

Athanasius Nikitin of Twer
Voyage to India

translated by
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By the prayer of our holy fathers, O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, Thy sinful servant, Athanasius, son of Nikita.

This is, as I wrote it, my sinful wandering beyond the three seas: the first, the sea of Derbend—Doria Khvalitskaia;¹ the second, the India Sea—Doria Hondustanskaia; the third, the Black Sea—Doria Stembolskaia.²

I started from the church of our holy Saviour of Zlatoverkh, with the kind permission of the Grand-Duke Michael Borissowich and the bishop Gennadius of Twer;³ went down the Volga, came to the convent of the holy life-giving Trinity, and the holy shrines of Boris and Gleb the martyrs; and received the blessing of the hegumen Macarius and the brethren.⁴ From Koliazin I went to Ooglich; thence to Kostromah, to the Kniaz Alexander, with an epistle. And the Grand-Duke of all Russia allowed me to leave the country unhindered,⁵ and I went on by Plesso to Nijni-Novgorod, to the

¹ The Caspian Sea, called at that time *More Chvalisskoie*, and still called by the people “More Chvalynskoie.” Doria, according to the author, is the Persian word for sea.

² Sea of Stamboul.

³ Conforming to the Russian custom, which still prevails with all classes of the Russian community, our traveller, before setting out on a long voyage, went to hear prayers at one of the principal churches in Twer at that period. Michael Borissowich, or son of Boris, named here Grand-Duke of Twer, was brother-in-law to Iwan III, who reigned as Grand-Duke of Russia from 1462 to 1505. In consideration of his relationship he retained the title of *Grand-Duke*, which had already been abolished for most of the smaller states until 1486, when his dominions were annexed to the Grand Duchy of Muscov. Yempteobr, i, 206.

⁴ This convent, still in existence at Koliasin, on the Volga, enclosing within its precincts the remains of Boris and Gleb the martyrs, was a spot much resorted to for devotional purposes. A. Nikitin, as we shall frequently have occasion to see in the sequel, was a man of a religious turn of mind, who would not forego an opportunity, as the one offered to him at Koliazin, without seizing it eagerly. Boris and Gleb, both sons of St. Wladimir, on the death of their father in 1014, being called upon to succeed to part of his domains, was treacherously put to death by their elder brother, the ambitious Wiatopalk. Assailed by the assassins when they were saying their prayers, and thus destroyed at the very prime of life, their melancholy death inspired the people with a profound devotion for the youthful martyrs, who from that time were ranged among the saints of the Greek Church.

⁵ At that remote period post-horses, turnpike-roads, and bridge-tolls were already established on the high roads, but it required an order of the Grand-Duke, in which the number of horses and the quantity of refreshment the traveller was entitled to exact, were distinctly specified.

namestnik Michael Kisseleff, and to Iwan Saraeff, the collector of duties, both of whom let me pass freely.⁶

Vassili Papin merely passed through that town;⁷ but I stopped a fortnight to wait for the Tartar ambassador of Shirvanshah—Assanbek, who was coming with falcons from the Grand-Duke Ivan, ninety in number.⁸

With him I descended the Volga. We passed unmolested through Kazan,⁹ the Orda,¹⁰ Ooslan, Sarai,¹¹ and Berekezany, and we entered the river Buzan.¹² Here we fell in with three godless Tartars, who told us false tidings:—"The sultan Kaissim watches foreign merchants in the Buzan, and three thousand Tartars are with him."

Assanbek, the ambassador of Shirvanshah, gave to each of them a coat and a piece of linen, that they might guide him around Astrakhan, avoiding the town. They took the coat, but informed the zar of Astrakhan.

I abandoned my boat and crept into the ambassador's with my companions, and we sailed by Astrakhan at moonlight. The zar perceived us, and at once the Tartars cried: "Do not fly;" and the zar ordered the whole orda to chase us. For our sins we were overtaken on the Bogoon (Buzan). One of our men was shot; but we shot two of theirs.

⁶ The namestniks, or lieutenants, were the chief authorities in the different provinces—the poshlimuk, the person entrusted with the collection of tolls, duties, and customs, which were numerous and oppressive during the dominion of the Tartars.

⁷ Probably a traveller of some distinction, but whose character is not disclosed.

⁸ This was the ambassador of Shirvanshah, whose dominions extended on the western shores of the Caspian Sea, forming the present Shirvan. Those princes, in the reign of Ivan III, ceased to be the oppressors of Russia, and, in many instances, appeared as affectionate allies of that sovereign. Hence the present of ninety falcons, which may be considered as a mark of courtesy, which Ivan III not only paid to his Tartar allies, but also to the Roman emperor Maximilian. Karamsin iii, 333–34.

⁹ Kazan, until 1552, was the capital of an independent Tartar kingdom, a fragment of Baty's dismembered empire.

¹⁰ This is the name formerly given to the seats of the Tartar kings that ruled over Russia; subsequently it was also applied to the different kingdoms that sprung up from the immense empire of Baty in the beginning of the fifteenth century; as the Zolotaia Orda (golden or great orda), Krimskiaia Orda, the Ordea of Crimea, etc. etc.

¹¹ Sarai, now a heap of stones and the abode of loathsome reptiles, still observable on the borders of the Akhtouba, an arm of the Volga, forty-six miles from the sea, was at that time the capital of the great or Golden Orda, the famous residence of the great conqueror Baty, the place where, during two centuries, the Grand-Dukes of Russia had to pay their allegiance and their tribute to the tyrannical khans, and to endure the greatest hardships and humiliations ever inflicted upon a conquered people. In 1462 Achmat was khan of Saray. After a succession of wars with Ivan III he fell in 1480, and was succeeded by his sons, who, however, lost all power over Russia.

¹² Buzan is one of the many streams through which the Volga empties its waters into the Caspian Sea, it runs north to the main arm of the river.

The smaller of our boats ran foul of some fishing-stakes, was seized, and instantly plundered with all my things in her. In the larger we reached the sea, but having grounded at the mouth of the Volga we were taken, and the boat was hauled up again to the fishing-stakes. There they took her and four head Russians, dismissing us bare and naked beyond the sea, and forbidding us to return home because of the news.

