





THE JOURNAL OF
REINHOLD NIEMEYER





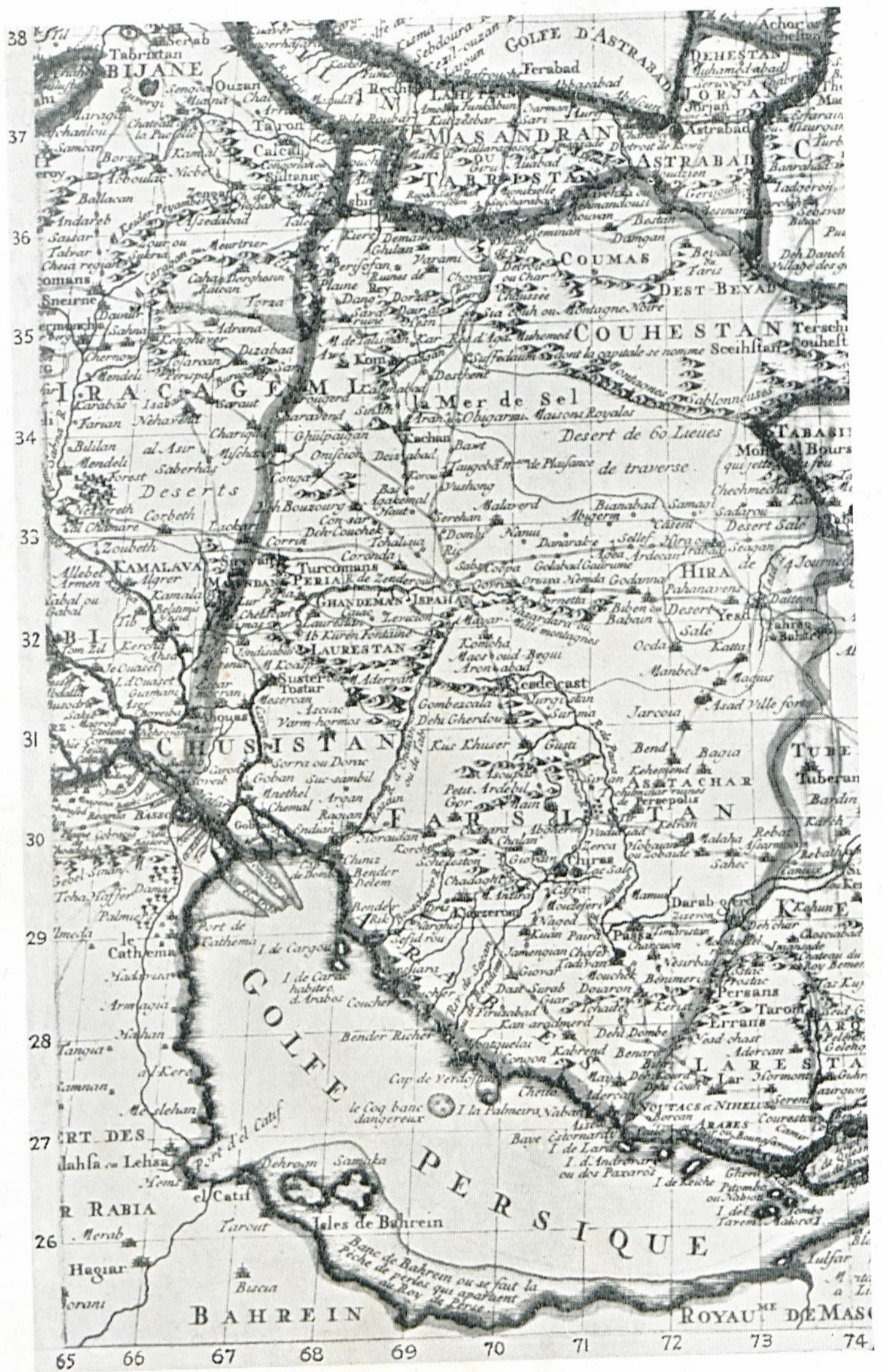
THE JOURNAL OF
ROBERT STODART





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THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT STODART

1935/737

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF
HIS EXPERIENCES AS A MEMBER OF
SIR DODMORE COTTON'S MISSION
IN PERSIA IN 1628-29

*Published from the unique manuscript
preserved in the Bodleian Library*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
SIR E. DENISON ROSS



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I

PREFATORY NOTE

The text has been printed exactly as it is found in the manuscript, except for certain changes in capital letters, and the occasional insertion within square brackets of additional letters where the context seemed to call for this, and of words in certain places where the manuscript is damaged.

In addition to the text of the diary I have reproduced all the notes scribbled on the inner covers and fly-leaves of the book. The names of Mahometachifospossie [*sic*]¹ and Henry Goche [*sic*] are also written in Persian characters, obviously by a European, possibly by Stodart himself.

For the better understanding of the diary I have prepared a list of the fleets with which Stodart sailed on his voyage to and from Persia.

The principal works consulted are *Thomas Herbert's Travels in Persia 1627-1629*, edited by Sir William Foster for the *Broadway Travellers Series*, London 1928, *The English Factories in India 1624-1629*, edited by William Foster, Oxford, 1909, and *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, China and Persia 1625-29, 1630-34* (two vols.), edited by W. N. Sainsbury, London, 1884 and

¹ I think *ospossie* stands for *āsh-paz*, or cook, but I have not identified *achif*.

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1892. The map here given to illustrate the narrative is a section of De L'Isle's Map of Persia, published in 1724. It contains many names which occur in Stodart's Diary but are not found in more recent maps.

For the Index and for much else in the preparation of this book I am under a deep obligation to Miss Peggy Jacobson.

In conclusion I have to express my grateful thanks to Sir William Foster for a number of valuable suggestions.

II

INTRODUCTION

The present volume contains a hitherto unknown account of the mission of Sir Dodmore Cotton to Shāh 'Abbās in 1627-9. It was almost by accident that I came across this document, which had so long lain hidden among the manuscript treasures of the Bodleian. It is thus described in Madan's *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. III, p. 154, Oxford, 1895:

"Carte Papers, 1753. No. 10716. In English, on paper: written in about 1630. Journal of the voyage of Sir Dodmore Cotton and Sir Robert Sherley to Persia as ambassadors from Charles I, 10 June, 1628, to 3 December, 1629, not quite complete. This seems to be by Robert Stodart, who wrote his name in the volume on 4 Apr. 1627. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ in., '5'—'51' leaves. Now MS. Carte 271."¹

Beyond this misleading entry this manuscript has, as far as I am aware, never been referred to, and unfortunately it was quite unknown to Sir William Foster when he was preparing his admirable edition of Thomas Herbert's *Travels* for the *Broadway Travellers* series. This is chiefly to be regretted in that Stodart supplies

¹ On the outside of the cover it bears the title: *Journal of a Sea Voyage from 1626 to 1629 to E. Inds, Persia etc.*

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so many dates which are wanting from Herbert's account of the Persian journey. Although the journey herein described has long been famous through Thomas Herbert's popular book it seemed to me that Stodart's journal was well worth preserving, even if it was not, like Herbert's *Travels*, apparently written with a view to publication. There is always a source of satisfaction in rescuing early travellers from oblivion, and Robert Stodart certainly deserves a posthumous niche among the rare Englishmen who visited Persia during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, the greatest of her Muslim rulers.

Of Robert Stodart of Carnarvon I have been able to discover nothing beyond what he himself tells us. In Thomas Herbert's famous *Relation of Some Years' Travaile*, there are only two allusions to Robert Stodart. In the first (p. 82 of Sir William Foster's edition) he is said to have been in attendance with Mr. Emery on the Ambassador (Sir Dodmore Cotton) in Shīrāz, and in the other (op. cit. p. 209) we are told that he was among those who followed the corpse of the Ambassador to his grave.

Stodart's Journal opens with his departure from London on April 16th, 1626, but ends abruptly on April 29th, 1626, and only begins again on April 30th, 1628, when he is with the Cotton mission in Persia. The pages covering two whole years, including his voyage to the East, are missing. The ship which he describes in the Downs was the *Expedition*, bound for Batavia. We have no means of knowing whether he returned to London with the ambassadors (see p. 20 below), or sailed in the *Expedition* to Batavia and only joined them on their arrival in the East. From the manner in which Stodart refers to the arrival of Cotton and his party in Deal on April 17th,

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it is not clear that he was expecting them, and it is even possible that he first made their acquaintance on this occasion.

For a full explanation of the events which led to the sending of the mission to Shāh 'Abbās under Sir Dodmore Cotton reference may be made to Sir William Foster's Introduction to Thomas Herbert's *Travels*. I shall here confine myself to a brief epitome.

At the root of the whole business lay the commercial relations between England and Persia, in which the interests of the East India Company were closely involved. The earliest official communications between England and Persia had been established by Anthony Jenkinson, who in 1562 delivered to Shāh Tahmasp in Qazvīn letters from Queen Elizabeth. Owing, however, to the intervention of the Turks this led to no immediate result.

In 1598 Anthony Sherley accompanied by a party of twenty-five persons paid a purely unofficial visit to Persia.

In this company was his brother Robert, and when in the following year Anthony was sent by Shāh 'Abbās to Europe to persuade the Princes of Christendom to form with him a league against their common enemy the Turk, Robert remained behind as a hostage. For the next nine years Robert was attached to the person of Shāh 'Abbās, and although it is not quite certain what positions he held it seems that he accompanied the Shāh during his successful campaigns against the Turks which began in 1603, and himself took part in the fighting. In 1607 he married a Circassian lady of noble birth named Teresa, who shared with him most of his subsequent hardships and adventures.

In 1608 he, like his brother before him, was sent as

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Persian Ambassador to Europe, being accompanied as far as Rome by a Persian colleague named 'Alī Qulī Beg Mardān, and in 1611 he came to England, where he was received as befitted his rank. Here a child was born to him, who was given the name of Henry after his godfather the Prince of Wales, the son of James I and Anne of Denmark.

In 1612 he set out again for Persia, which country, owing to a prolonged stay in India, he did not reach till the beginning of 1615. He had only been there a few months when 'Abbās again sent him to Europe, this time with the special object of concluding a treaty with Philip III. He reached Madrid in the summer of 1617, and there he remained for four years, during which time he seems to have achieved nothing of diplomatic importance. In the spring of 1622 he left for Rome, where, together with a Persian Envoy, he was received in audience by Pope Gregory XV.

In 1623 we find him again in England, and in January, 1624 he presented himself at the court of King James. It was no doubt due to Robert's influence that at the end of that year we find James I encouraging "a project for sending out shipping to Persia independently of the Company to bring back silk on freight terms."

On April 22nd, 1622, Hormuz had been wrested from the Portuguese, and 'Abbās now became more favourably disposed towards the English. Although England was nominally at peace with Spain,¹ the East India Company and the Portuguese were constantly fighting each other at sea, and it was only with the co-operation of the East India Company's vessels that the Persians became masters of Hormuz and granted to the Company in return important shipping concessions.

¹ From 1580 to 1640, Portugal formed part of the Spanish kingdom.



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James I died on March 5th, 1625, before the Persian project materialized, but Charles I seemed equally interested in the venture, and there was even some talk of sending an English Ambassador to accompany Robert back to Persia.

Meanwhile there arrived in England at the beginning of February, 1626 in the *Star*,¹ one of the Company's ships, a new Persian ambassador named Naqd 'Alī Beg, or Naqdi Beg, who on his arrival in London declared that Robert Sherley was an impostor and that his credentials were forgeries.

The strange scene which occurred at the first meeting of Sir Robert Sherley with the newly arrived Persian ambassador has been described by Sir John Finett, Master of the Ceremonies to the King, who was present at the time.² The merchants of the East India Company "obtained his Majesty's coach, with the Earl of Warwick, the Master of the Ceremonies, and other gentlemen the king's servants in it, for his reception at Kingston, and transport to London. These Merchants (with an affected honour, beyond that done to the other Persian Ambassador, Sir Robert Sherley) had procured the King's coach to be drawn with eight horses, as with the more grace to the latter to disgrace the former."

Naqd 'Alī Beg was lodged in a fine house, and it was arranged that on Shrove Tuesday he should have an audience of the King. The Earl of Cleveland, who was a

¹ The *Star* had been in company with two Dutch ships, on one of which there was another Persian ambassador, named Mūsā Beg, on a mission to the States General. The *Star* had left Swally on April 14th, 1625, and had been long held for lost.

² *Finetti Philoxenis: som choice observations of Sir J. F. . . . touching the reception and precedence, the treatment and audience, the puntillios and contests of forren ambassadors in England* [ed. by J. Howell]. London, 1656.

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friend of Robert Sherley's, deemed it would be fitting that, before the newly arrived envoy had his interview with King James, Sherley should call on him and show him his letters of credence. Finett thus describes the amazing interview between the rival ambassadors :

“ Entering the hall, where he then was sitting in a chair on his legs double under him, after the Persian posture, and affording no motion of respect to any of us, Sir Robert Sherley gave him a salutation, and sate down on a stool near him, while my Lord of Cleaveland, by an interpreter, signified, in three words, the cause of the Ambassador Sherley's, and his, and our coming to him, but with little return of regard from him, till I informing the interpreter of the new Ambassador what my Lord's quality was, he let fall his trussed-up legs from his chair, and made a kind of respect to his Lordship. This done, Sir Robert Sherley, unfolding his letters, and (as the Persian use is in reverence to the King) first touched his eyes with them, next holding them over his head, and after kissing them, he presented them to the Ambassador, that he receiving them might perform the like observance ; when he suddenly rising out of his chair, stepped to Sir Robert Sherley, snatched his letters from him, tore them, and gave him a blow on the face with his fist ; and while my Lord of Cleaveland stepping between kept off the offer of a further violence, the Persian's son,¹ next at hand, flew upon Sir Robert Sherley, and with two or three blows more, overthrew him ; when Master Maxwell, of the bedchamber, and my Lord of Cleaveland, nearest to him, pulling him back, while we of the company laid hands on our swords, but not drawing

¹ This was presumably Ibrāhīm, who later on in Qazvīn did not dare to show himself before Robert Sherley. See below, p. 21.

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them, because not any one sword or dagger was drawn by the Persians, my Lord Cleaveland remonstrated to the Ambassador the danger and insolency of the fact, saying, that if he, and the Gentlemen there with him, had not borne more respect for that King whom he represented, than he (the Ambassador) had done to the letters shewed him for justification of the other's quality, neither he, nor those about him, that had committed that insolency, should have gone alive out of that place. After these words he made some shew of acknowledgement, and said, he was sorry he had offended his Lordship, and us, by his act, which he had performed, (transported with extreme rage against a person that had dared to counterfeit the King his Master's hand, which was always, he said, set on the top of his letters, when these letters he had shewed had it on the back side), and to hear (as he had done) so mean a fellow, and an impostor, should presume to say he had married the King his Master's neece.

“ To this Sir Robert Sherley (who was in the mean time retired behind the company, amazed and confounded with his blow and treatment) stepped in and answered, That he never said he had married the King's neece, but the Queen's kinswoman ; and that for the manner alledged of signing his letters, it was true, that the King of Persia, in all employments of his own subjects to foreign Princes, or in writing to them, used to sign above in the front of his letters, but that when he employed a stranger to any foreign Prince, his signature was usually affixed on the back side of his letters, that before their opening, they might shew who sent them. To this the Ambassador replied with scornful looks only ; we all with little or no respects to him departed, and conducting Sir Robert

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Sherley to his lodging, accompanied the Earl of Cleaveland instantly to Court, where finding the Duke of Buckingham in the presence chamber (the King being even then come forth to dinner,) his Lordship acquainted his Majesty with our adventure, and I received present order to let Sir Lewes Lewkner know, that he should instantly repair to the new come Persian Ambassador, and tell him, that his audience for that afternoon was thought fit to be suspended, and remitted to another day, that his Majesty might be particularly informed of the causes of the disagreement and disorder happened

. . . . " The next day I brought the other Ambassador, Sir Robert Sherley, to a private audience of his Majesty in his withdrawing chamber. After many contestations between the merchants and the Ambassador Sherley, whether he were to be defrayed by them, as the King required, or by the King, since his Majesty had intimated his resolution that he should be transported to Persia in the fleet that was to pass for the East Indies at the beginning of May, and in them also the other Ambassador, that time being come of their departure, they both arrived too late at the place of their embarking (the Downs) for performance of that voyage in that season, the fleet, that could no longer stay for them, being already gone, though Sir Robert Sherley had gotten the start of the other, and embarked in a pinnace of the fleet, together with Sir Dormer [*sic*] Cotton, employed by his Majesty at the same time Ambassador to the King of Persia, both for truth whether Sherley were or not an impostor, and also to fix a trade there (which the other Ambassadors came to negotiate,) so as they were all forced to return to London, and there attend the opportunity of departure in March, ten moneths after ; when beginning their voyage,

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(the two differing Ambassadors in several ships,) they all three died in the way, and with them the quarrell and enquirie after it."

It is more than probable that the conduct of this Persian and the charges he brought against Robert Sherley were instigated by the East India Company. At any rate the Company viewed with disfavour the idea of an independent embassy being sent to Persia, which they regarded as within their own field of commercial activity; they objected especially to the return of Robert Sherley to Persia, fearing lest he might start an independent trading company. Naqd 'Alī Beg had been sent to England by Shāh 'Abbās, but possibly only as a "Petty Ambassador" or Agent (see below, p. 26).

These unfortunate happenings somewhat diverted the main issue of the English mission to Persia, and the instructions issued to Dodmore Cotton were chiefly concerned with establishing the *bona fides* of Robert Sherley. These *Instructions to the Ambassador*¹ have been preserved in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford, and it is with the kind permission of the Library Committee that I reprint them in full below:

INSTRUCTIONS FOR OUR TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED SERVANT DODMORE COTTON ESQ. A GENT. OF OUR PRIVY CHAMBER IN ORDINARY & OR. AMBR. TO YE KING OF PERSIA.

We having receivd some propositions from ye King of Persia by his Ambr. Sir Robt. Sherley Count Palatine of ye Empire tending to ye increase of Trade & Commerce

¹ Owen Wynne MSS., Vol. XII, p. 144 (the original), and Vol. XXII, p. 84 (an official copy of this original).

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between our Kingdomes & ye Kinges Dominions, there hath fallen out so strange an accident upon ye arrivall here of a second Ambr. from Persia ye Ld. Nagdi Beg as makes us doubtfull how to proceed in any treaty or settlement of those things yt were propounded;—for ye clearing whereof, wee have from our experience of Your discretion, judgment & affection to our service made choice of you to goe in Company of Sir Robert Sherley to ye King of Persia to make knowne to ye King what hath passed here & negotiate with him according to ye instructions following :

You are upon delivery of our Lres. of Creditt to acquaint ye King of Persia yt Sir Robert Sherley having been formerly Ambr. here from him & coming again with Commission from him, he was received as Ambr. by our late dear Father of ever blessed Memory & held in ye same estimation of us.

That Sir Robt. Sherley made some Propositions unto Us for ye mutuall good of both Nations—which being in Treaty & Consultation, there arrivd another ambassador ye Ld. Nagdi Beg with a commission from ye King & upon his arrivall disavowed Sir Robert Sherley & yt in so publick & violent a manner as Sir Robert Sherley going accompanied with a principal Nobleman of this Kingdome to visit ye Ld. Nagdi Beg & show him his commission he did teare ye Commission & stroake Sir Robert Sherley, which demeanours of his to a person of a noble family of this Kingdome & allyed to many principall & chief persons here, cd not have been passed over in a Government where Justice & Civility are executed & maintained with so much strictnesse, honour & reputation, but meerly for respect to ye King of Persia whose Ambr. he

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was. And for yt two Commissions for one Prince come to an opposition one agt. another, Wee thought meet by you to acquaint ye King with ye strangenesse of ye Accident which wee require you to relate according to these directions: informe your selves of ye quality & authority of both ye Ambassages & procure from ye King a declaration of his pleasure concerning them.

