the King of Poland were present at Moscow, and I was treating for peace and harmony, the king drew up his army before the fortress of Opotzka, but without effect. Upon which the prince refused to enter into a truce with the king; and my negotiation being thus put a stop to, I was honourably dismissed.

Leaving Moscow, therefore, I went straight to Mosaisko, eighteen miles.

Viesma, twenty-six miles.

Drogobusch, eighteen miles.

I then came to Smolensko, eighteen miles; after which we had to pass two nights in the open air in the midst of a deep snow; but I received much cheerful and respectful attention from my guides, who strewed hay to some depth upon the ground, and covered it with the bark of trees; we spread a table-cloth, and sitting down to the table cross-

legged, after the fashion of the Turks or Tartars, we took our meal, and drinking somewhat freely, made a long supper of it. Next night we came to a certain river, not at all frozen at the time we came up to it; but after midnight the cold was so intense, and the river frozen so hard, that ten heavily laden waggons first crossed over it; but the horses were driven to a spot where the current of the river was stronger, and passed over amongst the broken ice.

At that point, which is twelve miles from Smolensko, my guides left me, and I proceeded for Lithuania; and at eight miles from the frontier, came to Dobrovna, where I received abundance of the necessaries of life, with Lithuanian hospitality.

To Orsa, four miles; between which and Viesma we had the Dnieper on our right, which river we had to cross twice at no long interval, both above and below Smolensko. Leaving it near Orsa, we came straight to

Druzek, eight miles.

Grodno, eleven miles.

Borisov, six miles, on the river Beresina, whose sources Ptolemy ascribes to the Dnieper.

Lohoschakh, eight miles.

Radochostye, nearly seven miles.

Crasno Sello, two miles.

Modolesch, two miles.

The town of Creva, with a deserted fortress, six miles.

Mednick, also a town with a deserted fortress, seven miles, and thence at length we came to

Vilna; and there stayed a few days, after the departure of the king for Poland, while my servants were returning with my horses from Novogorod through Livonia. On receiving my horses, I immediately made a diversion of four miles from the road into Troki, in order to see some bisons, called by some "uri", but in German, "auroxen", and which were there kept enclosed in a garden. The palatine,

although somewhat offended by my sudden and unexpected arrival, nevertheless invited me to a banquet, at which Scheachmet, the Tartar king of Savolha, was present, who was kept there in honourable servitude, as if in free custody, in two castles surrounded with walls, and situated amongst the lakes. In the course of dinner, he conversed with me on many subjects, through an interpreter, calling the emperor his brother, and declaring that all princes and kings were brothers to each other.

Having dined, and, according to the custom of the Lithuanians, received a present from the palatine, I proceeded on my journey first to the town of Moroschei, and then to

Grodno, fifteen miles.

To Grinki, six miles; and after crossing a wood,

To Narev, eight miles; and thence to the town of

Bielsko; where I met with Nicolas Radovil, the palatine of Vilna, to whom I had already conveyed letters from the emperor, and who, although he had formerly presented me with an ambling nag and two carriage horses, now on this second occasion made me a present of a good gelding, and forced upon me also some Hungarian gold pieces, together with a ring, which he begged me to wear, in order that seeing it daily, I might the more easily remember him, especially in presence of the emperor.

From Bielsko, to the fortified wood-built town of Briesti, on the river Bug, into which flows the Muchavetz; and thence to the town of

Lamas; where leaving Lithuania, I entered the first Polish town, namely,

Partzov; at a short distance above which flows the small river Jasonica, which separates Lithuania from Poland.

Thence to Lublin, nine miles.

Rubin,

Orsindoff,

Savichost, on the other side of the Vistula.

The fortified city of Sandomir, situated on the Vistula, at the distance of eighteen miles from Lublin.

Poloniza, on the river Czerna, in which are taken very splendid fish, which are commonly called "lachs".<sup>1</sup>

The new city called Cortzin, with a walled fortress.

This place reminds me of a marvellous and almost incredible circumstance, which I have thought ought not by any means to be passed over. Once, in returning from Lithuania through this country, I fell in with a man who held a high place amongst the Poles, whose name was Martin Svorovski, who invited me very earnestly, and took me to his house, and received me with great cordiality. While we were talking familiarly on various subjects, he related to me that a certain nobleman named Pierstinski (at the time that King Sigismund was waging war beyond the Dnieper), being dressed in rather heavy cavalry armour, went into the river between Smolensko and Dobrovna up to his knees, and his horse suddenly becoming restive, he was thrown off into the middle of the stream, and as he did not appear for some time, was given up with certainty as a lost man; but that suddenly, in the presence of King Sigismund himself and his army, consisting of nearly three thousand men, he emerged from the water and came up to the bank. Now, although I was impressed with the authority of the man, yet he seemed to me to be telling a story of a very incredible character; nevertheless, it happened that on that same day we came, accompanied by Martin, to the new city of Cortzin, where lived a man of very high rank amongst the Poles, one Christopher Schidloveczki, castellan of Cracow, and captain of the same place. As I was received there by him at a very splendid entertainment, in company with many other most illustrious men, the recollection of this story of Pierstinski recurring to my mind, I could not refrain from making mention of it, which, in fact, happened very opportunely; for it was confirmed,

<sup>1</sup> A kind of salmon.



not only by the guests, who quoted the king as an eye-witness of the fact, but Pierstinski himself was also present at the entertainment, and so explained the matter, as to make it easy to believe it. For he said, that after being thrown from his horse, he three times raised himself above the water, and that by that time, as before stated, he had been considered as lost, and no assistance was brought to him, but at the third time he succeeded in extricating himself: that he then opened his eyes, and moved forward, holding his hand up by way of a sign to them to assist him. When he was asked if he had swallowed water, he answered, that he had done so twice. I wish to relate these things to others as I have heard them told to me: but now I return to the continuation of my journey.

Prostvitza, where the best beer is brewed.

Thence to Cracow, the capital of the kingdom, and seat of royalty, situated on the Vistula, eighteen miles from Sandomir, a city, I say, famous for the great number of its clergy, students, and merchants, at which place I received an honourable dismissal, accompanied by a present from the king, to whom my embassy was very acceptable.

Thence straight to Lipovetz, to which is attached a fortress, used as a prison for priests who are found guilty of more than ordinary crimes.

Thence three miles to Osventzin, situated on the Vistula, a town of Silesia, but under the dominion of Poland; at which place the river Sola, which flows down from the mountains which separate Silesia from Hungary, falls into the Vistula. Not far below the said town is the river Preyssa, which falls into the Vistula on the other side, separating Silesia from the territories of Poland and Bohemia.

To Ptzina (in German, Ples), a principality in Silesia, under the dominion of Bohemia, three miles.

To Strumen (in German, Schwartzwasser), two miles.

To Freystaetl, a town belonging to the dukes of Teschin,

washed by the river Elsa, which empties itself into the Oder.

Thence to Ostrava, a town of Moravia, washed by the river Ostrava, which separates Silesia from Moravia.

The town of Itschin (in German, Titzlein), four miles.

The town of Hranitzza (in German, Weissenkirchen), washed by the river Betuna, one mile.

To Lipnik, one mile; whence, while we were bending our course straight to Wistricia, a distance of two miles, we happened to be seen from a hill by Nicholas Czaplitz, a nobleman of that province, as we were advancing towards him, and he immediately seized a weapon, and, together with his two companions, put himself in a position to attack us. As I regarded this as an act of drunkenness rather than of temerity on the part of the man, I immediately ordered my servants to make way for him in the middle of the road as he came to meet us. But he, disregarding this act of civility, threw himself into the midst of the snow, and looking fiercely at us as we passed by, tried to compel the servants who followed behind with the carriages to do the same as we had done in clearing the way for him; but this they could by no means manage to do, and thereupon he drew his sword and threatened them. As this produced a disturbance on both sides, and the servants who were behind mustered together, he presently received a wound from a cross-bow shot, and his horse being also wounded, fell under him.

Pursuing my intended journey afterwards, in company with the Russian ambassadors, I came to Olmutz, where this man also had arrived wounded; and as he was known as an inhabitant of that country, he hoped to avenge himself by means of a crowd of labourers who were met together, and employed in digging and embanking fish-ponds. By sober advice, however, I checked, and indeed foiled his attempts.

From Olmutz to the small town of Bischof, four miles.

To Niklspurg, a town with a splendid fortress, four miles ; which, although situated one mile beyond the river Teya, which in many places separates Austria from Moravia, nevertheless, is adjacent to Moravia, and subject to its dominion.

Thence to Mistlbach, a small town of Austria, three miles.

Ulrichskirchen, three miles.

After another three miles, we reached Vienna, a city on the Danube, celebrated by many writers ; and had the good fortune to bring thither two carriages safe and sound all the way from Moscow.

From Vienna, I came to Neustadt, eight miles ; and thence, beyond the mountain of Semring and between the mountains of Styria, to Salzburg. I afterwards overtook the emperor at Innspruck, a town in the country of Tyrol ; and His Majesty was not only gratified by my report of what I had done in pursuance of his commands, but also was highly delighted with my description of the customs and ceremonies of the Russians. So much was this the case, that Matthæus, cardinal of Salzburg, who was a great favourite of the emperor, and an industrious and very experienced prince in all matters of business, jocosely protested, in the presence of the emperor, against his hearing or learning any more of these ceremonies from me, except in his presence.

The Russian ambassador being soon after dismissed, and receiving his discharge from the emperor, and as I was at the same time appointed ambassador to Hungary, to King Lewis, I conducted him to Vienna, by the route of the Inn and the Danube. In that city I left him, and without delay took my seat in a Hungarian carriage ; in which, with three mares harnessed together, I was carried on at a very rapid rate, and in a few hours traversed thirty-two German miles, and reached Buda. This great speed was owing to the judicious resting and changing of the horses at convenient stages. The first of which was at Prukh [Bruck], a little

town on the river Leytha, which divides Austria from Hungary, at a distance of six miles from Vienna. The second, at the small fortified town of Ovar (in German, Altenburg), a distance of five miles. The third, in the town of Jaurinum, which is the seat of a bishopric, and called by the Hungarians, Turr, and by the Germans, Rab, from the river Raba, which washes the town, and falls into the Danube. This place is distant from Ovar five miles. The fourth, which is six miles below Jaurinum, is situated in the district of Cotzi, from which the coachmen derive the name which they give to their vehicles, from whence the coaches are promiscuously called "cotzi".<sup>1</sup> The last was in the district of Vark, five miles from Cotzi, where the horses' feet were examined, to see whether the nails have fallen out or become bent, and the carriage and harness were mended; all these repairs having been attended to, five miles further on we reached Buda, which is the seat of royalty.

After explaining and completing my embassy in the royal town of Buda, and having finished my audiences, which are commonly called "rakhusch", from the place where they are held, and which is not far from the city, I was dismissed with great honour by the king, and returned to the emperor, whose death occurred in the following January, in the year of our Lord 1519.

I have thought proper to add this allusion to my expedition into Hungary, because it formed almost a continuation of my journey from Moscow.

But as I have thus fallen into an allusion to the kingdom of Hungary, I cannot refer to it without the deepest grief and lamentation, inasmuch as this kingdom, which was previously in a most flourishing and powerful condition, has now so suddenly become, in the sight of all men, subject to the greatest afflictions. Truly, there is a certain term allotted to kingdoms and empires, as to everything else; but the noble

<sup>1</sup> For a note on this subject, see page cxiv of the Introduction.

kingdom of Hungary certainly appears to me to have been reduced to its present condition, not by the treachery of the fates, but by wicked and unjust administration. King Matthias, who was neither sprung from royal blood, nor illustrious by birth from any ancient stock of dukes or princes, was, nevertheless, a king, not only in name, but in reality, and not only bravely resisted the prince of the Turks, but endured without yielding his severest attacks; he even harrassed the emperor of the Romans himself, as well as the kings of Bohemia and Poland, and finally became a terror to all his neighbours. In the same degree, however, as the kingdom of Hungary attained to the height of power in the life of this king, through his valour and illustrious deeds, so when he was removed did it begin to sink, as if labouring under the burden of its own prosperity. For his successor Vladislaus, King of Bohemia, the eldest son of Casimir, King of Poland, although a pious, religious, and unblameable prince, was utterly incompetent to govern so warlike a people, especially in the presence of so great an enemy. For the Hungarians having become more brutal and insolent under such prosperity, abused the kindness and clemency of the king, and fell into licentiousness, luxury, sloth, and arrogance, vices which grew in them to such an extent, that they even held the king himself in contempt. Moreover, after the death of Vladislaus, these vices prevailed still more under his son Louis, and what warlike discipline remained amongst them, utterly decayed; nor could the youthful king, on account of his age, remedy these evils; for, indeed, in other respects he was not brought up to that seriousness of character which became his position. The chief nobles of the kingdom, and especially the prelates, indulged in a degree of luxury, which would scarcely be credited, and carried on a kind of rivalry amongst themselves and the barons as to which should surpass the other in profusion and splendour. They kept the rest of the nobility in

fealty to them, partly by rewards and presents, partly by their own power and intimidation, in order to retain the greater number of followers, and to engage their service and applause at public meetings. It would be wonderful to relate with what pomp and ceremony, and with what a crowd of armed horsemen, they entered Buda, preceded by trumpeters, as if it were a kind of triumph.

Moreover, when they went to, or returned from court, they proceeded with so large an escort of attendants and guards, that the streets and passages could scarcely contain the crowd. When a banquet was to be held, the trumpets sounded at each man's house throughout the city, the same as in a camp, and the dinners were protracted for many hours, to the prevention of all sleep and rest; while, by way of contrast, there was a kind of solitude about the king's palace, and the frontiers of the kingdom were the while left destitute of the necessary garrisons, and were laid waste by the enemy with impunity. Bishoprics and all the higher offices of the state were conferred promiscuously, without consideration of merit; and the greater the power that any man obtained, the greater was the right he was considered to have. Thus justice suffered, and the weak were oppressed; and everything like good order being removed and upset, a new plan was invented to bring a stain upon the commonwealth, with an injury to the people. This was the licence of bringing in a silver money, by which the former good money being melted down, an inferior coin began from time to time to be struck; and these again being withdrawn, another better kind was issued, which, nevertheless, could not retain its just value, but was sometimes considered worth more, and sometimes less, according to the cupidity of the wealthy; and was even almost openly adulterated with impunity by certain private persons. At length, the decline, or rather confusion, of all things throughout Hungary, was such, that any one who had the least experience could see

that it must be ruined, even if it had had no enemy on its borders. For my own part, I did not hesitate at the time that I was acting as ambassador for my prince at Buda, to advise Mary the queen of Hungary (introducing the subject incidentally), to look to the future, and to get together and set aside some provision against any emergency; and not to trust too much to the power and youth of her husband, nor to the wealth of her brothers, points in which she was exposed to the liability of death and a variety of accidents. I reminded her of the old proverb which says, "It is a good thing to have friends; but that they are unfortunate who are compelled to make use of them." I told her that the Hungarians were a fierce, restless, seditious, and turbulent people, who showed little justice or friendship to visitors and strangers. That Hungary was threatened by a most powerful enemy, who desired nothing better than to subject her to his dominion. Thus I brought her back to the question of her own interests, and advised her to make some provision, with which to assist herself and her relatives in case of any misfortune, and told her, moreover, that it was a more royal thing to help others than to need their assistance. Although, however, this admonition was taken in good part, considering the manner of royalty, and I was thanked, yet it turned out that good and faithful counsel was of no avail, but that which I had feared and foreboded in my mind, to our great misfortune, came to pass. Nor was this the end of the tragedy. The court, such as it was, remained; and so little relaxation was there in pomp, arrogance, insolence, and luxury, that one of the courtiers not inappropriately remarked, that he had never seen or heard of any kingdom dying with greater joy or jollity than Hungary.

Although, however, the affairs of Hungary were in this desperate condition, such was the insolence of the Hungarians, that they made no scruple not only to throw

haughty contempt at their extremely powerful neighbour the Turk, but even to provoke him against them by injuries and insults. For when Soliman, the present emperor, on the death of his father, proclaimed to the neighbouring countries, according to their custom on such occasions, that he had succeeded to his father's territories, and that the opportunity was open to all to declare peace or war, and sent this proclamation more particularly to the Hungarians by his ambassadors; and as there were not wanting those who advised them to seek peace with the Poles as they had previously done with Soliman, the Hungarians not only rejected this wholesome advice, but even seized the ambassadors of the Turkish emperor, and put them in confinement. Soliman, incensed at this insult, invaded Hungary; and first taking Naudoralba, which was not only the strongest fortress in Hungary but in all Christendom, proceeded to take others also, and succeeded so far as to gain possession of Buda, the seat of royalty, and all the principal most fortified citadels, and in fact the best and most flourishing part of the entire kingdom. And he now threatens the remaining portions in such a manner, that they may almost be regarded as subdued and conquered. It is true the Hungarians thought they had some right to detain the ambassadors of Solyman, inasmuch as his father had detained Barnabas Bel, an ambassador from the Hungarians, who had been sent to him, and had taken him with him in the expedition undertaken against the Sultan. But had the Hungarians held their peace about this, since as, the saying is, wrath without strength is a useless thing, they would have done better than by the gratification of an impotent revenge to provoke a more powerful enemy, and so to call down upon themselves their own destruction, as well as draw their neighbours into the same danger. At the time that Solyman a second time took possession of Buda (for it had been taken once before, but rendered up to John Zapolski, and now, after his death, was a second time besieged and taken, and



our army routed), I went to him in the name of my prince as ambassador, in company with the illustrious Count Nicolas von Salm, and had to kiss the tyrant's right hand in the cause of peace, a proceeding which at that time seemed necessary not only for all Hungary but even for the neighbouring provinces.

Moreover, it is too notorious to need telling what unequal preparations were made for the conflict of King Louis with Solyman. A young king, unskilled in warfare, and never before engaged in war, was exposed with a few men, for the most part unfit for fight, to encounter a most crafty enemy, inflated with many recent victories, and leading with him the flower of an army with which he had subdued the East and a great part of Europe. Those troops which would have been the strength of the Hungarians were retained by John Zapolski, the Waywod of Transylvania; nor would he allow them to go to the assistance of the king. He also, after the death of the king, aimed at gaining the sceptre, which he had long coveted, and which indeed had been destined for him when a boy by his father, Stephen Zapolski. For I recollect to have heard from John Lazki, who was secretary to Casimir, King of Poland, and afterwards Archbishop of Gnesno, that this Stephen Zapolski, after the death of King Matthias, at whose court he held the highest degree of authority, when there was a talk about creating a new king, embraced his son John, who was yet an infant, and said: "If, my son, thou wert only as large as this," indicating only a little greater size than that of his child was, "thou shouldst now be king of Hungary." And this incident was constantly adduced by the said archbishop as a good omen, and as having the form of a prognostication whenever we talked together upon the subject of bringing about a peace between my prince and John Zapolski. And indeed it came to pass, that John, through Solyman, obtained the royal seal and dignity, together with a portion of Hungary; and the

same is now, contrary to all law and treaties, looked forward to by his son, or rather by those in whose power he is,—they, meanwhile, never taking into consideration how treacherously they have already been treated by the tyrant and ejected from Buda. But souls which are blinded with the lust of reigning are borne on to their own destruction, and drag their neighbours with them.

If Christianity had not held a garrison (and that it has had a very strong one there has been shewn by daily experience, and by slaughters repeated upon slaughters), yet, were it but for the wealth alone with which the great and good God has most bountifully endowed it, and from which it has been able to supply the neighbouring nations, it would not only have been incumbent upon the Hungarians themselves, but upon all Christians to struggle for its welfare as for a common country. For what is there scarcely in the whole range of nature which is good and precious, which is not possessed by Hungary? If you seek metals,—what part of the world is more productive of gold, silver, copper, steel, and iron, than Hungary? It is true it is deficient in lead, and is said to have no tin, if it be right to say that it has not that which has not hitherto happened to be found. It has also metallic salts of the best and purest quality, which are cut in the quarries in large blocks. It has, moreover, in some places, and this is a fact which may justly cause surprise, a kind of water which alters the nature of metals, and turns iron into copper.

It produces wines, differing in character according to the different places in which they are made, and in several parts even beyond Sirmium [Simach], which is famous for the amount of produce and the excellence of its wines, which we lost; there are some wines so generous and excellent that they might be taken for Cretan wines. I say nothing of the vegetation and the boundless abundance of all kinds of the best fruits. Then as to game and everything which is taken in hunting

or hawking, why should I not speak of them? For the abundance is so great in Hungary, that it is considered as a very offensive thing to forbid the peasantry either to hunt or hawk; and the common people have scarcely inferior banquets to those of the nobility, as regards hares, fallow deer, stags, wild boars, thrushes, partridges, pheasants, aurochsen, and everything of the same kind which elsewhere is coveted for more refined tables. Cattle indeed is so abundant, that you might well wonder whence came such numbers of large herds of oxen, and flocks of sheep, as are exported into foreign countries, such as Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. For while there are many roads lying open through Moravia, Austria, Styria, Sclavonia, and other provinces bordering upon Hungary, through which cattle can be driven in herds from this country, it has been noticed that by one of them alone, namely, the Vienna road, more than eighty thousand oxen have been driven in one year into Germany.

And now what shall I say as to the abundance of fish of all kinds? So great is it, not only in the Danube, the Drave, the Save, and all the smaller rivers, but also in the Theiss, which runs from the north-east nearly through the heart of Hungary, that fish is sold at the very lowest price, and is all but given away; and, indeed, is often not taken away unless given for nothing. Nor is the abundance alone of such wealth in Hungary a thing almost incredible; but their superiority is such, that provisions of the same kind produced in other countries cannot be placed in comparison with them. So much the more marked and melancholy will be the remembrance of this generation amongst posterity, that it did not devote all its energies to the preservation of a kingdom so wealthy, and so aptly placed for the subduing of the greatest enemy of the Christian name.

### My Route on my Second Embassy.

After the death of the Emperor Maximilian, I was sent as ambassador of the Styrians to Charles, King of Spain, and Arch-duke of Austria, and at that time Emperor Elect; to whom afterwards the Prince of Muscovy also sent his ambassadors to confirm certain treaties which had already been entered into with the Emperor Maximilian. The emperor in his turn wishing to gratify the Prince of Muscovy, gave his brother, the Arch-duke Ferdinand, the task of advising Louis, King of Hungary, so to manage with his uncle Sigismund, King of Poland, that he should consent to equal terms of peace or of truce with the Prince of Muscovy. In consequence of which, the Count Leonhard Nugaroli, in the name of the Emperor Charles, and I, in the name of his imperial brother Ferdinand, Infant of Spain, Arch-duke of Austria, etc., started from Vienna for Hungary, and came to Buda in haste with our message to King Louis; and after explaining our commission, and transacting our business according to our instructions, returned to Vienna, and immediately afterwards travelled in company with the Russian ambassadors who had then returned from Spain, and passed through the towns of

Mistlbach, six miles.

Wistermitz, four miles.

Wischa, five miles.

Olmütz, four miles.

Sternberg, two miles.

Parn, where there are iron mines, two miles. At two miles from which we crossed a bridge thrown over the river Morau, and there quitting Moravia, entered the principality of Silesia.

Jagerndorf, three miles; then by

Lubschiz, two miles.

Little Glogow, two miles.

Crepitza, two miles ; and after crossing the Oder to the fortified city of Opolia, situated on the river Oder, where the last Duke of Opolia held his seat, three miles.

Oleschno (in German Rosenberg), the other side of the river Malpont, which at that time overflowed its banks to a wonderful extent, seven miles.

At the distance of nearly two miles we reached Old Crepitza, where we learned that the King of Poland was at that time in the town of Pieterkov (in which the court is accustomed to hold its meetings), and thither accordingly we sent a servant. On his return, he reported that the king was about to depart direct from Cracow, for which place we accordingly started from Crepitza, and came first to

Clobutzko, two miles.

The monastery of Czestrchov, where an image of the blessed virgin is worshipped by a large assembly of people, principally Russians, three miles.

Scharki, five miles.

Cromolov, three miles.

Ilkusch, where there are famous lead mines, four miles.