And so we went on to Derbend in two boats: in one, the ambassador Assanbek, some *Teziks*, and ten head Russaks; in the other, six Muscovites and six Tweritians. A storm having arisen at sea, the smaller boat was wrecked on shore. Then came the Kaitaks¹³ and made the whole party prisoners, and we came to Derbend, where Vassily Papin had arrived safe and well, but we robbed. I prayed him and also Assanbek, the ambassador of Shirvanshah, as we had travelled together, to take pity on the men that had been plundered by the Kaitaks near Tarki.¹⁴ And this he did, and went up the hill to Boolat-bek; and Boolat-bek sent immediately to Shirvanshah bek, to say that a Russian craft had been wrecked near Sarai, and that the Kaitaks coming up had taken the people and plundered their goods. Shirvanshah-bek at once dispatched a messenger to Alil-bek, the Kaitakian Kniaz, his brother-in-law, saying, "A ship of mine was wrecked near Tarki, and thy people arriving seized my people and plundered their goods. Now, for the sake of me, thou shouldest send them to me and recover their goods, for these people are sent in my name. And shouldest thou ever want any thing of me, do thou name it, and I will not refuse it to my brother; but for the sake of me let them go in liberty." Alil-bek complied willingly, and immediately sent the prisoners to Derbend, whence they were directed to Shirvanshah in *Koytul*, his own orda. We all proceeded there, and prayed that he would give us the means to return to Russia; but he gave us nothing, as we were too many. So we wept and dispersed to wherever it was;¹⁵ whoever had anything in Russia returned home; whoever was in debt went where his eyes looked; some stayed at Shamakha; others sought work at Bakou.

As for me, I went to Derbend and then to Bakou, where the fire burns unextinguished,¹⁶ and thence across the sea to Chebokhara (Bokhara). Here I

¹³ The Kaitaks, or Tartar tribe that occupied the present Daghestan.

¹⁴ Tarki, a town of Daghestan, not far from the Caspian Sea.

¹⁵ Wherever each chose to go.

¹⁶ By this unextinguished fire the author means the naphtha springs and the mud volcanoes, for which the peninsula of Abscharon is famous. Before the Mahomedan conquest it was a favourite resort of the Ghebers or fire-worshippers. "The quantity of naphtha procured in this plain to the south-east of Baku is enormous. It is drawn from wells, some of which have been found to yield from 1000 to 1,500 lbs. a day. Near the naphtha springs still stands the Atash Kudda, or fire temple of the Ghebers, a remarkable spot,

lived six months, and one month I lived at Sareh, in the land of Mazanderan, and one month at Amyl (Amol). Then I went to Dimovand (Demowend), and from Demowend to Orey¹⁷ (here were killed the children of Shausen Aley, the grandchildren of Mahmet, and he cursed the Assassins, and seventy cities fell to ruins), and from Orey (or Drey ?) to Kashan, where I remained one month. I also spent a month at Nain, and another at Yezd. From Yezd I proceeded to Sirjan (or Kirwan) and to Tarom (Tarem), where the cattle are fed with dates at four *altyn* the *batman*,¹⁸ and from Tarem to Lar, and from Lar to Bender (Bunder-Abbas); and here there is a seaport, Hormyz (Hormuz), and the Indian Sea, called in the Persian tongue *Doria* of *Hondustan*.

Hormuz is four miles across the water and stands on an island. Twice a day the sea flows around it, and here I celebrated the first great day, having reached Hormuz four weeks before the great day. I have not named the many and large cities through which I passed.

At Hormuz the sun is scorching and burns man. I stopped there a month. On the first week after the great day,¹⁹ I shipped my horses in a *tava*,²⁰ and sailed across the Indian Sea in ten days to Moshkat (Muscat).

something less than a mile in circumference, from the centre of which a bluish flame is seen to arise. This fire does not consume, and if a person finds himself in the middle of it, he is not sensible of any warmth.”—(Kinneir's *Persia*, p. 359.)

¹⁷ Orey or Rhey, a city now in ruins, at a short distance south from Teheran, is generally supposed to be identical with the ancient *Rhages*, the capital of the Parthian kings, where Alexander halted for five days in his pursuit of Darius. The ruins cover a great extent of ground, having in their centre a modern village with a noble mosque and mausoleum,—an oasis in the midst of the surrounding desert (Macculloch, *Geogr. Dict., Teheran*). With regard to the curse alluded to, we find in Olearius, *Voyages, etc.*, liv. iv, p. 678 (translated by De Wicquefort, two vols., folio, Leide, 1718), who visited that country in 1637, the following passage, which thoroughly confirms Nikitin's statement. Speaking of the ruins of Rhey, he says:—“The soil there is reddish, and produces neither herb nor fruit. The Persians ascribe the cause of it to the curse which befel that land on account of Omar Saad, who was one of the first military chiefs in the time of Hossein (Shausen), son of Haly, their great prophet. This Omar, who first had made professions of friendship towards Hossein, was the only man who consented to serve Fesid-Peser against him; for Hossein being of the blood of Mahomet, and in great renown for his sanctity, there was no general found at Medina who would take up arms against him, except Omar, who was persuaded to undertake the war, by the promise of receiving possession of the city of Rhey and its territory, which he had been coveting for a long time. But the death of Hossein, who fell during the war, brought upon that land the curse, which, by the common belief, still appeared in the tint and barrenness of the soil.”

¹⁸ A *batman* is a measure of weight still used in Turkey, Persia, Bokhara, and in Caucasus, equal to 26 pouds, or 936 lbs. (about 8 1/9th cwt.) avoirdupois. An *altyn* is three copecs, or one penny.

¹⁹ Easter Sunday.

²⁰ A vessel.

Thence in four days to *Degh(?)*; and farther to Kuzrat (Gujrat) and Kanbat (Cambay), where the indigo grows; and lastly to Chivil.²¹ We sailed six weeks in the tava till we reached Chivil, and left Chivil on the seventh week after the great day.

This is an Indian country. People go about naked, with their heads uncovered and bare breasts; the hair tressed into one tail, and thick bellies. They bring forth children every year and the children are many; and men and women are black. When I go out many people follow me, and stare at the white man.

Their kniaz²² wears a *fata*²³ on the head; and another on the loins; the boyars wear it on the shoulders and on the loins; the *kniaginies* wear it also round the shoulders and the loins. The servants of the kniaz and of the boyars attach the *fata* round the loins, carrying in the hand a shield and a sword, or a scimitar, or knives, or a sabre, or a bow and arrows—but all naked and barefooted. Women walk about with their heads uncovered and their breasts bare. Boys and girls go naked till seven years, and do not hide their shame.

We left Chivil, and went by land in eight days to Pilee(?), to the Indian mountains; thence in ten days to Oomri,²⁴ and from that Indian town to Jooneer(?) in six days.

Here resides Asat, khan of Indian Jooneer, a tributary of Meliktuchar. I hear he holds seven *tmas* of Meliktuchar, while Meliktuchar himself presides over twenty *tmas*. He has been fighting the *Kofars* for twenty years, being sometimes beaten, but mostly beating them.

The khan rides on men, although he has many good elephants and horses. Among his attendants are many Khorassanians, some of whom come from the countries of Khorassan, Oroban, Surkmesk, and Chegotan. They all are brought over by sea in *tavas* or Indian ships.