You are also to represent unto ye King ye Propositions made unto us by Sir Robert Sherley, whereof you shall receive a Copie from Our Secretary Conway.¹ And if ye King shall approve them, & desire Our performance of them, with assurance of accomplishing all on his part to bee done, you shall offer ye Service to represent them unto Us together with wt else that the King shall find cause further to propound.

And you may promise & undertake in Our name yt wee will with all readinesse & affection comply with ye King as farre as may stand with Reason & ye condition of our affaires in whatsoever shall be found behoveful for confirmation of our friendship & ye Commodity of Our Kingdome & people, whereof we will give good testimony by full reall & satisfactory answer to wt wee shall receive reasonably propounded from ye King upon yr returne.

And lastly Our expresse Will & pleasure is yt you do not take upon you any title power or employment of a Consull, Nor yt you doo in any way intermeddle with ye Good of our Merchants trading to Persia, but yt you followed these our Instructions without putting any

¹ Edward Conway, Viscount Conway, was one of the principal secretaries of state to James I and Charles I. He was Lord President of the Council. He died in 1631.

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charge trouble or inconvenience upon our Merchants, as you will answer ye contrary at your Perill.

WHITEHALL, 15 of April, 1626.

The fleet with which it was intended that the three ambassadors should sail left London on April 8th, with orders not to delay departure from the Downs should there be a favourable wind. This fleet included the *Discovery*, the *William*, the *Blessing* and the *Morris*, and it had been decided that Cotton and Sherley should embark on the *Blessing* and Naqd 'Alī Beg on the *Discovery*. This fleet actually left the Downs on April 16th, and the ambassadors, who only reached Deal on the 17th, were thus left behind. They did, however, make an attempt to reach Persia that year, by embarking on the *Expedition*, a vessel bound for Batavia (see p. 10 above). Naqd 'Alī Beg was not, however, allowed to board this ship. Cotton and Sherley seem to have remained on the *Expedition* nearly a month, during which time they were engaged in vain attempts to persuade the authorities to change its destination to Persia. Eventually all three ambassadors returned to London, and were not able to proceed to Persia till the following year, when they joined Captain Hall's fleet (see p. 119), which sailed on March 23rd, 1627, and reached Swally Road on November 30th.

The chief incident of the voyage was the suicide of the Persian envoy, which is thus described by Herbert: "The same day [November 30th] we came to an anchor in Swally Road Nogdi-Ally-Beg, the Persian Ambassador (Sir Robert Sherley's antagonist) died, having, as we were credibly told, poisoned himself—for four days eating only opium." Herbert suggests that the reason for his suicide

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was his fear of the Shāh's wrath at his scandalous behaviour in England, news of which would probably have reached his Majesty overland via Aleppo. It may be mentioned in this connection that Naqd 'Alī Beg's son Ibrāhīm Khān was in Qasvīn when Dodmore Cotton's mission was in that city, but, according to Herbert, he "durst not appear at Court while Sir Robert Sherley was there."

From Swally they sailed on December 18th for Gombroon, where they arrived on January 6th, 1628. On January 24th the cavalcade started for Ispahān, traveling via Lār and Shīrāz. On April 10th Sir Dodmore entered Ispahān in state, accompanied by Mr. Burt, the Company's Agent, who had arrived there a few days before.

The Shāh, however, was then at his favourite winter resort, Ashraf, on the borders of the Caspian, and it is with the departure of the mission from Ispahān on April 30th, 1628 that Stodart's diary, as we have it, begins. They remained in Ashraf from May 20th till June 1st. Although they were treated with very little courtesy, they were received by 'Abbās. Their letters were presented, and, according to Herbert, 'Abbās disavowed the aspersions cast upon Robert Sherley by Naqd 'Alī Beg. Nevertheless from that time onwards they received nothing but discourtesy from the Persian officials of the court.

The ill success of the mission and the successive deaths of Robert Sherley (13th July, 1628) and Dodmore Cotton (22nd-23rd July, 1628) have been described in moving language by Thomas Herbert.

A further account of the whole mission, together with the propositions made by Sir Robert Sherley, is contained

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in the Clarendon Papers.¹ This document, which has not hitherto received the attention it deserves, was presumably written by Doctor Gooch (chaplain to the mission)² in Gombroon on the eve of his departure for England. I reprint this account in full below :

A RELATION OF SIR D. COTTON'S EMBASSY INTO PERSIA

A.D. 1628. The benefit, my Lord, which a Prince receiveth by his Ambassador unto any other King or State, consisteth not altogether in effecting the business for which he was sent (a thing not always in his power) but in learning thereby the nature, quality, condition and strength of that Prince or State unto whom he sendeth. My Lord died before he could accomplish his embassy. The King of Persia slighteth those overtures which, in his Majesty's name, were made unto him ; and now is also dead,³ which had fully given a period unto what he had assented. Yet notwithstanding, his Majesty (whom Almighty God long preserve !) shall reap, I hope, this benefit by my poor relation, to understand some part of the nature of the Persian ; what small hold he can have of their word, in all treaties with them ; how good cheap hereafter he may entertain an Ambassador sent from

¹ Clarendon State Papers, Vol. I, pp. 36-45, Oxford, 1767.

² Dr. Henry Gooch was born c. 1584. He was a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was ordained in 1610, and before proceeding to Persia as Cotton's chaplain was made a D.D. On Cotton's death he took charge of the mission ; he seems to have been Cotton's executor. He died before 1660.

³ Shāh 'Abbās I died on January 22nd, 1629 (Jumada I, 24, 1038 A.H.) In *English Factories in India, 1624-9* (p. 312) we read that the news reached Gombroon on February 15th. Stodart, however, gives the news under the date of January 30th.

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Persia; and those gentlemen, whomsoever it shall hereafter please his Majesty to send unto those countries, may truly know how to proceed among a people, who, slaves by breeding and their own acknowledgement, do understand no point of honour.

My Lord arrived at Persia upon the sixth day of January, in the year 1627[-28]; where he was met with a phirmaund [*firmān*] from the King unto the Duke of Cyrash [Shīrāz], to convey him and his present unto the camp. The journey was long, thorough the most barren, desolate and beggarly country, I think, under the cope of heaven. His entertainment, for the most part more barren than the country, forced him oftentimes to feed on hunger for want of necessary provision; and had not myself, by chance, fitted him with a horse, which the English at Comerun [Gombroon] had lent me, his Lordship must have been contented to have travelled from Lar unto Cyrash, almost a month's journey, upon a lean, spital, hackney mule, hardly worth 20s. and this also wanted one eye.

At length, upon the 21st of May, 1628, my Lord came unto Achashveroth [Ashraf], a small beggarly village in the kingdom of Hyrcania, now Messandran [Māzandarān]; where the court then lay. About a league from the town the Dohrage [*Dārōgha*], or Headborough of the town, with some half a score other persons of no quality, met him, and without any more solemnity conducted him to his house; where he found this good decorum, that, as the house was mean, the furniture was not unsuitable.

Some days passed before my Lord could obtain audience, no person of worth all that time coming from the court to visit him: only, often messengers daily resorted from Mahomet Ally Beg [Muhammad 'Ali



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Beg], the King's great favourite, to demand his present. My Lord returned all with answer, that he would satisfy him so soon as he should come before the King. Upon the 25th of May, early in the morning, cometh a groom from the court to tell my Lord that the King expected him. He presently taketh horse, accompanied only with his own attendants, my Lord Shirley,¹ and the English Agent. He entereth, and is conveyed into a banquetting-house, where some of the nobility were met to entertain him: Mahomet cometh from the King, and demands again his present. My Lord plainly resolves him, that he had brought none. Such is the nature of the Persian, and generally of all the Princes of the East, to listen more after the present than after the business; and to relish not business, how great soever, unless it be sweetened with a present. Mahomet departeth. The King casts lots, and consulteth with astrological elections, whether the hour were fortunate wherein he should give audience: without which superstition, the Persian will hardly resolve on any weighty business. And your Lordship truly would have smiled, had you seen their astrolabes and books walk to and fro, whilst we attended the resolution of this oracle. At length, though late, the good hour came; my Lord was brought unto the King, who bids him welcome without further ceremony.

My Lord, precisely following those directions which he received from his Majesty, relateth unto the King, how the Lord Shirley, as his Ambassador, had, in his name, made certain overtures unto the King his master; that whilst the same did hang in treaty, Noghte Beg [Naqd 'Alī Beg] arrived with a new embassy, disavowed

¹ The title of Lord is given to Cotton and Sherley in their quality as Ambassadors.

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my Lord Shirley, tore his commission, and violently struck him. That the King his master, forth of respect to his Majesty, whose servant Noghte Beg pretended himself, had forbore to proceed in justice against him for this his outrage; but had sent both him, and the Lord Shirley along with him, unto his Majesty. That Noghte Beg departed in the way, to give up an account unto the supreme Judge of all the world. The Lord Shirley was arrived, either to receive due honour, or worthy punishment from his Majesty, according as it should seem he had deserved. That the King of England, his Lord and master, had sent him now to conclude a more strict league between their Majesties than formerly had been between any of their ancestors; and moreover, to understand his Majesty's pleasure concerning those propositions which the Lord Shirley had propounded, or concerning any other thing which it should please his Majesty further to think upon: And to promise, in his Master's behalf, all correspondency in any thing which might stand with the honour of both their Majesties, or common good of their kingdoms: so concluded, and delivered his letters of credence. After some short pause he repeated his bringing of no present: It was the custom of the Kings of England, and Princes of the West, first to make leagues, after to send presents. He justly might have alledged, that his Master had therein followed the example of the King of Persia, in two embassies by my Lord Shirley; that Noghte Beg must first have approved himself an ambassador before he could have disproved the other; which could by no other means be cleared without the King of Persia's own declaration, since both alike had letters of credence; that the meanness of the present which Noghte Beg brought, did cast upon him more

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suspicion of imposture ; and that his Master, in a case so doubtful, had chosen rather to send none, until he fully might understand the truth, that so he might then send such a present as might seem worthy the greatness of both their Majesties. But my Lord, I think, was fearful, lest hereby he should have peradventure hurt my Lord Shirley in a time unseasonable, whose honour now he plainly saw to hang in doubtful balance. The King himself in word truly answered nobly : The richest present any King could have sent was that which now he brought, the tender of the love and amity of so great and glorious a King. Concerning Noghte Beg he interrupted my Lord in his speech, telling him the man now was dead, and therefore exempt from his jurisdiction, Unto the rest he replied nothing. My Lord Shirley he neither disavowed, nor approved Noghte Beg.

Some report, that one of our English Factors coming unto the court, the King demanded whether he were an ambassador or no. He answered, No, but he was an Agent : which word when the King could not understand, Well (said he) let him be called Elchye Cachit [Elchi-yi-Kuchik], that is, a petty Ambassador ; and thereupon despatched this Noghte Beg, as such another Elchye Cachit, without any farther commission than only matter of compliment. This Noghte Beg, when he arrived near the coast of India, conscious, as it seemed, unto his own guiltiness, and fully acquainted with his Master's severity, doubled the usual proportion of opium, which the Persians ordinarily eat. The Physicians could not dissuade him by manifesting most certain death thereby unto him. His son, forth of a filial piety, and care of his life, stealing away the box, the father missing [it] draws his sword, and had struck off his head, had not the young gentleman

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saved himself by flight, and brought again the box unto him: whereon surfeiting more greedily than before, by a voluntary, he avoided a violent and shameful death. My Lord, being ready now to take his leave, putteth the King again in remembrance, that he had commission from his Master to treat (if he pleased) with him of certain businesses concerning both their Majesties, and was ready to attend his royal pleasure: who promised with the first opportunity to send for, and to hear him; and so for the present dismissed him.

The King within a day or two after departeth for Casbin [Qasvīn] in Media: my Lord was appointed to follow after, along the Caspian shore, that he might see some houses of the King's; and at Casbin to attend his Majesty for his despatch. This kingdom of Hyrcania is one of the most fruitful and pleasant countries in the world; but good care was taken that neither pleasure should mollify us, nor plenty cause us to surfeit. Our first lodging was at one of the King's houses; but, as we lodge beggars, out of doors upon the cold earth, under the eaves of a stable. Your Lordship may easily proportion forth the residue of our entertainment by this one example, which I will briefly relate unto you.

Upon the 14th of June my Lord arriveth at Tirahun [Tehrān], a city within the kingdom of [MS. blank], under the government of Xenal Chaun [Zaynal Khān], one of the greatest Dukes in Persia, about ten o'clock in the morning. Here my Lord was enforced, in extreme heat of the day, to wait a long hour or two in the open street, before any would give him lodging: until, at length, the Master of the night-watch took pity of him, and conveyed him unto a poor butcher's house. Not a man amongst us all this day had tasted one drop of

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water, or one crumb of bread. We expected our dinner until four in the afternoon, looking for a great feast after so long time for preparation. At length appeareth a dish of cherries, another of apricots, a third of cheese to digest the same withal. After a while they brought us (as I take it) for our supper, a few cucumbers, and an handful of onions, and some ice to cool our wine withal, when we could get it. Here my Lord was forced, in regard of the weakness of his people, worn out almost with hunger and travel, to rest until the 17th day. Upon the 16th a messenger came from this great Duke, no less sick of the charge of our poor entertainment, than we ourselves were hungry for want of better; who, all this while of our short stay, had hid his head in his haram among his women, and hitherto had never so much as sent any one man to visit my Lord. The coming also of this now, was only to hasten his departure before he had bid him welcome. This day my Lord and all his company, guests unto the great Shah Abas, as they called us, were feasted with two eggs at dinner; and truly could not see one shell all the long day which followed after: whereon, against our wills, we also fasted until even. Then being ready to depart, our former abstinence, the length of the way, and lateness before we could look to find any refreshing, command us to think on supper. All the provision which this rich and populous city could afford us, was not more than five eggs; not one morsel of bread could we procure for any money. The poor woman of the house in charity spared us some of her own small store; and, compassionating the slenderness of our fare, sendeth us a dish of excellent good pottage, (for so hunger truly willed us to account it) which of her own accord she had provided for my Lord and his

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company ; whereunto he added, all which then he could, a dish of cherries ; and water we wanted not. The poor woman he rewarded bountifully ; and so set forward on his journey. I spare to relate our entertainment in other places ; and would have also concealed this, but that his Majesty might see a lively character therein of the Persian nation, and their magnificence, and how unequal they are unto a treaty with a foreign Prince.

At length my Lord cometh unto Casbin, unsaluted of all, not heeded by any. He sendeth unto Mahomet Ally Beg ; importuneth his despatch ; is wearied with delays. He causeth my Lord Shirley's letters to be translated into English, and his propositions into the Persian language ; visiteth Mahomet. This man at first was taken from the shop, and now advanced unto the supreme managing of the greatest affairs of state ; the King (though otherwise a wise Prince) contenting himself to have only skimmed the same superficially. My Lord sheweth him the letters and propositions. Mahomet, without once kissing the letters, or moving the same unto his eyes and head, (which ceremony all Persians religiously observe, whensoever any letters of their King are delivered unto them) wistly vieweth the seal, denieth the same to be the King's ; sheweth it unto others, who with as little reverence look upon it. Next, he peruseth the articles, and insisting in the first (as I take it) which concerned galleys, " I am sure (saith he) the King my master never gave him commission to propound any such article." These articles (may it pleased your Lordship to understand) partly concerned galleys, partly trade and merchandise. My Lord Shirley required, in the name of the King of Persia, that his Majesty, in every English ship trading into Persia, should yearly send one galley, and two in present,

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at such rates as the same might be provided in other parts of Europe. In consideration whereof the King of Persia should, upon his own proper charge, arm into the field 20,000 or 25,000 soldiers, in aid of the King of England, upon all designs which his Majesty should have at any time in those parts, and should farther draw his neighbour Princes into the same confederacy. Concerning trade, he required that all such commodities, arising forth of Persia, as the English were unable to deal for, the King's subjects might have free liberty, in the English shipping, to carry into England, and there to offer unto sale, paying due freightage unto the merchant, and the ordinary custom unto his Majesty: That of whatsoever they could not within his Majesty's dominions make sale, they might without disturbance hire shipping, carry and sell at their pleasure in any other part of Europe: That, in their passage to and fro, the same goods should but once pay custom. What bullion they should, lastly, bring into his Majesty's dominions, they might have free liberty to carry forth again at their departure. This was the effect of those articles, which my Lord Shirley propounded unto his Majesty. Whereunto my Lord presseth Mahomet for an answer. He putteth off my Lord unto the Duke of Cyrash, in [the] matter concerning galleys, as a business wholly appertaining unto the Duke. Unto the other propositions you shall (saith he) receive an answer in his Master's letters unto the King of England. My Lord awakeneth Mahomet, and plainly telleth him, that he was sent from his Master, the King of England, unto the King of Persia, and not unto the Duke of Cyrash, his subject. That, if the King pleased to delegate the Duke of Cyrash for that business, it was expedient he should

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have full commission under the seal of the King, to treat and conclude upon the same. This when he should see, he would not then refuse to comply with the Duke. The other businesses required counsel and deliberation. Neither was his commission confined wholly within my Lord Shirley's propositions. The King had promised to send for, and to hear him: This he required. If afterwards his Majesty should be pleased to refer the farther hearing unto three or four of his Counsellors of State, he would neither then refuse to treat with them. Mahomet promiseth that all things should be ordered according as he had desired; but performeth nothing. He retaineth both the letters of credence and the articles, under pretext to shew the same unto the King, and faithfully promises, upon his eyes, and [the] head of the King, to return the letters back again unto my Lord. And then (my Lord) a Persian seldom meaneth what he promiseth.

Soon after my Lord Shirley cometh unto Casbin, wherewith my Lord presently acquainteth Mahomet; demandeth his letters, and the King's declaration, both concerning my Lord Shirley, and the same. Whereunto Mahomet returneth answer, that the King had disavowed my Lord Shirley for his Ambassador, and in a rage torn and trampled the letters under his feet, as counterfeit. Presently, from my Lord, I acquaint the Lord Shirley herewith, whom I found sick in his bed. I demonstrate unto him, how nearly it concerned his honour to justify himself, and vindicate his letters. I put him in remembrance what himself was wont often, upon occasion, to tell me, that the copies of all such letters, etc., were kept among the records of the kingdom, and advise him to cause due search to be made for the same. But, whether the violence of his sickness, which daily increased more

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upon him, took away, at that time, the wonted sense of his honour, as commonly it doth the care of all things else ; or whether it be the nature of small injuries to speak, of extreme to stand amazed, I know not ; he replieth nothing, but falleth off into other discourse, especially into bitter invectives against the English Agent ; and, peradventure, not without just cause. My Lord High Steward will find, in causes of higher nature, he hath been too bold. This his coldness, (my Lord) I must confess, seemed then strange unto us, and made my Lord Ambassador not a little jealous of him. But that which followeth abundantly will clear him.

This noble gentleman soon after died ; and my Lord Ambassador (to the great grief of us all, especially of myself, who lost a most noble friend) not long survived. On his death-bed he charged me¹ to accomplish what death would not suffer him, and to attend the King of Persia for his answer, and his letters unto his Majesty. Whereupon I repair[ed] unto Mahomet, and was desirous also to have attended on the King ; but Mahomet would not suffer me. He delivered me those letters which, the other day, I exhibited unto his Majesty. I ask him what further answer I should return unto his Majesty from the King of Persia, concerning the Lord Shirley and his overtures : whereunto, as formerly, he replieth, That the King altogether disavowed my Lord Shirley ; and addeth, “ Had he been his Ambassador, would the King my master, trow you, have suffered him to have ended his days in so great misery, neglect and want ? ” The business touching galleys he slighteth : unto the other articles he proudly answereth, They concerned only trade ; a

¹ This statement seems to show that Dr. Gooch was the writer of this report, which was presumably addressed to Lord Conway.