At a distance of five miles from thence we reached Cracow, on the second day of February. At this place we had no respect paid us on that occasion ; nor did any one come forward to meet us ; nor were any hotels allotted to us ; nor did any of the courtiers receive us with any act of civility, any more than if they had been perfectly ignorant of our arrival. When an audience was granted to us by the king, he slighted the cause of our embassy, and reproved the officiousness of our princes as inopportune, especially when he saw that the Russian ambassadors, who were returning from Spain from the emperor, were travelling in our company ; so much did he suspect the Prince of Muscovy of some plot. What neighbourhood or relationship, he asked, is there between

your princes and the Prince of Muscovy, that they should of their own accord constitute themselves mediators? Especially, he urged, as he himself had put no such request to our princes, and could easily compel his enemy to conform to equitable conditions of peace. In reply, we bore testimony to the pious and Christian objects and sincere intention of our princes, and assured the king that they were earnestly desirous to see, and use every effort to bring about mutual friendship and goodwill between Christian princes. We even said, "If it be objectionable to the king that we should prosecute our commission, we will return and leave it unaccomplished, or, at least, will report the matter to our royal masters, and await their reply thereon." After this reply we were received somewhat more courteously and liberally, and even had hotels assigned to us. On that occasion an opportunity was afforded me of asking payment of the thousand florins which had been promised me in writing by the mother of Queen Bona, because I had previously, by command of the Emperor Maximilian, treated for this very marriage of her daughter. The king received the deed of promise from me in a gracious manner, and kept it until my return, when he took care to have me paid in full.

Leaving Cracow on the fourteenth day of February, we travelled in sledges with tolerable comfort through the following towns of Poland:—

The new city of Cortzin,  
 Polonitza,  
 Ossek,  
 Pocrovitza,  
 Sandomeria,  
 Savichost,  
 Ursendoff,  
 Lublin,  
 Parczov.

Three miles from thence we reached Polovitza, a town of

Lithuania, and had in many places to make our road across bridges, which were thrown across the numerous marshes ; thence to

Rostovsche, two miles.

Pessiczatez, three miles.

Briesti, a large fortified town on the Bug, into which flows the river Muchavetz, four miles.

The town of Kamenetz, where there is a wooden fortress with a stone tower, five miles ; and five miles from thence, after crossing the two rivers, Oschna and Beseschna, we came to

Schereschova, a new town built in a large wood, on the river Lisna, which also flows by Kamenetz.

Novidvor, five miles.

Porossova, two miles.

Volkovitza, four miles. In no part of our journey did we have more comfortable accommodation than in this place.

Pieski, a town on the river Selva, which takes in Volhynia, a province of Russia, and flows into the Nemen.

One mile to Mostu, a town on the river Nemen, which takes its name from a bridge thrown over the Nemen ; for the word "most" means a bridge.

Czutzma, three miles.

Basiliski, three miles.

Radomi, five miles.

Hestlitschkami, two miles.

Rudniki, five miles.

Vilna, four miles. On this occasion, however, we did not come to Vilna through the places which I have enumerated since mentioning Volkovitza, but turned our course eastward, towards the right, through

Solva,

Slonin,

Moschad,

Czernig,

Oberno,  
Ottmut,  
Cadayenov,

The town of Miensko, thirty-five miles distant from Volkovitza.

Beyond this, all the rivers flow into the Dnieper, whereas the others which we had passed fall into the Nemen.

Borissov, a town on the river Beresina, of which I have spoken above, eighteen miles.

Reschak, forty miles. In these places we refrained from taking a short road, on account of the immense deserts; but following the ordinary track, and leaving the town of Mohilev at a distance of four miles to the right, we passed through

Schklov, six miles.

Orsa, six miles.

Dobrovna, four miles; and passing through other places mentioned in my first journey, at length reached Moscow, where, after negotiating for a long while, we could obtain no other answer than this: "If the King of Poland desires peace with us, let him send his ambassadors to us, according to custom, and we will enter into peace with him if he ask it of us." At length, we sent some of our people to the King of Poland, who was then in Dantzic, and at our request he dispatched his own ambassadors, namely, Peter Gysca, Palatine of Plock, and Michael Bohusch, Treasurer of Lithuania.

When the prince heard that the Lithuanian ambassadors were not far from Moscow, he suddenly, under pretence of going to hunt and give relaxation to his mind (although the weather was by no means suited for hunting), set off for Mosaisko, where he keeps an immense number of hares. He then summoned us thither before the Lithuanians had entered the city, and then making out and confirming the treaty of truce, dismissed us on the 11th of November, on



which occasion he inquired of us by what route we meant to return, intimating that he had understood that the Turks were at Buda, but that he did not know what success they had had. We returned to Dobrovna by the same road as that by which we had come, and there received our baggage, which we had sent on by the Dnieper from Viesma. There also we found our Lithuanian guide, who was awaiting our arrival; and from him we then first heard of the death of Louis, king of Hungary.

Four miles from Dobrovna brought us to Orsa; thence following the same road as I had taken in my return from my first embassy, we came to Vilna, and were there kindly received and treated with great cordiality, by John, Bishop of Vilna, a natural son of the king.

Thence to Rudnik, four miles.

Wolkonik, three miles.

Meretsch, a town which takes its name from the river so called, seven miles.

Osse, six miles.

Grodno, a principality, lying on the river Nemen, seven miles.

Grinki, six miles. On reaching this place on the 1st of January, a frost came on with such severity, the force of the wind meanwhile rolling up the snow like a whirlwind, that the horses' testicles and the bitches' teats were partly frozen, and fell off, withered with the cold; indeed, I had nearly lost my nose, but for the timely warning of my guide; for I went into a house, and only begun to get sensation in it by soaking and rubbing it with snow, as my guide advised me, which produced a kind of tingling, and then, as it gradually dried, I recovered. There was a Russian cock also, who sat on the top of our carriage, after the German fashion, who was already dying of the cold, when my servant cut off his crest, which was frozen, and thus not only saved him, but put such life in him, that he immediately stretched out his neck and crowed, to our great admiration.

From Grinki, through a great wood, to  
Narev, eight miles.

Bielsco, four miles.

Milenech, four miles.

Mielnik, three miles.

Loschitzi, seven miles. Eight miles thence to

Lucov, a town of Poland, situated on the river Oxi. The governor of this place is called Starosta, which signifies Elder, who is said to have three thousand noblemen in his territory. In fact, it contains some villages, where the number of nobles has increased to such an extent, that there is not a peasant amongst them.

The town of Oxi, situated on the river of the same name, five miles.

The town of Steschicza, below which the river Viepers flows into the Vistula, five miles.

The town of Svolena, five miles, where we crossed the river Viepers, and came to

Senna, five miles.

Polki, six miles.

Schildlov, a town surrounded by a wall, six miles.

Wislicza, a walled town situated on a lake, five miles.

Prostvicza, six miles; and four miles from thence we at length returned to

Cracow, where I carried out various measures beyond my instructions; but which I knew would be acceptable and profitable to my royal master, who had been recently elected king of the Bohemians.

From Cracow, we directed our route towards Prague, passing through

Cobilagora, five miles.

Ilkusch, where are some lead mines, two miles.

The town of Bensin, at no great distance below which the river Pietza separates Poland from Silesia.

Pielscovicza, a town of Silesia, five miles.

Cosle, a walled town on the river Oder, which they call Viagra, four miles.

Biela, five miles.

The city of Nissa, the seat of the bishops of Breslaw, where we were most kindly welcomed and treated by James the bishop, six miles.

Othmachov, a fortress belonging to the bishop, one mile.

Baart, three miles.

Glacz, a town and county of Bohemia, two miles.

Ranericz, five miles.

Jeromiers, also nearly five miles.

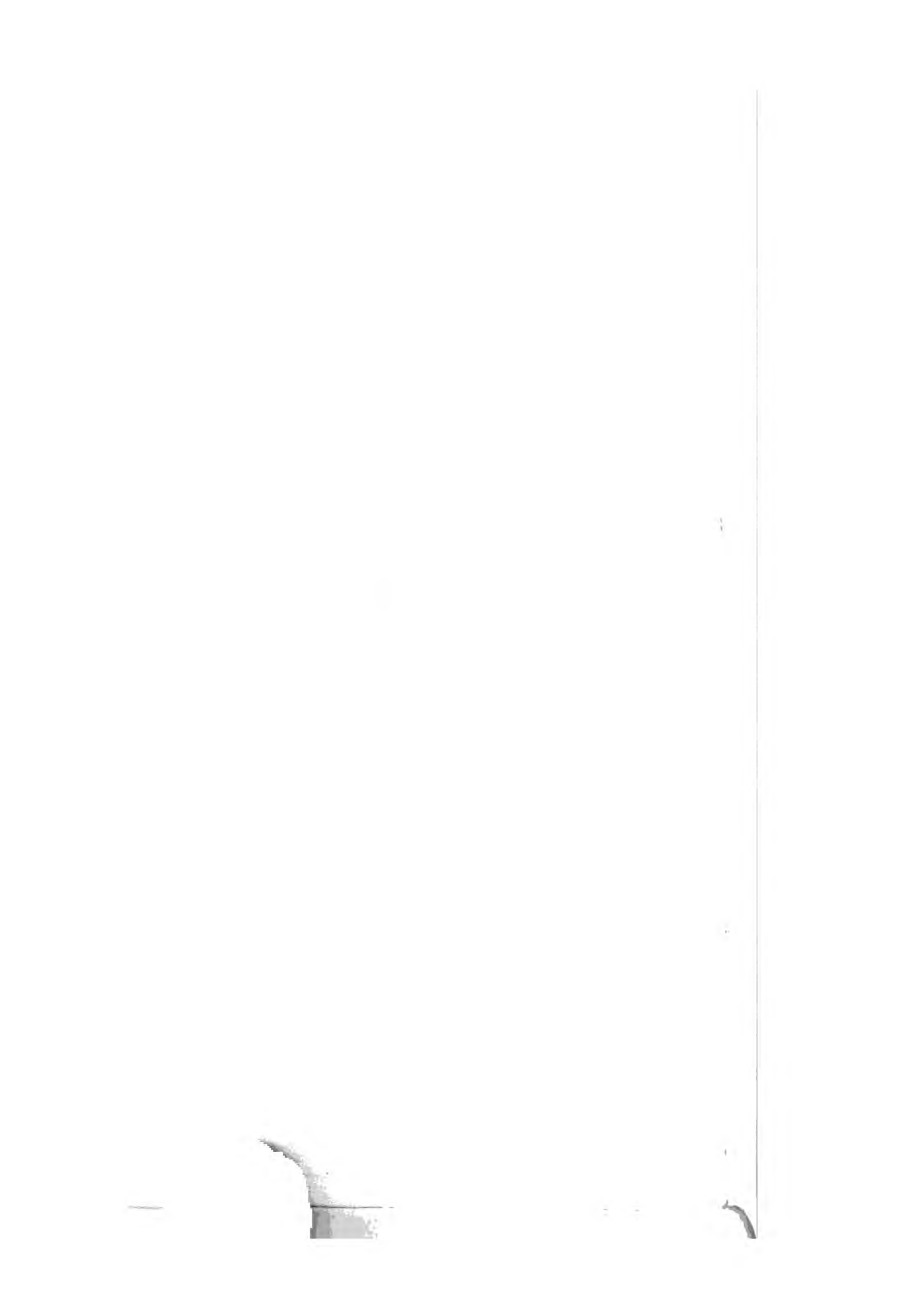
Bretschaw, four miles.

Limburg, a city on the Elbe, four miles.

Six miles from whence I at length reached Prague, on the river Moldau, and there found my prince, now elected King of the Bohemians, and called thither to his coronation. At which coronation, on the 24th of February, I was present. I was moreover sent, as a mark of respect and honour, to receive the ambassadors from Moscow, who arrived soon after me; and when they saw the extent of the city and fortress, they declared that it was not a fortress or a city, but rather a kingdom, and that it was a very great thing to acquire such a kingdom without bloodshed.

My gracious and good sovereign, moreover, when he heard my report, and at the end of a consultation on the subjects which were at that time most important, expressed his satisfaction at what I had done, both as regards the diligent execution of his own commands, and what I had effected over and above his instructions. And as I represented myself to be out of health from the effect of going through all these great exertions, he with his own mouth promised me his favour; and since all these things have been acceptable to the king, they have been most gratifying to me.





OF THE  
NORTH-EAST FROSTIE SEAS

AND  
KINGDOMES LYING THAT WAY,

ETC.

GATHERED IN PART AND DONE INTO  
ENGLYSHE BY RICHARDE EDEN.

*(FIRST PRINTED IN 1555.)*



## Of the Northeast Frostie Seas, and Kyngdomes lying

THAT WAY, DECLARED BY THE DUKE OF MOSCOUIA, HIS AMBASSADOUR,  
TO A LEARNED GENTLEMAN OF ITALIE, NAMED GALEATIUS BUTRIGARIUS:  
LIKEWISE THE VIAGES OF THAT WORTHYE OLD MAN, SEBASTIAN CABOTE,  
SOMETYMES GOVERNOUR OF THE COMPANIE OF THE MERCHANTES OF CATHAY,  
IN THE CITIE OF LONDON.

It is doubtlesse a marueilous thyng to consyder what changes and alterations were caused in all the Romane Em-  
pyre by the Gothes and Vandales, and other Barbarians into  
Italy. For by their inuasions were extinguyshed all artes  
and sciences, and all trades of Merchandies that were vsed  
in dyuers partes of the worlde.

The Romane  
Empyre.

The desolation and ignoraunce whiche insued hereof, con-  
tinued as it were a cloude of perpetuall darknesse among  
men for the space of foure hundred yeeres and more, inso-  
muche that none durst aduenture to goe any whyther out of  
theyr owne natiue countreys: wheras before the incursions  
of the sayde barbarians, when the Romane Empyre floryshed,  
they myght safely passe the seas to all partes of East India,  
whiche was at that tyme as well knowen and frequented, as  
it is nowe by the nauigations of the Portugales. And that  
this is true, it is manifest by that whiche Strabo wrytteth,  
who was in the tyme of Augustus and Tiberius.

Four hun-  
yeeres of  
ignoraunce.

East India  
well knowen  
in olde time.

Strabo.

For speakyng of the greatnesse and ryches of the citie of  
Alexandria in Egypt (gouerned then as a prouince of the  
Romanes), he wrytteth thus:—This onely place of Egypt  
is apte to receyue all thynges that come by sea, by reason of  
the commoditie of the hauen, and lykewyse all suche thynges

The great  
rychesse of  
Egypt.



as are brought by lande, by reason of the ryuer of Nilus, whereby they may bee easely conueyed to Alexandria, beyng by these commodities the rycheſt citie of merchauntes that is in the worlde. The reuenues of Egypt are ſo great, that Marcus Tullius ſayth in one of his orations, that kyng Ptolomeus, ſurnamed Auleta, the father of queene Cleopatra, had of reuenues twelue thouſande and fyue hundred talentes, whiche are ſeuen millions and a halfe of golde. If therefore this kyng had ſo great reuenues when Egypt was gouerned of ſo fewe and ſo negligently, what myght it then be woorth to the Romanes, by whom it was gouerned with great diligence, and theyr trade of merchaundies greatly increased by the trafficke of Trogloditica<sup>1</sup> and India: wheras in tyme paſt there coulde hardly be founde xx ſhyppes togeather that durſt enter into the gulfe of Arabie, or ſhewe theyr prowesse without the mouth of the ſame. But at this preſent, great nauies ſayle togeather into India, and to the furtheſt partes of Ethiope, from whence are brought many rich and pretious merchandies into Egypt, and are carried from thence into other countreys. And by this meanes are the cuſtomes redoubled, aſwel by ſuch thynges as are brought thither, as alſo by ſuche as are caryed from thence, forasmuche as great cuſtomes aryſe of thynges of great value. And that by this voyage infinite and pretious merchaundies were brought from the redde Sea and India, and thoſe of dyuers other ſortes then are knowen in our tyme, it appeareth by the fourth volume of the ciuile lawe, wherein is deſcribed the commiſſion of Themperours Marcus and Commodus, with the rehearsall of all ſuch ſtuffe and merchandies, wherof cuſtome ſhoulde be payde in the redde ſea, by ſuche as

The citie of Alexandria. Marueylous rycheſſe.

The gouernance and reuenues of the Romanes.

Trogloditica and India.

The gulfe of Arabie.

Ethiope.

Rych cuſtoms,

The rycheſſe whiche were brought in olde tyme from India and the redde ſea.

The commiſſion of Themperours Marcus and Commodus.

<sup>1</sup> The Troglodytes were ſo called from their practice of dwelling in caves; the name being derived from *τρογλη*, a cavern, and *δυνα*, to enter. They were located in various parts of the eaſt; but their moſt conſiderable ſettlement, called Trogloditica, was on the weſtern ſhores of the Red Sea, about the region of modern Abyſſinia: ancient authors, however, differ as to the extent of their territory.

had the same in fee farme, as were payde the customes of all other prouinces partayning to the Romane Empyre ; and they are these folowyng :—

Cinamome.	Xilocassia.
Long pepper.	Myr.
Whyte pepper.	Amome.
Cloues.	Ginger.
Costus.	Malabatum.
Cancomo.	Ammoniac.
Spikenarde.	Galbane.
Cassia.	Lasser.
Sweete perfumes.	Agarike.
Gumme of Arabie.	Berille.
Cardamome.	Cilindro.
Xilocinamome.	Slaues.
Carpesio.	Cloth of Sarmatia.
Sylkes of diuers sortes.	The sylke called Metaxa.
Lynnen cloth.	Vestures of sylke.
Skynnes and Fures of Parthia and Babylon.	Died cloth, and sylke.
Iuorie.	Carbasei.
Wood of Heven.	Sylke threede.
Pretious stones.	Gelded men.
Pearles.	Popingayes.
Jewelless of Sardonica.	Lions of India.
Ceraunia.	Leopardes.
Calamus Aromaticus.	Panthers.
	Purple.

Also that iuyce or lyquour whiche is geathered of wooll, and of the heare of the Indians.

By these woordes it doth appeare, that in olde tyme the said nauigation by the way of the red sea was wel knowen, & mucche frequented, & perhaps more then it is at this present: Insomuch that the ancient kynges of Egypt, consydering the great profite of the customes they had by the viages of the red sea, and wylling to make the same more easie & commodious, attempted to make a fosse or chanel, which should begin in the last part of the said sea, where was a citie named Arsinoe (which perhappes is that that is nowe called Sues), and should have reached to a branch of the riuier of Nilus, named Pelusio, whiche emptieth it selfe in

The great riches the kings of Egypt had by customes.

The noble enterpryses of the kings of Egypt.

Arsinoe.

Pelusio.

Damiata. our sea toward the East, about the citie of Damiata. They determined also to make three causeys or hygh wayes by land, which shoulde passe from the sayd branch to the citie of Arsinoe: but they founde this too difficult to bryng to passe. In fine, king Ptolomeus, surnamed Philadelphus, ordeyned another way, as to sayle vppon Nilus, agaynst the Nilus. course of the riuer, vnto the citie of Copto, and from thence Copto. to passe by a desart countrey, vntyl they come aboute the red sea, to a citie named Berenice, or Miosormo, where they im- Berenice. barked al their merchandise and wares for India, Ethiope, and Arabie, as appeareth by the wrytyng first of Strabo (who wryteth that he was in Egypt) and then by Plinie, who was in the tyme of Domitian. Strabo also, speaking of the saide A nauigable fosse or trenche whiche was made towarde the redde sea, A nauigable trenche made from Egypt to the red sea. wryteth thus: There is a trenche that goeth towarde the red Sea, & the gulfe of Arabie, and to the citie of Arsinoe, whiche some call Cleopatrida, and passeth by the lakes named Lacus Amari (that is) bytter, because in deede they were fyrste bytter: but after that this trenche was made, and the ryuer entred in, they became sweete, and are at this present ful of foules of the water, by reason of their pleasantnesse. This Lacus Amari. trenche was fyrste begunne by king Sesostre, before the King Sesostre. battaile of Troy. Some say that it was begunne by king King Psammiticus, Psammiticus, while he was a childe, and that by reason of his death it was left imperfect; also, that afterwarde, King Darius succeeded in the same enterprise, who woulde have finished it, but yet brought it not to the ende, because he was enfourmed that the redde sea was higher then Egypt, and that if this lande (diuiding both the seas) were opened, King Pto- all Egypt shoulde be drowned thereby. King Ptolomeus. lomeus. woulde indeede haue finished it, but yet left it shut at the head, that he myght, when he woulde, sayle to the other sea, and returne without peryll. Here is the citie of Arsinoe, The citie Heroum. and neare vnto that, the citie called Heroum, in the vttermost parte of the gulfe of Arabie, towarde Egypt, with many

portes and habitations. Plinie likewise, speaking of this trench, sayth: In the furthest parte of the gulfe of Arabie, is a porte called Danco, from whence they determined to bringe a nauigable trench vnto the riuer of Nilus, whereas is the first Delta. Betweene the saide sea and Nilus, there is a streict of land of the length of .lxii. miles. The firste that attempted this thing, was Sesostre king of Egypt, & after him Darius king of the Persians, whom Ptolomeus folowed, who made a trench a hundred foote large, and thirtie foote deepe, being .ccc. miles in length, vnto the lakes named Amari, and durst proceede no further for feare of inundation, having knowledge that the red sea was higher by three cubites then all the countrey of Egypt. Other say that this was not the cause: but, that he doubted yf he shoulde haue let the sea come any further, all the water of Nilus shoulde have been thereby corrupted, whiche onely ministrereth drynke to all Egypt.

What Plinie  
wryteth of  
the nauiga-  
ble trench.

The large-  
nesse and  
length of the  
trench.

But notwithstanding all these thinges aforesayde, all this viage is frequented by lande from Egypt to the redde sea, in whiche passage are three Causeyes or hygh wayes. The fyrst begynneth at the mouth of Nilus, named Pelutio: All whiche way is by the sandes, insomuche that if there were not certayne hygh Reedes fixt in the earth, to shew the ryght way, the Causey could not be found, by reason the wynde euer couereth it with sand. The seconde Causey is two myles from the mountayne Cassius: And this also, in the ende of threescore myles, commeth vpon the way or Causey of Pelusius, inhabited with certayne Arabians, called Antei. The thyrde begynneth at Gerro, named Adipson: and passeth by the same Arabians, for the space of threescore myles, somewhat shorter, but full of rough mountaynes, and great scarcenesse of water. Al these Causeyes leade the way to the citie of Arsinoe, builded by Ptolomeus Philadelphus, in the gulfe Carandra, by the redde sea. This Ptolomeus was the fyrst that searched all that part of the red sea, whiche is called

The viage by  
land from  
Egypt to the  
red sea.

What king  
Ptolomeus  
discouered.

Alcayre.

Trogloditica. Of this trench, described of Strabo and Plinie, there are seene certayne tokens remaynyng at this present, as they do affyrme whiche haue been at Sues beyonde the citie of Alcayr, otherwise called Babylon in Egypt. But the merchauntes that of later dayes trauayle this viage by lande, ryde through the drye and barren desartes, on Camels, both by day and by nyght, directyng theyr waye by the starres and compasse, as do mariners on the sea, and carrying with them water sufficient for many dayes iorneys.

The viage to East India frequented in oldetyme.

The customes and maners of the Indians.

The places of Arabie, and India, named of Strabo and Plinie, are the selfe same where the Portugales practyse theyr trade at this day, as the maners and customes of the Indians doo yet declare; for euen at this present their women vse to burne themselues alyue with the dead bodyes of their husbandes. Whiche thyng (as wryteth Strabo in his xv book) they dyd in olde time by a lawe, for this consyderation, that sometyme being in loue with other, they forsooke or poysoned their husbandes. And for as muche as accordyng to this custome, the olde Poet Propertius (who lyued about an hundred yeeres before the incarnation of Christ) hath in his booke made mention of the contention that was among the Indian women, which of them shoulde be burned aliuie with their husbandes, I haue thought good to subscribe his verses, which are these.

“Fœlix Eois lex funeris vna maritis,  
 Quos aurora suis rubra colorat equis,  
 Namque vbi mortifero iacta est fax vltima lecto,  
 Vxorum fuis stat pia turba comis,  
 Et certamen habent lethi, quæ viua sequatur  
 Coniugium, pudor est non licuisse mori.  
 Ardent victrices, et flammæ pectora præbent,  
 Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.”

The voyage to Cathay.