And I, poor sinner, brought a stallion to the land of India; with God's help I reached Jooneer all well, but it cost me a hundred roubles.

The winter began from Trinity day,²⁵ and we wintered at Jooneer and lived there two months; but day and night for four months there is but rain

²¹ Chaoul, a flourishing seaport before the Portuguese conquest, thirty miles south south-east of Bombay. This was a place of considerable note during the Bhamenee dynasty of the Deccan.—Hamilton's *Indian Gaz.*

²² “Kniaz” is the Russian word for prince or chief, and “kniaginia” for princess; “boyars” means noblemen.

²³ *Fata* is a large silken garment, still worn in some countries of Russia by the women of the lower classes, round the head or over the upper part of the body.

²⁴ Perhaps Umrut (Omrita), a town in the province of Aurungabad, forty miles south by east from Surat.

and dirt. At this time of the year the people till the ground, sow wheat, tuturegan(?), peas, and all sorts of vegetables. Wine is kept in large skins (?) of Indian goat. (Unintelligible)....

Horses are fed on peas; also on *kichiris*, boiled with sugar and oil; early in the morning they get *shishenivo*, Horses are not born in that country, but oxen and buffaloes: and these are used for riding, conveying goods, and every other purpose.

Jooneer stands on a stony island; no human hand built it—God made the town. A narrow road, which it takes a day to ascend, admitting of only one man at a time, leads up the hill to it.

In the land of India it is the custom for foreign traders to stop at inns; there the food is cooked for the guests by the landlady, who also makes the bed and sleeps with the stranger. Women that know you willingly concede their favours, for they like white men. In the winter. the people put on the *fata* and wear it round the waist, on the shoulders, and on the head; but the princes and nobles put trousers on, a shirt and a *kaftan* (a long coat), wearing a *fata* on the shoulders, another as a belt round the waist, and a third round the head.

O God, true God, merciful God, gracious God.

At Jooneer the khan took away my horse, and having heard that I was no Mahomedan, but a Russian, he said: "I will give thee the horse and a 1000 pieces of gold, if thou wilt embrace our faith, the Mahomedan faith; and if thou wilt not embrace our Mahomedan faith, I shall keep the horse and take a 1000 pieces of gold upon thy head." He gave me four days to consider, and all this occurred during the fast of the Assumption of our Lady, on the eve of our Saviour's day (18th of August).

And the Lord took pity upon me because of his holy festival, and did not withdraw his mercy from me, his sinful servant, and allowed me not to perish at Fooneer among the infidels. On the eve of our Saviour's day there came a man from Khorassan, Khozaiocha Mahmet, and I implored him to pity me. He repaired to the khan into the town, and praying him delivered me from being converted, and took from him my horse. Such was the Lord's wonderful mercy on the Saviour's day.

Now, Christian brethren of Russia, whoever of you wishes to go to the Indian country may leave his faith in Russia, confess Mahomet, and then proceed to the land of Hindostan. Those Mussulman dogs have lied to me, saying I should find here plenty of our goods; but there is nothing for our

²⁵ Viz., in June.

country. All goods for the land of Mussulmans, as pepper and colours, and these are cheap.

Merchandise conveyed by sea is free from duty, and people that would bring it to us will give no duty;²⁶ but the duties are many. The sea is infested with pirates, all of whom are Kofars, neither Christians nor Mussulmans; they carry to stone idols and know not Christ.

We left Jooneer on the eve of the Assumption of the very holy (Virgin)²⁷ for *Beuruk* (Beder), a large city, and we were a month on the road. From there we went in five days to Kulongher, and in five days from the latter to Kelberg (Kulburga). Between these large towns there are many small ones: three for each day, and occasionally four; so many *kors*, so many towns. From Chivil to Jooneer it is 20 kors; from Jooneer to Beder, 40; from Beder to Kulongher, 9 kors; and from Beder to Koluberg, 9.

In Beder there is a trade in horses, goods, stuffs, silks, and all sorts of other merchandise, and also in black people; but no other article is sold but Indian goods, and every kind of eatables; no goods, however, that will do for Russia. And all are black and wicked, and the women all harlots, or witches, or thieves and cheats; and they destroy their masters with poison.

The rulers and the nobles in the land of India are all Khorassanians. The Hindoos walk all on foot and walk fast. They are all naked and bare-footed, and carry a shield in one hand and a sword in the other. Some of the servants are armed with straight bows and arrows.

Elephants are greatly used in battle. The men on foot are sent first, the Khorassanians being mounted in full armour, man as well as horse. Large scythes²⁸ are attached to the trunks and tusks of the elephants, and the animals are clad in ornamental plates of steel. They carry a citadel, and in the citadel twelve men in armour with guns and arrows.

There is a place *Shikhaludin Peratyr*, a bazaar Aladinand,²⁹ and a fair once a year, where people from all parts of India assemble and trade for ten

²⁶ This sentence is not clear, and as it stands thus in the original, I did not venture to put on it any construction to explain the author's mind, the more so as the latter part of the sentence is left out in Mr. Stroef's impression. (Count Wielhorsky.)

²⁷ 15th/27th of August.

²⁸ Weighing three ponds or 106 lb.

²⁹ Stroef gives it thus: "Shikhb-aludin piriatty bazaar Aliadinand." Shikhuladin, as will be seen presently, appears to have been a man held in great veneration at that time. Ibn Batuta, the celebrated Arabian traveller, who visited India about the middle of the fourteenth century, relates that in coming to Bengal his chief object was to see a great saint who dwelt in the mountains of Karuru, which adjoins the mountains of Thibet, the *Shiekh Falal Oddin*. This saint treated him with attention, and placed on him at parting the fine goat's hair garment which he wore himself. (Cooley, i, 203.) Might he not be the same in whose memory everything was bought and sold at the Aladinand bazaar.

days. As many as 20,000 horses are brought there for sale from Beder, which is 20 *kors* distant, and besides every description of goods; and that fair is the best throughout the land of Hindostan. Every thing is sold or bought in memory of Shikbaladin, whose fête falls on the Russian festival of the Protection of the Holy Virgin (1st October).