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thing proper unto merchants, inferiour unto the thoughts of Princes. The English merchants had already free liberty to trade within the King of Persia's dominions; which they might continue so long as liked them. If they at any time were weary, Persia was open, and they might go whither they pleased. This answer (my Lord) may seem very strange; for the King of Persia, his master, was then one of the greatest merchants in the world. All the silk in Persia was the King's, upon a certain price. But who will think to engross unto himself the whole trade of Persia, laboureth to grasp water: for the King findeth greater profit to trade (if he may) with all nations, than to restrain himself to any one. And at our first arrival at Ispahan (if my memory much fail me not) free trading was proclaimed both for Turks and Portugueses, his enemies, and in our hearing; notwithstanding he was then in treaty with his Majesty for entertainment of the whole.

In behalf of the Lord Shirley I alledge the letters of credence. Mahomet unawares confesseth, "'Tis true, indeed, the letters were the King's:" But finding that he had now disclosed more than he intended, and thinking to salve up the same, he telleth me, that the Lord Shirley, being desirous to return unto his native country, friends and kindred, obtained these letters from the King for his only grace and honour, not with intention thereby to convey authority unto him to treat in his name of any business with his Majesty. I humbly beseech your Lordship to observe this passage. Mahomet first denied the letters; now he acknowledgeth the same; Mahomet denieth that the King of Persia gave unto the Lord Shirley authority to treat of any business; and yet the King himself affirmeth that he gave him. For those



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are the very express words in the letters of credence granted unto my Lord Shirley, and exhibited now at his last being in England unto his Majesty: "I have committed unto him, by word of mouth, certain businesses wherewith he is to acquaint your Majesty, which, when he cometh, he is to declare unto you; whom I desire you would acknowledge to be my Ambassador; and whatsoever he shall say, to hear him." But Mahomet, I presume, supposed he had made sure work in detaining the original, under pretence the King had torn it; and therefore now was confident this gloss might go for current. But the light will shine through the narrowest hole: and hence it is now clearly evident, that the Lord Shirley was the King of Persia's Ambassador; that he came with all the power and credit of an Ambassador; that he had full authority to deal in certain businesses.

'Tis true, those certain businesses are not specified in the letters; neither usually are any in letters of credence; for then they were not letters of credence. That the Lord Shirley might suppress them, and forge new, is not impossible: But his Majesty (whom Almighty God hath enriched with an heart of wisdom) will cast his eye on what is likely, not on what is possible: and most clearly will discern, whether is more likely, that a man who hath not strained to contradict a thing upon record, should not make dainty, for more advantage, to disavow what is not specified; or, that an Ambassador, whose truth hitherto hath not been stained, for no advantage unto himself, should suppress those propositions he received from his Master, and forge new. Concerning trade, the King himself, in his letters unto his Majesty, clearly doth acquit the Lord Shirley; who therein hath propounded nothing, the substance whereof the King

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himself, in his letters now unto his Majesty, doth not require. For, whatsoever the Lord Shirley specifieth concerning custom, free ingress and egress, and this also into other parts of Europe, (bullion only excepted, peradventure for which the King of Persia had no reason to be offended) all maketh but the descant upon this one plain song: "The common intercourse of love and friendship requireth that our Merchants and Factors, which shall come from us unto your kingdoms, may find like entertainment; and that none may presume to hinder or molest them, in like free buying and selling of their wares."

Concerning the galleys, the proposition, if forged, had either been profitable unto the kingdom of Persia, or disadvantageous. If disadvantageous, certainly it had been a very poor piece of policy in the Lord Shirley to have transgressed his commission, in setting an overture on foot, wherein he could neither reap unto himself honour nor profit; but should run a most certain hazard from a severe Prince, who, he right well knew, seldom pardoned such transgressions. If profitable, there is an old proverb which saith, *Sit tibi innocens, quisquis est pro te nocens*. King Henry the Eighth, though a most severe Prince, (your Lordship knoweth) rewarded Cardinal Wolsey, his Ambassador unto Francis the First of France, upon a like transgression: and peradventure, the sweetness of the profit would have so far mollified the wrath of this King, as that, if he had not rewarded, yet he never, therefore, would have abandoned the author.¹ Had all

¹ *Original note.*

This concludeth certainly thus much, that, suppose the King of Persia had no cause to abandon the author for his forgery; his abandoning doth evidently bewray there was some other secret cause, and this was only but a colour. The true cause, I doubt not, by and by, I shall lay open unto the light.

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the havens in Persia been stored with galleys, I would here demand, whose had been the profit? Common reason will easily discern, the King of Persia's; not the Lord Shirley's. All the honour or profit which this poor Gentleman could, forth of his long experience in the world, have expected from the King, was only this, that the fault, in going beyond his commission, should be set against the benefit which sprung from his transgression. For Princes rather fear the evil of the precedent, than cast their eyes upon the benefit: since this is accidental, the other is always dangerous. And the Lord Shirley had far juster cause herein to fear what the King of Persia might do, than to hope what he would do. He was a Gentleman not unacquainted with the histories of the world; and had before his eyes the sharp examples of Papirius Cursor, the Roman Dictator, who would have put to death Fabius, the Master of the Horse, and Manlius Torquatus, who struck off the head of his own son, for going beyond their commissions, though both with prosperous success, and both with a notable victory against their enemy. He knew of later years a Turkish Bashaw [Pasha], who cashiered a soldier, that, when he was marching into a marsh, stayed his horse, and directed him another way; although it was acknowledged, the man had hereby saved the whole army. He was not ignorant that the noble Earl,¹ who, in the rebellion of Lincolnshire in the time of Henry the Eighth, raised an army and suppressed the rebels, was glad, notwithstanding, to cast himself at the King's feet for pardon. And all men know, the Duke of Medina, in the year 1588, lost his opportunity, because he durst not go beyond his commission: And Cardinal Wolsey had juster cause to

¹ Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk?



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thank his good fortune than his wisdom. That my Lord Shirley, in making this overture, without direction from his Master, had offended, is certain; that the King would reward him, was uncertain; that he would rather have punished him, was most likely. The world, therefore, herein will acquit the Lord Shirley from all suspicion of forgery; because he had no cause of forgery.

The 25,000 soldiers, which the Lord Shirley promised in the King's name, might peradventure be inserted by him, without any such warrant from his Master. Against which suspicion, I will only oppose the quality of this condition. Certainly the King of Persia was a Prince too well experienced in martial affairs to fear the payment;¹ and therefore had as little reason, in regard thereof, to disclaim the desire of those galleys, as my Lord Shirley had cause to forge that article. The Lord Shirley knew the King of England right well understood, that he should never have commission to use that power; for which respect he should look to be honoured by his Majesty. For that Prince who will use auxiliary forces, must at least send equal into the field himself. Now, what number of ships, what multitude of mariners, what provision of victual, were requisite to transport so great an army, with all their military furniture, so long a voyage, they can best resolve who have been most acquainted with the portraiture of that misshapen monster, whose belly is bigger than all his body besides,

¹ *Original note.*

This seemed to be a self-conceited finesse in the King of Persia, thinking thereby he peradventure might over-reach a Prince more wary than himself. Yet there was good reason why he should tender this condition: for, if this bait took, he gained what he desired; if it failed, he could lose nothing but the fish he never had.

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and yet still groweth greater as he rangeth farther from his home ; and I will leave unto your Lordship's deeper judgment.

Princes are Gods on earth ; and I fear to speak of a Prince, though an enemy, without due reverence : Yet let me crave pardon, if here I freely speak, partly what I know, and partly what I have gathered, upon many strong presumptions. The King of Persia, overgrown with old age, was now also sick of the disease of old age ; he was grown extremely covetous. The Lord Shirley long time had served him, now was worn out in his service, and unable to serve him any longer. The acknowledgment of his service had bound the King in honour to have rewarded and liberally maintained him ; which could not stand with his profit, and therefore frugally he disavoweth him. No marvel then if Mahomet, privy unto his Master's mind, dissembled the letters, received them with so small reverence, disavowed all commission for treating of these businesses. The proposition of galleys they could not choose but discern, how profitable that, in time, would have been unto the crown of Persia ; which would have made that King an absolute lord, as well by sea as by land, and terrible not only unto all the neighbouring Princes of Arabia, and all other parts adjoining upon the Persian Gulf, but also unto the Great Mogul. But the King now was old ; the proceedings of great designs he knew were slow ; and therefore wisely slighted now what in younger time he had propounded, and now doubted he should never live to see accomplished. Besides, Ormus [Hormuz], which formerly had been the greatest prick in his side, was now subdued, and the Portuguese beaten forth, who formerly had made inroads into his country as far as Lar.

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To this I must add, the allies and kindred of Noghte Beg deceased ; who, although, for any thing that I could ever learn, he was a person of no great quality (and indeed all are slaves, and enjoy nothing but their Prince's favour) yet had many friends near the King. The Lord Shirley, on the other side, was a stranger, and therefore naturally envied of all, and hated especially by the friends of Noghte Beg : neither was he ever careful, by due observancy, to endear himself into the goodwill of any one person in favour with the King ; but, contrariwise, by his too liberal speech, he exasperated the minds of all against him ; bearing himself wholly upon that favour, which likeness of natures and affections, in their younger years, had kindled in the heart of the King towards him. The King now grown old, as that nature changed, so his affection also towards the Lord Shirley cooled, as in reason needs it must : neither was the Lord Shirley, during his long absence from Persia, careful ever by letter to revive it, or by friends about the King, when out of sight, to solicit his remembrance. But no man is always and in all things wise ; for then he were no mortal man, but an angel ; the immortal angels have sometime also failed of that perfection. His adversaries, now at his return, were not slack to make their best advantage hereof : and, finding the King's disposition, envious that a stranger should reap the glory of a design which themselves were unable to accomplish, help on the King in his resolution ; not regarding the public detriment, which therein they should do unto their country, so they, by any ways, might obscure the beaming forth of a greater virtue than their own, and overthrow a stranger whom they hated.

But now the time appeareth that I must take my leave

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of Persia, it is not altogether impertinent his Majesty should understand their farewell. My Lord Ambassador, while he lived, had at Casbin about him some sixteen persons, English, Armenians and Moors, that followed and served him; besides eight horses. Towards his expenses for maintenance of this charge, the King allowed him daily £1 13s. 4d. for levying whereof, every day, the Bailiff of the town went from shop to shop. Here he took three-halfpence, there a penny, in some places more, in some less, towards the charge of the King's guest: which was the manner of our entertainment, as afterwards I learned, throughout the whole country. Of this allowance the Bailiff was behind hand, at the death of my Lord, in the sum of about 14 tomans; which make £46 6s. 8d. sterling. I acquaint Mahomet therewith: This rich and great Vicar-General of Persia payeth me with fair words, and desireth me to remit the money: "The town (saith he) was poor, and beggared by the long abode of the court therein; and the King had not as yet received his rents." But, instead of money, giveth me a commission for our charges by the way; and yet we also stood at their courtesy, whether they would please to pay it. We were then fourteen persons. The whole allowance for all this company did not come unto 6s. 8d. the day;¹

¹ *Original note.*

Our whole allowance was as followeth:

	£	s.	d.
Six lb. of flesh	0	0	10
Six lb. of rice	0	0	4
Twelve lb. of bread	0	0	8
Two dishes of cheese	0	0	4
One lb. and half of butter	0	0	4
Water to drink where we could find it	0	0	0
The whole sum	0	2	6

Besides fuel to dress our meat withal, at their discretion.



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which is not so much as, in England, we allow the poorest, vilest labourer ; or, scarcely, as they themselves in Persia, their basest slaves—Such is the magnificence of the Persian court !

And thus have I now, my Lord, declared, how the Persians play fast and loose in their treaties. They propound articles, when they hope the same will be profitable ; and deny their own act, when they think the same can be no longer useful ; they disavow their own letters of credence. Whatsoever Ambassador shall hereafter be sent thither by his Majesty, if he will look to be welcome, must make account to travel upon his own charge, and to truck for one good turn another, for every sixpence favour twopence and a groat. He must buy his horses, provide his tents, and hire his camels ; otherwise, he must make account to fare hardly, to fast often, to be continually jaded, and every way ill accommodated. 'Tis true, the people in their outward carriage are civil, and the travel safe from violence and robbery. But, to put them to the charge of one farthing, is to wring a drop of blood from their hearts ; and then they'll hate you. Those Ambassadors which hereafter shall come from Persia, this our sordid entertainment will be, I hope, a leading precedent unto his Majesty to spare that charge which formerly was cast away upon them : and hereby he shall teach them hospitality, who know none ; since there is no better discipline to teach humanity to them who use none, than to let them taste themselves a little of their own bad nature.

My Lord, I beseech Almighty God long to bless you ; and humbly would request your Lordship, with your first convenience, to shew this brief Relation unto his



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Majesty, and at deliverance to remember your humble
Servant.

Endorsed, "PERSIA, 1628. A RELATION OF SIR D.
COTTON'S EMBASSY."

Dr. Gooch uses hard words about the Persians, and implies that 'Abbās was totally lacking in any feeling of gratitude towards his trusted servant Robert. I think we should, however, bear in mind that behind the tragic *dénouement* of the Dodmore Cotton mission lay not only the intrigues of the East India Company but also the machinations of the powerful court favourite Muhammad 'Alī Beg. Whatever may have been the Shāh's responsibility in this affair, he at any rate confessed to Herbert that "Robert Sherley had done more for him than any of his native subjects."

Interesting light is thrown on the whole matter by a petition addressed to Charles I by Thomas Shirley, a nephew of Robert, which I think will make a fitting close to this introduction.¹

"To the Kings most excellent Ma^{tie}

"The humble petition of Captaine Thomas Sherley,
Esq^{re}

"In most humble manner sheweth that the pet^s
uncle Sr Robert Sherley yor highnes' subject, and the
Emperor of Pertia his Ambassador both to yor highnes'
ffather of blessed memorie, and to yor Royall Ma^{tie};
whose intent & good meaning was to possesse yor
Ma^{ty}'s Kingdomes wth the Comodities and Rawe Silkes

¹ *The Sherley Brothers*, by E. P. Shirley (Chiswick, 1848), p. 98.
Cf. *Calendar of State Papers: East Indies, China and Persia, 1625-1629*, p. 593.

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of Persia to be transported from the Ports of Persia, and to shutt up the Commerce wth the Turke, & thereby to vindicate himselfe the better against that his said Enemy.

“ Now forasmuch as the Persian Ambassador here present, dothe acknowledge the truth heareof, and the good service the pet^s said Uncle laboured to have done, and that he lived & died in high esteeme wth the Persian Emperor, notwithstandinge the Calumnious traducem^{ts} of some merchants heere at home :

“ Therefore he most humbly prayeth that before the said Ambassador departeth, soe great a cause as this may be heard before yo^r Royall Ma^{tie} ; that upon the due examinacōn heareof the good services done, & intended to be done, may be made manifest to yo^r pet^s great comfort, and the rep^{ation} [reparation] of the honor of his Uncles Ashes.

“ And as in duty bound he shall humbly pray &c.”

III

STODART'S JOURNAL

[APRIL 1626]

The XVIth of Aprill 1626 at 3 of the clock in the afternoone we set sayle from the Custum howse in London wth a westerly winde. That eveninge we anckered.

The XVIIth dicto we set saill with a westerly winde. We anckered before Deel [Deal] where we were like to be cast away and that daye cam a shipburde Sr Robert Cherley [Sherley], his lady, a mayde and a boy, my lord imbasidor [ambassador] Dodmore Cotton wth seven men being bound for Persia.

The XVIIIth dicto happened vnto vs a wonderfull miraculus chavnice, that night our ship haueing but on anker out we drive back 4 leagues and more over the sands vnknowne to no man aburde, being very calme.

The next daye the XIX of the same being very calme we set sayle and cam to an ancker at Deel.

The XXVIIIth of the same moneth at 4 of clocke in the afternoone we set sailed wth a Northwest wind from Deel. That evening about VII a clock we cam to an ancker before Dover, being 3 leagues.

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The XXIXth dicto in the afternoon we did set sayle back agayne to Deel by resen that the winde was agaynst vs to goe forward, and ther anckered.

[A gap in the journal here. It apparently continues as follows :]

[APRIL 1628]

This daye we came from Hispahone [Ispahān], being the last of Aprill, to Botoon [?]¹ som two leauges from the citye. Here we stayed 3 dayes because we could not be dispacht. Being dispatched we sett forward, haueing a mamondar² and all other conveniencies etc.

MAYE [1628]

3 This daye we came to Rige [?],³ a very poore towne vpon a playne wher ther is noe good water but brackishe. Here my lord picht, haueing traveled 3 leauges.

4 This daye we came [to] Sardahone [Sardahān], a caravanserow [caravan-sarai], a very poore place. Here vppon the topp of a hill, where I saw a man stacked,⁴ we picht, hauing traveled 8 leauges.

5 This daye we came to Tagebode [Tājābād], on of the Kinges howses, a very plesant place wth a very fayre garden abounding in all maner

¹ Not traced. Della Valle gives Bertabad in this neighbourhood.

² *Mihmāndār* (Persian), an officer appointed to receive and attend on ambassadors.

³ Mentioned by Herbert, Della Valle and other travellers, but not traced in any modern map.

⁴ Staked, i.e., impaled.

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of fruit, wth very delicat tanckes.¹ Here was great store of rose water made for the King. This garden did abound moste in roses of all sorte of any garden that ever I saw. This howse had all the wals wth gilt curiously and paynted wth pictures. Here we picht, hauing traveled 3 leauges. Here we layd vpon roses all night.

- 6 This daye we cam to Bode [Bādrūd], a pretie litle towne, wher we picht in the Kinges howse lying a litle from the forsayd towne in a very poore plac, haueing traveled 6 leauges.
- 7 This daye we cam to Obygarm [Āb-i-garm], another of the Kinges howses, lying vpon the top of a hill in a very barren place, wher we picht, haueing traveled 10 leauges.
- 8 This daye we cam to Suffidobe [Safīd-āb], a howse lying vpon the side of a hill, wher ther was a very fayre tanck ouer agaynst the doore, the water being brackish. Here we picht, hauing traveled 7 leauges.
- 9 This daye we cam to Siocooh [Siyāhkūh], a very fayre caravanserow, wher we picht, haueing traveled 8 leauges, and som part of the waye was ouer y^e salt desart.
- 10 This daye we cam to Rashmah [?],² a very poore towne, hauing traveled vpon a causeeye [causeway] of 5 leauges long lying vpon y^e side of the salt desart, soe that when we came out of the causeeye to the towne we ridd vpon the green

¹ i.e., artificial pools or ponds.

² Not traced in any modern map. Della Valle gives Reseme.

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grasse. Here my lord picht in a tanck wher ther was noe water, haueing traveled 8 leauges.

11 This daye we came to Gaze [?],¹ w^{ch} is on of the Kinges howses, wher my lord was somthing sickly, hauing traveled ouer a very high steep hill, and soe picht here in a law valley, being 6 leauges.

12 This daye we came to Halneroone [Hablarūd], a litle towne lying in a very narrow place betweene two hills. Here we picht, haueing traveled 6 leauges. This place doth abound in walnootes.

13 This daye we came to Pirriscow [Fīrūzkūh], a very pretie towne liinge between two hills. This towne doth abound in walnootes and apricokes. Here we picht, haueing traveled 6 leauges. Here we stayed the 14th daye.

15 This daye we came [to] Shirgoh [Shīrkūh], a preti litle lodge, the towne lying a furlong from it, lying by a riuer side in a garden full of roses, haueing traveled all night in the greatest missery that euer I traveled in my life by resone of could and being wett, and being vpon the top of a hill in a playne open place wher our mamundar mist of the waye, soe that here we wandered moste part of the night, soe y^t we knew not the waye backward nor forward, and soe might haue wandered all night but that by chaunce we met wth the caravan, and we followed them till break

¹ Evidently Gaz, a fairly common name, but cannot be traced on any modern map. Herbert gives Ghezz.



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of daye. Then we knew our waye to our mansile¹ and soe picht, haueing traveled 6 leauges.

16 This daye we came to Jeere [?],² a very poor place, where ther is great store of woode. Here we picht by a riuer side, haueing traveled 7 [leagues].