As touchyng these viages, both by sea and by lande, to East India and Cathay, many thinges are wrytten very largely by diuers autours, which I omit because they parteyne not

so much vnto vs as doth the viage attempted to Cathay by the north seas, and the coastes of Moscouia, discovered in our tyme by the viage of that excellent young man Rychard Chaunceller, no lesse learned in al mathematicall sciences, then an expert pilotte, in the yeere of our Lorde 1554. As concernyng this viage, I have thought good to declare y<sup>e</sup> communication which was betweene the sayd learned man Galeatius Butrigarius,<sup>1</sup> and that great philosopher and noble gentleman of Italie named Hieronimus Fracastor, as I fynd written in the Italian histories of nauigations. As they were therefore conferryng in matters of learnyng and reasoning of the science of cosmographie, the saide learned man, hauyng in his hand an instrument of Astronomie, declared with a large oration howe much the worlde was bound to the kinges of Portugale, rehearsing the noble factes done by them in India, and what landes and Ilandes they had discovered, and howe by theyr nauigations they made the whole worlde to hang in the ayre. He further declared of what partes of the ball, the earth remayned yet vndiscovered; and sayde, that

Rycharde  
Chaunceler.

A learned  
discourse of  
dyaers  
voyages.

The voyages  
of the Por-  
tugales.

The worlde  
hangyng in  
the ayre.

<sup>1</sup> It was upon a conjecture, and that an erroneous one, that Eden connected Galeazzo Botrigari with this conversation in the house of the poet Fracastoro. Ramusio, who was Fracastoro's friend, and present at this conversation, describes the occurrence in the following words:—"Mi par conuenevole di non lassare per modo alcuno che io non racconti un grande ed ammirabile ragionamento che io udi questi mesi passati insieme coll' excell. architetto M. Michele da San Michele nell' ameno et diletto uogo dell' eccellente Messer Hieronimo Fracastoro, detto Caphi. In questo luogo essendo andati a visitar detto eccellente Messer Hieronimo, lo trovammo accompagnato con un gentil' huomo, grandissimo philosopho et mathematico, che allhora gli mostrava uno instrumento fatto sopra un moto de cieli trovato di nuovo, il nome del quale per suoi rispetti non si dice." That this "gentil' huomo" could not have been Galeazzo Botrigari, who was Bishop of Gaeta, and is elsewhere referred to by Eden himself, as the pope's legate to the court of Spain (see *Dec.* 2, cap. 1), is shown by the fact, that the latter died in 1518 (see Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*); whereas the conversation occurred some years after the embassy of Paulo Centurione from Pope Leo X. to the court of Russia, which was in 1520.—See *post*, fo. 188.

What is  
known of  
the lower he-  
mispherie.

The lande of  
Prasile.

Peru.

The charg  
and dutie of  
Christian  
princes.

Hercules  
and Alexan-  
der.

The colonies  
of the Ro-  
mans in re-  
gions sub-  
dued.

The great  
Ilande of  
Sagnet Lau-  
rence or  
Madagascar.

The Ilandes  
of Tapro-  
bana or  
Giava.

of the landes of the inferiour hemispherie, or halfe compase of the ball towarde the pole Antartike, there was nothyng knowen but that litle of the coaste of Brasilia vnto the streyght of Magellanus ; also a part of Peru ; also a litle about Affrike towarde the cape of Bona Speranza. Also that he marueyled without measure, that this thyng was no better consydered of Christian Princes, to whom God hath deputed this charge, hauyng euer on theyr counsail men of great learning, which may infourme them of this thing, being so marueylous and noble, wherby they may obtayne glory and fame by vertue, and be imputed among men as gods, by better demerites then euer were Hercules & Great Alexander, who traueyled onely into India ; and that by makyng the men of this our Hemispherie knowen to them of the other halfe compasse of the ball beneathe vs, they myght by the tittle of this enterpryse, without comparison, farre excell all the noble factes that euer were doone by Julius Cæsar, or any other of the Romane Emperours. Whiche thyng they myght easily bryng to passe, by assigning colonies to inhabite diuers places of that Hemispherie, in lyke maner as dyd the Romanes in prouinces newly subdued ; whereby they myght not onely atteyne great riches, but also enlarge the Christian fayth and Empire, to the glory of God and confusion of infidels.

After this, he spake of the Ilande of Saint Laurence, called in olde tyme Madagascar, whiche is greater then the realme of Castile and Portugale, and reacheth from the xii degree towarde the Pole Antartike, unto the xxvi degree and a halfe, lying Northeast from the cape of Bona Speranza, and partly vnder the lyne of Tropicus Capricorni, beyng wel inhabited, and of temperate ayre, with abundance of all thynges necessary for the lyfe of man, and one of the moste excellent Ilandes that is founde this day in the worlde : And that, neuertheless there is nothing knowen therof, except onely a fewe small Hauens by the sea syde, as the lyke ignoraunce remaineth of the greatest part of the Ilandes of Taprobana

[Ceylon], Giava, the more and the lesse, and infinite other. Then begynnynge to speake of the partes of our Pole, he caused the bookes of Plinie to be brought hym, where diligently ponderynge the lxxvii Chapter of the seconde booke, he founde where he rehearseth the historie of Cornelius Nepos, by these woordes: That in his tyme one Eudorus, escapyng the handes of king Lathyro, departed from the gulfe of Arabie, and came by sea to the Ilande of Calese: Declaryng further, that whereas this narration was many yeeres reputed for a fable, was nowe in our tyme, by the vertue of the Portugales, knowen to be true: And that, lykewyse the same Cornelius Nepos reciteth, that at the tyme when Quintus Metellus Celer was Proconsul or Lieuetenant for the Romanes in Fraunce, the kyng of Sueuia gaue hym certayne Indians, whiche saylyng out of India for merchandise, were by tempest dryuen to the coastes of Germanie.

Plinie.

The historie  
of Cornelius  
Nepos.Shypps of  
India driuen  
into the sea  
of Ger-  
manie.

When he had redde these woordes, he proceeded, saying that the same thyng myght be verified nowe in our tyme, if the princes which confine vppon that sea woulde endeuoure theyr industry and diligence to bryng it to passe; and that there coulde not any nauigation be imagined so commodious and profitable to all Christendom as this way might be, if by this voiage should be found open to India, to come to the rych cuntry of Cathay, whiche was discovered nowe two hundred yeeres since by Marcus Paulus. Then takynge the globe in his hande, he made demonstration that this voyage shoulde bee very shorte, in respect of that which the Portugales nowe followe, and also of that which the Spanyardes may attempt, to the Ilandes of Molucca. He declared furthermore, that the citie of Lubyke, beyng ryche and of great power, and situate vppon the sea of Germanie, and also accustomed with continuall nauigations to trauayle the sea of Norway and Gothlande, and lykewyse the ryght noble kyng of Polonie, whose dominions, with his realme of Lituania, extende to the saide sea, shoulde be apte to discover this

An enter-  
prise where-  
by princes  
may obtayne  
true fame  
and glory.Cathay dis-  
covered by  
Marcus  
Paulus.The citie of  
Lubyke.The kyng of  
Polonie.



The Duke of  
Moscouia.

secrete: But that about al other, the Duke of Moscouia should perfourme the same, with greater commoditie, & more facilitie then any other Prince.

An ambas-  
sador from  
the Duke of  
Moscouia.

And here staying awhile, he began to speake againe, and said:—Nowe, forasmuch as we are come to the passe, me thinke it should seeme a great discourtesie if I should not shew you al that I knowe as touching this viage, whereof I greatly mused with my selfe many yeeres by occasion of the woordes of Plinie. Wheras therefore, beyng a young man, I was in Germanie in the citie of Augusta, it so chaunced that in those dayes there came thither an ambassadour of the Duke of Moscouia, a man singularly learned both in the Greek tongue & the Latine, and of good experience in worldly thynges, hauing been sent to dyuers places by the sayde Prince, and one of his counsayle. Of whose learnyng beyng aduertised, I sought his acquayntaunce, and talkyng with hym one daye of these Indians, dryuen by fortune to the coastes of Germanie, and of the viage that myght be discouered by the North sea to the Ilandes of spices, I perceyued that at the fyrst he marueyeled exceedyngly, as at a thyng that he coulde neuer haue imagined. But restyng a while in maner astonysed in his secrete phantasie, hee

The woordes  
of the am-  
bassadour of  
Moscouia.

tooke great pleasure therein, and sayde: forasmuch as the Portugales haue now compassed about all the South partes, supposed in old tyme to bee inaccessible by reason of great heate, why should we not certaynely thynke that the lyke may bee done about this parte of the North, without feare of colde, especially to men borne and brought up in that clime: Yet procedyng further, he sayde, that if his Prince and maister had men that would animate him to discouer this vyage, there was no Prince in Christendome that myght doe it with more facilitie. Then calling for a Mapped, in which was the discription of Moscouia, and the prouinces subiect to the same, hee declared that from the citie of Moscouia or Mosca, goyng towarde the North-east for the space of lx

The way  
from Mos-  
couia to the  
North Ocean  
and Cathay.

myles, they come to the ryuer of Volochda, and afterwarde Volochda.  
 by that, and folowyng the course thereof, to the citie of  
 Vstiug, so called bycause the ryuer of Iug falleth into the Vstiug.  
 ryuer of Succana, where they lose theyr owne names, and Jug.  
 make the great ryuer Duina, and by that, leauyng on the Succana.  
 ryght hande the citie of Colmogor, they sayle vnto the Duina.  
 North Ocean. The which way, although it bee a long Colmogor.  
 tracte, as more then 800 myles, neuerthelesse he sayd that The North  
 in sommer it myght commodiously be sayled. And that Ocean.  
 whereas it falleth into the sea, there are infinite woods of Great  
 goodly trees, apte to make shyppes, and the place so conue- woods.  
 nient for this purpose that shypwryghtes and other skylfull  
 woorkemen for all thinges heerevnto apperteynyng, may easily  
 come out of Germanie: also, that the men which are vsed to  
 traueyle the sea of Germanie about the coastes of Gothlande, Gothlande.  
 should bee best and most apte to attempt this enterpryse,  
 bycause they are indurate to abyde colde, hunger, and la-  
 bour. He sayde furthermore, that in the court of his Prince,  
 they haue much knowledge of the great Cam of Cathay, by The Mosco-  
 reason of the continuall warres they haue with the Tartars, of uites haue  
 whom the greatest parte gyue obedience to the sayd great knowledge  
 Cam, as to theyr chiefe Emperour. of the great  
Cam of  
Cathay.

He made also demonstration in the sayde carde by the  
 North-east, that being past the prouince of Permia, and the Permia.  
 ryuer Pescora (which falleth into the North sea), & certeine Pescora.  
 mountaines named Catena Mundi, there is then traunce into Catena  
 the prouince of Obdora, whereas is Vecchiadoro, and the mundi.  
 ryuer Obo, whiche also falleth into the sayd sea, and it is the Obdora.  
 furthest border of Thempyre of the Prince of Moscouia. The Vecchiadora  
 sayde ryuer hath his originall in a great lake called Chethai, Obo.  
 which is the fyrst habitation of the Tartars, that pay tribute The lake  
 to the great Cane. And from this lake, for the space of two Chethay.  
 moneths vyage (as they were credyibly informed by certayne The Tartars.  
 Tartares taken in the warres) is the most noble citie of Cam-  
 balu, beyng one of the chiefest in the dominion of the great The citie of  
Cambalu.

Note this  
secrete.

Difficult  
traueylyng  
in Moscouia.

Commenda-  
tion of the  
Spanyarden  
and Portu-  
gales.

The hystorie  
of Paulus  
Centurio.  
Of this,  
reade more  
at large in  
the booke of  
Paulus  
Jouius.  
Malice may  
doe more  
with some  
then vertue.

The Caspian  
sea.

Riga.

Liuonia.

The Tartars  
of Lordo.

Cane, whom some call the great Cham. He also affirmed, that if shyppes should be made on the coastes of the sayde sea, and sayle on the backe halfe of the coast thereof (which he knew by many relations made to his Prince, to reach infinitely towarde the North-east), they should doubtlesse in following the same, easily discouer the countrey. Unto these woordes he added, that although there were great difficultie in Moscouia, by reason that the way to the sayde sea is full of thicke woods and waters, whiche in the sommer make great maryshes, and impossible to be traueyled, as well for lacke of victuals, whiche cannot there be founde, not for certayne dayes, but for the space of certeyne monethes, the place beyng desolate without inhabitauntes: neuertheless he sayde, that if there were with his Prince, onely two Spanyarden or Portugales, to whom the charge of this viage should be committed, he no wayes doubted but that they would folowe it, and fynde it; forasmuch as with great ingeniousesse and inestimable patience, these nations haue ouercome much greater difficulties then are these, whiche are but litle in comparison to those that they haue ouerpassed, and doe ouerpasse in all their viages to India. He proceeded, declaring that not many yeeres since, there came to the courte of his Prince, an Ambassadour from pope Leo, named maister Paulo Centurione, a Genuese, vnder dyuers pretenses. But the princypall occasion of his commyng, was, bycause hee had conceyued great indignation and hatred agaynst the Portugales: And therefore intended to proue if he could open any vyage by land, wherby spyces myght be brought from India by the lande of Tartaria, or by the sea Caspium (otherwyse called Hircanum) to Moscouia, and from thence to be brought in shyppes by the ryuer Riga, which runnyng by the countrey of Liuonia, falleth into the sea of Germanie: and that his Prince gaue eare vnto him, and caused the sayde vyage to be attempted by certayne noble men of Lordo, of the Tartars confinyng next vnto him. But the warres which were

then betweene them, and the great desartes which they should Desartes.  
of necessitie ouerpasse, made them leaue of theyr enterpryse :  
whiche if it had ben purposed by the coastes of this our  
North sea, it might haue been easily fynshed. The sayde The vyage  
by the  
North sea.  
Ambassadour continued his narration, saying that no man  
ought to doubt of that sea, but that it may be sayled sixe  
monethes in the yeere, forasmuche as the dayes are then very  
long in that clime, and hot, by reason of continuall reuerber-  
ation of the beames of the Sunne, and shorte nyghtes : And The woorthi-  
nesse of this  
vyage.  
that this thing were as well woorthie to bee prooued, as anye  
other nauigation, whereby many partes of the worlde, heere-  
tofore vnknown, haue been discouered and brought to ciui-  
litie.

And heere makyng an ende of this talke, he sayde : Let  
vs now omyt this parte of Moscouia with his colde, and  
speake somewhat of that parte of the newe worlde, in whiche  
is the lande of Brytons, called Terra Britonum, and Bacca- The vyages  
of the  
Frenchmen  
to the lande  
of Bacca-  
laos.  
leos, or Terra Baccalearum, where in the yeere 1534, and  
1535, Jaques Cartiar, in two vyages made with three great  
French Gallies, founde the great and large countreys named  
Canada, Ochelaga, and Sanguenai : which reach from the  
xlv to the 51 degree, beyng well inhabited, and pleasaunt Pleasaunt  
countreys.  
New France.  
countreys, and named by him Noua Francia. And here stay-  
ing a while, and lyftyng vp his handes, he sayde : Oh what  
doe the Christian princes meane, that in suche landes dis- Apostrophe  
to the Chris-  
tian princes.  
couered, they doe not assigne certayne colonies to inhabite  
the same, to bryng those people (whom God hath so blessed  
with naturall giftes) to better ciuilitie, and to embrace our  
religion, then the whiche nothing can bee more acceptable  
to God. The sayd regions also, beyng so fayre and fruitful,  
with plentie of all sortes of corne, hearbes, fruites, wood,  
fyses, bestes, metals, and ryuers of suche greatnesse that Great  
ryuers.  
shyppes may sayle more then 180 myles vpon one of them,  
beyng on both sydes infinitely inhabited : And to cause the  
gouernours of the sayde colonies to searche whether that A thyng  
woorthy to  
be searched.

lande towarde the North, named Terra de Laborador, doe ioyned as one firme lande with Norway: Or whether there bee any streight or open place of sea, as is most lyke there should be, forasmuch as it is to bee thought that the sayde Indians, dryuen by fortune about the coastes of Norway, came by that streight or sea, to the coastes of Germanie, and by the sayde streight to sayle north-west, to discouer the landes and countreys of Cathay, and from thence to sayle to the Ilandes of Molucca, and these surely should bee enterpryses able to make men immortall. The which thing, that ryght woorthie gentleman maister Antony di Mendoza consydering, by the singular vertue and magnanimitie that is in him, attempted to put this thyng in practyse. For being viceroy of the countrey of Mexico (so named of the great citie Mexico, otherwyse called Temistitan, now called new Spayne, beyng in the xx degree aboute the Equinoctiall, and parte of the sayde firme lande) he sent certayne of his Captaines by lande, and also a nauie of shyppes by sea, to search this secreete.

The way to Cathay and the Ilandes of Molucca by the north-west.

A notable enterpryse. The noble enterpryse of Antonie di Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico.

The disco- ueryng of the north- west partes.

Shyppes saylyng from Cathay by the North Hyperbo- rean sea, to the coastes of the north- west parte of the lande of Baccaleos.

Cathay.

And I remember that when I was in Flaunders, in Thempe- rours court, I saw his letter wrytten in the yeere 1541, and dated from Mexico: wherein was declared howe towarde the Northwest he had founde the kyngdome of Sette Citta (that is) seuen Cities, wheras is that, called Civola, by the reuerende father Marco da Niza: and howe beyonde the sayde kyngdome yet further towarde the Northwest, Cap- tayne Francesco Vasques of Coronado, hauing ouerpassed great desartes, came to the sea syde, where he founde cer- tayne shyppes which sayled by that sea with merchandies, and had in theyr banner vpon the prooes of theyr shyppes, certayne foules made of golde and siluer, which they of Mexico call Alcatrazzi, and that theyr mariners shewed by signes that they were .xxx. dayes sayling, in commyng to that hauen: whereby he vnderstoode that these shyppes could be of none other countrey then of Cathay, forasmuch as it is situate

on the contrary parte of the sayde lande discovered. The sayd maister Antonie wrote furthermore, that by the opinion of men well practised, there was discovered so great a space of that countrey vnto the sayd sea, that it passed 950 leagues, which make 2850 myles. And doubtless if the Frenche men, in this theyr newe Fraunce, would have passed by lande towarde the sayd Northwest and by North, they should also haue founde the sea whereby they myght haue sayled to Cathay. But aboue all thynges, this seemed vnto me most woorthie of commendation, that the sayde maister Antonie wrote in his letter, that he had made a booke of all the naturall and marueylous thinges whiche they founde in searchyng those countreys, with also the measures of landes, and altytudes of degrees: A worke doubtlesse which sheweth a princely and magnificall mynd, wherby we may conceiue that if God had giuen him the charge of the other hemispherie, he would or now haue made it better knowen to vs. The which thing I suppose no man doth greatly esteeme at this tyme: beyng neuerthelesse the greatest and most glorious enterpryse that may be imagined.

The sea from newe Fraunce or Terra Britonum to Cathay.

A great and glorious enterpryse.

And heere makyng a certayne pause, and turnyng himselfe towarde vs, hee sayde: Doe you not vnderstande to this purpose, howe to passe to India towarde the Northwest wynde, as dyd of late a citizen of Venece, so valiant a man, and so well practised in all thinges perteynyng to nauigations, and the science of Cosmographie, that at this present hee hath not his lyke in Spayne, insomuche that for his vertues hee is preferred aboue all other pylottes that sayle to the West Indies, who may not passe thyther without his lycence, and is therefore called Piloto Maggiore (that is), the graunde pylote.<sup>1</sup> And when we sayde that wee knewe him not, hee proceeded, saying, that beyng certayne yeeres in the citie of

Sebastian Cabote, the grand pylot of the West Indies.

<sup>1</sup> For much curious matter connected with this incidental, but extremely interesting, reference to Cabot, see *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, by Biddle. London, 1831; 8vo.

Commenda-  
tion of Se-  
bastian  
Cabote.

Sebastian  
Cabote tolde  
me that he  
was borne  
in Brystow,  
and that at  
iiii yeeres  
olde he was  
carried with  
his father to  
Venice, and  
so returned  
agayne into  
England  
with his  
father after  
certayne  
yeeres:  
whereby he  
was thought  
to haue ben  
borne in  
Venice.

Siuile, and desirous to haue some knowledge of the nauiga-  
tions of the Spanyardes, it was tolde him that there was in  
the citie a valiant man, a Venecian borne, named Sebastian  
Cabote, who had the charge of those thinges, beyng an expert  
man in that science, and one that could make cardes for the  
sea with his owne hande: and that by this reporte, seekyng  
his acquayntaunce, hee founde him a very gentle person,  
who enterteyned him friendly, and shewed him many thinges,  
and among other a large Mappe of the worlde, with certayne  
particular nauigations, as well of the Portugales as of the  
Spanyardes: and that hee spake further vnto him, in this  
effecte.

When my father departed from Venece, many yeeres  
since, to dwell in Englande, to folowe the trade of merchan-  
dyes, hee tooke me with him to the citie of London, whyle  
I was very young, yet hauing neuerthelesse some knowledge  
of letters of humanitie, and of the sphere. And when my  
father dyed, in that tyme when newes were brought that  
Don Christopher Colonus Genuese had discovered the coastes  
of India, wherof was great talke in all the court of Kyng  
Henry the Seuenth, who then reigned: insomuche that all  
men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more  
diuine then humane, to sayle by the West into the East, where  
spyces growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before. By  
which fame and report, there increased in my harte a great  
flame of desyre to attempt some notable thyng. And vnder-  
standyng by reason of the sphere, that if I should sayle by the  
way of the Northwest wynde, I should by a shorter tracte  
come to India, I therevppon caused the kyng to bee aduer-  
tised of my diuise: who immediatly commaunded two ca-  
rauels to be furnyshed with all thynges apperteyning to the  
vyage, which was, as farre as I remember, in the yeere 1496,  
in the begynnyng of sommer. Beginning, therefore, to sayle  
toward northwest, not thinking to fynde any other lande  
then that of Cathay, and from thence to turne toward India.

The fyrst  
vyage of  
Sebastian  
Cabote.

But after certayne dayes, I founde that the lande ranne towarde the north, which was to me a great displeasure. Neuerthelesse, saylyng along by the coast, to see if I could fynde any gulfe that turned, I founde the lande styll continent to the fifty-sixth degree vnder our pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the east, dispayring to fynde the passage, I turned backe agayne, and sayled downe by the coast of that lande towarde the equinoctiall (euer with intent to fynde the sayde passage to India), and came to that parte of this firme lande whiche is nowe called Florida. Where, my victualles faylyng, I departed from thence, and returned into Englande, where I founde great tumultes among the people, and preparance for warres in Scotlande, by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this vyage. Wherevppon I went into Spayne, to the Catholyke king, and queene Elizabeth: who, beyng aduertised what I had done, enterteyned mee, and at theyr charges furnyshed certayne shyppes wherewith they caused me to sayle to discouer the coastes of Brasile, where I founde an exceedyng great and large ryuer, named at this present, Rio della Plata (that is), the ryuer of siluer, into the whiche I sayled, and folowed it into the firme lande more then six hundred leagues, fyndyng it euery where very fayre and inhabited with infinite people, whiche with admiration came runnyng dayly to our shyppes. Into this ryuer, runne so many other ryuers, that it is in maner incredible. After this, I made many other vyages, whiche I now permyt [pretermit]. And wexing olde, I gyue my selfe to rest from suche traueyles, bycause there are nowe many young and lusty Pylotes and mariners of good experience, by whose forwardnesse I doe reioyce in the frutes of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office as you see. And this is as muche as I haue vnderstoode of maister Sebastian Cabote, as I haue geathered out of dyuers nauigations written in the Italian tongue.

The lande of Florida.

The seconde vyage of Cabote to the land of Brasile and Rio della Plata.

Cabote tolde me that in a region within this ryuer he sowed 50 graynes of wheate in September, and geathered therof 50 thousande in December, as wryteth also Francisco Lopes.

And whereas I haue before made mention howe Moscouia

The viage to Moscouia.



was in our tyme discouered by Richarde Chanceler in his vyage towarde Cathay, by the direction and information of the sayd maister Sebastian, who long before had this secrete in his mynd, I shall not neede heere to describe that viage, forasmuche as the same is largely and faythfully written in the Latine tongue by that learned young man Clement Adams, schoolmaister to the Queenes Henshemen, as he receyued it at the mouth of the sayd Richard Chanceler.<sup>1</sup> Neuerthelesse, I haue thought good heere to speake somewhat of Moscouia, as I haue redde in the booke of John Faber,<sup>2</sup> written in the Latine tongue, to the ryght noble Prince Ferdinando, Archeduke of Austria, and Infant of Spaine, of the maners and religion of the Moscouites, as he was partly instructed by the Ambassadors of the Duke of Moscouia, sent into Spayne to Themperours maiestie, in the yeere 1525. He wryteth therefore as foloweth:

The hystory  
of Moscouia.