In that Aland (Aladinand?) there is a bird, *gookook*, that flies at night and cries “gookook,” and any roof it lights upon, there the man will die; and whoever attempts to kill it, will see fire flashing from its beak. Wild cats rove at night and catch fowls; they live in the hills and among stones. As to monkeys they live in the woods and have their monkey *kniaz*, who is attended by a host of armed followers. When any of them is caught they complain to their *kniaz*, and an army is sent after the missing; and when they come to a town they pull down the houses and beat the people; and their armies, it is said, are many. They speak their own tongues and bring forth a great many children; and, when a child is unlike its father or its mother, it is thrown out on the high road. Thus they are often caught by the Hindoos, who teach them every sort of handicraft, or sell them at night, that they may not find their way home, or teach them dancing.³⁰

Spring begins from the Protection of the Holy Virgin (10th October). A fortnight after this festival they celebrate Shikbaladin and the spring during eight days. They make the spring three months, the summer three months, the winter three months, and the autumn three months. Beder is the chief town of the whole of Mahomedan Hindostan; the city is large, and contains a great many people.

The sultan³¹ (of Beder) is a little man, twenty years old, in the power of the nobles. Khorassanians rule the country and serve in war. There is a Khorassanian Boyar, Melik-Tuchar, who keeps an army of 200,000 men; Melik Khan keeps 100,000; Kharat Khan, 20,000, and many are the khans that keep 10,000 armed men.

³⁰ The belief that these animals are but a variety of the human species, already existed among the Greeks of antiquity. Ibn Batuta informs us that he found the same belief established among pious and credible persons in India. He was assured that the monkeys have a chief, whom they treat as if he were a king, four monkeys with rods in their hands being constantly in waiting upon him, and supplying his table with all sorts of eatables. (Cooley, i, 202.)

³¹ After the Mahomedan conquest the province of Beder was the seat of the Bhamener dynasty of Deccan sovereigns, the first of whom was sultan Allah ud Deen Houssun Kangoh Bhamenee, A.D. 1347, whose capital was Kalbergah. Beder was formerly noted for works of tutenague inlaid with silver. Before the Mahomedan invasion it was the capital of a Hindoo sovereignty. Near the ruins of the old Beder, Ahmed Shah Bhamenee founded the city Ahmedabad, which he made his capital in place of Kalbergah, and this is the modern Beder. (Hamilton, p. 105)

The sultan goes out with 300,000 men of his own troops.

The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some twenty chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horseback and 500 on foot, and by horn-men, ten torchbearers and ten musicians.

The sultan goes out hunting with his mother and his lady, and a train of 10,000 men on horseback, 50,000 on foot; 200 elephants adorned in gilded armour, and in front one hundred horn-men, 100 dancers, and 300 common horses in golden clothing, 100 monkeys, and 100 concubines, all foreign (haurikies).

The sultan's palace has seven gates, and in each gate are seated 100 guards and 100 Mahomedan scribes, who enter the names of all persons going in and out. Foreigners are not admitted into the town. This palace is very wonderful; everything in it is carved or gilded, and, even to the smallest stone, is cut and ornamented with gold most wonderfully. Several courts of justice are within the building.

Throughout the night the town of Beder is guarded by 1000 men *kutovalovies*,³² mounted on horses in full armour, carrying each a light.

I sold my stallion at Beder, and got by him 60 and 8 *footoons*, having kept him a whole year.

Snakes crawl about in the streets of Beder, in length two sajen (fourteen feet).

I came to Beder from Kulongher on the day of St. Philip (14th of November); sold my horse about Christmas and staid at Beder till Lent; and made acquaintance with many Hindoos, told them what was my faith; that I

³² The kouteval, like the police of our days, had to keep good order in the streets, especially during the night. Olearius, in describing the authorities of the city of Gomron, or Bunder Abbas (*Voyages du Sr. Jean A. Mandelslo, publiés par A. Olearius et traduits par De Wicquefort*, 2 vols., folio. Vol. i, p. 32), says, that the kouteval performed the duties of a *chevalier du guet*, or night guard. In the kingdom of Guzerat, according to the same authority (pp. 152, 153), his duty was also to decide petty suits, "But justice," remarks Olearius, "is administered there in a curious manner; for the person that begins the suit usually wins it, and the consequence is that in most cases it is the sufferer has to pay the fine. The capital crimes are judged by the governors of the cities, the executions devolving on the kouteval. There is almost no crime from which you may not be redeemed by money; so that it may be said of those countries, with more truth than of any other, that gibbets are erected there for the poor only. The crimes most severely punished are murder and adultery, especially when committed with a lady of high station. This is the only reason why houses of pleasure are tolerated, all of which pay a tribute to the kouteval, who in return extend to them such an efficient protection that they not only afford security, but also confer a certain amount of honour on their customers."

was neither Mahommedan nor ... (caædronie, saiadenie?), but a Christian; that my name was *Ofonasey*, and my Mahommedan name *Khoza Issuf Khorossani*. After that they no more endeavoured to conceal anything from me, neither their meals, nor their commerce, nor their prayers, nor other things; nor did they try to hide their women. And I asked them all about their religion, and they said: "We believe in Adam;" and they hold the *Budhs* to be Adam and his race. There are in all eighty-four creeds, and all believe in *Boot* (Buddha), and no man of one creed will drink, eat, or marry with those of another. Some of them feed on mutton, fowls, fish, and eggs, but none on beef.

Having spent four months at Beder, I agreed with some Hindoos to go to *Pervota*,³³ which is their Jerusalem; its Mahommedan name is *Gkhat Deikh Bootkhana*. We were a month on the route. A fair is held there during five days.

Bootkhana is a very extensive building, about the half of Twer, built in stone, and exhibiting in carvings on the walls the deeds of Boot. All around it are cut out twelve wreaths, in which are shown how Boot achieved miracles; how he appeared in different forms; first in the shape of a man, then as a man with an elephant's nose, then as a man with a monkey's face, and again as a man with the appearance of a savage beast and a tail rising a sajen (seven feet) above him.

People from all parts of the land of India congregate at Bootkhana, to witness the wonders of Boot. Old women and girls shave their hair at Bootkhana, and everyone coming there shaves his beard and head and whatever hair is on his body; and a tribute of two *mekshenies* is levied on each head for the sake of Boot, and also of four *fonties* on each horse. Twenty millions of people assemble at Bootkhana, but sometimes a hundred millions.

At Bootkhana, Boot is sculptured in stone of an immense size, his tail rising over him. His right hand is lifted up high and extended like that of Justian (Justinian?), emperor of Constantinople; his left holding a sword; he is quite uncovered, with only a small cloth round the loins, and has the appearance of a monkey. Some other budhs (idols) are naked, without anything on their hinder parts, and the wives of Boot and their children are also sculptured naked.

A huge bull, carved in black stone and gilded, stands before Boot; people kiss his hoof and adorn him with flowers as well as Boot.

³³ See an account of Perwuttum and its pagoda, by Colonel Colin Mackenzie, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v, 304.