17 This daye we came [to] Alliebode ['Alīābād], a litle towne lying in a very plesant place. Here we picht ouer a gate that went into a mighid Imoom,³ otherwise in English called a church wher a prophit lyes, hauing traveled 7 leauges.

[This paragraph added in the margin.]

Here is a preti round stone that lieth by the dore of the moschea [mosque], which we cal church, w^{ch} the Percians giues great credit vnto.

18 This daye we came to Necoh [Nīkāh], on of the Kinges ordinarie howses, standing vpon a bank side, the high waye lying of the on side and a great woode of the other side. Here we picht in the Kinges harram [*haram*], haueing traveled 8 leauges. Here we stayed y^e 19th daye.

20 This daye we came to Asheraffe [Ashraf],⁴ wher the King was, a very preti place, but the howses be very poore buildinges, moste built wth timber and thacht wth a kind of smale reedes. This towne lyes vpon the side of the great hill Taurus, w^{ch} is in lengtth aboue 500 leauges, and on the other side of the towne lyes the Casspian [*sic*] Sea, wthin lesse then 2 leauges off. Here are some howses thacht wth brick. The Kings

¹ *Manzil* (Arabic), halting-place.

² Not traced in any modern map. Herbert gives Gheer; De L'Isle gives Giru.

³ *Masjid-i-Imām*, a mosque dedicated to one of the Imāms.

⁴ Built by Shāh 'Abbās in A.D. 1613.

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howse is a braue large howse, curiously scituated wth curious gardens curiously contriued wth many admirable braue tanckes in them.

25 This daye my lord was sent for to the curte for to haue his audience, wher he went only acompanied wth Capten Burt¹ the English agent, being very discontented that the King had not sent som of his great men for him according to the maner of Crissendome, w^{ch} is here quite contrarie in euerie thinge.

Soe when my lord came to the court ther came to meet him Mahomet Allibege [Muhammad 'Alī Beg], a marchant, w^{ch} is the Kinges favoret, and on Mirzabege [Mīrzā Beg], another great man. Soe affter certayne complements past between them they brought my lord to a room lyinge in the midle of the curte for to sitt downe, wherin satt the Kinges great men, and amongste the rest ther satt my lord Sherley and Senior Jhon, a Duch man,² on of Kinges servantes. In this room ther is a fine tanck. Here alsoe my lord dined, his meate being carried all in beaten gould; the dishes wer soe bigg that they were as much as a man could carry from the kiching to the place wher the meate was layde; on great dish was carried vpon a barrow of gould between two men. Thuse was my lordes followers serud wth gould in the like maner.

¹ William Burt, at this time the Company's chief factor in Persia, had left England for the Indies on April 26th, 1626, and arrived on January 15th, 1627, in Persia, where he acted as the Company's agent until his death on November 24th, 1630.

² This is the Dutch painter to whom Herbert refers more than once as John the Dutchman. He had, according to Herbert, been in the Shāh's service for twenty years.

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Dinner being done, the King sent won to my Lord to bidd him staye, for the howre was not good as yett, but att length the King sent for him, I haueing deliuered my lord his commission, for it was his plesure to favour me soe much as to carrye his comission this daye. Soe that when my lord came to the chamber dore wher the King satt ther was noe bodie suffered to goe in alonge wth him but Mr. Doctor Googe [Gooch] his chaplen, his interpreter and Capten Burt; and we were brought to another room being very fayre, wher ther was a large tanck all besett round about wth gould plate and gould botles of wyne, and frute in gould dishes round about the tanck. Here we satt about half ane hour; then I took occation to walke into the garden, and looking vp toward the place where the King sate ther I saw some parte of him sitting wth tanckes of gould wth fishes in them, and my lord sitting next to him one his right hand.

After that my lord had been wth him about an hower, in w^{ch} time he deliuered som part of his message, the Kinge dranack the Kinge of Englands health, and my lord for to requite druncke his health agayne, and amongste ther cups being merry y^e King comaunded my lord to come by the waye of Ferrabode [Farahābād], w^{ch} lyes close to the Caspian Sea, that he might see his howses and soe meet him att Casbyne [Qasvīn]. This being done my lord took his leaue of the Kinge, and was accompanied home to his lodging by Senior Jhon.

27 This daye, as it was related vnto me, the King

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executed judgment vpon two men. The one was for the deliuring of a petition vnto him that he did not like the maner of writeing of it, this man he caused to be drubd soe that wthin a while after he died; the other, w^{ch} writt it, he causd him to haue his hand cutt in the middle, the two fingers and thum vp to the wriste. Note that the King whersoever he his doth execute his lawes and no bodie els.

- 30 This daye the King remoued from Asheraffe. Here the King hath another pretie howse a mile and a half out of this towne vpon the top of a hill, w^{ch} they call Abassebode [*Abbāsābād*].

[JUNE 1628]

Jvne
the 1,
being
Whitsunn
Sundaye.

This daye about 4 a clock in the afternoon we sett out of Asheraffe and cam to Amarrtdeshow,¹ on of the Kinges ordinarie howses, lying wthing a mile of the Caspian Sea. Here we picht, because my lord was drousie and could not travell noe further that night, and we were forced to laye vpon mates by the Kinges kiching doore, for we could not get into the howse that night.

- 2 This daye in the morninge we took horses and ridd to the Caspian Sea, being wthin a mile of it and in our waye. Soe that when we came to the sea side we spured our horses into the sea for to washe them, our horses not being acquaynted wth the motion of the sea gaue my lord and I each on vs a fall. Soe rideinge on by the sea side vntill

¹ *Imārat-i-Shāh* (Persian), the king's house.

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we cam to the citie of Ferrabode, haueinge seen many buffelwes by the waye, and som drawing of carttes much like our English cartes.

This citie is curiously scituated: as I ridd into y^e citie first I rid ouer a bridge wher vnder ran a fine riuer into the sea, being an Englishe mile from the sea; on my right hand rann this riuer, haueing many plessant gardens vpon the banckes of it lying all along the riuer; on my left hand ther was ther Coho¹ howses, a place wher all comers doth vse to sit and see Tomasshawes,² or as we term it sport, and drincke a kinde of drinck w^{ch} they call Coho. Soe I went forward into the Medan,³ or place of marchandice, and euerie thing that the cuntrey yeelds is here brought for to be sould; it is a fine large building, and as I past thorow it I saw the Kinges gate standing in the mydle of it here. The mamandar brought my lord to a house in y^e towne to rest himself, wherin we layed in a haram. Soe after a while the Kinges howse being opened, my lord went to see it, being a fine pleasant place; the comming is very playne wthout any curiositie, and passing thorow a green curte wth gardens of each side we came into an other gate as playne as the former; haueing past thorow it we cam into a garden very plesant, full of powmcittorns [pomecitrons] and orenge, and many plesant tanckes, and in the middle of this garden was a room built wth timber ouer a tanck, wher y^e King did vse to sitt himself.

¹ *Kahwah* (Arabic), coffee.

² *Tamāshā* (Arabic, Persian), an entertainment.

³ *Maydān* (Persian), public square.

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On the on side of the garden was his haram, the roomes being wonderfull curiouse, ther floores being layed wth Turkye carpets being wrought curiously and framed iust of the bredth of the roome, all the walls and the topes of the chambers wrought curiously wth gould, wth men and wemens pictures according to the maner of the cuntrey curiously paynted wth gould and other fine colours.

In some roomes ther was beds whervpon might tumble half a dosen of his conqupines att a time ; in others ther was looking glasses besett round about for him to see in the maner of his bodies waging when he dallies wth his conqupines ; other roomes besett ful of curiouse chenie [china], wher he doth vse to drinck coho, wyne, and feast himself amongst his wemen ; in another room I saw wher his bawes and arrowes laye, and certayne hookes for him to pull downe any fruit from the trees ; and another thing is that I noted is the place wher the King doth vse to dresse meat wth his owne handes, w^{ch} is a thing rare to see a King playe the kooke. Of the back side of this howse is a riuier. This being shewed to my lord, he rewarded the howse-keepers, and soe cam to his lodging and ther rested vntill 4 of the clock, hauing traveled from Asheraffe 7 leauges.

3 This daye we came alonge by the sea side som parte of the waye as we came to a towne w^{ch} they call Chappacurrow [Chapuk-rūd], a very pleasant place lying wthin half a bow shott from the sea. Here my lord pitched in a howse built of timber vpon a riuier w^{ch} is called Obytalar [Āb-i-Tālār], haueing traveled 4 leauges.

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4 This daye we cam to Moshowdezar [Meshed-i-sar], a very plesant place by the sea side, hauing a riuer runing vp thorow the towne. The name of it is Obybabool [Āb-i-Bābul]. Here we bayted, haueing traveled 3 leauges. Here I sow [saw] the first hemp in Percia. From this towne after diner we came the same daye to Barfrush [Bārfarūsh], being 3 leauges, a fine towne. Here lyes a prophites toom cald Imonizedasmoye.¹ Here is alsoe a fine howse of the Kinges w^{ch} lyes very pleasant hard by this towne, w^{ch} is cald (Amarat dissaca chal) ['Imārat-i-Ishāq Khān?]. This hawse hath a very pleasant pond round about it, being very large, and a litle howse built in the midle of it for the King to see his sport ; this pond is thick of fish.

Here I saw great store of silk and silk wormes.

[The end of a gathering of leaves of the MS. : some omission or misplacement of binding.]

². . . the yeare and lookes afar like a sugar loafe and the top of it is playne, as I hard of a man that was vpon the top of it, being 5 leauges from this towne to the top of it, out of w^{ch} ishueth a great smoke that smothers men that goeth vp for brimstone euery yeare ; but the men that goes vp preventes the strong sent of the hott brimstone by eating of onions and garleck, w^{ch} they carry about them when they goe. From hence the King hath great store euery yeare.

¹ Imāmzāda Isma'īl, son of the Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim.

² This is a description of Mt. Damāvand. Apparently Stodart and his companions spent several days on this difficult mountainous part of their journey.

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[June]
11, 12
13

In this towne of Demoan [Damāvand], lying in Parthia in the hight of . . . degrees haue we rested the 11 and 12 daye of June, and cam awaye the 13th to Bomahene [Būmahin]. Here we picht, hauinge traueled 3 leauges of very barren ground all along the side of a hill. This towne belongs to certayne prophites that hath ther tomes lying here, whose names be Imamsud-tantahar, Pissarmoomtaphar.¹

[14]

This daye we came to Teharone [Tehrān], a fine towne lying vpon a playn, beinge very bare, haueing many plesant litle townes round aboute it. This towne is walde round aboute, being gouerned by a ducke called by the name of Zynar Chane² [Zaynal Khān]. Heare we stayed 3 dayes by resone that moste of my fellowes was sick. The 17th daye in the evening we sett out from Teherone and ridd all night, hauing traveled 6 leauges, and picht att Carah [Kerej]. Here we rested the 18th daye. At night we sett forward and came to Sungorobode [Sangarābād], hauing traveled 3 leauges. Here we rested the 19th daye, and about on of the clocke in the afternoon Mr. William Welfit,³ on of my fellowes, died of a floox, and about 5 of the clock he was buried vnder. He was a proper young man, of yeares much about 22; he was the lustiest man of all the companie; he died of a floox, w^{ch} is a dangerous disses in

17
18
19

¹ Imām Sultan Tahir pizar (son of) Mustafā [?].

² Zaynal Khān was a cousin of Naqd 'Alī Beg. He had held many high posts under 'Abbās I, and had in 1604 been sent on an embassy to Prague and in 1622 to India. See my *Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure* (Routledge, 1933), p. 60.

³ Herbert calls him Mr. Welfit.

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all hotte cuntreyes ; soe is a fever likewise, being att this present troubled myself wth both. This night we sett forward and traveled all night, and

20 This daye we picht att Shocardir¹ [Shāhendih], hauing traveled 5 leauges. The town lyes in a playne, being very bare, and a very hott climatt. Here we rested all this daye, and att night we sett forward towardses the citie, and

21 This daye being Saturdaye we came to Casbyne [Qasvīn], wher the Kyng is, a very large cytie, hauing traveled 6 leauges. This citye lieth in the cuntrey of Arach [‘Irāq].²

26 The 26 my lord went to the Medan for to meet the King. Being somthing late, the King took noe notice of him, but ridd along the Medan and so home to his howse.

27 This daye my lord went in the like maner thincking for to meet the King att y^e Medan, but the Kinges minde was altered that thither this night.

28 This daye my lord fell sick of the blodye flux, and soe his floux continued vntill

[JULY 1628]³

July 22 This daye my lord died. Presently after his breth was gone from his body Mr. Doctor Googe called for all his keyes into his handes, w^{ch} I and another yong man had in our keeping before he died because we wayted vpon him in his

¹ This is possibly the modern Khāvandeh.

² i.e., ‘Irāq-i-‘Ajāmī, or Persian Iraq.

³ On July 13th Robert Sherley had died in Qasvīn.

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chamber. Then vpon a sudden being asked for the keyes I deliuered them, for w^{ch} I was very sorry wthin a while after I considered wth my self what I had don. My lord died this morning between 5 and 6 by the clock.

23 This daye his bodie was caried a leaug out of the citie by certayne Armenian Christians¹ that was hired for the carayge to a plat of ground that the King allowes the Armenian[s] for ther buriall place. Thither he was caried after the best maner we could, wth his horse ledd before him, and his Bible, sword and hatt caried vpon his beare, and alsoe ther went befor him 3 Armenian preests, beside his owne chaplen Doctor Googe.

24 This daye Mr. Doctor Googe and all the rest of our company that was able for to ride went this morning to Mahomet Alle Beges howse for to visite him; but before we went my fellow Hedges and I desired of him that we myght goe in order and that we might be respected as we were formerly of my lord, and presently vpon this he spock in a comaunding manner vnto vs that we should be servisable, meaning vnto himself, and tould vs that, my lord being dead, he had that autoritye and that from the King of England; we demaunded likwyse of him whither he was second in my lordes commission, to w^{ch} he answered that he was not, w^{ch} I did well know before. We likwyse demaunded of him whither my lord had made a will or no, to w^{ch} he answered he had, soe we requested to see it, to w^{ch} he would

¹ See pp. 69-72, below.



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not yeeld, his resone was because ther was something in it that conserved himself; and alsoe we demaunded of him whyther my lord had left anything for any of his servantes. He answered that he left not anything to any but vnto James Emery and to my self, w^{ch} was but smale thinges as he sayde; I alsoe towld him that I hard when I laye sick that my lord had left all his linen between James and my self, to w^{ch} he replied that he thought that he had left all his weareing lynen, as shurtes, bandes and the like, but he would not of anny other linen yeeld them to be wereing linen. These wordes was spoken in the presens of Mr. Loftas¹ an English factor, Mr. Hedges my lordes secretary, James Emery, and I think ther was others in the room beside my self.

30 This daye we receaved our vestes from the King, w^{ch} was only for 4 of vs coates and polopushes,² each of vs a coate and a polopush, for Mr. Harbert [Herbert] a coate of cloth of siluer, and for the cooke, the tayler and others only coates of coorse silke; these vestes were esteemed to be worth 15 peeses of gould. Doctor Googe he made very smale account of it and did not regard it, soe that he was at first resolved to send them all back agayne, but I was of resolution to keep on for my self, but after he considered wth himself, making very scornfull of it, [th]att he bad his men, being of vocation the on a tayler and the other a cocker

¹ Robert Loftas was at this time in charge of the customs. He was one of the Company's factors in Persia from 1625 until his death on May 17th, 1630.

² *Bālāpūsh* (Persian), overcoat.

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[caulker],¹ take this vest between them, telling them that when they com into England if they doe marry they might make there wyves petti-cottes.

In this time the Doctor sould and gaue away many thinges of my lordes: first he sould the most part of his tentes for . . . ; he sould to Mr. Loftas 2 or 3 bookes of callico att 10 abacees² a peece; he gaue to Sebastian the coker his man a fine felt and band and a fine short sword, the hilt being inameld and cutt, wth a siluer belt w^{ch} my lord wore to ride wthall; he gaue to Mr. Hedges a sword, the hilt being cutt and hacht wth siluer; he gaue to his man Harry a fayre silk waskott, a sattan cap laste thick wth siluer lase, and a scarlat³ stomiger [stomacher].

[AUGUST] 1628

August the

I

This daye the Percians keepes for a great festifall daye amongst them and a daye of great mirth and solemnitie, w^{ch} solemniti is vsed in this nature—they were ther best veste^s and com to vissit on another wth a present, w^{ch} they call a piskaishe⁴; let it be of neuer soe smal a value it is accepted off thankfullie. This daye Mahomet Allebege sent

¹ Cocker, coker, a corruption of caulker, one who caulks ships, hence ship's carpenter. This is the Sebastian Palmer referred to as a carpenter in *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, China and Persia, 1625-9*. He is mentioned in the jottings as Sebastian Pamer. See p. 112.

² 'Abbāsī, equivalent to 1s. 4d. English money of the period.

³ Saqallāt (Persian), a rich, heavy cloth. The word scarlet originally referred to the material, not to the colour. See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, August, 1908*.

⁴ Pishkash (Persian), a present.

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a chawback¹ for a piskaish vnto Doctor Googe; when he vnderstood by on of his men what it was he caused his man to tell the messenger that he was asleep and wish him to com another tyme, but the fellow cam not any more.

2 This daye ther was cammell men sent to see our goodes and what quantiti we had. This daye the doctor sould a payer of darke orengtony² colourd silke stokins w^{ch} my lord wore wth his best suite for 10 abaceese, w^{ch} is a mark in English money, and in this time he sould another payer of silk stokens vnto Mr. Loftas, the English factor, for the sam prise.

4 This daye in the morning about 4 of the clock being very sick and could not sleep all night, lying as it is the maner of the cuntrey vpon the topp of the howse, it was my chance to heare a taborne³ and pipe, w^{ch} is the musicke of this cuntrey. I ris vp and looked about me, and saw a great light in the street; ther followed the musick, and after followed a matter of a hundred men wth simple waxlightes in their handes, then followed som 40 woemen in white sheets, according to the fashion of this cuntrey, euery on wth a wax light in ther handes, goeing two by two in a rawe; When I demaunded the meaning of it I was tould that it was the solemnizing of a wedding.

6 August the 6th, 1628. This morning Doctor Gooche my lo: chapline and Mr. Hedges my lordes secretarie and my self, wth our interpreters and the doctors man, wen[t] vnto Mahomet Allibeg

¹ *Chābuk*, a whip. ² orange tawny. ³ *Tambūr* (Persian), a drum.

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the King of Percias favorite, being according to his direction giuen to on of our interpreters that we should com to him to receaue the King of Percias letters w^{ch} Maho : tould vs was sent in an answere of all businesses vnto the King of England propounded by my lo: imbasidor. But comming somewhat to rare, we were advised to sitt downe at his doore vntill such time as he should com forth out of his herram [haram], w^{ch} we accordingly did, and about half an houre after he cam forth and we were suffered to goe in vnto him, and after salutation Doctor Goche in a complement sayd vnto Maho : that he vnderstoode by his interpreter, w^{ch} was with him the last night, of his fauour towardes him, and therfor was com to giue him thankes and alsoe to desire him that he might haue the Kinges formanne¹ for to take vp horses or camels or other necessary provisions from Casbeen [Qasvīn] to Bandar Comroone [Gombroon] for himself and his men, making account as though we were all his seruantes, and alsoe that he would take into his consideration for this 20 dayes and vpwardes the Kinges allowance w^{ch} hath been detayned, w^{ch} was 26 aba. a daye, and therefore he desired that he might take order that it might be p^d, for he tould him that he had many dayes stayed purposely for it. Vnto w^{ch} Maho : answered that for our accomodation from this place to Bandar [Gombroon] we should haue it both for our cariages of our necessaries and alsoe for our necessari provisions for each man : videlicet, for each man a daye

¹ *Firmān* (Persian), a royal order.