The dyuers  
names of  
Moscouia.

I thynke it fyrst conuenient to speake somewhat of the name of this region whereby it is called at this day, and howe it was called in olde tyme. Conferryng, therefore, the moste auncient of the Greeke and Latine monumentes with the historyes of later tyme, I perceyue it to bee a thyng whiche requireth no small iudgement of wytte and learnyng. For we see in howe shorte tyme the names of thinges are chaunged, as are also the maners of men. I fynde, therefore, that those people whom at this day wee commonly call Moscouites, were in tyme past (as wytnesseth Plinie) called

<sup>1</sup> This Latin account of Chancelor's voyage, by Clement Adams, was written in 1554, and published by Hakluyt, together with a translation into English, in the first edition of his *Principall Navigations*, 1589. Hence the editors of the *Rerum Moscoviticarum Auctores Varii* were at fault when they asserted in their dedication to Marquardus Freherus of the first edition in 1600, "Anglorum Navigationem ad Moscovitas *nunc primum* damus ex Bibliothecâ tuâ."

<sup>2</sup> See page cxx of Introduction. Fabri's work appeared under the title, *Joh. Fabri Lencurchensis, Episcopi Viennensis, Epistola de Moscovitarum juxta mare glaciale religione seu de dogmatibus Moscorum*. Tubingæ, 1525, 4to.; Spiræ, 1582. Also in *Rerum Moscoviticarum Auctores Varii*. Francofurti, 1600, fo. 130, *et seq.*

Roxolani, whom neuerthelesse by chaungyng one letter, Roxolani.  
Ptolome in his eyght table of Europe, calleth Rosolanos, as Rosolani.  
doth also Strabo. They were also many yeeres called Ru- Rutheni.  
theni, and are that people whyche sometyme fought manfully  
agaynst the Captaynes of Mithridates, as Strabo wrytheth.  
They were called Moscouites, of the chiefe citie of all the  
prouince, named Moscouia or Mosca: or (as Volaterane<sup>1</sup>  
sayeth) of the ryuer Mosco. They were sometyme gouerned The ryuer  
Mosco.  
by Duke John, whose wife was Helena, of the lynage of  
Themperours of Constantinople, of the noble famelie of the  
Paleologi. Beyond these Roxolanos, Strabo sayeth there is  
no lande inhabited. These Ruthenians, therfore, or Mos-  
couites, are people of the Northeast parte of the worlde from  
vs, and are determind with the limittes of the great ryver The ryuer  
Boris-  
thenes.  
Boristhenes of Scithia: on the one syde with the Litanians  
and Polonians, and on the other syde with the Tartars, who  
ceasse not to vexe them with continuall warres and incur-  
sions: Especially the great Emperour Cham of Cathay, the Themperour  
of Cathay.  
chiefe Prince of the Tartars, resydent by the sea syde in  
Taurico Chersoneso, molesteth them with sore warres. They  
are towarde the North syde inclosed with the frosen sea, the The frosen  
sea.  
lande of whose coastes beyng very large, perteyneth in maner  
all to the dominion of the Duke of Moscouie. The sea is it  
whiche the olde wryters call Lacus Cronicus, so named of Lacus  
Cronicus.  
Saturnus.  
the Greeke woorde Cronos, which the Latines call Saturnus,  
whom they fayne to be an olde man, of complexion colde and  
slowe, and thereby name all suche thinges as are colde and  
slowe, Cronica, as by lyke reason they dyd this North sea,  
which beyng in maner euer frosen, is slow and cold, and in  
maner immoueable. And for lyke consideration (as sayeth  
Plinie) Heathens nameth it in the Scithian tongue, Amal- Amaltheum.  
theum, which woorde signifieth as much as congealed or  
frosen. But that I wander not farre from my purpose: The domi-  
nion of the  
Duke of  
Moscouia.  
Thempyre and dominion of the Duke of Moscouie, reacheth

<sup>1</sup> Raffaello Maffei, surnamed Volaterranus. His work is entitled *Commentarii Rerum Urbanarum*, published in Paris, 1515, fo.

so farre, that it comprehendeth certayne partes of Asia, and also of Europe.

The cite of  
Moscouia.

The cite of Moscouia, or Mosco, is counted twyse as byg as Colonia Agrippina [Cologne], as they faythfully reporte which know both. Vnto this they haue also an other, not

The chief  
cities of  
Moscouia.

vnequall in bygnesse, called Fladimer. Also Blescouia, Nouogradia, Smolne [Smolensko], and Otifer [Tver], all which, theyr Ambassadors affyrme to be of princely and magnificall buyldynges, and strongly defended with walles both of bricke and square stone. Of these, Blescouia is strongest, and enuironed with three walles. Other whiche they haue innumer-

The Duke of  
Moscouia &  
Emperour  
of Russia.

able, are not so famous as are these wherof this Duke of Moscouie and Emperoure of Russia taketh thinscription of his title. For euen at this present, when so euer, eyther by his ambassadors or his letters, he doth signifie hym selfe to

The duke of  
Moscouia  
his tittle.

be Emperour of Muscouie, he is accustomed to vse this title, Basilius, by the grace of God Emperour of al Russia, and great Duke of Fladamer, Moscouie, Nouigrade, Blascouia, Smolne, and Otifer, etc. And this is the tittle whereby the sayde ambassadors saluted your maiestie in the name of great Basilius when they began theyr oration.

Duke Basi-  
lius.

This prince of Moscouia, hath vnder hym prynces of many prouinces, and those of great power: Of the whiche, that olde whyte bearded man, whom this Emperour of the Ruthians sent for his ambassadeure to Themperours maiestie into Spaine, is not one of the least. For euen he, when necessitie

Theyr  
power.

Theyr obe-  
dience to  
theyr  
prynce.

of warre requireth, is accustomed to make for his Emperour a bande of .xxx. thousand horsemen. But this is to their singular commendation, that they are so obedient to theyr prince in all thynges, that beyng sommoned by hym by neuer so meane an heralde, they obey incontinent, as if it were to God, thynking nothing more glorious then to die in y<sup>e</sup> quarel of theyr prince. By reason of which obedience, they are able, in short tyme, to assemble an army of two or three hundred thousand men against theyr enimies, eyther the Tartars, or

Theyr  
warres &  
conquestes.

the great Cham : And haue hereby obtayned great victories and triumphes, aswell agaynst the Turks, as the Tartars, by the exceeding multitude of theyr horsemen, and continuall experience in warres. At such time as Themperour Maximilian made a league with them, they kept warre against the kyng of Polonie. They vse not onely bowes and dartes, after the maner of the Parthians, but haue also the vse of gunnes Gunnes. as we haue. And to be briefe, only the Moscouites Only the Moscouites haue not felt the commodities of peace. may seeme that nation which hath not felte the commodities of peace : Insomuch that if theyr region were not strongly defended by the nature of the place, beyng impregnable, it had or now been oftentimes conquered. Theyr language Theyr language. agreeth much with the tongue of y<sup>e</sup> Bohemians, Crotians, and Sclauons, so that the Sclauon doth playnely vnderstande the Moscouite, although the Moscouian tongue be a more rude and hard phrase of speech. The historiographers wryte that the Sclauons tongue tooke the name of the confusion whiche was in Babell in the tyme of that stoute hunter Nemroth, of whom mention is made in the Genesis. But I can not enough marueyle at this thyng, that whereas betweene Dalmatia Dalmatia. (now called Sclauonia) and Moscouia, both the Pannones Pannonia. are situate, yet this notwithstanding, the Hungarians Hungarie. tongue nothyng agreeth with the Moscouites. Whereby we may coniecture that these nations were sometymes diuided by legions, and that they came out of Dalmatia thither : whiche thyng also Volateranus affirmeth, saying that the language of the Ruthenians (which are the Moscouites) is Semidalmatic (that is, halfe Sclauone); howe so euer it be, this is The Sclauion tongue reacheth farre. certaine, that the Bohemians, Crotians, Sclauons, and Moscouites, agree in language, as we perceiued by thinterpretours whiche your maiestie had then in your courte. For whereas the sayd interpretours were borne among the Croations and Sclauons, and none of them had euer been in Moscouia, or before that tyme had any conversation with them, yet dyd they well vnderstande the ambassadours woordes.

Great woods,  
white beares  
and blacke  
woolues.

There are in Moscouia, wooddes of exceedyng byggenesse, in the whiche blacke woolues and whyte beares are hunted.

Abundance  
of hony and  
waxe.

The cause whereof may bee thextreme colde of the North, whiche doth greatly alter the complexions of beastes, and is the mother of whitenesse, as the Philosophers affirme. They haue also great plentie of Bees, wherby they haue such abundance of hony and waxe, that it is with them of smale price.

Rych furies.

When the commoditie of theyr countrey is neglected by reason of long warres, their chiefe aduantage wherby they haue all thynges necessarie towarde theyr lyuynge, is the

Theyr man-  
ner of bar-  
gayning.

gaynes whiche they haue by theyr ryche furies, as Sables, Marternes, Luzernes,<sup>1</sup> most whyte Armins, and such other, whiche they sell to merchauntes of dyvers countreys. They

Rude &  
wylde  
people.

bye and sell with the simple fayth of woordes, exchaungyng ware for ware, without any curious bondes or cautels. And

Tartars.

albeit they haue the vse of both golde and siluer mynes, yet do they for the moste parte exchaunge theyr furies for fruites, and other things necessarie to mainteine their life. There

Ciuile  
people in  
cities.

are also some people under the dominion of this Emperour, which haue neither wyne nor wheate, but lyue only by fleshe and mylke, as do the wylde Tartars theyr borderers, which

dwell in wods by the coastes of the frosen sea. These people are bruitishe and lyve in maner lyke wylde beastes. But they of the cite of Mosca and Nouigrade, and other cities,

are ciuile people, and agree with vs in eatyng of fyshe and fleshe, although theyr maner of coquerye is in many thynges differyng from ours. Volaterane wryteth that the Ruthenians vse money vncoyned.

They em-  
brace the  
Christian  
faith which  
they re-  
ceyued of the  
Apostles.

And enquiryng further, I was infourmed that the money of Hungary is much current with them. But this is cheeflye

to be considered, that they embrace the Christian fayth, whiche they affirme to haue been preached to them fyrst by Saint Andrewe the Apostle, and brother to Simon Peter.

Suche doctrine also as vnder Constantine the great, in the

Lupus cervarius, a kind of wolf, called the stag-wolf.

yeere .ccc.xviii., was concluded in the fyrst generall counsayle holden in the cite of Nicene in Bethynia, and there determined by ccc.xviii. Byshops, and also suche as hath been wrytten and taught by the Greeke Doctours Basilius Magnus and Chrisostomus, they beleue to be so holy, fyrme, and syncere, that they thynke it no more lawfull one heare to transgresse or go backe from the same, then from the Gospell of Christ. For theyr constancie and modestie is suche, that no man dare call those thynges into question whiche have once been decided by holy fathers in theyr generall counsailes. They do therfore with a more constant mynde perseuer in theyr first faith, which they receiued of Saint Andrew thapostle, and his successoure and holy fathers, then do many of vs, beyng diuided into scismes and sectes, which thing neuer chaunceth among them. But if any difficultie chaunce to rise as touching the faith or custome of religione, all is referred to the Archebyshop and other byshops, as to be defined by theyr spirite: not permyttyng any iudgement to the inconstant and ignoraunt people. Their Archbishop is resident in the cite of Mosca, where also the Emperour keepeth his court. They haue lykewyse diuers other Byshops: as one in Nouigradia, where also Isodorus was Byshop vnder pope Eugenius. They haue an other in Rosciuia [Rostov], an other in Sustali, an other in Otiferi, also in Smolne, in Resan, in Columum, and in Volut [Vologda], all whiche haue theyr Dioces. They acknowledge theyr Archebyshop as the cheefe. Before the Patriarche of Constantinople was oppressed by the tyranny of the Turkes, this Archebyshop recognised hym as his superiour: Insomuche that this Duke of Moscouia, and Emperour of Russia, not vnmyndeful hereof, but a diligent obseruer of his accustomed religion, doth at this daye yeerely sende a certayne stypend, in maner of almes, to the Patriarche of Constantinople, that he may with more quiet mynde looke for the ende of this his Egyptian seruitude, vntil it shall please almightie God to restore hym to his former

The counsayle of Nicene.

Basilius Magnus. Chrisostomus.

Their constancie in theyr religion.

The bishops define controuersies in religion.

Theyr bishops.

The archbishop. The patriarche of Constantinople.

A notable example of a Christian Prince.

churche and authoritie. For he iudgeth it mucche impietie, if he shoulde nowe forsake hym whose predicessours haue ruled and gouerned so many churches, and of whom the fayth and religion of so many regions and prouinces haue depended.

Theyr religion.

But to speake briefly of theyr religion, they agree in manye thynges with vs, and in some thynges folowe the Greekes. They haue Munkes and religious men. Not farre from the citie of Mosca, they haue a great Monasterie, in the whiche

A monasterie of cccc. Munkes.

are three hundred Munkes, lyuyng vnder the rule of Basilius Magnus, in the whiche is also the sepulchre of S. Sergius the Abbot. They obserue theyr vowe of chastitie, whiche none may breake that haue once professed. Yet such as haue maried Virgins of good fame, may be admitted to thorder of priesthood, but may neuer be a Munke. The priestes and Byshops whiche are admitted to orders vnmaried, may neuer after be maried: nor yet such as haue wiues marry agayne when they are dead, but liue in perpetual chastitie. Such as commit adulterie or fornication, are greuously punisshed by the Byshops, and depriued of the benefices. They celebrate

Priestes.

Masse.

masse after the maner of the Greekes, whiche differeth from ours in dyuers thynges, as in fermented bread, after the maner of the Greekes. They put in the Chalice as mucche water as red wine, which water they vse to heate, because (not without a great mysterie) there isshued forth of the syde of our Lord, both blood and water, which we ought by good reason to thynke was not without heat: for els should it scarcely haue been iudged for a miracle. In fine, they affirme that

A misterie.

al theyr customes and rites are according to the institutions of the primitive church, and the doctrine of Basilius Magnus, and Chrisostomus. In this thyng they differ greatly from vs, that they minister the communion to young chyldren of three yeeres of age, which they do with fermented bread dypt in a sponfull of wine, and geue it to them for the bodye and blood of Christ.

The primitive churche.

A strange custome.

**A Briefe Description of Moscouia, after the Later**WRITERS, AS SEBASTIAN MUNSTER,<sup>1</sup> AND JACOBUS GASTALDUS.<sup>2</sup>

The prouince of Moscouia, is so named of the ryver Mosca, whiche passeth by the metropolitane citie of Moscouia, called Mosca by the name of the ryuer Mosco. This prouince was called of the olde writers, Sarmatia Asiatica. The borderers or confines to the Moscouians on the one syde towarde the East, are the Tartars, called Nogai, and the Scianbanians, with the Zagatians. Towarde the West, the prouinces of Liuonia and Lituania. Towarde the South the ryver of Tanais, and the people confining with the ryver of Volga, called of the olde wryters Rha. And towarde the North, the Ocean sea, called the Scythian sea, and the region of Lapponia. Moscouia is in maner all playne, and full of Maryshes, wooddes, and many very great ryvers, whereof the ryver of Volga is the principall. Some call this Ledib, as the olde authours named it Rha. It begynneth at the great lake called Lacus Albus (that is) the white lake, and runneth into the sea of Bachau, named of the auncient wryters, the sea of Caspian or Hircanum. Under the dominion of Moscouia, are certayne regions and Dukedomes: as Alba Russia (that is whyte Russia). Also Colmogora, Plescouia, Basrida, Nouogradia, with also manie places of the Tartars, whiche are subiecte to the Duke of Moscouia. The chiefe cities of Moscouia, are Mosca, Plescouia, Nouogradia, Colmogora, Oto-

Sarmatia  
Asiatica.The Sey-  
thian Ocean.The ryuer  
Volga.

Lacus albus.

The Caspian  
Sea.Theyr  
chiefe cities.

<sup>1</sup> Sebastian Munster, a learned Hebraist, born at Ingelheim in 1489, whose *Cosmographie*, published at Basle, 1550, fol., is well known. For his notice of Russia, see Introduction, under article Nicolaus Cusanus.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobus Gastaldus, a native of Villafranca, in Piedmont. His geographical observations are inserted in the first Italian translation of Ptolemy, published by Pier Andrea Mattioli, Venice, 1548, 8vo.



geria, Viatra, Smolenser, Percastauia, Cologna, Volodemaria, Rostania, and Cassam. The people of Moscouia are Christians and haue great abundaunce of honey and waxe: also rych fures, as Sables, Marternes, Foynes,<sup>1</sup> and dyuers other.

The wylde  
Tartars.

All the Tartars whiche inhabite towarde the east beyonde the ryuer of Volga, haue no dwellyng places, nor yet cities or Castles, but cary about with them certayne cartes or wagens couered with beastes hydes, vnder whiche they reste, as we do in our houses. They remoue together in great compaynes, whiche they call Hordas. They are warlyke people, and good horsemen, and are all Macometistes [Mahometans].

Hordas.

The bygnes  
of the citie  
of Moscouia.

Sebastian Munster, in his booke of "Uniuersall Cosmographic", wryteth, that the citie of Mosca or Moscouia conteyneth in circuite xiiii. myles, and that it is twise as bygge as the citie of Praga in Bohemie. Of the countrey of Moscouia, besyde other prouinces subiecte to the same, he wryteth thus: It extendeth in largenesse foure hundreth myles, and is rych in syluer. It is lawful for no man to go out of the realme, or come in, without the Dukes letters. It is playne, without mountaynes, and full of woodds and marishes. The beastes there, by reason of the colde, are lesse then in other countreys more southwarde. In the middest of the citie of Mosca, beyng situate in a playne, there is a Castell with .xvii. toweres, and three bulwarkes, so strong & fayre, that the lyke are scarcely seene in any other place. There are also in the Castell .xvi. churches, and three very large courtes, in the whiche the noble men of the courte haue their lodgynges. The Dukes pallaice is buylded after the maner of the Italian buyldyng, and very fayre, but not great. Their drynke is mede and beere, as is the maner of the most part of the people that inhabite the North partes of the woorld.

Syluer.

The region  
of Moscouia.

Beastes.

A fayre and  
stronge castel  
in the  
citie of  
Mosca.

The Dukes  
pallaice.

Theyr  
drynke.

They are  
geuen to  
drunken-  
nesse.

They are exceedyngly geuen to droonkenesse. Yet (as some saye) the princes of the lande are prohibite on payne of death to absteine from such strong drinckes as are of force to ine-

<sup>1</sup> A species of weasel (*mustela foina?*).

briate, excepte at certayne times when licence is graunted them, as twise or thrise in the yeere. They plowe the ground with horses, and plowes of wood. Theyr corne and other grayne, by reason of long colde, do seldome waxe rype on the ground, by reason wherof they are sometimes inforced to rype and drye them in their stooves and hot houses, and then grynd them. They lacke wyne and oyle. Moscouia is extended vnto Iurham and Corelia, which are in Scithia. The famous ryuer of Tanais, the Moscouites call Don, hauyng his sprynges and originall in Moscouia, in the Dukedome of Rezensse. It ryseth out of a ground that is playne, baren, muddy, full of maryshes and wooddes. And where it proceedeth toward the East to the mountaynes of Scythia and Tartarie, it bendeth to the South: and commyng to the maryshes of Meotis, it falleth into them. The ryuer of Volga (sometyme called Rha, and now called of the Tartars Edell) runneth towards the North certaine myles, to whom is ioyned the ryuer Occa or Ocha, flowing out of Moscouia, and then bendyng into the South, and encreased with many other ryuers, falleth into the sea Euxinum, which diuideth Europe and Asia.

The wood or forest called Hircania silua, occupieth a small portion of Moscouia: Yet is it somewhere inhabited, and by the long labour of men, made thynner and barer of trees. In that part that lieth toward Prusia, is a kinde of great & fierce Bulles, called Vri or Brisonts, as writeth Paulus Jouius. There are also Alces, much lyke vnto Hartes, with long snowtes of flesh, and long legges, without any bowyng of theyr houx or pasternes. These beastes the Moscouites call Lozzi, and the Almaines, Helenes.<sup>1</sup> The iorney that is betweene Vlva of Lituania by Smolence to Mosca, is trauallyed in winter on Sledes, by the snow congeled by long frost, and made very slypperie and compact lyke Ise, by reason of much wearyng and treadyng, by meanes wherof this viage is per-

<sup>1</sup> Elan, or Allam, a name given in Buffon.

fourmed with incredible celeritie. But in the Sommer, the playne countreyes can not be ouercome without difficult labour:—For when the snow beginneth to be dissolued by contynuall heate, it causes maryshes and quagmyres, inextricable and dangerous both for horse and man, were it not for certaine Causeis made of timber with in maner infinite labour.

**Causeys of timber.** The region of Moscouia (as I haue said) beareth neither Wines nor Oliue trees, nor yet any other trees that beare any apples or fruites of very pleasant and sweete sauour or taste, except Cherry trees, forasmuch as al tender fruites and trees, are burnt of the cold blasts of the North wynde. Yet do the fieldes beare al kyndes of corne, as wheate, and the grayne called Siligo,<sup>1</sup> wherof the fynest kynde of breade is made: Also Mylle, and Panycke, whiche the Italians call Melica: Lykewyse al kyndes of pulse, as Beanes, Peason, Tares, and such other. But theyr cheefe haruest consisteth of Honye and Waxe, forasmuch as the whole region is replenished with fruitefull Bees, which make most sweete Hony, not in the husband mens hyues, but euen in hollow trees. And hereby commeth it to passe, that both in the wooddes and shadowed launes, are seene many swarmes of Bees hangyng on the bowes of trees, so that it shall not be necessarie to call them togeather, or charme them with the sound of Basens. There are often tymes founde great masses of Hony combes, conserued in trees, of the olde Hony, forsaken of bees, forasmuche as the husbandmen can not seeke euery tree in so great and large woods: Insomuch that in the stockes or bodies of exceedyng great and hollow trees, are sometymes founde great pooles or lakes of Hony. Demetrius, thambassadour of the Duke of Moscouia, whom he sent to the Bishop of Rome not many yeeres since, made relation that a husbandman of the countrey, not farre from the place where he remayned, seekyng in the woods for Hony, descended into a great hollowe tree full of Honye, into the

**Trees and fruites.**

**Corne and grayues.**

**Hony in wods and trees.**

**Lakes or pooles of hony.**

**A man almost drowned in honey.**

<sup>1</sup> *Query*, Siliqua, whence *seigle*, barley.

which he slypt vp to the breast, and lyued there only with Hony for the space of two dayes, calling in vaine for helpe in that desart of woodds: and that in fine dispayryng of helpe, he escaped by a marueylous chaunce, beyng drawn out by a great Beare that descended into the tree, with her loynes downewarde after the maner of men. For when the man (as present necessitie and opertunitie serued) perceyued the Beare to be within his reache, he sodenly clasped her about the loynes with his armes, and with a terrible crye prouoked the beast to enforce her strength to leape out of the tree, and therewith to drawe hym out, as it chaunced in deede.

A marueylous chaunce.

These regions aboude with Beares, whiche euery where seeke both Honye and Bees, not only herewith to fyll theyr bellyes, but also to helpe theyr syght: For theyr eyes are oftentimes dulled, and theyr mouthes wounded of the Bees: both which greefes are eased by eatyng of Honye. They haue weakest heades, as Lions haue strongest: Insomuche that when (beyng thereto enforced) they cast them selues downe headlong from any rockes, they couer theyr heades with theyr feete, and lye for a tyme astonished, and halfe deade with knockes. They walke sometymes on two feete, and spoyle trees, backwarde. Sometime also they inuade Bulles, and so hang on them with all theyr feete, and they weerye them with weight. The Beare (as sayeth Plinie) bringeth forth her byrth the thirtie day, and often tymes two. Theyr birth is a certaine white mass of flesh without fourme, and litle bigger then a mouse, without eyes, and without heare, with only the nayles or clawes commyng fourth: but the damme with continuall lyckyng, by litle and litle figureth the informe byrth. When she entreth into the denne which shee hath chosen, shee creepeth thyther with her belly vpwarde, least the place should be founde by the steppes of her feete. And beyng there deliuered of her byrth, remaineth in the same place for the space of .xiiii.