The Hindoos eat no meat, no cow flesh, no mutton, no, chicken. The banquets were all on pork; and pigs are in great abundance. They take their meals twice a day, but not at night, and drink no wine nor mead; but with Mahommedans they neither eat nor drink. Their fare is poor. They eat not with one another nor with their wives, and live on Indian corn, carrots with oil, and different herbs. Always eating with the right hand, they will never set the left hand to anything nor use a knife; the spoon is unknown. In travelling every one has a stone pot to cook his broth in. They take care that Mahommedans do not look into their pot, nor see their food, and should this happen they will not eat it; some, therefore, hide themselves under a linen cloth lest they should be seen when eating.

They offer their prayers towards the east, in the Russian way, lifting both hands high and putting them on the top of the head; then they lie down with the face to the ground, stretching their body to its full length, and such is their law.

They sit down to eat, and wash their hands and feet, and rinse their mouths before they do so.

Their Bootookhanies (places of worship) have no doors, and are situated towards the east; and the budhs (idols) also stand eastward.

The bodies of the dead are burnt, and the ashes scattered on the waters.

When a woman is confined, her husband acts the midwife. He gives the name to a son, but the mother gives it to a daughter. Still there is no good about them, and they know not what is shame.

On meeting together, they bow to each other like the monks, touching the ground with both hands, but say nothing.

During Lent they go to Pervota, their Jerusalem. In Mahommedan it is named Koka, in Russian Jerusalem, in the Hindoo tongue *Tparvat*.

They come hither all naked, with only a small linen round their loins; and the women also naked, with a fota round the middle; but some are dressed in fotas, wearing necklaces of sapphire, bracelets round the arms, and golden rings, *ollook*.

They drive into the Bootkhana on bulls, the horns of which are cased in brass. These animals, called "ach-chee," have their feet shod, and carry round the neck 300 bells. The Hindoos call the bull *father*, and the cow *mother*; with their excrements they bake bread and boil food, and with their ashes sign the images of these animals on their own faces, foreheads, and whole bodies.

On Sundays and Mondays they only eat once in the day. In India "pachektur a uchu zeder sikish ilarsen ikishitel akechany ilia atyrsen a tle

jetelber bularadastor akul karavash uchuz charfuna khubbem funa khubesia kap karaam chuk-kichi khosh.”³⁴

From Pervota we returned to Beder, a fortnight before the great Mahommedan festival (Ulu Bairam). But I know not the great day of Christ's Resurrection; however, I guess by different signs, that the great Christian day is by nine or ten days sooner than the Mahommedan *Cagrim* (Cairiam). I have nothing with me; no books whatever; those that I had taken from Russia were lost when I was robbed. And I forgot the Christian faith and the Christian festivals, and know not Easter nor Christmas, nor can I tell Wednesday from Friday, and I am between the two faiths. *But I pray to the only God that he may preserve me from destruction. God is one, king of glory and creator of heaven and earth.*

On my return to Russia I again adopted the Russian law.

The month of March passed, and I had not eaten any meat for one month, having begun to fast with the Mahommedans on a Sunday. Abstaining from all animal or Mahommedan food, I fed myself twice a day with bread and water, abstained from female society, and prayed to God Almighty, who made heaven and earth; and no other god of any other name did I invoke. Bog ollo, Bog kerim, Bog garym, Bog khudo, Bog Akber, God, king of glory, Ollo-vareno ollo garymello, sensen olloty.

It takes ten days to go by sea from Ormuz to Golat (Kalat); from Kalat to Degh six days; from Degh to Moshkat (Muscat) six days; from Moshkat to Gujzrat ten days;³⁵ from Gujzrat to Combat (Cambay) four days; from Combat to Chivil (Chaoul) twelve days; and from Chivil to Dabyl (Dabul) six days.

Dabul is the last seaport in Hindostan belonging to the Mussulmans. From there to Colecot (Calicut) you have to travel twenty-five days, and from Colecot to Ceylan fifteen; from Ceylan to Shibait one month; from Shibait to Pewgu twenty days; and from Pewgu to China and Macheen one month: all this by sea. From China to *Kyt* you go by land six months, but by sea in four days....

Hormuz is a vast emporium of all the world; you find there people and goods of every description, and whatever thing is produced on earth you find it in Hormuz. But the duties are high, one tenth of everything.

³⁴ This, like the other untranslated passages in this narrative, are in Turkish, as they stand in the original, but are so corrupt as to be scarcely intelligible. Even when the meaning can be guessed at, it has sometimes, as in the present instance, been thought undesirable to supply it in English.

³⁵ The distances in days between Degh, Muscat, and Guzerat are given in Stroef's edition, but not in this manuscript.

Cambayat (Cambai) is a port of the whole Indian sea, and a manufacturing place for every sort of goods; as talach,³⁶ damask, khan,³⁷ kiota,³⁸ and there they prepare the blue stone colour. There also grows *lek daakhyk dalon*.

Dabyl (Dabul) is also a very extensive seaport, where many horses are brought from Mysore, Rabast (Arabia), Khorassan, Turkestan, Neghostan. It takes a month to walk by land from this place to Beder and to Kulburgha.

Calecot (Calicut) is a port for the whole Indian sea, which God forbid any craft to cross, and whoever saw it will not go over it healthy. The country produces pepper, ginger, colour plants, muscat, cloves, cinnamon, aromatic roots, *adrach* (?) and every description of spices, and everything is cheap, and servants and maids are very good.

Ceylon is another not inconsiderable port of the Indian Sea. There, on a hill, is the tomb of Adam, and in the vicinity are found precious stones, antimony, *fastisses*, agate, *cinchai*, crystal, *sumbada*.³⁹ Elephants and ostriches live there and are sold, the former by the size, the latter by the weight.

Shabait, on the Indian Sea, is a very large place; a tribute of one *tenka*⁴⁰ a day is paid there to each Korossanee, big or small. And when he marries, then the sovereign of Shabat pays him 1000 tenkas for the sacrifice and as a tribute, and he eats for ten tenkas a month. At Shabat the country produces silk, sandal, gems, and everything is cheap.

Pegu is no inconsiderable port, principally inhabited by Indian dervishes. The products derived from thence are *manik*, *iakhut*, *kyrpuk*, which are sold by the dervishes.

The seaports of *Cheen* and *Machin* are also large. Porcelain is made there, and sold by the weight and at a low price. Women sleep with their husbands in the day, but at night they go to the foreign men and sleep with them and pay for it, besides waiting on them with sweetmeats and supplying

³⁶ Long gowns, still worn by Tartars, of a striped material, half cotton, half silk.

³⁷ A sort of satin from China.

³⁸ Blankets.

³⁹ A sort of mastich, used for shaving (?).