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a maune tabris¹ of rice, the like of flesh, a charreck² of butter and 2 maunes of bread betweene vs all, and two albaquies³ of cheese; for our horses 12 maune of barlie and likewise 12 of strowe. This allowance we are to haue every daye of euery towne that we com to by the vertue of the Kinges formavne seale written to the Callentar⁴ every towne between Casbeen and Bandar Comroome, but for the money that was behinde he wishe[d] vs to let that alone, for he sayde the cittie was poore and not able to paye it, and that the King had noe rentes as yet com in, and wthall making sleightly of it and sayd what was a few dayes money, vnto w^{ch} Mr. Doctor answered that in the King of Percias purse it was nothing but it would be somthing in a travelers purse, and alsoe he sayde that he thought he should haue been entertayned at the Kinges charge, as though he had been himself an imbasidor or the Kinges guesste, but Maho: sayd no, but all the citties w^{ch} were as aforesayde not able to beare it. The Doctor still insisted and sayde that when he should com to England vnto his m^r. the King of England and report that soe smale a some should be detayned he should not be beleived. This importunitie at length made him send on of his men vnto the Daragoe⁵ to bid him if he had any

¹ The m^ān-i-Tabriz was equivalent to a little under 7 lbs. Contemporary accounts give the m^ān-i-Sh^āh as varying from 12½ lbs. to 24 lbs. Herbert says: "the maund shaw and Tabriz differ even as our Troy and avoirdupois."

² *Chāryak* (Persian), a fourth, i.e., a quarter of a maund.

³ *Al-waqiya* (Arabic), equivalent to an ounce.

⁴ *Kalāntar* (Persian), chief man of a town.

⁵ *Dārōgha* (Turkish), governor.

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money for to giue it vs, wth whom Mr. Doctor sent on of his men and an interpreter. The Darago sent word agayne that if we stayer for it we should haue it, w^{ch} is but a delaying of vs.

And moreouer Mr. Doctor desired Ma(homet to sa)tisfie him whyther my lo : Sh(urlei) were the King of Percias imb(asidor) vnto the King of England, vnto w^(ch) he) answered noe, agravatinge that if he had been soe why should the King haue soe much neglected him as to lett him dye in disgrace and never looke after him.¹ Mr. Doctor asked him agayne whither those were the Kinges letters w^{ch} my lo : Amba : shewed him or not ; Maho : answered that the King tore them, and that my lo : Shurley was to come into Christendom to see his freindes, and soe desired the King of Percias letter vnto the King of England, but he sayde that he was noe Amba : agayne. Mr. Doctor asked him what answere he would giue him conserning the gallies and the marchantes trade,² w^{ch} my lo : Shurley had treated on wth the King of England ; vnto w^{ch} he answered that the King of Percia had giuen him noe such commission to speak of gallies, and as concerning the trade he sayde that if the marchantes would they should haue trade inough, if they would not they might chuse. By this time he had sent for the King of Percias letter vnto the King of England, w^{ch} he sayd was an answere vnto all businesses, and this when it came his man deliuered it to on

¹ A corner of the MS. page is burnt off here ; brackets enclose hypothetical missing words and letters.

² Cf. Dr. Gooch's *Report*, pp. 29-39, above.

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of our interpreters [and] the interpreter to Mr. Doctor, out of who[se h]and Mahomett took it, and agayne deliuering it back, speaking vnto vs all that nowe we had our dispatch we might be gone, w^{ch} wordes he replied 2 or 3 times, meaning that the letter was not deliuered to on in particular but to all in general for to be carried into the courte of England. Soe Mr. Doctor receaued the letter, being sawed vp in a peec of cloth of siluer and made fast wth a string and sealed vp with the Kinges seale, and soe tooke it from Mahomett, and gaue it to the interpreter for to be carried home to our lodging, and soe we took our leaves.

10th The 10th of August in the yeare of our Lord 1628. This night about 11 acloke att night we sett forward to come homwardes bound, leauing the King in this citie of Casbine in the cuntrey of Arach, otherwise called Media. This citie lieth in a very barren playne, here is good water, and on this playne ther is many poor villages. This night we came to Pirissiphon [Farsian], a poore village, bein 3 lges.

11th The 11th daye att night we came to Deh Ochlosuph [Dihoghlu Āsaf?], w^{ch} is in English Joseph, another smale villiage, being 10 lges. Here is alsoe good water.

12th The 12th daye at night we ca(me to) Begum,¹ a fayer caravansero ; (the) water here is brackish.

¹ See Herbert's *Travels*, p. 214, note. Apparently this was known as the Begum's Caravanserai, having been built by Zaynab Begum, daughter of Shāh Tahmāsp and chief wife of Shāh 'Abbās.

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This ca(ravansero) was built by the Shaw [Shāh] or King then, w^{ch} was, as I vnderstood, this Shaw A(bbases) father.¹ Here we rested in the heat of the daye, haueing traveled 10 lges.

- 13th The 13th daye att night we came to Sawa [Sāva], a pretie fine towne on a playne somthing nere the side of a hill. Here is good water. This place aboundes in grapes, pomgranetes. Here we picht in a pomgranet garden, and here we stayde the 14th daye, haueing traveled 9 lges.
- 14
- 15 The 15th daye at night we came to Japherebode [Ja'farābād], haueing traveled 6 lges.
- 16th The 16th daye at night we came to the fayre citie Comes [Qum], w^{ch} lieth on a plaine. This citie doth abound in mellons, grapes, pomgranetes, peaches, quinces, aples, peares, and divers other frutes in abundance. Here the[re] is sweet water, but swells the bodie that drincks it. Here we picht in a pomgranet garden, haueing traveled 6 lges. In this towne ther is a fine marked
- 17 [market] place. Here we stayed the 17th daye.
- 18th The 18th daye we came to the contrey of Media.
- 19th The 19th daye we came at night to Sensen [Sin-sin], a verie poore towne in a verie barren place nere a hill. Here we piched in a veri poore caravanserow out of the towne about half a mile (here the water is sweet), hauing traveled 6 lges.
- [20] The 20th daye at night we came to the fayre

¹ A corner of the MS. page is burnt off here ; brackets enclose hypothetical missing words and letters.

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citie of Cassian [Kāshān], lying in the cuntrey of Parthia. On the way between this citie and the foresayde citie of Comes the cuntrey of the Parthiance and the Medians are parted. Here we pitched in a caravansero that Shaw Abbas built, the fayerest that ever I saw—it is big innaw to lodge any king of Chrissendom wth all his trayne—hauing traveled 7 l^{ges}. Here are the best mellons in Percia. Here are abundance of scorpions; they be soe dangerous in soe much that the people of what parte soever of the cuntrey they be when they fall out on wth another they will praye to God that the scorpions of Cassian maye bite ther adversaries.

21th The 21th daye in this citie I saw 3 dromidaries; they be beastes much like cammells only they be not soe talle, but they are stronger limned and sett, and as the camel is sengle backed soe is this doble-backed.

22th The 22th daye Doctor Goche and al our companie that were able rid abroad to see the towne; soe I obserued that here is the largest bazar that I saw in Percia, and as I ridd thorow the bazar I saw 3 or 4 prophetes tomes w^{ch} were curiouslie kept, but moste of ther comodities was fruiet and cotten; few other poore trades men ther is, but noe richnes that is worth the speaking of. This daye likewise we went to see the Kinges gardens, w^{ch} in truth are sweet and plesant, abounding in al maner of fruite.

23th The 23th daye at night being dispatched we came

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to Bizdebode [Abū Zaydābād], wher in a caravanse[ro] we lodged, hauing traveled 5 lges.

24 The 24th daye att night we came to Natan [Natanz]; here is good water; the towne lieth in a narrow craggie place between two hills, yet full of smale villiges and good store of fruit and gardens. (Note: where ther is water in Percia comonlie you shal finde townes and store of frute.) Here we picht, hauing traveled 10 lges.

25 The 25th we cam at night to Sardahone, a caravanserow lying vpon the top of a hill. Here we picht, haueing traveled 7 lges. The water here is not verie good.

26 The 26th daye att night we came to Rige, a poore towne lying on a playne; the water here is somthing brackish; here we piched in a caravan-seraw, hauing traveled 3 lges.

27 The 27th daye we came to on of the Kinges garde[n]s wch is wth in an English mile of the citie of Spahone [Ispahān], wher we rested this daye and layd in a muskeet [mosque] this night, wch is ouer against the garden gate.

28 The 28th daye beeing Thursdaye we came into the citie of Spahone, haueing a house opened for vs and provisions brought vs.

30th The 30th daye Mr. Burt the English agent came to vissit the doctor together wth Mr. Wader¹

¹ Robert Woder was the Company's factor in Gombroon and Ispahān. He was sent as an accountant from Surat to Persia in January, 1628, and seems to have died at the end of 1629 or early in 1630.

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the second marchant in the factorie. Hauing discoursed a while they fell into harsh termes thoning [*sic*] and dareing on another to do what they could ; soe haueing vsed many short termes they departed.

- 31 The 31th daye being Sundaye I and the rest of my fellowes was fayne to fast all the daye from any maner of meat or drink, for the Doctor would not allow vs non, and although he was in the same howse wth vs yet our soules fasted from any prayers that he red but what we red amoungst our selves.

SEPTEMBER 1628

- I The 1th of September I and two more of my fellowes went to the English howse, wher Mr. Burt made a feast for two of the Duke of Siras¹ his cheifest followers, the on being Shacolobege [Shaikh 'Alī Beg], and Polotbege [Pūlād Beg] ; and ther was in the companie likewise the Kinges favoret here at Spahone, by name Mohaimbege [Mulā'im Beg],² on that doth much loue the English, and here was the Kinges great favoret brother, and the Dutch Agent Senior Viznet,³ and two Dutchmen more wth sertayne Armeniance. The maner of ther feasting is thuse : ther chamber is open of the on side, held vp wth wooden pillers, being a pretie longe roome, haueing a tanck by the open side of the roome all beset wth green herbes and botles of wyne all round about the tancke.

¹ Imām Qulī Khān.
² Mulā'im Beg was 'Abbās's treasurer.
³ Hubert Visnich had arrived in Persia in 1623 on a mission to open up Dutch trade with Persia.

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The roome according to the maner of the cuntrey is spred wth carpetes whervpon the people sitt, for they alwayes sit vpon the ground onlie those carpetes vnder them, and here they haue a table cloth spread round about the room, where vpon is layed all maner of fruit that the place yeeldes as thick as this cloth can hould, wth botles of wyne and siluer potes for to spit in or to put ther crumes or payeringes in. Thuse the gestes sites from morning till night, drincking wyne and eateing fruite; it maye be they will haue ether rosted chickenes or other rosted meate for to staye ther stomakes vntill night; then assoon as candles be lighted then comes in pollow¹ in great dishes euery dish as much as a man can carry, this being dressed in sundrie collours. Thuse is ther manner of feasting, but I forgot to speak of ther dauncing wenches and musik and after supper ther fireworkes, and alsoe this tanck is sett wth smal lightes al round about it.

18 The 18th daye being Fridaye Doctor Goche, my self and some more of my fellowes ridd to see the Armenian Patriarke² w^{ch} liues in Joulpha [Julfā]³ wthin the subvrbes of the citie of Spahone; where when we came were curteously entertayned according to the maner of the cuntrey. Soe as we were in discourse I espied a writeing vpon the wale, being demaunded of him what it was he

¹ *Palāv* (Persian), meat or fowl boiled with rice and spices.

² This is possibly the Vardapet Kachadur mentioned by Père Pacifique de Provins, writing in 1631.

³ The Armenians of the town of Julfā on the north-western frontier of Persia were removed by 'Abbās to Ispahān in 1605, where he built for them the city of New Julfā on the opposite bank of the river.

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made answer it was the Ten Commaundementes ; we intreated of him that he would repeat them vnto vs, soe he did verbatim as ours be. Moreover we tould him how the Romish church differs from ovs and in what maner, and alsoe he tould vs, being demaunded what he thought of the Pope of Roome [Rome], that he was a great bushope and that he loued him because he professed the name of Christe, and noe otherwise did he beleef him to be then another religious man. In this time he caused the chappel doore for to be opened, wher we saw standing vpon the alter the picture of Criste vpon the Crosse in gould, much after the maner of the Papistes, wth diuers other pictures round about the chappel, as the picture of the Virgine Maries and others. Thus hauing taken a vew of al Mr. Doctor Goche asked of him what cuntreyman he was and of what Order he was, he made answer that he was a Capadocian [*sic*] and that he was of the Order of St. Gorge [*sic*], who was of the same cuntrey. Soe taking our leaues of him Doctor Goche presented him wth a Greek Testament wth siluer claspes haueing a poesie ingraven vpon them, *let him that is worthie open it*, or to that effect. This wth a payer of spectecles and a pretie table book he gaue him, w^{ch} he tooke kindlie ; moreouer the Doctor invited him to com to dinner the next daye.

19th The 19th daye the Armenian Bushop cam to our howse according to the invitation, where he was feasted. Here was noe flesh dressed, only fish, rise, egges and milk and certayne herbes, for the

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Great Patriarke eates flesh but fiue dayes in the yeare. In this time Doctor Goche had a great discourse wth him conserning religion, in w^{ch} they did not varry. This man spoke few Latyne wordes, soe that when dinner was ended together wth ther discourse the Patriarck took his leaue; and as he went he saw a mapp of the world that the Doctor had, vnto w^{ch} he had a great mind, but by chaunce I had a litle map, w^{ch} the Doctor begged and presented the Bushop wth it, w^{ch} he took kindli.

20 The 20th daye being Sundaye I and two of my fellowes went to Joulpha for to see ther seremonies: when I cam to the church I obserued that they did not much differ from the Papistes in ther actions and garmentes; moreover I obserued that when the Bushope red sertayne prayers ther stood two young men on of eage side of him wth a staff in eage of ther handes wth sertayne bels at the end of them, w^{ch}, as I was tould, was the resemblance of the harmonie w^{ch} the angels hath in Heven according to the Revelation. In this time ther was a child for to be crised, w^{ch} was the Armenian Prince¹ his sone, and then the Bushope sent a man vnto vs w^{ch} could speake a litle Portuges² [Portuguese] for to intreat vs a litle to forebeare and sit wthout the church while

¹ Stodart calls the prince Sarphars Beg (see below, p. 72). He is probably that Khwāja Sarfarāz who is referred to in *Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1640-3, as the chief of the Armenians in Persia. On the other hand Herbert's Kwāja Nazar would seem to refer to the same man.

² At this time the Portuguese friars had two houses in Ispahān; two Orders were represented, the Carmelites and the Augustinians.

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the crissening was solemnised, therefore the manner of ther crissening I am not able to reporte. But when servise was ended the childe was carried vpon the armes of a young youth haueing in each arme a white wax candle burning all the waye from the church home, his bodie being warpt [wrapped] in rich cloth of gould and other rich stuffes. Ther went on of the ministers before him in a roabe of cloth of siluer wth the crusifex on his back, and another in a white veste wth the crusifex vpon his back and vpon his brest, carrying a rich crusifex of gould vpon the end of a pole or a bigg staffe in his hand, wth diuers other patries [padres] singing all the waye before the child vntill his fatheres house. Ther when we came ther was a dinner provided, being curteously enter-tayned and bidden for to sit downe, and thuse seated: the Great Patriark wth the fatheres of the on side, and of the other side sat the Armenian Prince, my self next to him and being made much of, drinking on to another, moreouer he did cut my meat wth his owne handes. Thuse haueing drunck plentie of wine and well fested our selves we took leaue and came home.

27 The 27th daye Sarphars bege [Sarfarāz Beg] and the Armenian Patriarck and the English Agent were feasted by Doctor Goche in our howse. This night Sarphars bege when he took leaue of the Doctor he invited him, my self and the rest of my fellowes for to come to him the morning following.

28 The 28th daye being Sundaye being sent for by

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a cople of the watch in the morn: very rare, we went to Joulpha to Sephras bege, wher we found him and al his companie and all ther horses at his gate. Ther we were curteously entertayened, and after he had sent for a bottle of arrack and we drunk sufficient of it he desired vs for to take horse. Soe he and all the companie tooke horse and then ridd from his howse a matter of 3 lges. all along the riuer side that waters the citie of Hispahone, w^{ch} they call Zardarow [Zinda-rūd]. Soe after we ridd the foresayde 3 lges. we cam wher the Armenian Prince his tentes were picht, wher ther was plentie of wyne and good chere provided for our entertaynement. Ther we spent al this daye in drincking and feasting, and looking vpon his fishermen caching fishes in ther netes, for as fast as they were caught his cookes drest them and we eate them. Here about the middle of the daye Mr. Burt the English Agent and Mr. Gibsone,¹ another Englishe marchant, cam vnto vs; soe here spent the whole daye in great mirth. The night drew on, the tentes being puld downe we took horse, and on our waye home we made many merry stopes.

[OCTOBER 1628]

12th October the 12th, 1628. The 12th daye being Sundaye about 6 of the clock in the afternoon we left Hispahone (being the famousest citie of all

¹ William Gibson, the Company's factor, and later chief agent in Persia, arrived at Gombroon from Surat at the beginning of 1627, and served in Persia till his death on May 24th, 1637.

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Parthia), and came to Moyore [Mehiār], a poore litle towne, haueing traveled 7 lges.

13 The 13th daye we came to Comushow [Qumishah], a fine plesant towne lying on a playne environed wth rockes. Here is good store of water. This towne is the last towne of the Kinges. Here we picht, hauing traveled 6 lges. of a very good waye.

14 The 14th daye at night we rested in a cara : and the 15 daye we came to Yeassechoze [Yazd-i-Khāst], a poore litle towne standing vpon the side of a valley, being built like a castle. The litle valley yealdeth two cropes of corne a yeare. Here we picht in a caravansero, haueing traveled 11 lges. of fayre waye.

16 Here we stayde the 16th daye.

17 The 17th daye we came to Dehegerdow [Dih-i-girdū], a litl towne in a veri barren place, but good water. Here we picht in the Duckes¹ howse, hauing traveled 8 lges. fayre waye but manye turninges. Here the Doctor and his men went out of the waye, and a gentle man, on Mr. Hedges by nam, and my self hitt vpon the waye ; haueing left the Doctor and his crew vpon the wide continent we ventered our owne adventures and at length found a roade waye ; thuse haueing concluded to take that waye took vpon vs the pilgremage, as the two blake knightes did, thus in our meriment and resolucion we did make choyse of new conseted names, my self I cald Jucundus and my brother Robert Hedges Dol-

¹ i.e., Imām Qulī Khān, Duke of Shīrāz.

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fonsus. Soe haueing traveled al daye, in the evening we came to our manzeele, wher we found our caravane and the rest of our crew.

- 18 The 18th daye we came to Cuskezar [Khūshk-i-Zard], a poor litle towne lying on a very large playne but very barren. In the on end of this towne vpon a litl hillok ther is a castle, w^{ch} maye be seene 5 lges. off. Here we picht, hauing traveled 7 lges. of very fayre waye, and lodged in a muskeet [mosque], w^{ch} we call a church.
- 19 The 19th daye being Sundaye wee came to Assepose [Āsupās], a fine litle towne at the bottom of a high hill. Here we picht, haueing traveled 5 lges. of very fayr waye. Here is good store of good water, and som good wyne sould by captiue Georgian Cristians.
- 20 The 20th daye we came to Yeioone [Ujān], a litle towne wher the Kinges Vncl¹ is intoomed, wher we picht and bayeted boath o^r selfes and o^r horses, hauing traveled 4 lges. of playne sandi waye. Here is good water. This night we came to Moyeeme [Māin], being 6 lges. of stonie and craggi waye, hauing a great hill for to passe over between Yeioone and Imomismoile² [Imāmzāda Isma'īl]. Here we picht in the Calantars howse, haueing this daye traveled 10 lges. Here is good water.
- 21 The 21th daye we cam to Mardasz [Marvdasht],

¹ Probably Shāh Isma'īl II.