Beares feede of hony and bees.

Beares inuade Bulles.

The Beares byrth.

The Beares denne.

Beares lyue  
without  
meate .xl.  
dayes.

The sleepe  
of Beares.

The religion  
of the Mos-  
couites.

The Sey-  
thians sub-  
iect to the  
Duke of  
Moscouia.

dayes immoueable, as wryteth Aristotle. They lyue without meat .xl. dayes, and for that tyme susteyne them selues only by lyckying and suckying theyr ryght foote. At the length chaunsing to finde meate, they fyll them selues so full, that they remedy that surfeyte by vomyte, which they prouoke by eating of Antes. Theyr byrth is oppressed with so heauy a sleepe for the space of .xiiii. dayes, that it cannot be rayسد eyther with prickying or woundes, and in the meane tyme growe exceedyng fatte. After fourtiene dayes they wake from sleepe, and begyn to lycke and sucke the soles of theyr fore feete, and lyue thereby for a space: Nor yet is it apparent that they lyue by any other meate, vntyll the spring tyme of the yeere. At whiche tyme begynnyng to runne abrode, they feede of the tender buddes and young sprygges or branches of trees, and other hearbes correspondent to theyr lyppes.

Before five hundred yeeres, the Moscouites honoured the Goddes of the Gentyles: And they fyrst receyued the Christian fayth when the Byshoppes of Grecia began to discent from the church of the Latines: and therefore receyued the rites of the Greekes. They minister the sacrament with fermented breade vnder both kyndes: And thynke that the soules of dead men are not helped with the suffragies of priestes, nor yet by the deuotion of theyr friendes or kynsfolke: Also that the place of Purgatorie is a fable. In the tymes of diuine seruice, the hystorie of the myracles of Christ, and the Epistles of saint Paule are rehearsed out of the Pulpitte. Beyond Moscouia, are many people which they call Scythians, and are partely subiecte to the Prince of Moscouia. These are they which Duke Juan subdued, as are the people of Perm, Baskird, Cezriremissa, Jubra, Corela, and Permska. These people were Idolatours before the Duke compelled them to baptisme, & appointed a byshop ouer them named Steuen, whom the Barbarians, after the departure of the Duke, flayed alyue, and slue. But the

Duke returnyng shortly after, afflicted them sore, and assigned them a newe byshop.

It is here also to be noted, that the olde Cosmographers fayned, that in these regions towarde the North pole, there should be certayne great mountaynes, which they called Riphcos and Hyperboreos, which neuerthelesse are not founde in nature. It is also a fable, that the ryuers of Tanais & Volham doe spring out of hygh mountaynes, whereas it is apparent that both these ryuers, and many other, haue their originall in the playnes.

It was then an opinion that all ryuers sprong out of mountaynes.

Next to Moscouia, is the fruitful region of Colmogora, through the whiche runneth the ryuer of Diuidna, beyng the greatest that is knowen in the North partes of the worlde. This ryuer increaseth at certayne tymes of the yeere, as the ryuer of Nilus in Egypt ouerfloweth the fieldes rounde about, and with abundaunce of fatte moysture resisteth the coldnesse of the ayre. Wheate sown in the grounde, groweth abundauntly without ploughyng: and fearyng the newe iniurie of the proude ryuer, springeth, groweth, and rypeth, with wonderfull celeritie of hastyng nature.

The fruitful region of Colmogora. The great ryuer Diuidna.

Wheate without plowing.

Into the ryuer of Diuidna runneth the ryuer of Juga: And in the very angle or corner where they meete, is a famous marte towne named Vstiuga, beyng a hundred and fyftie myles distant from the chiefe citie of Mosca. To this marte towne, from the higher countreis, are sent the precious fures of Marternes, Sables, Woolues, & such other, which are exchanged for dyuers other kyndes of wares & merchandies. Hytherto Munsterus.

The ryuer of Juga.

Vstiuga.

Furres.

And forasmuche as many doe marueyle that such plentie of hony should bee in so coole a countrey, I haue thought good to declare the reason and naturall cause hereof. It is therefore to be considered, that lyke as spices, gums, and odoriferous fruites are engendred in hotte regions, by continuall heate duryng all the whole yeere, without impression of the mortifying qualitie of colde, whereby all thynges are

The naturall cause of much hony in colde regions.

Gummes and spyces in hotte countreys.

Floures in  
colde re-  
gions.

constrayned as they are dilated by heate, euen so in colde and moyst regions (whose moysture is thynner and more wateryshe then in hot regions) are flowers engendred more abundauntly, as caused by impression of lesse and faynter heate, workyng in thynne matter of wateryshe moysture, lesse concocte then the matter of gummes and spyces, and other vnctuous frutes and trees growyng in hot regions. For although (as Munster sayeth here before) the region of Moscouia beareth neyther vines or oliues, or any other frutes of sweet sauour, by reason of the coldnesse thereof,

Floures of  
trees.

neuerthelesse, forasmuch as floures (wherof hony is chiefly geathered) may in sommer season growe abundauntly in the playnes, maryshes, & woods, not onely on the ground, but also on trees in colde regions, it is agreeable to good reason, that great plentie of hony should be in suche regions as abounde with floures, which are brought fourth with the fyrst degree of heate, and fyrst approche of the sunne, as appeareth in the spryng tyme, not only by the spryngyng of floures in fieldes and gardeynes, but also of blossomes of trees spryngyng before the leaues or fruite, as the lyghter and thynner matter fyrst drawne out with the lowest and least

Blossomes  
of trees.

An example  
of the de-  
grees of  
heate.

degree of heate: as the lyke is seene in the arte of stylling, whereby all thynne and lyght moystures are lyfted vp by the fyrst degree of the fyre: and the heauyest and thickest moystures are drawne out with more vehement fyre. As we

The genera-  
tion of  
floures by  
moderate  
heate.

may therefore in this case compare the generation of floures to the heate of May, the generation of gummes to the heat of June, and spyces to the heate of July: Even so, in suche colde regions whose summer agreeth rather with the temperate heate & moysture of May, then with the extreme heate of the other monethes, that heate is more apte to bring fourth abundance of floures, as thinges caused by moderate heate, as playnly appeareth by their tast and sauour, in which is no sharpe qualitie of heate, eyther byting the tongue, or offendyng the head, as is in spices, gums, and frutes of hotte

regions. And as in colde and playne regions, moderate heate, with aboundance of moisture, are causes of the generation of floures (as I haue sayde) so lykewyse the length of the dayes and shortnesse and warmenesse of the nyghtes in sommer season, in such colde regions, is a greate helpe herevnto. Cardanus writeth in his booke “De Plantis”, that bramble & fearne growe not but in colde regions, as doeth wheate in temperate regions : and that spices and hot seedes, can not growe in colde regions ; forasmuch as beyng of thynne substance, they should soone bee mortified & extinct by excessiue colde. For (as he sayeth) nothing can concocte, rype, and attenuate the substance of fruites without the helpe of ayre, agreeable to the natures of such thinges as are brought foorth in the same, although it may doe this in rootes. But in maner all floures are of sweete sauoure, forasmuch as the moysture that is in them, being thynne and but litle, is by meane heate soone and easily concocte or made rype. Suche also as are soon rype, are soone rotten, accordyng to the prouerbe. Plinie, although in the .xi booke of his “Naturall Hystorye”, cap. viii. he wrytheth that hony is geathered of the floures of all trees and settes or plantes, except sorell and the hearbe called Chenopode (which some call Goose foote) yet he affirmith that it descendeth from the ayre : for in the .xii Chapter of the same booke, he wryteth thus :

This cometh from the ayre at the rysyng of certayne starres, and especially at the rysyng of Sirius, and not before the rysyng of Vergilis (which are the seuen starres called Pleiades) in the spryng of the day. For then at the mornyng spryng, the leaues of trees are founde moist with a fatte dewe. Insomuche that suche as haue been abrode vnder the firmament at that tyme, haue theyr apparell annoynted with lyquor, and the heare of theyr head clammy. And whether this bee the swette of heauen, or as it were a certayne spettyl of the starres, eyther the iuise of the ayre purgyng

Long dayes  
and shorte  
nyghtes.

Bramble  
and fearne.  
Spices.

The sauour  
of floures.

What Plinie  
wrytheth of  
hony.

Sirius is  
otherwyse  
called Cani-  
cula, that is,  
the Dogge,  
of whom the  
canicular  
dayes haue  
theyr name.

What is  
hony ?



it selfe, I would it were pure, liquide, & simple of his owne nature, as it first falleth from aboue. But now descendyng so farre, and infected, not only with suche vncleane vapours and exhalations as it meeteth by the way, but afterwarde also corrupted by the leaues of trees, hearbes, and floures of sundry tastes and qualities, and lykewyse as well in stomackes of the bees (for they vomite it at their mouthes) as also by long reseruyng the same in Hives; it neuertheless reteyneth a great parte of the heauenly nature, etc. Agayne in the .xiii. Chapter of the same booke he wryteth, that in certayn regions towarde the North, as in some places of Germanie, hony is founde in such quantitie, that there haue been seene hony coombes eyght foote long, and blacke in the holow parte. By the which woordes of Plinie, and by the principles of naturall philosophie, it doeth appeare that aboundaunce of honey should chiefly be engendred in suche regions, where the heate of sommer is temperate and continuall, as well by nyght as by day, as it is not in hot regions, where the nyghtes be long and colde, as is declared in the Decades. For like as such thinges as are fyned by continuall heate, mouyng, and circulation, are hyndered by refrigeration or colde (as appeareth in the arte of stylling and hatchyng of egges) euen so by the action of temperate and continuall heate, without interposition of contrarie and mortifying qualitie, crude thinges are in shorte tyme made rype, sower made sweete, thicke made thinne, heauie made lyght, grosse made subtile, harde made softe, dead made luyng, and in fine, bodyes made spirites, as manifestly appeareth in the marueylous woorke of dygestion of luyng beastes, whereby the finest parte of theyr nouryshment is turned into blood, and the finest of that blood conuerted into spirites, as the lyke is also seene in the nouryshment of trees, plants, and hearbes, and all other thinges that growe on the grounde, all which are moued, digested, subtiliate, attenuate, ryped, and made sweete by the action of this continuall heate whercof

Howe hony is corrupted.

Hony of great quantitie in North regions.

Hot nyghtes in colde regions.

A similitude.

Natural heat doeth subtile and digest all thinges.

I haue spoken. To conclude therefore, if hony be eyther the swette of the starres, or the iuise of the ayre purgyng it selfe (as Plinie wryteth) or otherwyse engendred of subtylSubtyl vapo-  
urs di-  
gested by  
heate. and fine vapours rysing from the earth, and concocte or digested in the ayre by the sayde continuall and moderate heate, it may seeme by good reason that the same should be engendred in sommer season more abundantly in colde Colde  
regions. regions then in hot, for the causes aforesayde. And that it may by auctoritie and reason more manifestly appeare, both that the heate of sommer in colde regions is continuall (as I haue sayde) and also that the colde in wynter is not there so intollerable to thinhabitauntes of those regions as other doe thynke, I haue thought good for the better declaration hereof, to adde herevnto what I haue geathered out of the booke of Ziglerus, wrytten of the North regions. Ziglerus.

### Of the North Regions, and of the Moderate and

CONTINUAL HEATE IN COLDE REGIONS, ASWELL IN THE NYGHT AS IN THE DAY IN SOMMER SEASON: ALSO HOWE THOSE REGIONS ARE HABITABLE TO THINHABITAUNTES OF THE SAME, CONTRARY TO THE OPINION OF THE OLDE WRYTERS.

Of this matter, Ziglerus<sup>1</sup> in his booke of the North regions Ziglerus. in the description of Scandia, wryteth as foloweth.

We will intreate of this matter, not as putting the same in question as did the olde writers, nor geathering iudgement deducted of reasons in way of argument, forasmuche as we are already more certayne by hystorie that these colde regions are inhabited. We will first therfore shew by natu-

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Ziegler, a celebrated theologian and mathematician, born at Landau in Bavaria. His *Schondia* occurs in a collective geographical work published at Strasburg, 1582, fol.

The qualitie of sommer in colde regions.

rall reason, and by consideration of the sphere, declare howe by the helpe of man and arte, colde regions are inhabited without damage or destruction of lyuyng beastes : And will first speake of the qualitie of sommer, declaryng howe it is there augmented. Yet intend I not to comprehend all that may be sayde in this matter, but only rehearse suche reasons and similitudes as are most apparent and easie to be vnderstoode.

The course of the Sunne.

In such regions therefore, as are extended from the burnt lyne or Equinoctiall towarde the North, as much as the sunne ryseth higher ouer them, so much are they the more burnt with heat, as Affrica, bycause it ryseth highest ouer them, as they are nearest to the Equinoctiall : & taryng with them so much the shorter tyme, causeth shorter dayes, with longer and colder nyghtes, to restore the damage of the day

Vapours.

past, by reason of the moisture consumed by vapour. But in such regions ouer the which the sun ryseth lower (as in Sarmatia) it remayneth there the longer in the day, and causeth so much the shorter and warmer nyghtes, as reteynyng warme vapours of the day past, which vapours helpe the woorke of the day. I speake as I haue founde by experience, sayth Vpsaliensis:<sup>1</sup> For I haue felte the sommer

Short and warme nyghtes.

Gothlande.

nyghtes scarsely tollerable for heate in Gothlande, whereas I felte them colde in Rome. This benefit of the increase of the day doeth augment so much the more in colde regions, as they are nearer the poles : and ceaseth not vntyll it come directly ouer the center or poynte of the axes or axceltree of the worlde, where the sunne beyng at the hiest in sommer, is cleuate about .xxiiii. degrees : In which regions, one continuall day consisteth of .vi. monethes from the spryng tyme,

One day of vi. monethes.

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Magnus, named Stor in Swedish, was archbishop of Upsala. Ziegler, in the preface to his *Schondia*, speaks of him as a private friend from whom he derived information. His work, entitled *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Suenonumque regibus*, was subsequently published by his brother Olaus Magnus. Rome, 1554, fol.

by the standyng of the sunne (called Solstitium) in the signe of Cancer, to Autumne. The Sunne therefore, without any offence of the nyght, gyueth his influence vpon those landes with heate that neuer ceaseth duryng that tyme, which maketh to the great increase of sommer, by reason of continuance. Wee haue now therefore thought good to geather, by a certayne coniecture, howe greatly we thynke the sommer to be increased heereby.

Howe the sommer is increased in colde regions.

We haue before declared howe hygh the sunne is eleuate ouer the regions that are vnder the poles at the staye of the sunne. And so many partes is it eleuate in Rome at the staye of the sunne in wynter (that is) at the shortest day in the yeere. But here, in the myd wynter, the sunne at noonetyde is beneficiall, and bryngeth foorth floures, Roses, and Ielefloures. I haue geathered some in winter in the moneth of December, not procured at home by humane arte, but growyng in open Gardens in maner in euery bed vnder the bare heauen, brought foorth only by the sunne. But this benignitie of the sunne, continueth not past fyue houres in the naturall day, forasmuch as the operation thereof is extinct by the coldnesse of the nyght folowyng. But if this benefite myght be receyued without hinderaunce of the nyght, as it is vnder the poles, and so continue many monethes in hot regions vnto wynter, it should surely bring foorth many wonderful thinges, if moysture fayled not. And by this condition thus propounded, we may well conceyue that the Romayne wynter, although it be not hotte, yet to be equall in heate to the full spryng tyme in the same citie, duryng the tyme of the sayd fyue houres. And thus by a similitude of the height of the sunne vnder both places, and of the knowen qualitie of the Romane heauen, and by the accesse of the sunne to such places where the longest day continueth certayne monethes, we may geather that sommer, in places vnder the pole, is lyke vnto and equall with the full Romane spryng.

Rome.

Colde nyghtes in hot regions.

The Romane wynter.

One night  
of vi  
monethes.

Obiections.

The twy-  
lightes.

The lyght of  
the Moone.

The nyght  
vnder the  
pole.

A demon-  
stration.

But the more difficult question, is of the tyme of the .vi. monthes in the whiche the Sunne leaueth those regions, and goeth by the contrary or ouerthwarte circle towarde the south in wynter. For they say that at that tyme, those regions are deformed with horrible darknesse, and nyghtes not increased, whiche may be the cause that beastes can not seeke theyr foode: And that also the colde should then bee intollerable. By which double euyls all thynges constrayned should dye, so that no beast were able to abyde the iniuries of wynter and famyne insuyng thereof: but that all beastes should peryshe before the sommer folowyng, when they should bryng fourth theyr broode or succession: and that for these causes, the sayde colde clyme should be perpetually desolate and vnhabitable. To all which obiections we answer in this maner.

As touchyng the nyghtes not increased, I say, that it was not conuenient to assume that for any reason. For not as the Sunne falleth, so sodeynly commeth the darke nyght: but that the euenyng doeth substitute and prolong the day long after, as also the day spryng or dawning of the day, gyueth a certayne lyght before the rysyng of the Sunne: After the which, the residue of the nyght that receyueth no lyght by the sayde euenyng and mornyng twilightes, is accomplished by the lyght of the Moone, so that the nyghtes are sildome vnaugmented. Let this bee an example proued by our temperate regions, whereby we may vnderstande the condition of the nyght vnder the pole: Therefore euen there also the twilightes helpe the nyght a long tyme, as we will more presently demonstrate. It is approoued by the Astronomers, that the Sunne descendyng from the highest halfe sphere by eightiene paralels of the vnder horizon, maketh an ende of the twilight, so that at the length the darke nyght succeedeth: And that the Sunne approchyng, and rysyng aboute the hyghest halfe sphere by as many paralels, doeth dyminyshe the nyght and increase the twylight. Agayne,

by the position or placynge of the sphere vnder the pole, the same is the horizontall that is the Equinoctiall. Those paralelles therefore that are paralelles to the horizontall lyne, are also paralelles to the Equinoctiall. So that the Sunne descending there vnder the horizon, doeth not bryng darke nyghtes to those regions, vntyll it come to the paralels distant .xviii. partes from the Equinoctiall.

Duryng the tyme of the sayde syxe monethes of darkenesse vnder the pole, the nyght is destitute of the benefite of the Sunne and the sayde twylyghtes, onely for the space of three monethes, in the whiche the Sunne goeth and returneth by the portion of the ouerthwarte circle. But yet neyther this tyme of three monethes is without remedy from heauen. For the Moone with her full globe increased The Moone. in lyght, hath accesse at that tyme, and illuminateth the monethes lackyng lyght, euery one by them selues, halfe the course of the moneth: by whose benefite it commeth to passe that the nyght, named as vnaugmented, possesseth those regions no longer then one moneth and a halfe, neyther that continually or all at one tyme: but this also diuided into three sortes of shorter nyghtes, of the whiche euery one endureth for the space of two weekes, and are illuminate of the Moone accordyngly. And this is the reason conceyued of the power of the sphere, whereby we testifie that the sommers and nyghtes vnder the pole are tollerable to lyuyng beastes. But we wyll nowe declare by other remedies of nature and Remedies of nature and art. arte, that this colde so greatly feared, is more remisse and tollerable then our opinion: so that, compared to the nature of suche beastes as lyue there, it may be abydden. And there is no doubt but there are autours of more antiquitie then that age in the whiche any thyng was exactly knowen or discoverd of the North regions. The olde wryters there- The olde wryters persuaded by coniecture. fore persuaded onely by naked coniecture, dyd geather what they myght determyne of those places: Or rather, by the estimation of heauen, the whiche, because they felte it to be

A brasen  
potte broken  
with frost.

hardely tollerable to them selues, and lesse to men borne in the clyme of Egypt and Grecia, tooke thereby an argument of the whole habitable earth. The hystorie of Strabo is knowen, that a potte of brasse, whiche was broken in sunder with frozen water, was brought from Pontus, and shewed in Delphis in token of a greuous wynter. Here therefore, they that so greatly feared the wynter (suche as chaunceth to the earth vnder the .xlviij. paralele) and therefore consecrated that broken potte to the temple of Apollo: what could suche men truely define vpon regions so farre without that paralele, whether they were inhabited or not: But suche as folowed these, beyng contented with thinuentions of the olde autours, and borne in maner vnder the same qualitie of heaven, persysted wyllingly in the same opinion, with more confidence then consideration of the thynges whereof we nowe intreate: so lyghtly was that opinion receyued as touchyng the vnhabitable clime vnder the poles. But we with better confidence and faith (forasmuche as we are not instructed with coniectures) intende to stande against the sentence of the olde autours, affyrmyng the North regions within the colde clime to be inhabited with herrynges, coddess, haddockes, and brettess,<sup>1</sup> tunnyes, and other great fyses, with thinfinite number whereof tables are furnyshed through a great parte of Europe: All whiche are taken in the North sea extended beyonde our knoweledge. This sea at certayne tymes of the yeere poureth foorth his plentifulnes, or rather driueth foorth his increase to seeke newe mansions, and are here taken in theyr passage. Furthermore also, euen the mouthes of the riuer of Tiber receiued a fyshe as a newe gest sent from the North sea: this swamme twise through Fraunce, and twise through Spayne, ouerpassed the Ligurion and Tuscan sea, to communicate her selfe to the citie of Rome. The lakes also and ryuers of those regions are replenyshed with fyshe: insomuch that no power of

Fyses of  
the North  
sea.

The North  
sea.

<sup>1</sup> A local name for a flat-fish of the turbot and flounder kind.

colde is able to extinguishe thincrease of the yeere following, and the succession reparable so many hundred yeeres. And I plainely thinke, that if it should of necessitie folowe, that one of these two elementes, the earth and the water, should be destructive to lyuyng creatures, the water should chiefly haue wrought this effecte. But this is founde so tractable, that in the depe wynter, both that increase is brought forth, and fyshyng is also exercised. The lande is likewise inhabited with like plentifulnesse. But that we wander not to farre, let the fayth hereof rest in therposition folowyng, wherein we intend to declare howe by the power of nature and industry of man, this commoditie may come to passe.

Therefore as touchyng nature, we suppose that the diuine prouidence hath made nothyng vncommunicable, but to haue geuen suche order to all thynges, whereby euery thyng may be tollerable to the next. The extremities of the elementes consent with theyr next. The ayre is grosse about the earth and water: but thynne and hot about the fyre. By this prouidence of nature, the vttermost sea is very salt. And salt (as witnesseth Plinie) yeldeth the fattnesse of Oyle. But Oyle, by a certayne natyue heate, is of propertie agreeable to fyre. The sea then, beyng al of such qualitie, powreth fourth it selfe farre vpon thextreme landes, whereby by reason of the saltnesse thereof, it moueth and stirreth vpon generatiue heate, as by fatnesse it norisheth the fecunditie of thynges generate. It geueth fruitfulnessse to the earth at certayne floods, although the earth also it selfe haue in his inner bowels the lyuely and norishing heate, wherby not only the Dennes, Caues, and hollow places, but also sprynges of water are made warme: & this so much the more, in howe muche the wynter is more vehement. This thyng doth more appeare by this example, that the mountaines of Norway and Swethlande are fruitfull of metales, in the which, siluer and copper are concocte and molten into veines, which can scarcely be done in fornaces. By this reason also, the va-

The qualitie of water.

The land.

The diuine prouidence in moderatyng the elementes.

The nature of the sea.  
Salt.

Generatiue heate.

Outward cold is cause of inwarde heate.

Metals.



Vapoures  
and exhalations.

poures and hot exhalations pearsyng the earth and the waters, and through both those natures breathyng foorth into the ayre, temperateth the qualitie of heauen, & maketh it tollerable to beastes, as witnesseth the huge bygnesse of the

Whales.

Whales in those seas, with the strength of body, and long lyfe of such beastes as lyue on the lande: which thyng coulde not be, except all thynges were there commodiously norished by the benefite of the heauen and the ayre. For nothyng that in the tyme of encrease is hyndred by any iniurie, or that is euyl fedde al the tyme it lyueth, can prosper

Beastes.