⁴⁰ The tankha appears to be the coin represented by the modern rupee, and, perhaps, when at its proper standard, was of about the same value. The rupee of Akbar (sixteenth century) contained 174.5 grains of pure silver, and was divided into forty dams or pusas (of 191 1/2 grains of copper each). Queen Elizabeth's shilling contained 88.8 grains of pure silver; Akbar's rupee, therefore, was worth 1s. 11 1/2d. of English money of his time. Akbar's standard remained almost unaltered all over the Mogul dominions until the breaking up of the empire, in the middle of the last century. (The Hon. M. Elphinstone's History of India, book viii, chap. ii, note 19.) Hence the value of one tenka at the latter part of the fifteenth century may be fixed at about two shillings.

them with food and drink, that the foreigners may love them, because they like strangers and white people, their own men being so very black. And when a woman conceives a child by a stranger, the husband pays him a salary. If the child is born white, the stranger receives a duty of eighteen tenkas; if it is born black he gets nothing, but is welcome to what he ate and drank.

Shabat is distant three months from Beder; but by sea it takes two months to go from Dabul to *Shabat*. Machin and Chim, where porcelain is made and everything is cheap, are four months distance by sea from Beder, and Ceylon two months by sea.

At *Shabat* nature produces silk, beads, gems, sandal, elephants, which are sold by the *lokot*. At Ceylon you find *ammone*, antimony, *fatisses*; at Lecot (Calicut?), pepper, muscat, cloves, Indian peas and colour plants; at Guzrat the Indigo colour; at Cambat the agate; at Rachoor⁴¹ the diamond. *Cirkona danov konaj?* The parcel is sold at five roubles, but the best at ten; a parcel of rough diamond—*penech chekeni siaje charasheshkeni asipit ek tenka*. The diamond is found on a rocky hill, and the rough diamond from that hill is sold for two thousand pounds weight of gold per *lokot*; the *kona* diamond is sold at 10,000 pounds of gold per *lokot*. That district belongs to Melik-khan, a vassal to the sultan, and is thirty *kors* from Beder.—*a syto*.

The Jews call the people of *Shabat* Jews like themselves but this is not true, for the people of *Shabat* are neither Jews, nor Mahommedans, nor Christians, but belong to a different Indian religion. They eat not with *Khuds* (Jews?) nor Mahommedans, and use no meat. Silk and sugar are cultivated at a low expense, and everything generally is cheap at *Shabat*.

Monkeys and wild cats infest the woods and attack the traveller on the highroads; nobody, therefore, attempts to travel at night, on account of the monkeys and wild cats.

From *Shabat* it is ten months by land and four by sea, *aukiikov*.

There is a kind of deer, which, when fattened, have their vesicles cut, and a liquid is generated therein. When wild they drop these vesicles, which give a very strong smell on the fields and in the woods, and any one attempting to taste the liquid would immediately die.

I kept the great day in May at Beder, the Mahommedan residence in Hindostan, having begun to fast on the first day of April; but the Mahommedans kept the Bairam, in the middle of May.

O true believing Christians ! He that travels through many countries will fall into many sins, and deprive himself of the Christian faith... (Two lines unintelligible.)

⁴¹ Orachoor, according to Stroef.

Four great Lent fastings and four great days (Easter days) have already passed by, but I, sinful man, do not know which is the great day, or when is Lent, or Christmas, or any other holiday, or Wednesday or Friday. I have no books; they were taken by those that plundered us. Driven by this great misfortune I went to India, for I had nothing to return with to Russia, being robbed of all my goods.

The first great day I kept at *Kain* (Nain); the second at *Chebokhara*, in the country of Mazanderan: the third at Hormuz; the fourth in India, together with the Mussulmans; and there I wept bitterly because of the Christian faith.

A Mussulman called Melikh, forcibly exhorted me to go over to the Mahomedan faith. But I said to him Master, thou *markylaresen menda namaz kilarmen ty bez namaz kilarsiz menda 3 kalaremen mengarib easen enchai.*—But he replied: “Truly thou seemest not to be a Mahometan; but thou knowest not the Christian faith.”

And I was then engrossed by many a thought, and said to myself: “Woe to me, obdurate sinner, who wandered from the path of truth, and who no more know where to go. Oh Lord Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, turn not away Thy face from Thy servant, for I am near to despair in my trouble. Lord, bestow Thy glance upon me and have mercy upon me, for I am Thy creature; do not lead me, O Lord, from the path of truth, but direct my steps to wander in righteousness; for in my trouble I did no good for Thy sake, O Lord, and have spent the whole of my days in evil. *Ollo pervodiger, Ollo garym, Ollo tykarim, Ollo karim, Ollo ragymello, Akhalim dulimo.*”

I have already passed the fourth great day in the Mussulman country, and have not renounced Christianity. But what may come hereafter, that God alone knows: “O gracious Lord, on Thee I rely, and unto Thee I pray to save me from destruction.”

(Three lines unintelligible.)

On the Mahometan Bairam, the sultan went out to *teferich*, and with him twenty high-viziers, three hundred elephants, clad in Damask steel armour, carrying citadels equally fitted in steel, and each holding six warriors with guns and long muskets. The big elephants are mounted by twelve men. Each animal has two large *probortsy* and a heavy sword, weighing a *kentar* (three pouds, about 100 lb.), attached to its tusks, and large iron weights hanging from the trunk. A man in full armour sits between the ears, holding in his hand a large iron hook wherewith he guides the animal.

But besides this there may be seen in the train of the sultan about a thousand ordinary horses in gold trappings, one hundred camels with torchbearers, three hundred trumpeters, three hundred dancers, and three hundred *kovre*.

The sultan, riding on a golden saddle, wears a habit embroidered with sapphires, and on his pointed headdress a large diamond; he also carries a suit of gold armour inlaid with sapphires, and three swords mounted in gold. Before him runs a Mussulman playing on the *teremetz*, and behind a great many attendants follow on foot; also a mighty elephant, decked with silk and holding in his mouth a large iron chain. It is his business to clear the way of people and horses, in order that none should come too near the sultan.

The brother of the sultan rides on a golden bed, the canopy of which is covered with velvet and ornamented with precious stones. It is carried by twenty men.

Mahmud sits on a golden bed, with a silken canopy to it and a golden top, drawn by four horses in gilt harness. Around him are crowds of people, and before him many singers and dancers, and all of them armed with bare swords or sabres, shields, spears, lances, or large straight bows; and riders and horses are in full armour. Some are naked, but wear a small garment round the waist.

At Beder the moon remains full three days. I found there no fresh vegetables.