² Sir William Foster gives the Imāmzāda Isma'īl as being 11½ miles north of Māin. The tomb is said to be that of a son of the Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim.

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wthin half a league of Chelmenar¹ [Chihil manār]. Here we picht in the Calantars howse, hauing traveled 8 lges. of fayre waye, but somthing difficult by reson of many crosse wayes that lyeth on this playne w^{ch} goeth to severall villages that is on the large playn of Chelmenar. Here is good water great store.

22 The 22th daye I rested at Mardashe.

23 The 23th daye I went to Chelmenar, that famous place of ancient memori, wher those heroicke princes of the eastern part of the world liued, as Cirus [Cyrus], Cambices [Cambyses], who was the founder of this famous building [and] diuers others, this Cambises, whom as the Percians do name him James Sheate [Jamshīd].

This 23th daye after I tooke vew of Chelmenar and Rustams tomb², w^{ch} lyeth a leauge from the foresayd Chelmenar, and had taken vew of the curious pictures that are for to be seen ther, I took horse and cam this night to Zargoone [Zarghūn], a poor towne vpon the side of a hill wthin an English mile to Rustames howse, w^{ch} is now turned to be a muskeet, w^{ch} we call a church, and is kept in repayration. Here we picht in the Rices³ howse, w^{ch} is the cheifest man of the towne, hauing traveled 5 lges. of fayre waye crossing the playne of Chelmenar. Here is good water.

24 The 24th daye very late we cam to Siras [Shīrāz], that famousest citie that now is of Percia. Here

¹ Local name for the ruins of Persepolis.

² Naksh-i-Rustam, actually the tomb of Darius I.

³ Ra'īs (Arabic), head man.

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we picht in the howse wher my lord Sherley was lodged as we went vp to Spahone, haueing traveled 5 lges. of stonie and vneven waye. This towne doth abound much in vines, w^{ch} yeeldeth abundance of grapes, mellons, pomgarnetes, oranges, lemons and quinces, peaches, wth diuers other fruites. Here is the best wyne of all Percia, and good water. Here be abundance of sweet and pleasant gardens wherin is growing great store of sipresse trees, that doth much beautifie the citie.

Now the Duk¹ wth all his armie is att the wars of Arzerum [Erzerum], so that this citie is left very thin of people, only the Sultan² wth two or thre more to wayte vpon him yt be men of anny account.

NOVEMBER 1628

I This daye I saw a man staked, and, as I hard, ther was this daye 6 or 7 more staked and on pricked wth knifes to death for stealeing. I noted that the cuntrey people did noe more regard to see that terribl manner of death then to see a dog hang; the[y] made but a tomashow, w^{ch} in our langwache is termed sport, and the executioner after yt he had executed his work gathered money from the people that cam to see the tomashow, and prest vpon them for money.

2 The second daye being Sundaye the English

¹ i.e., The Duke of Shīrāz.

² i.e., The son of the Duke of Shīrāz, the "Sultan or Beglerbeg" referred to below (p. 78); according to Herbert he was at this time eighteen years of age.

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Agent cam into ye citie, and wheras I and two more of my fellowes went out a horsback to meet him he took it very kindly. This evening we went for to see Senior Jhon, wher we were curtiously entertayned, he being lodged in the Kinges garden, wher we should have been lodged but we made choise of another howse.

10 The 10th daye I went to vissit the English Agent. He being invited to a feast to Barroon beges howse, on of the Dukes chefest favorettes, intreted me to goe along wth him; so wth a complement I promised to wayte vpon him, and when I cam I was curteously entertayned and brauely feasted after the maner of the cuntrey, wth wyne and women and bugring boyes for to davnce before vs beside divers other lacivious sportes.

11 The 11th daye the Dukes sonn, w^{ch} is called Sultan or Beglerbege,¹ w^{ch} title in English is lord of lordes, and three more ridd thorow the citie wth vestes w^{ch} the King sent them, wth a matter of 3 or 4 hundred horse in companie.

24 The 24th daye about 12 a klok att night we did sett out of the citie of Siras, comonly called by the inhabitans Shiras, and traveling over the playne, being clammie and slipperie by reson of the rayne that we had for three or foure dayes together, that our cammells were werie and not able for to travell, but ther we were forst for to lett our camels lye wth ther loades on vntill morning, being a f[r]orsti night and we miserable could. And

¹ A Turkish title applied to the governor of a province.

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- 25 when the daye apeered we sett forward and came to Bobohogi [Bābā Hajji], a poor caravansero w^{ch} standes att the end of the playne of Siras, w^{ch} is about 12 lges. in lengthe and in som places 2 lges. in bredth. Here we picht, haueing traveled 6 lges. Here the water is not good.
- 26 The 26th we sett forward over a litl hill, and afterwardes came to a plain more plesant in sight and for to travell but not soe well waterd as the playne of Siras, yet ther is a tanck at the on end w^{ch} hath admirable god water; this playne in length is 6 lges. and in bredth 3 lges. Here we picht in a caravansero named Moozaferie [Muzaf-farīya], haueing traveled 6 lges. of very fayre waye. Here the water is not good.
- 27 The 27th daye we traveled 7 lges. of very craggi and vneven waye. We picht in a caravanserow wthin a furlong of a litle towne called Chaffer [Kafr]. This towne standeth between two hilles w^{ch} lyeth on from the other a leauge or ther-aboutes. Here is good water and store of date trees.
- 28 The 28 daye we traveled along a valley w^{ch} is fruitful and plesant; it aboundes in corne and date trees. Here as we traveled, haueing out gon our caphelow,¹ we mett a sheparde w^{ch} played on his pipe; here we rested an howre or two wth this shepard vntil our caravane overtooke vs; then we tooke our leaues from the shepard and rewarded him for his paynes. This night we came [to] Mochak [Mukhak], a caravanserow lyinge in a

¹ *Kāfila* (Arabic), caravan.



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very craggi place. This daye we came 6 lges. of resonable waye. Here is good water.

29 The 29 daye we came to Charmoot [?],¹ a towne lying on the side of a hill. This towne doth abound in dates. Here we picht in a howse that we found in the towne of our selves, for the Rice of the towne was not to be found, yet at lenght we had what our comission did allow vs. Here we picht, haueing traveled 6 lges. This waye is resonable fayre and here the water is good.

30 The 30th daye being Sundaye and St. Andrewes dide we set forward, and came by a towne named Dehuion [Dehniān], a litle towne vpon the top of a hill. Here we broke our fast wth dates and clarified butter and chese. Here I observed the manner of a buriall, for ther was on of the chefest men of the towne dedd. I observed that ther was his horse ledd before him, and vpon his horse was his carpet, his coate, shaise,² sword, and vpon the neck of the horse was his shale³ and handkicher tied about, and vpon a long staffe ther was caried a peec of silk stuffe whervpon was written the nam of God and of ther profit Allie ['Alī]. This daye we entered into the wildernesse, where we overtook Mr. Loftas and the English cafelow, and a gentleman, on Mr. Harbart [Herbert] by name, on of my fellow travelers. Here we picht wthin a furlong from ther cafelow. Then Mr. Harbart finding his horse w^{ch} the Duke of Siras gaue him ridden by on of Doctor Goches

¹ Not identified.

² *Shāhi* (Persian), turban-sash.

³ *Shāl* (Persian), a cotton stuff, from which our word *shawl* is derived.

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men took it from him; this fellow presently began to quarrel and thretned vs that he would take the comission and teare it before our faces; this being giuen to the ambassadors servantes, this fellow not being a servant to my lord, thervpon I towld him that I would ripp the hart of him if he would doe it, for I tould him that it was as much as to take my life from me because I was not able to travell wthout it, wth diuers other passages that I shall cale to mind when occation serues. This daye we traveled 7 or 8 leaug. of craggie waye full of hills and bushes. Here in diuers places be good water.

DECEMBER 1628

- 1 The 1 daye being Mundaye lying in the wilderness we sett forward over a resonable fayre waye, comeing over into a playne wher we were ouertaken wth a shoure of rayne. Then being fearefull that we should haue beene forst for to picht in the playne, w^{ch} would haue been as much as the life of some of my compani by reson of the couldnesse and ronesse [rawness] of the night, haueing traveled all night, the next morning
- 2 being the 2 daye we cam to Goyreeome [Jūwūn], where we were curteously entertayned by the callentar here, haueing traveled 8 lges. or therabouts this night. We traveled 8 or 9 lges. this night. I further traveled 4 lges. and came over a playne to a towne called Carerow.¹ Being

¹ This word is crossed out in the MS. The town is obviously Binārū.

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veri late in the night we were forst for to pich in a poore caravansero, and slept in a roome w^{ch} was full of assinegoss.¹

3 The 3 daye we rested ourselufes in this towne, and this night we had the Darago of the towne for to supp wth vs together wth half a dosen of his townesmen, w^{ch} were soundly foxt before they parted.

4 The 4th daye we passed over a playne, wher ther was great many plowmen a sowing of barly. Here I took the plow to tri what I could doe. Hauing done, we sett forward, and came over a very craggi waye and hilly, hauing divers turninges. Here we picht in a prophets lodge lying by the waye side, whose name is Shohzoda [Shāhzāda], the townes nam is Berrie [Birīz], haueing traveled 5 or 6 lges. Here the water is good.

5 The 5th daye we traveled a very craggie and mountainous waye and full of turninges. This daye we cam [to] Dehcohibibia [Dihkūh], a litle poore towne lying vpon a craggi and poore playne. Here we picht, haueing traveled 2 lges. Here likewise the water is good, but tanck water as moste of these partes be, w^{ch} the cuntrey peple call obe choodohe², w^{ch} by interpretation is as much to saye Godes water (as though ther were som water y^t is not Godes water).

6 The 6th daye being Saturdaye we sett forward and came to the citie of Larr [Lār], where we were curteously entertayned by the darago, and a

¹ obs. Asinego (Sp. *asnico*, dim. of *asno*), an ass.

² *Ab-i-Khudā* (Persian), water of God.

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howse apoynted for vs to ly in, wth our provisions according to the quantitie of the formaund sent in for three dayes together. Here we picht, hauing traveled 5 lges. of a resonable waye but somthing stonie. Here likewise is plentie of good tanck water.

12 The 12th daye being Fridaye we set forward on our journey, haueing rested in this citie of Larr 7 dayes, and came to Cherchoke [?],¹ a litle poore towne, haueing traveled 2 lges. of fayer waye. Here is good tanck water.

13 The 13th daye we came [to] Dascherd [?],² another litle towne lying a lge. out of the waye, wher we were refresht, and at night we had a guide and came to a caravansero w^{ch} is calld Bohodonie [Badini]. Here we picht, haueing traveled 5 lges. of stonie waye. Here is tanck water but full of wormes as moste tankes be.

14 The 14th daye being Sundaye we came to Churmoot [Hormuz],³ a litl fine towne lying in a groue of date trees. Here we picht in a caravan- sero lying wthin a bowshott from the towne, haueing traveled 6 lges. of stonie waye. This daye we came over a high craggi hill. Here is good tanck water. Here I observd that ther was a buriall when I past this waye and now att my coming back ther was another: the manner of ther graue, they digg ther graues north and

¹ Tavernier gives Tscherkah. This is possibly to be identified with the Birāk given in St. John's map (1876), distant c. four miles from Lār.

² This must be the Duzgun of Herbert; possibly the Dasgar of St. John's map.

³ Hormuz the town, not the island of the same name. Herbert calls it Whormoot and confuses the word with *khurma*, signifying dates.

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south, first they digg them as we doe, afterwards they vndermine of the on side of the graue, wher they laye the bodie vpon his right side wth his face towardes the south, then they build that hollow place wth bricke and cley that the earth cannot come to the bodie; soe that being don they throw the earth vpon him.

15 The 15th daye we came to Tanggetelon [Tang-i-Dālān], a caravansero lying in a wilderness. Here we picht, haueing traveled 5 long lges. of veri stonie waye, w^{ch} seemed to me as though it were som times overflowne wth water. Here is good store of water but nocht els for man or horse, but ther is a litle towne beioynd a hill lying by this ca: a matter of a leauge off, w^{ch} is waterd wth the same water as comes from this caravan: waye, being vndermind thorow the mountayne for the water to runn, wher passengers are refreshed, and to this towne I was forst for to goe, but never went the like in my life soe steep and dangerous.

16 The 16th daye we came to Goorebazargoone [Gūr-i-Bāzārgān], another caravansero in the wilderness, wher ther is nought to be had saue water which is in tanck. Here we picht, haueing traveled 5 lges. of very stonie waye.

17 The 17th daye we came to Cauriston [Kūristān], a litle towne lying vpon a playne. Here is good refreshing both for man and horse. Here we picht in a caravan: haueing traveled 4 lges. of a resonable waye. Here is likewise tanck water.

18 The 18th daye we came to Gochine [Gachīn], a

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caravansero in a wilderness, wher we found, contrarie to our expectation, refreshing both for man and horse, as egges, milke, dates and moss such as that poore place yeeldes, and haye for horses. Here we picht by a tanck a litle from the howse, haueing traveled 6 lges. of very fayer waye and plesant by reson of the green bushes w^{ch} growes all this waye, and in some places groues of date trees.

19 The 19th daye being Fridaye we came to Bander goomroone [Gombroon], being the port, w^{ch} place we did long to see; and att lengtht the almighti God out of His bountiful mercie hath brought vs safe, haueing past thorow great many misseries and troubles. This night Mr. Robert Hedges, a gentⁿ and being a spetiall freind of mine, agreed wth my self for to ride thorow to the towne being 7 lges., and lighted att the English howse, wher we were courteously enter-tayned. Here we took our lodging this night.

20 The 20th daye being Saturdaye Mr. Burt sent to the Sultan for to intreat him for to giue vs a howse, and presentli he sent a man for to shew vs a howse, wher we were but resonably lodged; and becaus our formanne did not mention of any provission for vs vntill the ships came the Agent invited vs courteously for to eate att his table every meale vntil the ships be come.

21 The 21th daye being Sundaye Doctor Goche came to the towne, and was lodged in the English howse.

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JANUARIE [1629]

19 This daye being Munday the Shamsho, the Percian ambassador for India¹ cam downe to the port Bandar wth som 30 followers.

26 This daye in the evening very late came to an ancker before Bandar Goomroon 6 English ships and 6 Fleminges.²

The names of the English ships³: the *Jonas*, admirall, Captayne Swanley [Richard Swanley] commaun:, the *Harte* [Hart], vizeadmirall, Captayne Evanes [Andrew Evans] commaun:, the *Cristopher* rearadmi:, Mr. Alexander Boall [Ball] comaunder, the *Egle* [Eagle] Mr. Peter Cowland comm:, the *Hopewel* [Hopewell] Mr. Minns [William Minors] comm: and the *Expedition*.

The Dutch admiralles name is Vandar Brookes.⁴

30 The 30th daye the Dutch ambassador cam ashore, the ships haveing saluted, the admirall wth 5 peeces of ornans [ordnance], the vizadmirall wth 3, and the rest wth on a peece, and in the boate ther came along wth him som dosom smal shott w^{ch} when he landed shott; ther was to

¹ Khayrat Khān, Lord Admiral of Persia, was sent as ambassador to the Great Mogul in March, 1627, and returned to Persia with Swanley's fleet at the end of 1628. "Shamsho" is written "Shamshaw" in the jottings (see p. 112). The ambassador here mentioned may possibly have been Muhammad 'Alī Beg (see *English Factories in India 1630-33*, p. 197 n.).

² At this period the Company's fleets were often wont to co-operate with those of the Dutch.

³ See list of fleets, p. 119.

⁴ Pieter Van Den Broeck had been President of the Dutch settlement at Surat until November 22nd, 1628; shortly after this date he sailed to Persia in command of the Dutch fleet, arriving at Gombroon on January 26th, 1629.

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meet him the Sultan accompanied wth the chei[f]est of the towne, wth a volley of Percian smale shott and 5 gvynes from the castell.

Since I came to the port I heard that Shaw Abbas King of Percia died¹ being of yeares som 3 score and 4 yeares ould, and that Shaw Saphi [Safī], his gravndchild by his ealdest sonn, was proclaymed king in the citie of Hispahone, being of yeares som 18 or 20 year ould; and moreov^r y^t Balzera [Basra] is take[n] by the Duck of Siras.²

Now haueing left the werisom travells of Percia, wherin God of His mercie hath wonderfully protected me and helped me in al my troubles and misseries, now God w^{ch} hath numbred the hayers of our heades hath numbred our yeares alsoe w^{ch} we cannot passe, whither in middl age or in ould age, when, wher or how we know not, for the issue of death is in the handes of God: soe haueing comitted my self to the powerfull Jehova, and being shipt in the ship *Egle*, wher Mr. Peter Cowaland commaunder gave me curteous entertaynement wth the rest of the cheife of the ship, as purser and masters mates.

FEBRUARY [1629]

10 The 10th daye Tuesdaye I cam aboard the *Egl*, wher I was entertayned by the master into his mess and had my caban fitted in the cuddie.³

¹ See above, p. 22, n. 3.

² Imām Qulī Khān.

³ Cuddy, a cabin in a large ship, abaft and under the round house, in which officers take meals.

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- [2]1th This daye we sett sayel from Bandar roade, and haveing sayeled 2 lges. we cam to an ancker to staye for the Dutch.
- 22th The 22th daye bein Sundaye we sett forward, and sayleing together in number 12 ships and on junck and 5 or 6 smale frigates that be bound for India.
- 23 This daye we lost sight of Bandar and this night of Ormus¹ [Hormuz], that ancient monnument of the Portugals [Portuguese], now ruinated and inhabited by the Percians and a place invincible.
- 24 This daye about 6 of the clock in the evening we were over agaynst Cape Jascus [Jāsk], w^{ch} lyeth in the mouth of the Percian Golph.
The 25, 26 and 27 fowle wether.

MARCH 1628 [i.e. 1629]

- 1 This daye the 1 of March being Sundaye we had very fowle wether, that we were forst to braile vp all our sayles and laye att hull; it raynde and blew soe hard that our men was not able to stand vpon the deckes; soe it continued and the sea swelling al this night.
- [2] This daye the wether a litle easier, but the wind very stright [*sic*] vpon vs.
- 3 This daye calme, and soe continued all night soe that we made noe waye.
- 4 The 4, 5, 6 dayes fayre wether sayleing afore the

¹ The fort was completed by Albuquerque in 1514.

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winde. The 7 daye at 12 aclock we had grovnd at 53 fathom.

8 This daye we cast the lead and had grovnd at 28 fathom being about 8 aclock in the morning. About 6 in the evening we were over agaynst a fort of the Portvgall w^{ch} seemed to be a new fort, beareing from vs E.N.E. being som 4 or 5 lges. of ; and here likewise we found 18 fathom.

9 This daye about 2 of the clock in the afternoone we were right over agaynst Dewhead [Diu] being between 3 and 4 lges. from vs beareing N.N.E. The building seemd to be after our Cristian building, liekwise the castel seemed vnto vs to be a large and famouse thing standing at the east end of the towne. This daye likewise we spied som 16 or 17 sayle of frigates, w^{ch} we dowpted to be the enemies ; our admiral haueing shot 2 warning peeces we presently cleered our ship and made ready our ornaunce, but wthin a while after they proued all to be fisher men.

12 The 12th daye being Thursdaye we c[ame] to an ancker in Swalley Rode¹ about 3 of the clock in the afternoone. Here we ridd in 7 fathom water.

14 The 14th daye I went ashore together wth the purser of the shipp Mr. Wamesiley,² who was my very good freind, and then we hired a cople of coches, each coch drawne wth two oxen, and a cople of punes³ [peons] or boyes to waytte vpon vs ; then hauing fitted our selves we sett forward

¹ Swally Road [Suwālī], the port for Surat.

² Peter Wamsly, purser of the *Eagle*.

³ *Peao* (Portuguese), a foot-messenger.