Hereby may be considered the cause of the death of our men that sayle directly to Guinea.

wel. Neyther are such thynges as liue there, offended with theyr natural wynter, as though an Egyptian or an Ethiopian were sodenly conueighed into those cold regions. For they were in long tyme, by litle and litle, brought fyrst acquaynted with the nature of that heauen, as may be prooued both by the lyfe of man, and by the hystorie of holy scripture. They that were led from Mesopotamia, and that famous Tower of Babilon towards the North partes of the worlde, in the fyrst dispertion of nations, did not immedi-

No passage from one extremitie to an other but by a meane.

ately passe to the extreme boundes, but planted their habitations first vnder a myddle heauen, between both, as in Thracia, and Pontus, where there posteritie was accustomed better to susteyne the rigour of Scythia and Tanais, as he that commeth from winter to sommer, may the better after abyde yse and snow, beyng fyrst hardened thereto by the frostes of Autumne. In lyke maner mortal men, accustomed to beare the hardnesse of places next vnto them, were thereby at the length more confirmed to sustayne the extremities. And here also, if any sharpnesse remaine that may seeme intollerable, nature hath so prouided for the same, with other remedies. For the land and sea hath geuen vnto

Caves and dennes.

beastes deepe and large caues, dennes, and other hollowe places, and secreete corners in mountaynes and rockes, both on the land and by sea banckes, in the which are euer conteyned warme vapoures, so muche the more intent and

vehement, in how much they are the more constraigned by extreme cold. Nature hath also geuen valleyes diuerted Valleis. and defended from the North windes.

She hath lykewyse couered beastes with heare, so muche the thicker, in how much the vehemencie of cold is greater: by reason wherof the best and richest furies are brought The best furies. from those regions, as Sables, whose pryce is growne to great Sables. excesse, next vnto gold and precious stones, and are esteemed princely ornamentes. The beastes that beare these furies are hunted cheefelye in winter (whiche thyng is more strange), because their heare is then thicker, and cleaveth faster to the skin. How greuous then shal we thinke the wynter to be there, where this litle beast liueth so wel, and where the hunters may search the dennes and hauntes of Beastes that lye hyd in wynter. such beastes through the woods and snow: But such beastes, the condition of whose bodies is so tender that they are not able to abide thiniurie of the cold, either lye hyd in wynter, or change their habitation, as do certaine beasts also in our clime. Nature hath furthermore geuen remedie to man, both by arte and industry, to defende him selfe both abrode and at home. Abrode with a thicke vesture, and the same well dowbeled. At home, with large fyres on Harthes, Chymneyes, and in Stoues for the daye, with close Chaumbers, and Couches, soft and warme Beddes for the nyght: by whiche remedies they mittigate the wynters, which seeme rigorous to straungers, although they are to thinhabitantes All beastes haue the nature of the place where they are engendred. more tollerable then our opinion, as in deede by the fyrst naturall mixture or composition of theyr bodies such thynges are agreeable to them as seeme very hard to other. The lion in Affrik, and the beare in Sarmatia, are fierce, as in theyr present strength and vigoure: but translated into a contrary heauen, are of lesse strength and courage. The foule called Ciconia (which some thinke to be the Storke) doth not tary the wynter: yet do the Cranes come at that tyme.

The Scythian wyll accuse the Romane heauen as inducyng feuers, whereas neuertheless there is none more holsome. Such as haue been tenderly brought vp, if they come suddeynely into the campe, can not away with hunger, watchyng, heate, passages through ryuers, battayles, sieges, and assaults: But the olde souldier, exercised in the warres, vseth these as meditations of the fielde, as hardened therto by long experience. He that hath been accustomed to the shadowe of the citie, and wyll attempte the saying of the poet Virgil, *Nudus ara, sero nudus*, (that is), naked and bare, without house and home, shal to his peryl make an end of the verse, *Habebis frigora februm*, (that is), he shal haue the cold ague. Suche thynges therefore as seeme hard vnto us, beyng accustomed by litle and litle, become more tollerable: Insomuch that this exercise of sufferance by such degrees doth oftentimes growe to prodigious effectes, farre beyonde our expectation. And thus we seeme to haue made sufficient demonstration, by heauen, nature, and art, wherby it may appeare that no parte of the land or sea is denied to liuing creatures. The reader may also perceiue howe large matter of reasons and examples may be opened for the declaryng of our opinion, wherin we rest. Let therefore thauctoritie of the auntient auctours geue place, and the consent of the newe writers agree to this history, not as nowe at the length comprehended (wheras before many hundred yeeres Germanie and Scandia had entercourse of merchandies not seuered by the large gulfe of Gothia), but as nowe by our commentaries brought to lyght: and hauyng sayde thus muche in maner of a preface, we wyll nowe proceede to wryte of the North regions.

What exercise may do.

Vse maketh masteries.

Scandia.

### Laponia.

The region of Laponia was so named of the people that inhabite it. For the Germanes call all suche Lapones as are simple or vnapte to thinges. This people is of small stature, and of suche agilitie of bodie, that hauyng theyr quyuers of arrowes gerte to them, and theyr bowes in theyr handes, they can with a leape cast themselues through a circle or hope of the diameter of a cubite. They fight on foote, armed with bowes and arrowes, after the maner of the Tartars. They are exercised in hurlyng the darte, and shootyng, from theyr youth: insomuche that they gyue theyr chyldren no meate vntyll they hyt the marke they shoote at, as dyd in old tyme thynhabitauntes of the Ilandes called Baleares. They vse to make theyr apparell streight and close to theyr bodyes, that it hynder not theyr woorke. Theyr wynter vestures are made of the whole skynnes of Seales or Beares, artificially wrought, and made supple. These they tye with a knotte aboue theyr heads, leauyng onely two holes open to looke through, and haue all the residue of theyr bodyes couered, as though they were sowed in sakes, but that this beyng adopted to all partes of theyr bodyes, is so made for commoditie, and not for a punyshment, as the Romanes were accustomed to sow paricides in sakes of leather, with a Cocke, an Ape, and a Serpent, and so to hurle them alyue altogeaether into the ryuer of Tiber. And heereby I thynke it came to passe, that in olde tyme it was rashly beleued, that in these regions there were men with rough & heary bodyes lyke wylde beastes, as parte made relation through ignoraunce, parte also takyng pleasure in rehearsall of suche thinges as are straunge to the hearers. The Lapones defended by this arte and industry, goe abrode

People of  
great  
agilitie.

A strange  
apparell.

The cause of  
an olde  
errour.

and withstand the sharpnesse of wynter and the North wyndes, with all the iniuryes of heauen. They haue no houses, but certayne Tabernacles lyke tentes or hales, wherewith they passe from place to place, and chaunge their mansions. Some of them lyue after the maner of the people of Sarmatia, called in olde tyme Amaxobii, which vsed waynes in the steade of houses. They are much giuen to huntyng, and haue suche plentie of wylde beastes, that they kyll them in maner in euery place. It is not lawful for a woman to goe foorth of the tent at that doore by the which her husbände went out on huntyng the same day, nor yet to touche with her hande any parte of the beast that is taken, vntyll her husbände reache her on the spytte suche a portion of fleshe as he thynketh good. They tyll not the grounde. The region nourysheth no kynde of Serpentes: yet are there great and noysome Gnattes. They take fyshe in great plentie: by the commoditie whereof they lyue after the maner of the Ethiopians, called Ichthiophagi. For as these drye theyr fyshe with feruent heate, so doe they drye them with colde, and grynde or stampe them to poudere as small as meale or floure. They haue suche aboundaunce of these fyses, that they hould great plentie thereof in certeyne store houses, to carry them vnto other landes neare about them, as Northbothnia, and Whyte Russia. Theyr shyppes are not made with nayles, but are tyed together and made fast with cordes and wythes. With these they sayle by the swyft ryuers betweene the mountaynes of Laponia, beyng naked in sommer that they may the better swymme in the tyme of perill, and geather together such wares as are in daunger to be lost by shypwracke. Parte of them exercise handie craftes, as imbroderyng and weauyng of cloth, interlaced with gold and siluer. Suche as haue deuised any necessary Arte, or doe increase and amende the inuentions of other, are openly honoured, and rewarded with a vesture, in the which is imbrodered an argument or token

So doe the  
Tartars.

Plentie of  
wylde  
beastes.

No ser-  
pentes.  
Great gnats.

Abound-  
aunce of  
fyshe.

Shypps with-  
out nayles.

Science  
honoured.

of the thyng they deuised. And this remayneth to the posteritie of theyr famelie, in token of theyr desartes. They frame shyppes, buylde houses, and make dyuers sortes of housholde stufte artificially, and transporte them to other places neare about. They buye and sell both for exchange of wares, and for money. And this only by consent of both parties, without communication: yet not for lacke of wytte, or for rudenesse of maners, but bycause they haue a peculiar language vnknown to theyr borderers. It is a valiant nation, and lyued long free, and susteyned the warres of Norway and Suetia, vntyll at the length they submitted themselues, and payde ryche fures for theyr tribute. They chose themselues a gouernour, whom they cal a kyng: But the kyng of Suetia gyueth him auctoritie and administration. Neuerthelesse, the people in theyr suites and doubtful causes resorte to Suetia to haue theyr matters decided.

Bargeynnyng  
without  
woordes.

In theyr iourneys, they go not to any Inne, nor yet enter into any house, but lye all nyght vnder the firmament. They haue no horses, but in the steade of them they tame certayne wylde beastes which they call Reen, beyng of the iust bygnesse of a Mule, with rough heare lyke an Asse, clouen feete, and branched hornes lyke a Harte, but lower and with fewer antlettes. They will not abyde to be rydden. But when theyr peytrels or drawyng-collars are put on them, and they so ioyned to the Chariotte or sleade, they run in the space of .xxiiii. houres, a hundred and fiftie myles, or .xxx. Schœnos, the whiche space they affyrme to chaunge the horizon thryse, that is, thryse to come to the furthest signe or marke that they see a far off. Which, doubtlesse, is a token both of the marueylous swiftnesse & great strength of these beastes, beyng able to continue runnyng for so great a space, in the meane whyle also spendyng some tyme in feedyng. I suppose that this thyng was somewhat knowen to the olde wryters, although receyued in

No horses.

A beast of  
marueylous  
strength and  
swiftnesse.

What Schoe-  
nus is, looke  
in Gron-  
londe.

The chaunge  
of the  
horizon.

The olde  
aucthours  
called all the  
north people  
Scythians.

maner by an obscure and doubtful fame: For they also wryte that certayne Scythians doe ryde on Hartes.

They neyther folow the Christian religion, nor yet refuse it, or are offended therewith, as are the Iewes: but doe sometymes receyue it fauourably, to gratifie the princes to whom they obey. And that no more of them imbrase the Christian fayth, the faulte is somewhat to be imputed to the Bysshoppes and Prelates that haue eyther reiected this cure & charge of instructyng the nation, or suffered the fayth of Christ to be suffocate euen in the fyrst spryng. For vnder the pretence of religion, they would haue aduanced theyr owne reuenues, and ouerburdened the people by an intolerable example, none otherwyse here then in all Christendome, which thyng is doubtlesse the cause of most greeuous defections. I heard John, a byshop of Gothlande, say thus: We that gouerne the church of Vpsalia, and haue vnder our diocesse a great parte of that nation, lyke as it is not conuenient to declare many thinges of our vigilance and attendaunce ouer the flocke committed to our charge, euen so absteynyng from mischeeuous couetousnesse, whereby religion is abused for luker, we doe in all places our diligent endeuour, that wee minister none occasion, whereby this nation, as offended by our sinnes, may be the lesse wyllyng to embrase the Chrystian fayth. This is the state of the religion among the Lapones: although of theyr owne institution and custome receyued of theyr predicessours, they are Idolatours, honouryng that lyuyng thyng that they meete fyrst in the mornyng, for the God of that day, and diuinyng thereby theyr good luck or euyll. They also erecte Images of stone vpon the mountaynes, whiche they esteeme as Goddes, attributyng to them diuine honour. They solemne mariages, and begyn the same with fyre and flynt, as with a mysterie so aptely applied to the Image of stone, as if it had been receyued from the myddest of Grecia. For in that they adhibite a mysterie to fyre, as they doe not this alone

Erasmus  
lamenteth  
this in his  
fyrst booke,  
De Ratione  
Contionan-  
di, where he  
speaketh of  
the people  
called  
Pilapil.

Idolatrie.

A mysterie  
of mariage  
in fyre and  
flynt.

(forasmuch as the Romanes obserued the same custome), euen so are they herein partly to be commended, in that they vse the ceremonies of so noble a people. The mysterie of the flinte is no lesse to be praysed, both forasmuch as this is domesticall philosophie, and hath also a neare affinite and signification to these solemnities. For as the flynt hath in it fyre lying hyd, whiche appeareth not but by mouyng & force: so is there a secrete lyfe in both kynds of man and woman, which by mutuall coniunction commeth fourth to a lyuyng byrth.

They are furthermore experte inchaunters. They tye Experte inchaunters. three knottes on a stryng hangyng as a whyp. When they lose one of these, they rayse tollerable wynds. When they lose an other, the wynde is more vehement: but by losyng the thyrd, they rayse playne tempestes, as in olde tyme they were accustomed to rayse thunder and lyghtnyng. This arte doe they vse agaynst such as sayle by theyr coastes; and staye or moue the ryuers and seas more or lesse, as they lyst to shew fauour or displeasure. They make also of leade certayne shorte magicall dartes of the Magicall dartes. quantitie and length of a fynger. These they throwe agaynst such, of whom they desyre to be reuenged, to places neuer so farre distant.

They are sometymes so vexed with the canker on theyr The canker. armes or legges, that in the space of three dayes they dye through the vehemencie of the payne.

The Sunne falleth very lowe in these regions: and prolongeth one continuall nyght for the space of three monethes One nyght of three moneths. in wynter, duryng whiche tyme they haue none other lyght but lyke vnto the twilight of eueninges & morninges. This is very cleare, but continueth but fewe houres, and is lyke the bryght shynyng of the Moone. Therefore, that day that the Sunne returneth to the hemispherie, they keep holy day and make great myrth with solemne festiuitie.

And these are the maners of this nation, not so brutyshe or



Riche  
furres.

saluage, as woorthy therefore to be called Lapones for they vnaptensse or simplicitie, as when they lyued vnder theyr owne Empyre, and vsed no familiaritie or entercourse with other nations, & knew not the commoditie of their owne thinges, neyther the pryce and estimation of theyr furres in our regions, by reason whereof they solde great plentie of them for some of our wares of small value.

The boundes or limittes of Laponia (beyng the extreeme land of Scandia knowen towarde the North pole) are extended towarde this parte of the North, to the world yet vnknowen to vs: And furthermore towarde the same parte of the vttermost sea, accordyng to this description.

The fyrst coast . . . . .	70	72.
The coast folowyng . . . . .	80	7.
That that yet foloweth . . . . .	90	70.

Plentie of  
sea fyshe.

From the fyshyng places and store houses of this sea, they carry foorth to Nordbothnia and whyte Russia, landes confinyng to them, great plentie of fyshe. Whereby we may coniecture that this sea is extended on euery syde towarde the North. Towarde the West, it is limited with the most inwarde gulfe at the Castle of Wardhus, at the degree . . . . . 54 70 30.

Wardhus.

Towarde the South, it is limited by a lyne drawn from thence vnto the degree . . . . . 90 69.

### Finland, and Eningia.

Finlandia is as much to saye as a fayre land, or fyne lande, so named for the fertilitie of the ground. Plinie seemeth to call it Finnonia: for he saieth that, about the coastes of Finland are many Ilands without names, of the which there lyeth one before Scithia called Pannonia. The gulfe called Sinus Finnicus, is so named at this day of the land of Finnonia. Finnonia confineth with Scithia, and runneth without all Tanais, (that is to say) without the lymittes of Europe to the confines of Asia. But that the name of Finlande seemeth not to agree hereunto, the cause is, that this place of Plinie is corrupted, as are many other in this aucthour. So that from the name of Finnonia, or Phinnonia, it was a lykely errour to call it Pannonia, forasmuche as these wordes doo not greatly differ in wrytyng and sounde: so that the counterfect name was soone put in the place of the true name, by hym that knew Pannonia, and read that name before, beyng also ignorant of Phinnonia.

Pannonia  
falsly taken  
for Fin-  
nonia.

Eningia had in the olde tyme the tittle of a kyngdome; it is of such largenesse, but hath now only the title of an inferiour gouernor, beyng vnder the dominion of the Sla-uons, and vsyng the same tongue. In religion, it obserued the rytes of the Greekes of late yeeres, when it was vnder the gouernance of the Moscouites. But it is at this present vnder the kyng of Suecia, & obserueth thinstitutions of the Occidentall church.

Eningia.

Spanyshe wyne are brought thither in great plentie, which the people vse meryly and cheerefully. It is termined on the North side by the South lyne of Ostrobothnia, and is extended by the mountaynes. Toward the West, it is termined with the sea of Finnonia, accordyng to this description, and hath degrees 71. 66. &c.

Spanishe  
wines.

**The History, written in the Latin Tongue by Paulus**

JOUIUS, BYSHOP OF NUCERIA IN ITALIE, OF THE LEGATION OR AMBASSADE OF GREAT BASILIUS PRINCE OF MOSCOUIA, TO POPE CLEMENT THE VII. OF THAT NAME : IN WHICH IS CONTEYNED THE DESCRIPTION OF MOSCOUIA WITH THE REGIONS CONFINYNG ABOUT THE SAME, EVEN VNTO THE GREAT AND RYCH EMPIRE OF CATHAY.

Demetrius  
the ambas-  
sador of  
Moscouia.

I intend first briefly to describe the situation of the region which we plainly see to have ben litle knowen to Strabo and Ptoleme, and then to proceede in rehearsing the maners, customes and religion of the people. And this in maner in the like simple stile and phrase of speach as the same was declared unto us by Demetrius the Ambassadour, a man not ignorant in the Latin tongue, as from his youth brought up in Liuonia, where he learned the first rudiments of letters, and being growne to mans age, executed thoffice of an Ambassadour into dyuers Christian prouinces. For whereas by reason of his approued faithfulness & industrie, he had before ben sent as Oratour to the kynges of Suecia and Denmarke, & the great maister of Prussia, hee was at the last sente to Themperour Maximilian, in whose courte (beinge replenyshed with all sortes of men) while he was conuersant, if any thyng of barbarous maners yet remayned in so docible & quiet a nature, the same was put away by framynge hym selfe to better ciuilitie. The cause of his legacie or ambassade, was given by Paulus Centurio a Genuese, who when he had receiued letters commendatory of pope Leo the tenth, & came to Moscouia for the trade of marchaundies, of his owne mynde

Paulus  
Centurio.

conferred with the familiars of Duke Basilius as touching the conformation of the rites of both churches.

He furthermore of great magnanimitie, and in maner outrageous desire, sought how by a new and incredible viage, spices myght be browght from India. For whyle before hee had exercised the trade of marchandies in Syria, Egypte, & Pontus, he knewe by fame that spices myght be conueighed from the further India up the riuier Indus against the course of the same, and from thence by a small vyage by land passing ouer the mountaines of Paropanisus, to be caried to the riuier Oxus in Bactria, which hauing his originall almost from the same mountaynes from whence Indus doeth spryng, and violently carying with it many other ryuers, falleth into the sea Hircanum or Caspium, at the porte cauled Straua. And he earnestly affirmed that from Straua, in an easy and safe nauigation unto the marte-towne of Citrachan or Astrachan and the mouth of the riuier Volga, and from thence ouer against the course of the ryuers, as Volga, Occha and Moscho, unto the citie Moscha, and from thence by lande to Riga, and into the sea of Sarmatia and all the West regions. For he was vehemently and more then of equitie, accensed and prouoked by the iniuries of the Portugales, who hauyng by force of armes subdued a great parte of India, and possessed all the marte-townes, takyng holy into theyr handes all the trade of spyces to bryng the same into Spayne, and neuerthelesse to sell them at a more greeuous aud intollerable price to the people of Europe then euer was hard of before: And furthermore kepte the coastes of the Indian sea so straightly with continuall nauies, that those trades are thereby left of, which were before exercised by the gulfes of Persia, and towarde the riuier of Euphrates, and also by the streightes of the sea of Arabia, and the riuier of Nilus, and in fine by our sea: by which trade all Asia and Europe was abundantly satisfied and better cheape than hath been since the Portugales

Spices brought from India to Moscouia.

The ryuer Indus.

Oxus or Hoxina, a ryuer of Asia, runneth through the desartes of Sythia.

The sea Hircanum is now called Mare Abacuk, or Mare de Sala.

Citrachan, or Astracan.

Sarmatia is that great countrey wherein is conteyned Russia, Livonia, and Tartaria, and the North and East part of Polonia.

Agaynst the Portugales. The trade of spices in owld tyme.

had the trade in theyr handes with so many incommodities of such long viages, whereby the spyces are so corrupted by thinfection of the pompe and other filthnesse of the shippes, that theyr naturall sauour, taste, and qualitie, as well hereby as by theyr long reseruyng in the shoppes, sellers, and warehouses in Lusheburne, vanysheth and resolueth, so that reseruyng euer the freshest and newest, they sell only the woorst and most corrupted. But Paulus, although in all places he earnestly and vehemently argued of these thinges, and styrred great malice and hatred agaynst the Portugales, affyrmyng that not only thereby the customes and reuenues of princes should be much greater, if that vyage might be discouered, but also that spyces myght bee better cheape bought at the handes of the Moscouites, yet could he nothyng auayle in this suite, forasmuche as Duke Basilius thought it not good to make open or disclose vnto a straunger and vnknownen man, those regions which gyue enternace to the sea Caspium and the kyngdomes of Persia. Paulus therefore excludyng all hope of further traueyle, and become nowe of a marchaunte an Ambassadour, brought Basilius letters (Pope Leo beyng now departed) to Adrian his successour, in the which he declared with honourable and reuerende woordes, his good will and fauorable mynde towarde the Bysshopp of Rome. For a fewe yeeres before, Basilius (then keepyng warres agaynst the Polones, at suche tyme as the generall counsayle was celebrate at Laterane) requyred by John, Kyng of Denmarke (the father of Christierne who was of late expulsed from his kyngdome) that safe passage myght be graunted to the Ambassadors of Moscouia to goe to Rome. But wheras it so chaunced, that kyng John and pope Julius dyed both in one day, whereby he lacked a conuenient sequester or solicitour, he omitted his consultation as touchyng that legacie. After this, the warre waxed hot betwene him and Sigismunde the kyng of Polonie: who obteynyng the victorie agaynst the Moscouites

Spices corrupted.

The Caspian Sea.

Basilius wrote to Pope Adriane.

Warre betwene the Polones and Moscouites.

at Boristhene, supplications were decreed in Rome for the ouerthrowe and vanysshynge the enemyes of the Christian fayth, whiche thing greatly alienated both kyng Basilius him selfe, and all that nation from the Bysshoppe of Rome.

But when Adriane the VI departed from this lyfe, and lefte Paulus now readie to his seconde vyage, his successour, Clement VII, perceyung that Paulus styll furiously reuolued and tossed in his unquyet mynde that vyage towarde the Easte, sente hym agayne with letters to Moscouia, by the whiche with propense and friendly persuasions, hee exhorted Basilius to acknowledge the maiestie of the Romane church, and to make a perpetuall league and agreement in matters of religion, which thyng should bee not only for the health of his soule, but also greatly to the increase of his honour: And further promysed, that by the holy auctoritie of his office he would make him a kyng, and gyue him kyngly ornamentes, if reiectyng the doctrine of the Greekes, hee would confourme him selfe to the auctoritie of the Romane church. For Basilius desyred the name and tittle of a kynge by thassignation of the bysshoppe of Rome, forasmuch as he judged that to apperteyne to the catholyke right and the bysshoppes maiestie, of whome (as he knewe ryght well) euen Themperours them selues by an auncient custome haue receaued there insignes of honoure with the diademe and scepter of the Romane Empire: althowghe it is sayde that he required the same of Themperour Maximiliane by many ambassades. But Paulus, who with more prosperous iourneyes then great vauntage, had from his youth traueyled a great parte of the worlde, although hee were nowe aged and sore vexed with the strangurie, came with a prosperous and speedy iourney to Moscouia, where he was gentelly receyued of Basilius, and remayned in his Courte for the space of twoo monethes. But in fine, mystrustyng his owne strength, and deterred by the difficultie of so greate a iourney, when he had utterly put away all his imaginations and hope of this

The seconde vyage of Paulus to Moscouia.

The Pope persuadeth Basilius to acknowledge the Romane church.

The Emperours receaue there diademe of the bysshoppes of Rome.