The heat in Hindostan is not great; it is great at Hormuz; at *Katobagraim*, where gems are found; at Tid;⁴² at *Bakh*; at Mysore; at *Ostan*; at Lar. In the land of Khorassan the climate is warm, but not to excess; it is, however, exceedingly hot in *Chegotan*, and in the cities of Shiraz, Yezd, and Kashan; but winds blow there sometimes. At Ghilan the air is sultry and extremely warm; the same at Shamakha and at Babylon, at *Khumit*, at *Shamah* (or *Sham*). It is less warm at Lap.

But in Sevastihub (Sivas) and in the land of *Gurzyn*⁴³ there is abundance of everything, as well as in the lands *Tursk*, and *Walosk*, where

⁴² Djid, near Mecca? The three following names, Bakh, Mysore, Ostan, are omitted in Stroef's impression, but replaced by the words "at Mahrab, and in Oroobstan," which appears the better reading, as the names referred to would indicate the first, Tid, a town on the Red Sea; Mabrah, a province in Arabia; and Oroobstan Arabia, that being the name given to that country by our traveller.

⁴³ This may be Gruzia, the present name of that part of the Caucasus known to Europe as Georgia, a country which by its fertility would answer to the qualification given to it by our traveller. Stroef's reading is Qurmyz, namely Hormuz, which does not seem so good, as the author would not have called it a land, having described it as a town *standing on an island*.

eatables are plentiful and cheap. The land of Podolia also abounds in every produce.

May God preserve the Russian land, God preserve this world, and more especially from hell; may He bestow his blessing on the dominions of Russia and the Russian nobility, and may the Russian dominion increase. O Lord, I rely upon Thee; spare my life. I have lost my road and know not where to go!

I can well get from Hindostan to Hormuz, but there is no road from there to Khorassan; nor to *Chegotay*, nor to *Kitabagram*,⁴⁴ nor to Tezd,⁴⁵ for all these places have been conquered by the *Bulgack*,⁴⁶ and their kings expelled. Uzu-Assanbekh killed Taousho Murzah; Sultan Massait was poisoned; Uzu-Assanbekh took Shiraz; but the country refused to submit, and Ediger Mahmet did not appear (to make his allegiance), but continued in a state of defence. So there is no practicable way whatever.

If you proceed to Mecca you must take the Mahometan faith, and on account of this Christians do not like to go to Mecca. On the other hand, living in India is very expensive. I have spent the whole of my money, and being alone I spend daily for my food one-sixth of an altyn;⁴⁷ nor do I drink wine or *synda*.

Melikh Tuchar took two Indian towns,⁴⁸ whose ships pirated on the Indian Sea, captured seven princes with their treasures, a load of precious stones, a load of diamonds and *kirpuks*, and a hundred loads of valuable goods; while the army took an immense quantity of various merchandise. The town had been besieged for two years by an army of two hundred thousand men, one hundred elephants, and three hundred camels.

Melikh Tuchar came with his army to Beder on the day of Kurbant-Bairam, in the Russian Calendar Peter's day; and the sultan sent ten viziers to encounter him at a distance of ten kors (a kor is equal to ten versts), each at the head of ten thousand warriors, and of ten elephants in full equipment.

At the court of Melikh Tuchar five hundred people sit down to dinner every day; but three viziers only are admitted to his table, and with each vizier fifty people, and besides one hundred of his household boyars.

Two thousand horses stand in the stables of Melikh Tuchar, of which one thousand are always saddled and kept in readiness day and night; and

⁴⁴ Here follows in Stroef's edition "*nor to Bodat*."

⁴⁵ Here follows in Stroef, "*nor to Arabostan*".

⁴⁶ In Stroef, "*Bulck*."

⁴⁷ About two-thirds of a farthing.

⁴⁸ Probably situated on the coast of Malabar, whose inhabitants were noted as intrepid and ferocious pirates, and belonged to one of the most warlike tribes of India. (Mandelslo. ii, 263.)

also one hundred elephants. His residence is guarded every night by a hundred armed men, twenty trumpeters, and ten torchmen; while ten large kettledrums, each attended by two men, are alternately struck throughout the watch.

Myza Mylk, Mek-Khan, and Farat-Khan took three large cities, with an army of one hundred thousand men and fifty elephants of their own, and captured an immense quantity of precious stones, sapphires and diamonds, the whole of which was bought by Melikh Tuchar, who gave order that none of them should be sold to foreign traders. They came to Beder on the day of the Ascension.

The sultan goes out hunting on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and is accompanied by three viziers.

His brother, when in a campaign, is followed by his mother and sister, and two thousand women on horseback or on golden beds; at the head of the train are three hundred ordinary horses in gold equipment, and a great many troops on foot, two viziers, ten *vizierins*, fifty elephants in cloth coverings, carrying each four naked natives with a small garment round the waist. The women that follow on foot are equally uncovered; they carry supplies of water for drinking and washing. No man will drink with another from the same vessel.

Melikh Tuchar moved from Beder with his army, fifty thousand strong, against the Indians, on the anniversary of Sheikh Aladin, after the Russian calendar, on the Protection of the Holy Virgin. The sultan (of Beder) sent with him fifty thousand of his own army and three viziers with thirty thousand men, one hundred elephants fully equipped, and carrying each a citadel and four men, the latter armed with long muskets. With this force Melikh Tuchar went to fight against the great Indian dominion of *Chenudar*. But the king of Binedar possessed three hundred elephants, one hundred thousand men of his own troops, and fifty thousand horse.

The sultan left Beder on the eighth month after the great day (Easter), and with him twenty-six viziers, of whom twenty were Mussulmans and six Hindoos.

There went out of the household troops of the sultan, one hundred thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, three hundred elephants with citadels and clad in armour, and one hundred savage beasts led in double chains. The brother of the sultan took the field with one hundred thousand horse and one hundred thousand foot of his own troops, and one hundred equipped elephants.

Mal Khan led	20,000 horse, 60,000 foot, 20 elephants.
Beder Khan	30,000 horse.
His brother	100,000 foot, 25 elephants.
The Sultan	10,000 horse, 20,000 foot, 10 elephants.
Vozyr-Khan	15,000 horse, 30,000 foot, 10 elephants.
Kutar-Khan	15,000 horse, 40,000 foot, 10 elephants.
Each vizier	10,000 or 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot.

The Indian *Ovdonom* went out with forty thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, forty elephants in full armour, each carrying four men with long muskets. The sultan mustered twenty-six viziers, each at the head of ten or fifteen thousand horse and thirty thousand foot.

There are in India four great Hindoo viziers, having each an army of forty thousand mounted men and one hundred thousand foot. The sultan, being indignant that the Indians had turned out so few, added to them twenty thousand foot, two hundred thousand horse, and twenty elephants. And this is the force of the Mahommedan sultan of India.

Mamet deni iaria arast deni khudodonot, and God knows the true faith, and the true faith bids us to know only one God and to invoke his name in every place.