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towardes Surrat [Surat], and hauing past by divers smale villages, at our coming to Batti [Batha] we overtook Mr. Tho: Colly pursers mate of the *Jonas*; w^{ch} after we drunck a pott of toddi w^{ch} contayned 4 or 5 gallons, w^{ch} is bought for a mamoody¹ or an English shilling, we went forward to the citie, and coming to the riuier side, for the riuier runes by the citi, we discharged our coches for a mamoody a peece, and took boat, we and our punes, and went over and landed at the custom howse, wher we were serched whither we had anny store. . .

[*The end of a gathering of leaves of the MS.; some omission or misplacement of binding here.*]

[JUNE 1629]

²Here alsoe about this island be fishes in aboundance, som that nature hath formed after a strange maner and of strange coloures, in forme resembling the beastes of the land, as some much like a hogg, som other much like bullockes, w^{ch} the Portugales call mannatees³ as the English calles them cowfish, w^{ch} fish at high water comes vpon the shore for to feed on grasse. Of this kinde of fish Captayne Evanes caught on and parted it between our three ships, w^{ch} fish being boath boild and rosted did eate very plesant and like fresh beefe. There is another kinde of

¹ *Mahmūdī* (Persian), equivalent to an English shilling of the period.

² This is a description of Mauritius, where the ships stayed from June 13th till July 25th.

³ i.e., the Halicore Dugong, or Sea-Cow.

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fish of colour red and much about the maner of a pickefish [pike], w^{ch} our men called poysson fish, of w^{ch} som of our men did eate, and fell misserable sick after it that they were redie to fall mad; they complayned of a payne over all ther bodyes, but especially about ther ewerine, for they could not make water of a long time vntil such time as our surgoon ministred fissick vnto them that it broke out on ther bodies, and som had ther sicknes broken out on ther great toes.

Here is likewise on this island great many turtules of hugh bignes, some of these turtules hath his shell in length som 3 yardes, in bredth $1\frac{1}{2}$ yard[s]; this beast is very harty as all the beast of the iland be. I saw on of these turtules cut open wth an axe, and all his intrayles taken out hart and all saue his four quarters, for ther is noe flesh vpon him but what is on his four quarteres, and soe went vpon his 4 leges as listy [lusty] and as stroung to my sight as he would when his body was whole, and soe would continue aliue for an incredible time. Ther be some hogges vpon this island that hath noe eares, only nature hath placed a peec of skinn to grow wher the eare should haue been.

JULY 1629

25 This daye being Saturdaye we sett sayle from the Maurushes [Mauritius], lying in the height of 20 degrees latitude or therabouts.

26 This Sundaye calme.

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- 27 This daye in the morning calme, but towardes the evening we had a fresh gale.
- 28 This daye in the morn : we saw the Mascarinas¹ [Réunion], an island lying distant from the Marushes som 30 leauges ; this island beares the name of the Portugal comaunder that found it, his name Anthoni Mas: . This island is very high land but full of woode, and lieth distant from the Mauricshes som 30 or 40 lges. and likewise it is thought to be as large an iland as the Mau: . This daye Captaine Evanes sent cattell ashore for increasing, vide, 4 goates, 4 kiddes, 4 hogges and a ram goat ; and because it was late in the evening the squif could not staye to discover the island, nether would our commaunder com to an anker for feare of loosing the opportuniti of a fayer gale w^{ch} then we had.

AUGUST 1629

- 2 This daye being Sunday we were wthin 20 lges. of the island St. Laurence [Madagascar].
- 16 This daye (being Sundaye) we had a very high graue sea wth a stiffe gale very narrow vpon vs.
- 18 This daye calme.
- 19 This daye calme.
- 20 This daye a fayre gale and the wynd favorable.
- 21 This daye in the morning ariseth a grea[t] storme, the wynde agaynst vs, haveing our shett

¹ The Mascarenas, a group of islands including Mauritius, Réunion, and Rodriguez, took their name from the Portuguese commander Garcia Mascarenhas, who discovered in 1505 the island now known as Réunion, then called Bourbon or Mascarenhas.

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[sheet] close hald trying wth our mayne course ; soe did our amrall, but our vizeamral being a Flemish bottom she laye a hull only her misson [mizzen] set to make her keep to the winde, haueing all the rest of her yardes lored closse to the deck. This night about 10 of the clock wee had a violent and a fearefull sea that brok over our ship fore and aft ; it was so violent that it brak a beame on our larbord side w^{ch} they call the ruff [roof] tree, and tooke awaye half our grateing from the mayne mast to the forecastle, and broke our sayle on our starbord side, likewise it broke the bulckhead between the wast [waist] and the cookroom, alsoe it staved a great chest that laye on the quarter deck, being of an inch thick boord, and it took awaye a great part of our shipes head. This night we lost our vizamrall, the storme continuing ferefull, haueing many violent seas comming over vs from stem to starn, soe that no part of the ship was fre. Soe giuing our selves to prayer and committing our selves to the powerfull God, w^{ch} is as well the God of the sea as of the land, to protect and keepe vs from perishing, to the on God be glory, amen.

22 This daye the storme somthing easier ; in the morning we sawe our amrall on our wether quarter as farr as we could see, and at noon we set our fore course and tack about and stered towardes him, and about 4 in the afternoon we had sight of our vizamrall, soe that 7 aclock we were sayling all 3 together, hauing a stife gale and it very narrow vpon vs.

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- 23 This daye being Sundaye and the wether fayre our master caused the squife to be hoyessted out, and he together wth Mr. Pewsey his chefe mate went aboard the amrall, and at his returne he tould vs that they aboard the amrall were forst to bayle the water from the lower orlop¹ and pump all the time that the foresayd storme continued, soe likewise our vizeamrall receaued tenn seas on after the other, soe that ther men were continual at pump, and we pumpt but every two glasses, w^{ch} is on howre, soe by that it seemes that our shipp made the fayrer wether of it. (Note: that as neer as the commaunders could gesse that the greatest sea that did vs moste hurt was much about 12 of the clock att night, w^{ch} sea the other two shipes hapned to haue much about the same howre, as neere as the[y] could gesse or iudge of the time.)

Note.

- 24 This daye the wynde fayre att No: E: . Haue, God be praysed, a presant gale sayling right affore the wind. This morning our carpenters mate by chaunce spied our bowsprit, w^{ch} was ferefully crack in two plases; came and tould the master, who gaue order presently to set all other worke aside, and that all handes should help the fishing of it, w^{ch} was by 4 of the clock in the afternoon executed and donn.
- 27 This daye being Thursdaye about eight of the clock at night we had a great storme; it lightned, thundred and raynd, soe that the most part of the night was very darck and vncomfortable, and

¹ The lowest deck of a vessel which has three or more decks.

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this night we receaved two seas fore and afte, but God be prayed it did noe great hurt. The storme continues. This night we lost our vizamral, the *Expedicion*.

28 This daye the seas being very outragious and high this morn : about 8 of the clock we receaved two feareful seas on in the lap of the other, w^{ch} tore the larboord side of our ship moste misserable and did beat our men from on side of the ship to the other, hauing narrowly escaped from going by the boord, and wth a great seele [*sic*] of the ship at that time we were fereful of the shipes over setting or foundring wth the weight of that sea w^{ch} then was vpon the ship, but boath pumpes went as fast they could and otheres cleering the scuppers al men busie in voyding out the water as fast al the men of the ship could for ther lives, soe towards the evening it pleased God to laye the storme a litle easier.

29 This daye about on of the clock in the morn : a fayre gale of winde.

30 This daye in the morn: we saw a hummock of land beareing from vs N.W. by N., distance by gesse 14 lges., being the mayne land of Ethyopia or that pt. of the world called Affryca, and by observation our Mr. found it to be Cape Degulas [Agulhas]. This night we had a vehement storme and foule wether boath rayne and hayle, soe that we tried al daye and al night wth our mayne course.

31 This daye we were forst by reson of the foule wether to try likewise wth our mayne course, the winde at west right agaynst vs.

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SEPTEMBER 1629

- 1 This daye being Thursdaye we mett wth our amrall w^{ch} we had lost on Sundaye night, now God be praised the storme alayeing and the wind vereing to S.W. southerly.
- 3 The 3 daye we saw the foresayd Cape Degullias, and at 12 of the clock at noon our master found vs to be by his observation to be in latitude 35 de: and 5 minutes, the land being 5 or 6 lges. from vs, and haueing heaved the lead we had ground at 45 fathom, green osse [ooze], currell [coral] and stone, the Cape bereing from vs N.N.W., the land being but of a resonable hight, the land etward lowland. At on of the clock in the afternoon we saw a seale asterne of our ship, w^{ch} is a remarkable sine of our drawing neer towardses the Cape of Good Hope, and likewise we saw great many birdes w^{ch} the Portugal cales mangas velud,¹ or as the English name them velved sleues, w^{ch} birdes we saw, and I much observed them, how they mounted vp to the ayre a great hight and then would pitch themselves down right into the sea vpon ther praye wth a mighti strength and incredible celeritie, w^{ch} seemed strang vnto me. At 5 in the afternoon this daye we heaved the lead and had ground at 60 fathom wather, green oze, distance from the shore by gesse 4 lges.
- 4 This daye a storme and foule wether.
- 5 This daye we saw Cape Falso ahigh bereing

¹ Cormorants, or Sea-mews.

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from vs N.W. by N.; it seemed to be a bluffe hill wth 2 or 3 smale hummockes to the seaward, and on of them being the furthestmost to seaward is of the forme of a sugure loaffe, lying close to it to the westward; the land to the eastward high land, distance from vs 4 lges; At noon we saw the Cape of Good Hope bereing from vs N.W. by N., distance 10 or 12 lges. At foure in the afternoon we had ground at 60 fathom water, the same green oze, distance from the shore 3 lges.

6 This daye at noon Cape Falso bore from vs E. by S. 5 lges. from vs.

7 This daye we came to an anker in Souldania [Soldania] Baye¹ at 4½ fathom water, being our long desired port, about 8 a clock in the morn:, at w^{ch} time Pengwin Iland bore from vs N^o 2^d W., the bluff pointe that we leave on our starbord side as we come fro the S:ward to the baye bore W. 40° N., the top of the high movnt bore . . . , the sugur loafe bore W. 20^d S., the E. end of the Table bore S.½W., the westernmost end of the Table bore S.28^d W., the rivers mouth bore from vs S.42^d W., the watering place S.6^d W.

This daye at 10 of the klok in the morn: our squife went ashore, wherin went our Mr. and our purser and my self wth som smale shott, wher we mett wth great many of the Ethiopian blakes being boath men, women and children, and to write of ther nature and condition I can write noe

¹ i.e., Table Bay, often called Soldania Bay in contemporary accounts. The bay now known as Saldanha Bay, however, lies some distance to the north. See Herbert's *Travels*, note p. 300.

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more then I have at my arrivall heare outward bound.¹

This evening on of the blackes presed me wth 3 egges, w^{ch} I thought to be ether geese eges or passe flem² or som such great bird, and in requital I gaue him a litl hauckes bell that I had about me, w^{ch} he accepted very kindly. This daye at noon we found letteres that the shipp *London*³ lefte, whose commaunder is Captayne Pinn, being bound for the S:ward.

Sept. This daye at noon our master being in companie
10 wth Mr. Pewsey and other of his mates being then in the great cabban was in parley on wth the other who they should send for souldieres ashore to the court of gard; then the master sayd that Master Stodart should goe for on, and further replied and sayd that I did eate and drinck and fared as he did, therefore he sayd that he knew noe resone wherfore I should not work as otheres did, soe that wth a peremptorie resolution he sayd that I should ether be a souldier ashore or heave at the capstane or rummage in the hould; then on of his mates replied that I was a gentleman, at w^{ch} he pisht at his wordes in a derideing and scornfull manner, thuse many other such wordes, etc.

Praysed be God.

14 This daye being Mundaye our vizamrall the *Expedition* ariued safely at Souldania Baye, being

¹ This observation shows that Stodart kept a full diary during his voyage to the East.

² Flamingoes.

³ The ship *London*, commanded by Captain John Pynn, sailed from Tilbury on March 25th, 1629, and arrived at Bantam on October 3rd, 1629.

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onse reckoned for a lost ship, being absent from vs 20 dayes and driuen by the extremitie of wether twice for to beare vp for St. Laurence or som of the ilandes aioyning, and haueing at on time run back 24 lges. and the other time 35 lges., which was a tediousse and a comfortlesse time, then ariueing here in the foresayd Saldania Baye vnto me and the rest of the fleet; every man for the meeting wth his freind, in w^{ch} ship sayled my adopted brother Mr. James Emery, a gentleman whom I derely loued and wished well vnto; and assoon as the ship was wthin sight of vs I went in our squife to meet her, wher I met my foresayd brother in good helth, w^{ch} was a refreshing vnto my spirites w^{ch} had been all the while of his absence very dolefull. Our amrall according to the sea manner saluted her vizam: wth 3 peeces of ornanee, the vizam: returned the like, our captayne of the gard ashore gaue him 3 volleyes of smale shott, and Mr. Wattes¹, commaunder of the *Expedition*, returned him in requital a peece of ornanee, soe likewise our ship *Hopewell*² being reream: gaue him a peece of ornanee, and the vizam: returned thankes wth another peece of ornanee.

16 This daye our letteres being buried about 3 aclock in the afternoon we wayghed ancker and did set sayl, thinking in the nam of God to proceed and to gett out of the baye for it was calme, and

¹ Thomas Watts, formerly mate in the *London*, had been appointed master of the *Expedition* on February 4th, 1628.

² Stodart is now aboard the *Hopewell*. The *Eagle*, on which he sailed from Swally, was one of the three ships bound for Bantam which left the England fleet on May 1st (see p. 120).

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at 5 this afternoon the wind vered to N.N.W. soe that we were forst to ancker.

17 This daye in the morn: we waighed agayne, having a fine gale at southwest, but wthin $\frac{1}{2}$ howre it began to be thick and hazie, soe that our amrall bore into the rode agayne and we anckered in 5 fathom water, at w^{ch} time Pengwin Iland, w^{ch} lyeth in the mouth of the baye, bore from vs N.N.W., and the foresayd bluff point bore N.W.9^d W., the watering place S.2^d W.

18 This daye our master went afishing wth a sayne¹ and otheres of our men went a fowling, and then Mr. Harryes on of our masteres mate shott an antilop and a cople of cunnies [conies] like those of Cunnie Iland,² but not soe big nor soe fatt as them of the iland, w^{ch} was all the refreshing that was had at the time of our abode here, beside a litl fish and water and a few 3 leafed grasse w^{ch} our men gathered for to eate wth oyle and vinegre, w^{ch} was but could refreshing in soe could a time of the yeare as September is at the Cape, for the sunn is as far from them at the Cape in Septe. as it is from vs in March.

19 This daye rayne and fowle wether.

20 This daye being Sundaye the skye begane to be cleere, soe that it proved a fayre daye.

21 This daye in the morning we very timely weyghed ancker and set sayle about 6 a clock in the morning, then our shipp capte N.N.W., the

¹ Seine (Gr. *sagēnē*), a large fishing-net with floats at the top and weights at the bottom for encircling.

² Coney Island, now known as Dassen Island.

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wind at east. At noon the bodie of Penguin Iland bare E.N.E., our course being W. by S., the winde a S.S.W., a freshe gale.

30
Tropick.
Cap.

This daye being Wednesdaye we were at 5 of the cloke in the afternoon vnder the Tropick of Capricorn, w^{ch} is vnder 23 degrees of southern latitude and som odd minutes.

OCTOBER 1629

I This daye being Thursdaye Mr. Laurence Butcher, on of the masteres mates of the ship *Hart*, died about on of the clock in the afternoon and was buried at 5.

7
Helena.

This daye at noon we saw the Iland of St. Helena being distant from vs 10 lges. or therabouts; it boare west $\frac{1}{2}$ So.; our course being du west and the winde at S.E.; it lyeth vnder the latitude of 16 degrees, and distant from the Cape of Good Hope about 600 and 50 lges. This evening we lesned our sayle because we could not get in before the night, soe that all the night we bore a very smale sayle, and being agreed by the commaunders that the smalest shipes should goe before, soe that our vizamrall carried the light, the ship *Hopewell* wherin I was follow[ed] next, and our amrall last.

8 This daye at 6 in the morn: the body of the iland bore southwest, the No:most end W. by No., the So: end bore due So. Ther lyeth a litle iland at the south end about an English mile from the maine iland, w^{ch} bore from vs S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.

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At 10 of the clock sayling fayre by the iland wthing a mile or lesse of the shore, and haveing the lead going and haueing somtimes 25 fathom water, the next 24 and 18, then being right ouer agaynst a high bluff rock w^{ch} bore N.W. due, and still the lead being heaved we had 14 fathom, being over against Chappell Valley, w^{ch} is the 3 valley that we past by, and right over agaynst the 4th valley we dropt an ancker at 12 fathom water, being from the shore about a musket shot, being then noon. Chappell Valley soe called by the English because of a chappel that the Portingales [Portuguese] w^{ch} cam to this iland in a carriack¹ that was soe lekye that they durst not proceed homward but ran her ashore neer to this foresayd valley, wher I saw som of her ruines still continuing, and the foresaide chappell w^{ch} they built wth the ruines of diueres other smale cottages w^{ch} they built. Lemon Valley soe called because of few lemon trees w^{ch} growes ther to the number of 18 or 20 or theraboutes, of w^{ch} lemons I tasted, being now very green and scarce worth the goeing for. At our birth wher we rid Lemon Valey bore from vs S. $\frac{1}{2}$ West, being the 5 valley distante from vs 3 quarteres of a mile..

Chappell Valley bore from vs No:E. distant from vs on mile.

- 9 This daye being Frydaye Captayn Andrew Evanes our commaunder dyed of a consumption, being the sec[ond] commaunder that dyed out of the ship *Hart* in this voyage. He died about 5

¹ Carrack, a galleon.

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of the cloke in the afternoon, w^{ch} I perceaved by the flag and antient¹ w^{ch} hung half mast high.

10 This daye in the morn he was brought in a boat from Lemon Valley to Chappell Valley wth a drum and ancient afore him wth a number of smale shott, wherin he was burie[d] and the English coloures left vpon his grave, and as the bodie was interred the ship wherin he was amrall and commaunder gaue him 13 peeces of ordinance, the vizam: 9 and the rer amrall 7 peeces of ordinance. Thus after the solemnitie according to the manner at sea being ended the commaunders went to consultation for the setling of new officeres, w^{ch} was confirmed in a commission that they had from the Presidend of Sarrat² [Surat], in w^{ch} it was ordered that Mr. Wattes should be comm[r] of the 3 shipes, and Master Minns³ in the vizamral, and Mr. Andrewes⁴ to be master of the *Hopewell*. Now because it was Saturday in the evening they could conveniently remoue.

This Sundaye, [sic].

12 This daye our new master Mr. Andrewes cam aboard, who was welcomed wth 3 peeces of ornanc, then our master being in pocession caused 3 peeces more to be presently primed and fired in requitall, and after few salutationes our ould master Mr.

¹ i.e., Ensign, a flag with distinguishing colours carried by ships.

² Richard Wylde was President at Surat from April 13th, 1628, to April 30th, 1630.

³ William Minors, till this date master of the *Hopewell*, now appointed master of the *Expedition*.

⁴ Peter Andrews, former master of the *Hart*, now appointed master of the *Hopewell*.

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Mynns took leaue of the ship, at w^{ch} time 3 peeces more were fired, and wthin an howre after Mr. Pewsey parted from the ship, who had likewise 3 peeces of ornance for his farewell; soe in like maner the rest of the commaunders of the other shipes were receved into ther shipes, every man according to his degre, soe did they exceed in gunnes.