Demetrius  
intertayne-  
ment at  
Rome.

trade to India, returned to Rome with Demetrius the Ambassadour of Basilius, before we yet thought that he had been in Moscouia. The Byshoppe commaunded that Demetrius should bee lodged in the most magnificent and princely parte of the houses of Vaticane, the rooffes of whose edifies are gylted and embowed, and the chambers rychly furnysshed with sylken beddes and cloth of Arresse.

Demetrius  
is brought  
to the Popes  
presence.

Wyllynge furthermore that he should be honorably receyued and vested with silke, he also assigned Francisus Cheregatus the Byshoppe of Aprutium (a man that had often tymes been Ambassadour to diueres regions), to accompany him and shew him the order and rytes of our religion, with the monumentes and maners of the citie. Furthermore, when Demetrius had certayne dayes rested and recreated him selfe, washing away the fylth he had gathered by reason of the long vyage, then apparelled with a fayre vesture after the maner of his countrey, he was brought to the byshops presence, whom he honoured kneelyng with greate humilitie and reuerence (as is the maner), and therewith presented unto his holinesse certeyne furies of Sables in his owne name, and in the name of his prince, and also delyuered the letters of Basilius, which they before, and then the Illyrian or Slauon interpretour Nicolaus Siccensis translated into the Latine tongue in this effecte as foloweth.

Basilius let-  
ters to Pope  
Clement.

To Pope Clemente, shepard and teacher of the Romane church, great Basilius, by the grace of God, lord, Emperour, and dominatour of all Russia, and great Duke of Volodemaria, Moscouia, Nouogrodia, Plescouia, Smolenta, Ifferia, Iugoria, Periunia, Vetcha, Bolgaria, etc., Dominator & great prince of Nouogrodia in the lower countrey: Also of Ceruigouia, Razania, Volotchia, Rezeuia, Belchia, Rostouia, Iaroslauia, Belozeria, Vdooria, Obdoria, & Condiuia, etc. You sent vnto vs Paulus Centurio, a citizen of Genua, with letters, whereby you doe exhort vs to ioyne in power and counsayle with you and other Princes of Christendome against the enemies

of the christian fayth: & that a free passage & redy way may bee opened for both your Ambassadors & ours to come & go to & fro, whereby by mutual dutie and indenuour on both parties, we may haue knowledge of the state of thinges perteynyng to the wealth of vs both. We certes, as we haue hitherto happely by the ayde and helpe of almighty God constantly and earnestly resisted the cruell & wicked enemies of the Christian faith, so are we determined to doe hereafter: and are likewise redy to consent with other christian princes, & to graunt free passage into our dominions. In consideration wherof, we haue sent vnto you our faithful seruant Demetrius Erasmus with these our letters: & with him haue remitted Paulus Centurio: desiring you also shortly to dismisse Demetrius, with safegard and indemnitie vnto the borders of our dominions. And we wil likewise do the same if you send your Ambassadors with Demetrius, whereby both by communication and letters, we may bee better certified of thorder and administration of such thinges as you require: so that being aduertised of the mindes and intent of all other christian princes, we may also consult what is best to be done herein.

Thus fare ye wel. Giuen in our dominiō in our citie of Moscouia, in the yeere from the creation of the world, vii thousande and 300, the third day of Aprill.

But Demetrius, as he is experte in diuine and humane thinges, and especially of holy scripture, seemed to haue secrete commaundement of greater matters, whiche we thinke he will shortly declare to the senate in priuate consultations. For he is now deliuered of the feuer, into the which he fell by change of ayre, and hath so recouered his strength & natiue colour, that being a man of .lx. yeeres of age, he was not only present at the Popes masse, celebrated with great solemnitie in the honour of S. Cosmus & Damian, but came also into the Senate, at such tyme as Cardinal

Cardinall  
Campegus.



was receiued of the pope & all the nobilitie of the court: And furthermore also viewed the Temples of the holye citie with the ruines of the Romane magnificence, and with woon-dring eyes beheld the lamentable decay of the auncient buildinges. So that we thinke that shortly after he hath declared his message, he shal return to Moscouia with the byshop of Scarense the Popes legate, not vnrecompensed with iust rewardes at the handes of his holinesse.

The ruynes  
of Rome.

The descrip-  
tion of Mos-  
couia.

The name of Moscouites is nowe newe, although the Poete Lucane maketh mention of the Moschos confynng with the Sarmatians: and Plinie also placeth the Moschos at the sprynges of the great ryuer of Phasis, in the region of Colchos, aboute the sea Euxinus towarde the East. Theyr region hath very large boundes, and is extended from the Aultars of great Alexander about the sprynges of Tanais, to the extreme landes and North Ocean in maner vnder the North starres, called charles wayne, or the great Beare, beyng for the most parte playne, & of fruitfull pasture, but in sommer in many places full of marishes. For whereas all that lande is replenyshed with many and great ryuers, which are greatly increased by the wynter, snowe, and Ise, resolued by the heate of the sunne, the playnes and fieldes are thereby ouerflown with marishes, and all iourneyes incombred with continuall waters and myrie slabbynesse, vntyll by the benefite of the newe wynter the riuers and marishes be frosen agayne, and giue safe passage to the sleades that are accustomed to iourney by the same.

The altares  
of great  
Alexander.

Marishes  
in sommer.

The forest  
of Hercynia.

The wood or forest of Hercynia (and not Hyrcania as is red in some false copies) occupyeth a great parte of Moscouia, and is heere and there inhabited, with houses builded therein and so made thinner by the long labour of men that it doeth not now shewe that horroure of thicke & impenetrable woods and landes as many thinke it to haue. But beyng replenished with many wylde beastes, is so farre extended through Moscouia, with a continuall tract be-

Wylde  
beastes.

tweene the East and the North towarde the Scythian Ocean, that by the infinite greatnesse therof, it hath deluded the hope of suche as haue curiously searched the ende of the same.

In that parte that reacheth towarde Prussia, are founde the greate and fierce beastes cauled Vri, or Bisontes, of the kynde of Bulles: Also, Alces lyke vnto Hartes, which the Moscouites call Lozzi, and are called of the Germaynes Helenes.

On the East syde of Moscouia are the Scythians, which are at this day called Tartars, a wandryng nation, and at all ages famous in warres. In the stead of houses they vse wagons, coured with beastes hydes, whereby they were in oulde tyme called Amaxouii. For cities and townes, they vse great tentes and paulions, not defended with trenches or walles of tymber or stone, but inclosed with an innumerable multitude of archers on horsbacke. The Tartars are diuided by companyes which they call Hordas, which worde in theyr tongue signifieth a consentyng company of people, geathered together in forme of a citie. Euery Horda is gouerned by an Emperour, whom eyther his parentage or warlyke prowes hath promoted to that dignitie. For they oftentimes keepe warre with theyr borderers, and contende ambitiously and fiercely for dominion. It doeth hereby appeare, that they consist of innumerable Hordas, in that the Tartars possesse the most large desartes, euen vnto the famous city of Cathay, in the furdest Ocean of the East.

They also that are nearest to the Moscouites, are knowen by theyr trade of marchaundies, and often incursions. In Europe, neare vnto the place called Dromon Achillis,<sup>1</sup> in Taurica

<sup>1</sup> Supposed to be the Island of Tendra, at the mouth of the Dnieper. Cellarius speaks of the Dromos Achilleos as follows (lib. ii, cap. vi, 14): —“ Post Achillis insulam est peninsula, Dromos Achilleos nominata, Græce, Δρομος Αχιλλειος. \*\* Plinius dicto loco: *Ab ea [insula] cxxv millibus passuum peninsula, ad formam gladii in transversum porrecta,*

The Tartars  
of Europe.

Chersoneso, are the Tartars called Precopites, the daughter of whose prince, Selymus the Emperour of the Turkes tooke to wyfe. These are most infest to the Polones, and waste the regions on euery syde, betweene the riuers of Boristhenes and Tanais. They that in the same Taurica possesse Caffam, a colonie of the Ligurians (called in olde tyme Theodosia), doe both in religion and all other thinges agree with the Turkes. But the Tartars that inhabite the regions of Asia betweene Tanais and Volga, are subiect to Basilius the kyng of the Moscouites, and choose them a gouernour at his assignement. Amonge these, the Cremii afflicted with ciuile seditions, where as heeretofore they were ryche and of great power, haue of late yeeres lost theyr dominion and dignitie.

The Tartars  
of Asia are  
subiecte to  
the Duke of  
Moscouia.

The Tartars  
beyond the  
riuer of  
Volga.

The Tartars that are beyond the riuer of Volga, do religiously obserue the frendship of the Moscouites, and professe them selues to be their subiectes. Beyond the Cassanites towarde the North, are the Sciambani, rych in heardes of cattayle, and consistyng of a great multitude of men. After

*exercitatione ejusdem [Achillis] cognominata Dromos Achilleos, cujus longitudinem octoginta millium passuum tradit Agrippa. Et Pomponius Mela (lib. ii, cap. 1), Achilles infesta classe mare Ponticum ingressus, ibi ludicro certamine celebrasse victoriam, et quum ab armis quies erat, se ac suos cursu exercitavisse memoratur. Ideo dicta est, Δρομος Αχιλλεϊος. De figura gladii idem. Terra tum longe distenta excedens, tenui radice litori adnectitur. Post spatiosa modice paullatim se ipsa fastigat, et quasi in mucronem longa colligens latera, facie positi ensis adlecta est.*

“Quam ergo Melam peninsulam, et ex illo Plinius, comparaverunt formæ gladii jacentis. Strabo (pag. 213) cum *ταινια fascia* conferendam duxit: et similitudinis rationem dat, quia longitudo sit circiter *εἰς* stadiorum; latitudo maxima, duorum stadiorum; minima *τεσσαρα πλεθρων*, quatuor jugerum. Ptolemæus (lib. iii, cap. v) peninsulæ hujus in transversum oblongæ singulatim *ισθμὸν*, *isthmum*; et promontoria laterum sive extremitatum enarrat, occidentale, *ιερον ἄκρον*, *sacrum promontorium*; et orientale *μυσαρὶν ἄκραν* *Mysarim promontorium*. Arrianus insulam Achillis Leucam cum hoc Dromo sive Cursu ejusdem confundit, quasi eadem fuerit insula et Dromos: quæ vero ab aliis diligenter, ut insula et peninsula, distinguuntur.

these, are Nogai, whiche obteyne at this daye the chiefe fame of ryches and warly affayres. Theyr Horda, although it be most ample, yet hath it no Emperour, but is gouerned by the wysedome and vertue of the most auncient & valiant men, after the maner of the common wealth of Venese. Beyond the Nogais, somewhat towarde the South & the Caspian sea, the noblest nation of the Tartars, cauled Zagathai, inhabite townes buylded of stone, and haue an exceedyng great and fayre citie, called Samarcanda, which Iaxartes the great ryuer of Sogdiana runneth through, and passyng from thence about a hundred myles, falleth into the Caspian sea. With these people in our dayes, Ismael the Sophi and kyng of Persia hath often tymes kepte war with doubtfull successe. Insomuche that fearyng the greatnesse of theyr power, whiche he resysted with all that he myght, he lefte Armenia and Taurisium the chiefe citie of the kyngdome, for a praye to Selimus the victourer of one wyng of the battayle. From the citie of Samarcanda, descended Tamburlanes the myghty Emperour of the Tartars, whom some call Tanberlanis: But Demetrius sayth that he shoulde be called Themircuthlu. This is he that about the yeere of Christ .m.ccc.xcviii, subdued almost all the Easte partes of the worlde: And lastly with an innumerable multitude of men inuaded the Turkes dominions, with whom Baiasetes Ottomanus theyr kyng (and father to the great grandfather of this Solyman that nowe lyueth), meeting at Ancira in the confines or marches of Galatia and Bythinia, gaue hym a sore battayle, in the which felle on the Turkes parte .20000. men, and Baiasetes hym selfe was taken prisoner, whom Tamburlanes caused to be locked in an Iron cage, and so caryed hym about with hym through all Asia, which he also conquered with a terryble army. He conquered all the landes betwene Tanais and Nilus, and in fine vanquished in battayle the great Soltane of Egypte, whom he chased beyonde Nilus, and tooke also the citie of Da-

Nogai.

Sigismundus cauleth them Nogaysri.

The noblest nation of the Tartars.

The ryuer Jaxartes.

Ismael the Sophi kyng of Persia.

The citie of Samarcanda Taburlanes, the myghtie Emperour of the Tartars.

The conquestes of Tamburlanes.

Baiasetes.

This appa-  
 rell they  
 haue of the  
 Persians.

The Tartars  
 trafficke  
 with the  
 Moscouites.

The Tartars  
 of the South  
 syde of  
 Moscouia.

Gete and  
 Roxolani.

Russia.

Moscouia  
 called  
 Whyte  
 Russia.  
 Lituania.

Prussia.  
 Liuania.

Denmarke.

Norwaye.  
 Suecia.  
 The people  
 of Laponia.

mascus. From the region of these Tartars, called Zagathei, is brought great plentie of sylken apparell to the Moscouites. But the Tartares that inhabite the mydlande or inner regions, bryng none other wares then trucks or droues of swift runnyng horses, and clokes made of whyte feltes: also haies or tentes, to withstande the iniuries of colde and rayne. These they make very artificially & apte for the purpose. Thei receiue againe of the Moscouites, coates of cloth, and Syluer monie, conteynyng all other bodyly ornaments, and the furnytur of superfluous housholde stuffe. For beyng defended agaynst the violence of wether and tempestes onely with such apparel and couerture wherof we haue spoken, they trust onely to theyr arrowes, which they shoote aswell backwarde flying as when they assayle theyr enemies face to face: Albeit, when they determined to inuade Europe, theyr princes and captaynes had helmets, coates of fense, and hooked swordes, whiche they bought of the Persians.

Towarde the Southe, the boundes of Moscouia are termined by the same Tartars whiche possesse the playn regions neere vnto the Caspian sea, aboue the maryshes of Meotis in Asia, and about the ryuers of Borysthenes and Tanais, in part of Europe.

The people called Roxolani, Gete, and Bastarne, inhabited these regions in oulde tyme, of whom I thynke the name of Russia tooke originall. For they call part of Lituania, Russia the lower, wheras Moscouia it selfe is called whyte Russia. Lituania therefore, lyeth on the Northwest syde of Moscouia. But toward the full West, the mayne landes of Prussia and Liuania are ioyned to the confines or marches of Moscouia, wher the Sarmatian sea, breakyng forth of the streightes of Cimbrica Chersonesus (nowe called Denmarke), is bended with a crooked gulfe towarde the North. But in the furthest bankes of that Ocean, where the large kyngdomes of Norway and Suecia are ioyned to the continent, and almost enuironed with the sea, are the people

called Laponés: a nation exceedyng rude, suspitious, and fearefull, flyng and astonysed at the syght of al straungers and shyppes. They knowe neyther frutes nor apples, nor yet any benignitie eyther of heauen or earth. They prouide them meate onely with shootyng, and are appareled with the skynnes of wylde beastes. They dwell in caues fylled with drye leaues, and in holowe trees, consumed within eyther by fyre, or rotten for age. Such as dwell neare the sea syde, fyshe more luckelye then cunnyngly, and in the stead of frutes, reserue in store fyshes dryed with smoke. They are of small stature of bodie, with flat visagies, pale and wannie coloure, and very swyft of foote. Theyr wyttes or dispositions, are not knowen to the Moscouites theyr borderers, who thynke it therefore a madnesse to assayle them with a smal power, and iudge it neyther profitable nor glorious with great armies to inuade a poore & beggerly nation.

They exchange the most white fures, which we cal Arme-  
lines, for other wares of dyuers sortes: Yet so, that they  
flye the syght and coompanie of all merchantes. For com-  
paryng and laying theyr wares togeather, and leauyng theyr  
fures in a mydde place, they bargayne with simple fayth,  
with absent and vnknowen men.

Armeline  
fures.  
Barganyng  
without  
wordes.

Some men of great credite and aucthoritie, do testifie that in  
a region beyond the Laponés, betwene the West and the  
North, oppressed with perpetuall darknesse, is the nation of  
the people called Pigmei, who being growen to theyr ful  
grought, do scarcely excede the stature of our chyldren of  
ten yeeres of age. It is a fearefull kynde of men, and ex-  
presse theyr wordes in suche chatteryng sort, that they seeme  
to be so muche the more lyke vnto Apes, in howe muche they  
dyffer in sence and stature from men of iust heyght.

The dark  
region: by  
this dark  
region and  
Pigmei is  
the way to  
Chathay by  
the North  
sea.

Towarde the North, innumerable people are subiect to the  
Empire of the Moscouites. Theyr regions extend to the Scy-  
thian Ocean for the space of almost three moonethes iorney.

The Scy-  
thian Ocean.

Nere vnto Moscouia, is the region of Colmogora, abound-

The region  
of Colmo-  
gora.

The ryuer of Diuidna.
 yng with fruites. Through this runneth the ryuer of Diuidna, being one of the greatest that is knowen in the North partes, and gaue the name to an other lesse ryuer which breaketh fourth into the sea Baltheum. This increas- yng at certayne tymes of the yeere, as dooth the ryuer Nilus, ouerfloweth the feeldes and playnes, and with his fatte and nourishyng moysture, doth maruelously resist the iniuries of heauen and the sharp blastes of the North wynde. When it riseth by reason of molten snow, and great showres of rayne, it falleth into the Ocean by vnknown nations, and with so large a trenche, lyke vnto a great sea, that it can not be sayled ouer in one day with a prosperous wynde. But when the waters are fallen, they leaue here and there large and fruitfull Ilandes: For corne there cast on the grounde, groweth without anye helpe of the Plowe, and with meruaylous celeritie of hasteng nature, fearyng the newe iniurie of the proude ryuer, doth both spryng and rype in short space. Into the ryuer Diuidna, runneth the ryer Iuga: And in the corner where they ioyne together, is the famous Marte towne called Vstiuga, distant from the cheefe citie Mosca .vi. hundre myles.

The ryuer of Juga or Jug.  
Vstiuga.

The ryuer of Diuidna or Duina.
 “Note<sup>1</sup> that whereas Paulus Iouius wryteth here that the ryuer of Diuidna, otherwyse called Dwina, runneth through the region of Colmogora: it is to bee understood that there are two ryuers of that name, the one on the Northeast side of Moscouia, toward the frosen sea, & the other on the Southwest syde fallyng into the sea Baltheum, or the gulfe of Finnonia, by the citie of Riga in Liuonia. And forasmuche as the true knowledge of these and certayne other is very necessarie for all such as shal trade into Moscouia, or other regions in those coastes by the North sea, I haue thought good to make further declaration hereof as I haue founde in the hystorie of Moscouia, most faythfully and largely wryt- ten by Sigismundus Liberus, who was twyse sent Embassa-

<sup>1</sup> This note which is here marked by inverted commas is by Eden.

dour in Moscouia, as fyrst by Maximilian the Emperour, and then agayne by Ferdinando kyng of Hungarie and Boheme. This haue I done the rather, for in al the mappes that I haue seene of Moscouia, there is no mention made of the ryuer of Duina, that runneth through the region of Colmogor, and by the citie of the same name, although the prouince of Duina be in all cardes placed Northwarde frome the ryuer of Vstiug or Succana, which is the same Duina wherof we now speake, and whereof Paulus Iouius wryteth, although it be not so named but from the angle or corner, where ioynyng with the ryuer of Iug and Succana, The ryuer Suchana. it runneth Northwarde towards the citie of Colmogor, and from thence falleth into the North or frozen sea, The frozen sea. as shall hereafter more playnely appeare by the wordes of Sigismundus, that the one of these be not taken for the other, beyng so farre distant, that great errour myght ensue by mistaking the same, especially because this whereof Paulus Iouius writeth, is not by name expressed in the cardes, but only in the other, wherby the errour myght be the greater. Of that therfore that runneth by the confines of Liuonia, and the citie of Riga, Sigismundus writeth in this maner.”

“ The lake of Duina is distant from the sprynges of Borys-thenes, almost ten myles, and as many from the marishe of Fronovvo. From it a ryuer of the same name towarde the West, distant from Vuilna twentie myles, runneth from thence towarde the North, where by Riga, the cheefe citie of Liuonia, it falleth into the Germane sea, whiche the Moscouites caule Vuareczkoie morie. It runneth by Vuitepsko, Polotzo, and Dunenburg, and not by Plescouia as one hath wrytten. This ryuer, beyng for the most part nauigable, the Liuons calle Duna. Of the other Duina whereof Paulus Iouius speaketh, he wrytteth as foloweth.”

“ The prouince of Duina, and the ryuer of the same name, Dwina and Suchana. is so named from the place where the ryuers of Suchana and Iug, meetyng together, make one ryuer so called. For



Grenland  
or Engron-  
land.

Understand  
myles of  
Germany,  
that is,  
leagues.

Duina in the Moscouites tongue, signifieth two. This ryuer, by the space of two hundred myles, entreth into the North Ocean, on that part where the sayde sea runneth by the coastes of Suecia and Norway, and diuideth Engreonland from the vnknowne lande. This prouince situate in the full North, perteyned in tyme past to the segniorie of Nouogorode. From Moscouia to the mouthes of Duina, are numbered ccc. myles: Albeit as I haue sayde, in regions that are beyond Volga, the accompt of the iourney can not be wel obserued, by reason of many maryshes, ryuers, and very great wooddes that lye in the way. Yet are we led by coniecture to thinke it to be scarsely two hundred myles: forasmuch as from Moscouia to Vuolochda, from Vuolochda to Vstiug, somewhat into the East; and laste of al from Vstiug by the ryuer Duina, is the ryght passage to the Northe sea. This region, besyde the Castel of Colmogor and the citie of Duina, situate almost in the mydde way betwene the sprynges and mouthes of the ryuer, and the Castell of Pienega, standyng in the very mouthes of Duina, is vtterly without townes and Castels: Yet hath it many vyllages, which are farre in sunder, by reason of the barennesse of the soyle, etc.”

“In an other place he wryteth, that Suchana and Iug, after they are ioyned together in one, loose theyr fyrst names and make the ryuer Duina, etc. But let vs nowe returne to the hystorie of Paulus Iouius.”

Rych fures.

Lupi  
Ceruarii.

Sables.

Unto Vstiuga, from the Permians, Pecerrians, Inugrians, Vgolicans, and Pinnegians, people inhabytyng the North and Northe prouinces, are brought the precious fures of Martens and Sables, also the cases of Woolfes and Foxes both whyte and black: And lykewyse the skynnes of the beastes called Ceruarii Lupi (that is), harte Woolfes, beyng engendered eyther of a Wolfe and a Hynde, or a Harte and a bytch Wolfe. These fures and skynnes they exchange for dyuers other wares. The best kynde of Sables and of the finest

heare wherewith nowe the vestures of princes are lyned, and the tender neckes of delicate dames are couered, with the expresse similitude of the lyuyng beast, are brought by the Permians and Pecerrians, whiche they themselues also receyue at the handes of other that inhabite the regions neyre vnto the North Ocean. The Permians and Pecerrians, a litle before our tyme, dyd sacrifice to Idols after the manner of the Gentyles: but do nowe acknoweledge Christe theyr God. The passage to the Inugrians and Vgolicans, is by certayne rough mountaynes, which perhappes are they that in olde tyme were cauled Hyperborei. In the toppes of these, are founde the best kyndes of Falcons: whereof one kynde (cauled Herodium) is white, with spotted fethers. There are also Jerfalcons, Sakers, and Peregrines, whiche were vnknown to the ancient princes in theyr excessiue and nise pleasures.

The mountains cauled Hyperborei.

Haukes of diuers kyndes.

Beynde those people whom I last named (beyng all trybutaries to the kynges of Moscouia) are other nations, the last of men, not knowen by any voyages of the Moscouites, forasmuche as none of them haue passed to the Ocean, and are therefore knowen onely by the fabulous narrations of merchauntes. Yet is it apparante that the ryuer of Diuidna or Dwina, draweyng with it innumerable other ryuers, runneth with a vehement course towarde the North: and that the sea is there exceedyng large: so that saylyng by the coast of the ryght hande, shyppes may haue passage from thense to Cathay, as is thought by most lykely coniecture, except there lye some lande in the way. For the region of Cathay perteyneth to thextreme and furthest partes of the Easte, situate almost in the paralel of Thracia, and knowen to the Portugales in India when they sayled neere thereunto by the regions of Sinara and Malacha to Aurea Chersonesus, and brought from thense certayne vestures made of Sables skynnes, by whiche onely argument it is apparante that the cite of Cathay is not farre from the coastes of Scithia.