On the fifth great day I thought of returning to Russia, and I set out from Beder a month before the Mahommedan Bairam. *Mamet deni rossolial*. Knowing no more the great Christian day, the day of Christ's resurrection, I kept Lent time with the Mussulmans and broke fasting with them on Easter day, which I did at Kulburga, a city twenty kors from Beder.⁴⁹

The sultan (of Beder) moved out with his army on the fifteenth day after the Ulu Bairam to join Melich-Tuchar at Kulburga. But their campaign

⁴⁹ In Stroef, "ten kors", which agrees better with the distance of nine kors, as given above between Beder and Kalburga.

was not successful, for they only took one Indian town, and that at the loss of many people and treasures.

The Hindoo sultan Kadam is a very powerful prince. He possesses a numerous army, and resides on a mountain at Bichenegher (Bijanagar). This vast city is surrounded by three *forts*,⁵⁰ and intersected by a river, bordering on one side on a dreadful *jungel*, on the other on a dale; a wonderful place, and to any purpose convenient. On one side it is quite inaccessible; a road goes right through the town, and as the mountain rises high with a ravine below, the town is impregnable.

The enemy besieged it for a month and lost many people, owing to the want of water and food. Plenty of water was in sight, but could not be got at.

This Indian stronghold was ultimately taken by Melikh Khan Khoda, who stormed it, having fought day and night to reduce it. The army that made the siege with heavy guns, had neither eaten nor drunk for twenty days. He lost five thousand of his best soldiers. On the capture of the town twenty thousand inhabitants, men and women, had their heads cut off; twenty thousand, young and old, were made prisoners, and sold afterwards at ten tenkas and also at five tenkas a head; the children at two tenkas each. The treasury, however, having been found empty, the town was abandoned.

From Kulburga I went to *Kooroola*,⁵¹ where the *akhik* is produced and worked, and from whence it is exported to all parts of the world. Three hundred dealers in diamonds reside in this place, but no *sulakhmyk*.

I stopped there five months and then proceeded to Calica (Calicut), which is a large bazaar; thence I went to Konakelburga, and from Konakelburga to Sheikh Aladin, and from Sheikh Aladin to Kamindria, and from Kamindria to Kynarias, and from Kynarias to Surah, and from Surah to Dabul, a port of the vast Indian Sea. It is a very large town, the great meeting-place for all nations living along the coast of India and of Ethiopia.

And there it was that I, Athanasius, the sinful servant of God the creator of heaven and earth, bethought myself of the Christian religion, of the baptism of Christ, of the Lent fastings ordained by the holy fathers, and of the precepts of the Apostles, and I made up my mind to go to Russia. So I embarked in a tava, and settled to pay for my passage to Hormuz two pieces of gold.

We sailed from Dabul three months before the great day of the Mahommedan Lent, and were at sea a whole month, during which I saw

⁵⁰ *Forts* may be the meaning of the Russian word "rogy", as given in this manuscript. In Stroef it is *rovy*, which alteration of a single letter makes a great difference, the latter meaning "ravines."

⁵¹ Stroef, Kulura.

nothing. On the following month we descried the mountains of Ethiopia, and then those on board exclaimed:—“*Ollo bervogydir, Ollo kon kar bizim bishimudna nasip bolmyshti,*” which in Russian tongue means:—“God our Lord, O God, O God, king of heavens, righteously hast Thou devoted us to destruction.”

I remained five days in that country, and, by the mercy of God, met with no evil, but distributed among the natives a quantity of brynetz, pepper, and bread, in order that they might not plunder our ship.

From thence I reached Muscat in twelve days; and there I held the sixth great holiday. Nine days journey brought me to Hormuz, where I stayed twenty days.

From Hormuz I proceeded thus:—First to Lar, where I stopped three days; then in twelve days from Lar to Shiraz, stopped there seven days; in fifteen days from Shiraz to *Vergh*, stopped there ten days; in nine days from *Velerqh* to Yezd, stopped there eight days; in five days from Yezd to Ispahan, stopped there six days; from Ispahan to Kashan, where I stopped five days; from Kashan I went by Koom, Sava, Sultania, Tabreez, and came to the orda of Assanbek. There I spent ten days, as there was no road further on.

The khan sent against the Turks an army of forty thousand men, who conquered the cities of Sevast (Sivas), burnt down Tokhat, took Amasiah, and plundered many smaller places, carrying the war to the land of Karaman.

Leaving the orda I went to *Arzizin*,⁵² and thence to Trebizond, where I arrived on the festival of the Protection of our Lady the holy Virgin Mary. After staying there five days I went on board a ship and agreed to be conveyed to Caffa⁵³ for one coin of gold, the food to be paid at the end of the voyage.

I was very much annoyed at Trebizond by the pasha Shubasha. He ordered the whole of my lumber to be brought up to his residence on the hill; it was searched, especially for writings, as I was coming from the orda of Assanbek.

However, by the mercy of heaven, I here came to the third sea, the Black Sea, called in the Persian tongue *Doria Stimbolskia*. The wind was fair during the first five days, but having reached *Vonada*⁵⁴ we encountered a heavy northern gale, which drove us back to Trebizond. We lay for fifteen days at *Platana*, the weather continuing very bad, and then we twice attempted to sail and again met with a foul wind, that did not permit us to

⁵² Perhaps Erzeroum.

⁵³ The old name of Theodosia, on the south coast of Crimea.

⁵⁴ Probably Cape Vona, about one hundred English miles west from Trebizond.

keep the sea: “Olloak, Ollo khudo pervodiger,” except that we know no other God. Having crossed the sea, we were carried first to Sukbalykae, and thence to Kzov (Azov), where we lay five days. At last, with God's blessing, I reached Caffa, nine days before the fast of St. Philip.⁵⁵

Ollo pervodiger, through the mercy of God I have crossed three seas, *dighyt khlúdo dono Ollo pervodiger donoamin milnarakhmam ragym Olloak ber akshikhúdoilello, akshi khodo karúkholloalik Solom Olloakber akham dúlillo spúkúrkhúdo afatad bismilna girakmam rragym khúvomogulezi lailai sa illiagúia alimúl gaibi vashagadilikúia rakhmanu ragymú khúbomogú liazi liai laga illiakhúia Almeliku Alakúdosú asalomú almúminú almúgaminú alazirú alchebarúalmúta kanbirú alkhalikú albariúú almúsavirú alkafarú alkakharú albakhadú alriazakú alfataghú alialimú alkabizú albasútú alkatfizú alrraflíú almabifu almuzilú alsemiú albasirú aliakamú aliadaúliú alliatúfú.*

⁵⁵ The fast or eve of St. Philip is also the eve of Advent, i.e., the 13th of November.