- 14 This daye about 5 of the cloke in the afternoon we set sayle from St. Helena. This iland aboundeth in hoges and goates w^{ch} the Portingalles put vpon this iland and now they be wonderfull plenti (but tedious to com by) by resone of the stepnesse of the hills; here be likewise plentie of gunnie henes [guinea hens] and pigeons.
- 20 This daye at noon we spied the Asention [Ascencion] Iland on our larboord bow bereing from vs west No:W., distant from vs by gesse som 12 lges. At 6 in the afternoon it bore from vs south west by west, distant about 6 lges. Here is nought to be had.
- 27 This daye we were vnder the equinoctiall wth a fresh gale between 9 and 10 in the morn:; at noon the lat: O: and 7 minutes, the long: west from St. Helena 15:27, the wind at S.E., our course N.W. by N.
- 29 This daye about 5 in the morn: we gaue chase to a smale vessel being som 2 lges. a head of vs, as we imagened to be a Portingall ship coming from the coste of Brasill [Brazil], and soe homward bound, but she was two quick a sayle for vs, soe that after that we had chased her some 2 howeres

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we saw that we could do noe good wth her, soe we fell to our course, being N.W. by N., the lat: 3 and 7 mtes. to the N.ward of the equator, the winde at S.E. and S.E. by S.

30 This dayes lat: 4 and 39, the lo: west from St. Helena 18. 10., the winde at S.E. by S., we steared N.N.W.

31 This dayes lat: 5. 52., lon: 18. 10, a current setting to the N. Etward, the winde at E.S.E., course N.N.W.

NOVEMBER [1629]

1 This dayes lat: 6. 43, our course N.W. by N., the wind at E. and E.S.E.

2 This dayes lat: 7. 29.

3 This dayes lat: 8. 2., lo: W^t from St. He: 19. 58, even: varri: 2, the winde at N.E., this night much thunder and lightning.

4 This dayes lat: 9. 0, lo: W^t from St. Hele: 20. 33, even: varri: 1. 38, the wind at N.E. by N. and N.E^t, our course N.43 degrees and 29 W^t, lges. 27.

5 This dayes lat: 10. 57, lo: W^t from St. He: 21. 45, the winde at E. by S., our course N.W

¹This dayes lat: 12. 42, lo: 22. 49, our course N. lges. 41.

This daye the winde at E.N.E., we stered N.W. by N., the wether hazy, we run by the log 91 miles.

This daye the winde at N.E. by E. and E.N.E^t,

¹ In this and the two succeeding entries the day of the month is cut away in the MS.

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a fresh gale, and we steered N.W. b[y] N., we run per log 100 miles. This night we espiing a leack w^{ch} caused vs to pump neer 500 strockes a watch, and in serching of our ship we found it to be on the larboord side of or stemm and came thorow the negligence of our carpenter w^{ch} had the oversight of the work, and was by want of a tunnell wher they had bored and left it vacant, but now God be praised we haue well stopped it.

10 This dayes lat: 16. 17, lo: W^t from St. He: 26. 19, the wind at E. b[y] N. and N.E. by E^t, hazy wether, and we steered N.W. by N.

11 This daye the winde at E. by N. and E.N.E., fayre wether but a great long sea, and we steered awaye N.W^t by N. and N.N.W^t $\frac{1}{2}$ W^t, lges. 34.

12 This daye the winde at E.N.E., a fresh gale but a head sea, and we steered N.N.W^t $\frac{1}{2}$ W^t per compase, lat. 19. 3, lo: W^t from St. He: 28 and 8.

13 This dayes lat: 20 and 20, lo: 29 and 3.

14 This dayes lat: 21. 18, lo: 29. 54.

15 This dayes lat. 21. 56, lo: 30. 27.

16 This dayes lat. 22. 25, lo: 31. 8.

17 This daye at noon we had the winde between the E. b[y] S. and N.E. b[y] E., a fine gale and fayre wether only a shower of rayne and a high sea, and we steered N.W. b[y] N. and N.N.W^t per compase 27 lges. $\frac{1}{3}$ per log, lat: 23. 34, lo: W^t from St. Hel. 31. 56. This daye we saw weedes w^{ch} the Portingalls call saragosa,¹ w^{ch} be much like rock sampir [samphire] and very thick in

¹ Sargaso (Portuguese), sea-weed.

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the sea. At 11 of the clock in the forenoon we passed the Trophick of Cancer.

18 This daye at noone we had the winde at E. b[y] N. and E.N.E. wth gustes of winde and raine and a high sea, and we steered N $\frac{1}{2}$ W^t and N. b[y] W^t per compasse 33 lges., lat: 25. 3, lo: 32. 33., more weedes seen.

19 This daye at noon we had the wind at E.N.E. and N.E. b[y] E., a fine gale and fayre wether, only a shower or two of rayne, and we steered N. by W^t per compasse 33 lges., lat: 26. 33., lo: 33. 14.

20 This daye the true course N. 33^d. 50 E^t 36 lges, lat: 26. 3., lo: 32. 15.

21 This daye at noon the winde at S.E. b[y] E., a fine gale and fayre wether, and we steered N.E. b[y] N. per compasse 27 lges., lat: 29. 14, lo: 31.

22 This daye we had the winde varri: betwen the S.S.W^t and N.W.^t 28 lges., lat: 30. 26, lo: 30. 53.

23 This daye we had the winde varr. betwen the N.W^t and the No., fayre wether only a litl rayne, we steered E. b[y] N. per compasse 17 lges., lat: 30. 49, lo: 30. 9, even: var: 2. 25.

24 This daye in the morn: we espied a sayle right a head of vs, who seeing vs stood wth vs and about 10 of the clock she cam vp wth vs, w^{ch} was the *Tyger*¹ and bound for the Sommer Ilandes [the Bermudas],² Captayne Ellis being commaunder

¹ The *Tiger* of London, under the command of Captain William Ellis of Bristol, bound for the Bermudas, was in all probability occupied in trading in tobacco.

² Alternatively called the Somers Islands after Sir George Somers, who established the first settlement there c. 1609.

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of her. From the 23 to this daye noon we had the winde at N.W^t and N.W^t by W^t, and we steered N.E. b[y] N. and N.E., a litle wind and we runn by the log 34 miles, but towardes the evening it began to blow a fresh gale.

- 25 Lat: 32. 16, lo: 29. 13, the wether hazi.
- 26 This daye at noon we had the winde at S.W^t b[y] S., wth vncertaine wether of gust of winde and rayne, our tru course N. 45 lges., lat: 33. 30, lo: 27. 13, this night extraordinari winde.
- 27 This daye at noon we had the winde at S.W^t and S.W^t b[y] W^t, a very stiff gale w^t extraordinari gustes of winde and raine and a high sea, we steered N.E. by N. and N.E^t per compasse 51 lges., lat: 35. 31, lo: 25. 40.
- 28 This daye at noon we had the winde W. b[y] S. and W^t and W^tN.W^t, a stif gale, faire wether, and we steered N.N.E. and N.E. b[y] N. per comp: 45 lges., lat: 37. 14, lo: 24. 13. This night we caried the light.
- 29 This daye at noon we had the winde varr. wth calmes and som rayne, and we stood awaye between the N.E. b[y] N. and E.N.E^t 13 howres per comp: and run 36 miles per log, and then tacked and stood awaye between the N.W. b[y] N. and W^t N.W^t 5 howeres, and run 5 miles per log, and the other 6 howeres we had it calme and made our tru course to be E^t 35^d N. 12 lges., lat: 37. 35, lo: 23. 49.
- 30 This daye in the morn: we saw the iland of Pico riseing round and of a good height and

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bearing N.E^t b[y] E. per compase 18 lges. off, varria: this mor. 1 deg: 59, we had the winde at S.E^t and S.S.W^t, a fine gale, faire wether, and we steered N.E^t per compase. Here is a current setes to the E^t, lat: 37. 58, lo: W^t from St. He: 22. 53. It was hazi. This night we went ahead likewise.

DECEMBER 1629

1 This daye in the morn: at 6 of the clock the high peek or body of Fyall [Fayal] bore S.E. b[y] E^t per compase 10 or 13 lges. off, and the iland of St. Georges bore E. b[y] S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. per compase 9 or 10 lges. off, and the iland Pikoe bore S.E^t $\frac{1}{2}$ S. per compase 9 or 10 lges. of. We had the winde at S.S.W^t a fine gale, fayre wether, and we steered N.E. b[y] No. and N.N.E^t per compase, and made our tru course No. 24^d. 17 E^t 23 lges., lati: this noon 39.1, lo: W^t from St. Hellena 22.25. Now the bodye of Fyall bore S. b[y] E^t $\frac{1}{2}$ E^t per compase 10 or 11 lges. of, and the bodye of Piko S.E. b[y] S. per compase 12 or 13 lges. of, and St. Georges bore S.E^t by E^t. $\frac{1}{2}$ E^t per comp: 10 lges. of, and the iland Gratirosa [Graciosa] bore E^t Northerly per compase 14 lges. of, even var: 21^d and 10. At 4 this even. we saw the Tarferas¹ beareing S.S.E^t 19 lges. of.

2 This daye at noon the winde at varr. from the S.W^t to y^e S.E^t, close wether, and we steered N.E^t and N.E. b[y] E^t. per compase, and made

¹ i.e., The Terceras, better known as the Azores.

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our tru course Et 35^d 07. No. 27 lges., lat: by iudgment 39^d. 49, and lon: west from St. Helena 21^d. 17.

- 3 This daye noon we had the winde between the S.S.E^t. and the W^tS.W^t varr. wth close wether, we steered N.E^t by E^t and E.N.E^t per compase, and made our tru course E^t 29^d No. 35 lges., lat: by iudgment 40 and 40, lo: W^t from St. Helena 19.46. We haue had a great sea out of the wester board these 24 howeres.

We came to Plymouth roade the 18th daye of December wher we stayed 20 daye, and vpon Thursdaye the 7 of January we set sayle.

[The voyage ended two days later at Gravesend.]

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NOTES AND JOTTINGS

On the cover outside.

Journal of a Sea Voyage from 1626 to 1629 to E.
Inds, Persia etc.

On fly leaf of MS. the other way up.

Henry Googe [Gooch] Doctor of De. 1626.

Robert Hedgis [Hedges], secretari.

Robert Stodart.

James Emery.

Thomas Harbert [Herbert].

William Welfit.

Thomas Molam.

Richard Williams. [Interpreter to the mission.]

Henry Walfrey.

[Note : The above are, with the exception of Henry Walfrey, all
mentioned by Herbert.]

The Star.

Mr. Evans, Master.

His mates.

Mr. Reade. [Lawrence Reade.]

Mr. Kennell. [Harvey Keynall died on the outward
voyage.

Mr. Sheppam. [James Shipham.]

Robert Staney of Walice parish in Cheshire, master-
gunner of the Star.

Scribblings on the same page.

marg in m from Stan Williams that

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Inside the front cover.

September the 29th being Michelmas day we had our horses deliuered vnto vs by Sebastion Pamer [Sebastian Palmer] the doctores man.

Robert Stodart 1627. April the 7th.

Mr. Mynns [Minors], master of the Hopwell.
Mr. Pusley [Pewsey ?]
Mr. Bayli.
Mr. Sumners.
Mr. Harryce.

gunner.

Hylls Arithmeticke are printed by Gabriell Simson dwelling in Fleet Lane.¹

are prouided.

Inside the back cover.

Robert Stodart. 1627.

for them.

Vpon the 21 day of August was taken a great shark being in length by the rule 9 foot and a half, hauing in his belli 55 young ones.

Mundaye the XIXth of Ja : Shamshaw the Percian ambassador wth 3 [sic] followeres cam to the port.

Molam.

¹ *The Arte of Vulgar Arithmeticke . . . devided into two bookes . . . Whereunto is added a third booke . . . Newly collected, digested, and in some parts devised, by a welwiler to the Mathematicalls, by Thomas Hill (Londoner), London, 1600.*



THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT STODART

On F. 51.

as the prophet sayth

abyssus abyssum invocat,
on deep calleth another.

soe the qualitie of on sinne is to call another vnto him. King David sayeth very well that on sinn entiseth another, considering that of idlnesse cometh looking, of looking desiring, of desireing consenting, of consenting doeing, of doeing persevering, of persevering damning himself, in soe much that we [go]e from sinne vnto sinne in post hast vntill we be benighted . . . ell.

Sainte Barnard sayth

the sight breedeth thought, thought breedeth delight, delight breedeth consent, [con]sent breedeth work, the worke breedeth custom, custom breedeth obstination, obstination breedeth desperation, and desperation damnation.

Mr. Robert.

On F. 50.

Mahometachifospossie.

Henry Goche.

محمد سواس س
حزري گوچ

IV

ITINERARY

- 1626
 April 16. Left London.
 17. Arrived Deal.
 28. Left Deal.
 Arrived Dover.
 29. Left Dover.
 Arrived Deal.

- 1628
 April 30. Left Ispahān.
 Arrived Botoon [?]
- May 3. Rige [?]
 4. Sardahān.
 5. Tājābād.
 6. Bād-rūd.
 7. Āb-i-garm.
 8. Safīd-āb.
 9. Siyāhkūh.
 10. Rashmah [?]
 11. Gaze [?]
 12. Habla-rūd.
 13. Fīrūzkūh.
 15. Shīrkūh.
 16. Jeere [?]
 17. 'Alīābād.
 18. Nīkāh.
 20. Ashraf.
- June 1. Left Ashraf.
 2. Farahābād.
 3. Chapuk-rūd.

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- June 4. Meshed-i-sar.
Bārfarūsh.
11. Damāvand.
13. Būmahin.
Tehrān.
17. Left Tehrān.
18. Kerej.
19. Sangarābād.
20. Shāhendih.
21. Qasvīn.
- Aug. 10. Left Qasvīn.
Arrived Farsian.
11. Deh Ochlosuph [?]
12. Begum.
13. Sāva.
15. Ja'farābād.
16. Qum.
19. Šin-Sin.
20. Kāshān.
23. Abū Zaydābād.
24. Natanz.
25. Sardahān.
26. Rige [?]
28. Ispahān.
- Sept. 18. Visit to Julfā.
20. Visit to Julfā.
28. Picnic on the banks of the Zinda-rūd.
- Oct. 12. Left Ispahān.
Arrived Mehīār.
13. Qumishah.
15. Yazd-i-Khāst.
17. Dih-i-girdū.
18. Khūshk-i-Zard.
19. Āsupās.
20. Ujān.
Māin.

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21. Marvdasht.
23. Visit to Persepolis.
Zarghūn.
24. Shīrāz.
- Nov. 24. Left Shīrāz.
25. Bābā Hajji.
26. Muzaffariya.
27. Kafr.
28. Mukhak.
29. Charmoot [?]
30. Dehniān.
- Dec. 2. Jūwūn.
Binārū.
4. Birīz.
5. Dihkūh.
6. Lār.
12. Left Lār.
Arrived Cherchoke [?]
13. Dascherd [?]
Badini.
14. Hormuz (town).
15. Tang-i-Dālān.
16. Gūr-i-Bāzārgān.
17. Kūristān.
18. Gachīn.
19. Gombroon.
21. Arrival of Dr. Gooch in Gombroon.
- 1629
Jan. 26. Arrival in Gombroon of the English fleet from
Surat under Captain Richard Swanley and the
Dutch fleet from Surat under Pieter Van Den
Broeck.
- Feb. 10. Stodart boarded the *Eagle*.
21. The fleet sailed homeward from Gombroon.
23. Passed Hormuz.
24. Passed Cape Jāsk.

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- March 9. Passed Diu.
12. Swally.
14. Surat.
Batha.
- [May 1. The *Jonas*, *Christopher* and *Eagle* left the
England fleet.]
- [June 13. Mauritius.]
- July 25. Sailed from Mauritius.
28. Réunion.
- Aug. 2. Sailing within 20 leagues of Madagascar.
30. Sailing within c. 14 leagues of Cape Agulhas.
- Sept. 3. Sailing within 4-6 leagues of Cape Agulhas.
5. Sailing within 4 leagues of Cape Falso.
Sailing within 10-12 leagues of Cape of Good Hope.
6. Sailing within 5 leagues of Cape Falso.
7. Table Bay.
16. An attempt to leave Table Bay frustrated by
weather.
17. A second vain attempt to set sail.
21. Sailed from Table Bay.
30. In the Tropic of Capricorn.
- Oct. 7. Sailing within c. 10 leagues of St. Helena.
8. St. Helena.
14. Sailed from St. Helena.
20. Sailing within c. 12 leagues of Ascencion Island.
- Nov. 17. Crossed the Tropic of Cancer.
30. Sailing within 18 leagues of the island of Pico
(the Azores).
- Dec. 1. Sailing within 10 leagues of the Azores.
18. Plymouth.

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1630
Jan. 7. Sailed from Plymouth.
[12. End of voyage at Gravesend.]

V

FLEETS WITH WHICH STODART SAILED ON HIS
VOYAGE TO AND FROM PERSIA

I. LONDON TO SWALLY.

March 23rd to November 30th, 1627.

The *Star*, *Hart*, *Mary*, *Hopewell*, *Refuge* and
Scout.

This was known as Captain Hall's fleet. Cotton
and Sherley were in the *Star*, Naqd 'Alī Beg in
the *Hart*.

2. SWALLY TO GOMBROON.

December 18th, 1627 to January 6th, 1628.

The *William*, *Exchange*, *Hart*, and *Star*.

3. GOMBROON TO SWALLY.

February 21st to March 12th, 1629.

The *Jonas* (admiral), *Hart* (vice-admiral), *Christo-
pher* (rear-admiral), *Eagle*, *Hopewell*, and *Expedi-
tion*.

Six Dutch ships, six small frigates, and some
Surat junks also formed part of this fleet, which
had set out from Swally and reached Gombroon
on January 26th.

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4. SWALLY TO GRAVESEND.

April 13th, 1629 to January 12th, 1630.

The *Hart* (admiral), *Expedition* (vice-admiral),
and *Hopewell* (rear-admiral).

The *Jonas*, *Christopher*, and *Eagle*, all three
bound for Bantam, started with this fleet,
but parted from it on May 1st.

According to Herbert the *Jonas* left them at
Mangalore.

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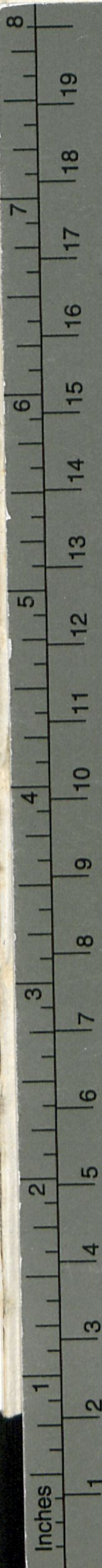
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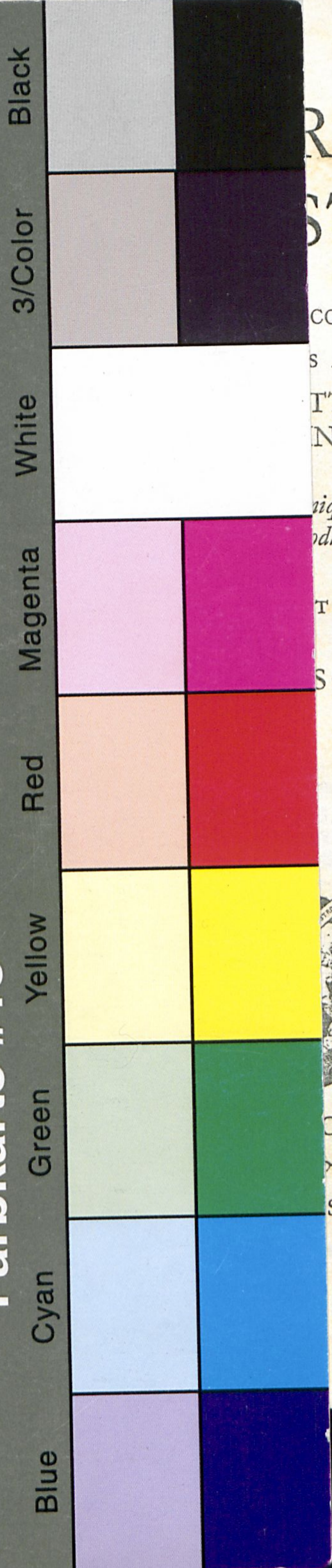
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