The passage from Moscouia to Cathay.

Cathay.

Master Eliot calleth Cathay the regions of Sinarum.

But when Demetrius was demaunded whether eyther by the monumentes of letters or by fame lefte theym of theyr predicessours, they had any knowledge of the Gothes, who nowe more then a thousande yeeres since, subuerted Them-  
 pire of the Romane Emperours, and defaced the cite of Rome: He answered, that both the nation of the Gothes and the name of kyng Totilas theyr chiefe captayne, was of famous memorie amonge them: And that dyuers nations of the North regions conspired to that expedition, and especially the Moscouites; Also that that armie increased of the confluence of the Barbarous Liuens and wanderyng Tartars: But that they were all called Gothes, forasmuche as the Gothes that inhabited Scondania and Iselande, were the auctours of that inuasion.

The Gothes subuerted the Romane Empire.

The north regions conspired against the Romans.

Moscouia.

And with these boundes are the Moscouites inclosed on euery syde, whom we thinke to be those people that Ptolome called Modocas: but haue doubtlesse at this day theyr name of the ryuer Mosco, which runneth through the cheefe cite Mosca, named also after the same. This is the most famous cite in Moscouia, as well for the situation thereof beyng in maner in the myddest of the region, as also for the commodious oportunitie of ryuers, multitude of houses, and stronge fence of so fayre and goodly a Castell. For the cite is extended with a long tract of buildynges by the bankes of the ryuer for the space of fyue myles. The houses are made all of tymber, and are diuided into Parlours, Chambers, and Kychyns, of large roomes: yet neyther of vnseemely heyght or to lowe, but of decent measure and proportion. For they haue great trees, apte for the purpose, brought from the forest of Hercinia: Of the which, made perfectly round like y<sup>e</sup> mastes of shyps, and so layd one vppon an other, that they ioyne at the endes in ryght angles, where beyng made very fast and sure, they frame theyr houses therof, of meruaylous strength with smal charges, and in verye short tyme. In maner all the houses haue priuate gardens, aswell

The cite of Mosca.

Richard Chanceler told me that these mastes are somewhat holowe on the one syde, and that the whole syde of the next entereth into y<sup>e</sup> same, where by they lye very close.

for pleasure as commoditie of hearbes, wherby the circuite of the dispersed citie appeareth very great. All the wardes or quarters of the citie haue their peculiar Chappels.

But in the cheefest and highest place therof, is the Church of our Lady, of ample and goodly workemanshype, whiche Aristoteles of Bononie, a man of singular knowledge and experience in Architecture, builded more then threescore yeres since. At the very head of the citie, a little ryuer, called Neglina, which driueth many corne mylles, entereth into the ryuer Moscus, and maketh almost an Ilande, in whose end is the Castel, with many strong towers and bulwarkes, builded very fayre by the diuise of Italian Architecturs that are the maisters of the kynges woorkes. In the fieldes about the citie, is an incredible multitude of Hares, and Roe Buckes, the which, it is lawful for no man to chase or pursue with dogges or nettes, except only certayne of the kynges familiars and straunge Ambassadors, to whom he geueth licence by speciall commaundement. Almost three partes of the citie is inuironed with two ryuers, and the residue with a large Mote that receiueth plentie of water from the sayde ryuers. The citie is also defended on the other syde with an other ryuer named Jausa, whiche falleth also into Moscus, a litle beneath the citie. Furthermore, Moscus runnyng towards the South, falleth into the ryuer Ocha or The ryuer Ocha. Occa, muche greater then it selfe at the towne Columna: and not very farre from thence Ocha it selfe increased with other ryuers, vnladeth his streames in the famous ryuer Volga, Volga. where at the place where they ioyne, is situate the citie of Nouogradia the lesse, so named in respect of the greater citie Nouogradia. of that name, from whence was brought the fyrst colonie of the less citie.

Volga, called in olde tyme Rha, hath his originall of Rha. the greate marishes, named the whyte Lakes. These are The whyte lakes. aboute Moscouia, betweene the North and the West, and send forth from them almost all the ryuers that are dis-

persed into dyuers regions on euery syde, as we see of the Alpes, from whose toppes and sprynges descend the waters, of whose concourse the ryuers of Rhene, Po, and Rodanum, haue theyr increase. For these maryshes in the steade of mountaines full of sprynges, minister abundant moysture, forasmuche as no mountaynes are yet founde in that region by the long trauayles of men, insomuche that many that haue been studious of the old Cosmographie, suppose the Ryphean and Hyperborean, mountaines, so often mentioned of the auncient writers, to be fabulous. From these maryshes therfore, the ryuers of Duina, Ocha, Mösclus, Volga, Tanais, and Boristhenes, haue theyr originall. The Tartares call Volga Edel: Tanais they call Don: And Boristhenes is at this time called Neper.

The Ryphean and Hyperborean mountaynes.

Tanais and Boristhenes

The sea Eurinus.

This, a litle beneath Taurica, runneth into the sea Eurinus. Tanais is receyued of the maryshes of Meotis, at the noble Marte Towne Azoum. But Volga, leauyng the citie of Mosca towards the South, and runnyng with a large circuite, and great Wyndynges, and Creekes first towards the East, then to the West, and lastly to the South, falleth with a full streame into the Caspian or Hircan sea. Aboue the mouth of this, is a citie of the Tartars called Cytrachan, which some call Astrachan, where Martes are kept by the Merchauntes of Media, Armenia, and Persia. On the further bancke of Volga, there is a towne of the Tartars called Casan, of the whiche the Horda of the Casanite Tartars tooke theyr name. It is distant from the mouth of Volga and the Caspian sea 500 myles. Aboue Casan 150 myles, at the entraunce of the ryuer Sura, Basilius that now reigneth, buylded a towne called Surcium, to thintent that in those desartes, the marchantes and traueylers which certifie the gouernours of the marches of the doinges of the Tartars, and the maners of that vnquiet nation, may haue a safe mansion among theyr customers.

Sura.

Surcium.

The Emperours of Moscouia at dyuers tymes, eyther moued

thereto by occasion of thinges present, or for the desyre they had to nobilitate newe and obscure places, haue kepte the seate of theyr courte and Empyre in dyuers cities. For Nouogrodia, which lyeth toward the West, and the Lyuon sea, not many yeeres past, was the head citie of Moscouia, and obteyned euer the chiefe dignitie, by reason of the incredible number of houses and edifies, with the oportunitie of the large lake replenyshed with fyshe, and also for the fame of the most auncient & venerable Temple, which more then foure hundred yeeres since was dedicated to Sancta Sophia, Christ, the sonne of God, accordyng to the custome of the Emperours of Byzantium, now called Constantinople. Nouogrodia is oppressed in maner with continuall wynter and darkenesse of long nyghtes. For it hath the pole Artike eleuate aboue the Horizon threescore and foure degrees: and is further from the Equinoctiall then Moscouia by almost six degrees. By which dyfference of heauen, it is sayde, that at the sommer steve of the sunne, it is burnt with continuall heate, by reason of the shorte nyghtes.

The Temple  
of Sancta  
Sophia.

The eleua-  
tion of the  
pole at No-  
uogrodia &  
Moscouia.

Heate by  
reason of  
short  
nyghtes.

The citie also of Volodemaria, beyng more then two hundred myles distant from Mosca toward the Easte, had the name of the chiefe citie and kynges towne, whyther the seate of the Empire was translated by the valiaunt Emperours for necessarie considerations, that such ayde, furniture, and requisites, as appertayne to the warres, myght be neare at hande, at suche tyme as they kepe continuall warre agaynst the Tartars theyr borderers. For it is situate without Volga, on the bankes of the ryuer Clesma, whiche falleth into Volga.

The citie of  
Volode-  
maria.

But Moscha, as well for those gyftes and commodities whereof we haue spoken, as also that it is situate in the myddest of the most frequented place of all the region and Empyre, and defended with the ryuer and Castell, hath in comparyson to other cities been thought most woorthie to

The citie of  
Moscha.

be esteemed for the chiefe. Moscha is distant from Nouogrodia fīue hundred myles; and almost in the myd way is the citie of Ottoferia (otherwyse called Otwer, or Tuwer), vppon the ryuer of Volga. This ryuer, neare vnto the fountaynes and sprynges of the same, not yet increased by receuyng so many other ryuers, runneth but slowlyly and gentelly, and passeth from thence to Nouogrodia, through many woods and desolate playnes. Furthermore from Nouogrodia to Riga, the nexte porte of the Sarmatian sea, is the iorney of a thousande myles, litle more or lesse. This tract is thought to be more commodious then the other, bycanse it hath many townes, and the citie of Plescouia in the way, beyng imbrased with two ryuers. From Riga (perteynyng to the dominion of the great master of the warres of the Liuous) to the citie of Lubecke, a porte of Germanie, in the gulfe of Cymbrica Chersonesus (now called Denmarke), are numbered about a thousande myles of daungerous saylyng.

From Rome to Moscouia. From Rome to the citie of Moscha, the distance is knowen to be two thousande and sixe hundred myles, by the nearest way, passyng by Rauenna, Taruisium, the Alpes of Carnica: also, Villacum, Noricum, and Vienna of Pannonie: and from thence (passyng ouer the ryuer of Danubius) to Olmutium of the Marouians, and to Cracouia, the chiefe citie of Polonie, are compted .xi. hundred myles. From Cracouia to Vilna, the head citie of Lithuania, are compted fīue hundred myles: and as many from that citie to Smolenzko, situate beyonde Boristhenes, from whence to Moscha are compted sixe hundred myles. The iourney from Vilna by Smolenzko to Moscha, is traueyled in wynter with expedite sleades, and incredible celeritie vppon the snowes, hardened with long frost and compacte lyke Ise, by reason of mucche wearyng. But in sommer, the playnes can not bee ouerpassed but by difficulte and laborious trauayle. For when the snowes by the continuall heate of the Sunne

Ottoferia.

Volga.

Riga.

The citie of Plescouia.

From Rome to Moscouia.

Wynter traueyle by Ise &amp; snowe.

begyn to melte and dissolue, they cause great maryshes and quamyres, able to intangle both horse and man, were it not that wayes are made through the same with brydges and causes of wood, and almost infinite labour.

Maryshes  
in sommer.

Other  
writers de-  
ny this.

In all the region of Moscouia, there is no vayne or mine of golde or syluer, or any other common metall, except Iron; neyther yet is there any token of precious stones: and therefore they buye all those thinges of straungers. Neuerthelesse, this iniurie of nature is recompensed with abuundance of rich furies, whose price, by the wanton nysenesse of men is growen to suche excesse, that the furies parteynyng to one sorte of apparell, are now solde for a thousande crownes. But the tyme hath been that these haue been bought better cheape, when the furthest nations of the North, being ignorant of our nyse finenesse and breathyng desyre towarde effeminate and superfluous pleasures, exchaunged the same with muche simplicitie, often tymes for tryfles and thinges of small value. Insomuche, that commonly the Permians and Pecerrians, were accustomed to giue so many skynnes of Sables for an Iron Axe or Hatchet, as being tyed harde together, the marchantes of Moscouia could drawe through the hole where the hafte or handle entereth into the same. But the Moscouites sende into all partes of Europe the best kynde of flaxe to make lynnene cloth, and hempe for ropes. Also many Oxe hydes, and exceedyng great masses of waxe.

Rych  
furies.  
The price of  
furies.

How many  
Sable  
skynnes for  
an Axe.

Flaxe.  
Oxe hydes.  
Waxe.

They proudly deny that the Romane church obteyneth the principate and preeminent authoritie of all other.

They so abhorre the nation of the Jewes, that they detest the memorie of them, and will in no condition admyt them to dwell within theyr dominions: esteemyng them as wycked and mischieuos people, that haue of late taught the Turkes to make gunnes. Beside the bookes that they haue of the ancient Greeke doctours, they haue also the commentaries and homelies of saynte Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, & Gregorie, translated into the Illirian or Slauon tongue,

They ab-  
horre the  
Jewes.

Their  
bookes and  
religion.



The Slauon  
tongue  
spred fur-  
ther then  
any other.

which agreeth with theyrs: For they vse both the Slauon tongue and letters, as doe also the Sclauons, Dalmates, Bohemes, Pollones, and Lithuanes. This tongue is spredde further then any other at this day: For it is familiar at Constantinople, in the court of the Emperours of the Turks: and was of late hearde in Egypte, among the Mamalukes, in the court of the Soltane of Alcayre, otherwyse cauled Memphis, or Babilon in Egypte. A great number of bookes of holy scripture are translated into this tongue by the industrie of Saynte Jerome and Cyrillus. Furthermore, besyde the histories of theyr owne countreys, they haue also bookes, conteyning the facts of great Alexander, and the Romane Emperours, and lykewyse of Marcus Antonius, & Cleopatra. They haue no maner of knowledge of philosophie, Astronomie, or speculatiue phisicke, with other liberal sciences. But such are taken for phisitians as professe that they haue oftentimes obserued the vertue and qualitie of some vnknown hearbe.

Sainet  
Jerome was  
borne in  
Dalmatia,  
now called  
Sclauonia.

Howe they  
number the  
yeeres.

They number the yeeres, not from the byrth of Christ, but from the begynnyng of the world. And this they begin to accompt, not from the moneth of January, but from September.

Fewe and  
simple  
lawes.

They haue fewe and simple lawes throughout all the kyngdome, made by the equitie and conscience of theyr prynces, and approued by the consent of wyse and good men; and are therfore greatly for the wealth and quyettesse of the people, forasmuche as it is not lawfull to peruerte them with any interpretations or cauillations of lawyers or attorneys. They punysh theeues, rouers, priuie pyckers, and murtherers. When they examyne malefactours, they poure a great quantitie of cold water vppon such as they suspecte, whiche they say to bee an intollerable kynde of torment. But somteymes they manacle suche as are stubborne, and will not confesse apparent crymes.

The exer-  
cise of  
youth.

Theyr youth is exercised in dyuers kyndes of games and

plays, resembling the warres, whereby they both practise policie and increase theyr strength. They vse runnyng, both on horsebacke and afoote. Also runnyng at the tylt, wrestlyng, and especially shootyng. For they gyue re-  
Shootyng.  
 wardes to such as excell therein.

The Moscouites are vniuersally of meane stature, yet very square set, and myghtyly brawned. They haue all grey eyes, long beardes, shorte legges, and bygge bellyes.  
The corpora-  
 ture of the  
 Moscouites.

They ryde very shorte, and shoote backwarde very cunninggly, euen as they flye. At home in theyr houses, theyr fare is rather plentifull then deyntie. For theyr tables are  
Theyr fare.  
 furnyshed for a small pryce with all suche kyndes of meates as may bee desyred of suche as are gyuen to most excessiue gluttony.

Hennes and Duckes are bought for litle syluer pence the peece. There is incredible plentie of beastes and cattayle, both great and small. The fleshe of beefe that is kylled in the myddest of wynter, is so coniealed and frosen, that it  
Fleshe pre-  
 serued longe  
 by reason of  
 coulede.  
 putrieth not for the space of two monethes. Theyr best and most delicate dyshes are gotten by huntyng and haukyng, as with vs: For they take all sortes of wylde beastes  
Haukyng  
 and hunt-  
 yng.  
 with Houndes, and dyuers kyndes of nettes. And with Faulcons and Erens, or Eagles of a marueylous kynde, which the region of Pecerra bryngeth forth vnto them, they take not onely Fesantes and wylde Duckes, but also Eranes and wylde Swannes.

They take also a foule of darke colour, about the bygnesse of a Goose, with redde ouerbrowes, whose fleshe in taste passeth the pleasauntnesse of Phesauntes. These in the Moscouites tongue are called Tetrao, whiche I suppose to be the same that Plinie calleth Erythratao, knowen to the people of the Alpes, and especially to the Rhetians which inhabite the landes about the sprynges of the ryuer Abdua. The ryuer of Volga ministreth vnto them great fyses, and of pleasaunt taste: especially sturgions, or rather  
Plentie of  
 fyshe.

Fyshe  
long re-  
serued in  
Ise.

a kynde of fyshe lyke vnto Sturgions : which in the wynter season, beyng inclosed in Ise, are long reserued freshe and vncorrupte.

Wyne.

Of other knydes of fyshes, they take in maner an incredible multitude in the whyte lakes whereof we haue spoken before. And whereas they vtterly lacke natyue wyne, they vse such as are brought from other places. And this only in certeyne feastes and holy mysteries, especially the pleasaunt Maluasies of the Ilande of Creta, now called Candy, are had in most honour : and vsed eyther as medicines, or for a shewe of excessiue aboundaunce, forasmuch as it is in maner a miracle that wines brought from Candy by the streightes of Hercules pyllers and the Ilandes of Gades, & tossed with such fluddes of the inclosed Ocean, should be droonke among the Scythian snowes in theyr natyue puritie and pleasauntnesse.

Maluasie.

All the  
North  
parte of the  
fyrme lande  
was called  
Scythia, and  
the people  
Scythians.

The common people drinke meade, made of hony & hoppes sodden together, whiche they keepe long in pitched barrelles, where the goodnesse increaseth with age. They vse also beere and ale, as doe the Germanes and Polones. They are accustomed, for delicatenesse in sommer, to coole theyr beere and meade with putting Ise therein, which the noble men reserue in theyr sellars in great quantitie for the same purpose. Some there are that delight greatly in the iuise that is pressed out of Cherries before they be full rype, which they affyrme to haue the colour of cleare and ruddy wyne, with a very pleasaunt taste.

Drinke  
cooled with  
Ise.

Wyne of  
cherries.

Their  
women.

Theyr wyues & women, are not with them in such honour as they are in other nations : for they vse them in maner in the place of seruantes. The noblewomen & gentlewomen do diligently obserue their walkes, and haue an eye to theyr chastitie. They are sildom bydden foorth to any feastes : neither are permitted to resorte to churches farre of, or to walke abroad without some great consideration. But the common sorte of women, are easily and for a

small price allured to lechery, euen of straungers : by reason wherof, the Gentlemen doe litle or nothyng esteeme them.

John the father of king Basilius, dyed more then .xx. yeeres since. He maryed Sophia, the daughter of Thomas Paleologus, who reigned far in Peloponnesus (now called Morea), & was brother to Themperour of Constantinople: She was then at Rome when Thomas her father was dryuen out of Grecia by the Turkes. Of her were fiew children borne, as Basilius hymselfe, George, Demetrius, Symeon, and Andreas. Basilius tooke to wife Salomonias, the daughter of George Soboronius, a man of singuler fidelitie & wyse-dome, and one of his counsayle: the excellent vertues of whiche woman, only barennesse obscured.

When the Princes of Moscouia deliberate to marry, their custome is to haue choyse of all the vyrgynes in the realme, and to cause suche as are of most fayre and beutifull vysage and personage, with maners and vertues accordyng, to bee brought before them: Whiche afterwarde they comyt to certayne faythful men, and graue matrones to be further viewed, insomuche that they leaue no parte of them vn-searched. Of these, shee whom the Prince most lyketh, is pronounced woorthie to bee his wyfe, not without great and carefull expectation of theyr parentes, lyuyng for that tyme betweene hope and feare. The other virgins also whiche stode in election, and contended in beautie and integritie of maners, are oftentimes the same day, to gratifie the Prince, marryed to his noble men, Gentelmen, and Capytaynes: wherby it sometymes commeth to passe, that whyle the Princes contemne the lynage of royall descent, suche as are borne of humble parentage are exalted to the degree of princely estate, in lyke maner as the Emperours of the Turkes were accustomed to be chosen, by comelynesse of personage, and warly prowesse.

Basilius was under thage of fourtie and seuen yeeres, of Duke Basilius.

comly personage, singular vertue, & princely qualities, by all meanes studious for the prosperitie & commodities of his subiectes : furthermore, in benevolence, liberalitie, and good successe in his doinges, to be preferred before his progenitours. For when he had .vi. yeeres kepte warre with the Lyuons that moued .lxxii. confetherate cities to the cause of that warre, he obteyned the victorie, & departed w<sup>t</sup> few conditions of peace, rather giuen then accepted. Also at the beginning of his reigne, he put the Polones to flight, and tooke prisoner Constantine, the Capitayne of the Ruthens, whom he brought to Moscouia tyed in chaynes : But shortly after, at the ryuer Boristhenes, aboue the citie of Orsa, he him selfe was ouercome in a great battayle, by the same Constantine, whom he had dismissed : Yet so, that the towne of Smolenzko, which the Moscouites possessed before, and was nowe woon by the Polones, should styll parteyne to the dominions of Basilius. But agaynst the Tartars, and especially the Tartars of Europe, called the Precopites, the Moscouites haue oftentimes kepte warre with good successe, in reuenge of the iniuries done to them by theyr incursions.

War be-  
tweene the  
Polones and  
Moscho-  
uites.

War be-  
tweene the  
Moschouites  
and Tartars.

Basilius is accustomed to bryng to the felde more then a hundred and fiftie thousande horsemen, diuided into three bandes, and folowyng the banners or ensignes of theyr Captaynes in order of battayle.

The Mosco-  
uites army.  
Their ban-  
ner.

On the banner of the kynges wyng, is figured the Image of Josue, the Captayne of the Hebreues, at whose prayer the Sonne prolonged the day and stayed his course, as witnesse the hystories of holy scripture. Armies of footemen are in maner to no vse in those great wyldernesses, as well for theyr apparel being loose and long, as also for the custome of theyr enemies, who in theyr warres trust rather to the swyftnesse of their light horses, then to trye the matter in a pyght felde.

Theyr horses are of lesse then meane stature ; but very

strong and swyfte. Theyr horsemen are armed with pykes, Their horses and horsemen. Ryuettes, Mases of yron, and arrowes. Fewe haue hooked Theire armure. swoordes. Theyr bodyes are defended with rounde Targets, after the maner of the Turkes of Asia: or with bendyng and cornarde Targettes after the maner of the Greekes: also with coates of mayle, Brygantines, and sharpe Helmettes. Basilius dyd furthermore instytute a bande of hargabusiers Hargabusiers. Gonnes. on horsebacke: and caused many great brasen peeces to be made by the workemanshyp of certaine Italyans: and the same with theyr stockes and wheelles to be placed in the Castle of Mosca.

The kynge him selfe, with princely magnificence and singular familiaritie (wherwith neuerthelesse no parte of the maiestie of a kyng is violate) is accustomed to dyne The prince dyneth openly. openly with his noble men, & strange Ambassadors, in his owne chamber of presence, where is seene a marueylous quantitye of syluer & gylt plate, standyng vppon two Sigismundus sayth that much of this is golde. great and high cubbardes in the same chamber. He hath not about him any other garde for the custody of his person, sauing only his accustomed familie. For watch and warde is deligently kept of the faithful multitude of the citzens. Insomuch, that euery warde or quarter of the citie is inclosed with gates, rayles, and barres: neyther The custodie of the citie. is it lawfull for any man rashely to walke in the citie in the nyght, or withowt lyght. All the courte consisteth of noble The dukes courte. men, Gentelmen, and choyse souldyers, which are called out of euery region by theyr townes and vyllages, and commaunded to wayte course by course at certayne monethes appoynted. Furthermore when warre is proclaymed, all the armie is collected, both of the oulde souldyers and by musteryng of newe in all prouinces. For the Lieuetenantes and Capytaynes of the army are accustomed in al cities to muster the youth, & to admyt to the order of souldyers such as they thynke able to serue the turne.

Theyr wages is payde them of the common treasury

Souldyers  
wages of the  
common  
treasury.

euery prouince which is geathered, and partely payde also in the tyme of peace, although it be but litle. But such as are assigned to the warres, are free from all tributes, and inioye certayne other priuilegies, wherby they maye the more gladly and cheerfully serue theyr kyng, and defende theyr contrey. For in the tyme of warre, occason is mynistred to shewe true vertue and manhood, where in so great and necessarie an institution, euery man accordyng to his aproued actiuitie and ingenious forwardnesse, may obtayne the fortune eyther of perpetuall honour, or ignominie.

Vix olim vlla fides referentibus horrida regna  
 Moschorum, et Ponti, res glacialis erat.  
 Nunc Iouio autore, illa oculis lustramus, et vrbes,  
 Et nemora, et montes cernimus et fluuios.  
 Moschouiam, monumenta Ioui, tua culta reuoluens,  
 Cœpi alios mundos credere Democriti.

THE END.

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