

JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. X.—*Account of an Embassy from Marocco to Spain in
1690 and 1691.* By the Hon. H. E. J. STANLEY.

[Read July 1, 1867.]

THE following notes are taken from an account of his journey to Spain, written by an Ambassador of Muley Ismail, a copy of which is preserved in a library at Lisbon: the MS. ends abruptly, and does not contain the author's name. From the narrative it appears that the Ambassador came to treat of the exchange of prisoners, and to ask for some of the Arabic works preserved at the Escorial: he appears, however, to have imagined that these were remnants of the libraries of Cordoba, whereas they proceeded from the library of a former Emperor of Marocco, which was captured at sea whilst being transported from one port to another. The Ambassador was told that the books had been destroyed by the fire which took place about twenty years before in the Escorial, where, in fact, the greater part of the Sultan's library was burned; but about two thousand were saved, of which nothing was said to the Ambassador, and these form the actual collection of Arabic works preserved in the Escorial. M. Chenier, in his *Histoire du Maroc* (Paris, 1787), states that Muley Ismail took L'Arrash from the Spaniards in 1689, and that the Spanish garrison of that place was exchanged at the rate of ten Moors for each Christian: he also states that, in 1681, Hajy Themim, Governor of Tetuan, and Cassem Menino, brother of the Governor of Sallee, went to Paris in the end of December as Amba-

sadors, so that it is possible one of these was also employed in this Embassy ten years later. It is evident from his narrative that he was a man of talent and observation, and he appears to have made a very favourable impression upon King Charles II.

The Ambassador came in a Spanish vessel from Kasbah Afrag (قصة أفراڠ) near Ceuta to Gibraltar, and thence to Cadiz, where he was met by a large number of the Moorish captives, who were much cheered by his arrival and announcement of the Sultan's intentions with regard to them. He also was informed in Cadiz, by a Christian priest in Constantinople, of the victory of Sultan Suleyman, who had reconquered Belgrade, and that its walls were destroyed, and that the Sultan had already set twelve thousand workmen to restore the walls.

[The Turks laid siege to Belgrade on the 1st October, 1690, and exploded the magazine on the 8th, by which a thousand of the besieged were destroyed, and the besiegers entered the place. Mr. Stanhope writes from Madrid, December 6, 1690, "The Marocco Ambassador landed at Cadiz the 23rd past, was received on the water-side by the Governor, and saluted with thirty pieces of cannon. He lodged there only that night, and went next day to Port St. Mary's." *Lord Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*]

From Cadiz the Ambassador went in a row-boat to Santa Maria, where he describes a large house, looking towards the sea, with the chief entrance door walled up, and this was the house in which lodged the Sultan and Sheikh, son of a Sultan, Ahmed Al-Dhahiby (الذهبي), when he came to Spain; and no one lives in this house, for it is the custom of the Christians to honour the house in which a king has dwelt, and they wall up the door, as they did at Madrid with a house in which Charles the Fifth lodged his captive, the French king. [At the present time it is a custom and a right to suspend chains over the entrance of a house in which a Sovereign has lodged.] Between Xeres de la frontera and Utrera the Ambassador passed a night at a town called Alberijah (البريجة): in this place some of the inhabitants gave him to understand

by secret signs that they were descended from the Arabs of Spain, for they could not communicate except by secret discourse. In Utrera he says he saw the daughter of the Governor and the daughter of the Judge, who were extremely beautiful; and these two were of the blood of the last king of Granada, known amongst the Spaniards as *el rey Chico*. Here he relates that at Madrid he knew a Don Albeniz, a descendant of Musa, brother of the conquered king of Granada, and a relation of the two damsels of Utrera, who was one of the first knights in Spain, and much esteemed by the Christians, yet he had much inclination towards any of the Muslims whom he might meet, and related to them his genealogy, and admired what he heard from them of El Islam and its people; and he told the Ambassador that when his mother was bearing him she had a desire to eat kuskusu, and that her father said to her, "Perhaps the burden you are bearing is of the race of the Muslims." In saying this he was joking, for they did not fear to make known their genealogy, and that they were of the king's house. From Utrera he passed through Marchena to Ecija, the beauty and elegance of which he praises very much, and quotes the following verses in praise of Wady Ash and Ecija from *حمدة الاندلسية*, the poetess Hamdah, the Andalusian: ¹

اباح الدمع اسرارى بوادى	له للحسن اثار بوادى
فمن نهر يطوف بكل روض	ومن روض يطوف بكل وادى
ومن بين الظباء مهابة رمل ³	سبت ⁴ لبي وقد سلبت فوادى
لها لحظ ترقده لامر	و ذاك الامر يمتعنى رقادى
اذا سدلت ذوائبها عليها	رايت البدر فى جنح ⁵ السواد

¹ Al-Makkari says she is also named Hamdunah, the daughter of Zeyad:

حمدة ويقال حمدونة بنت زياد المودب من وادى آس

² *Al-Makkari*, Leyden edition, ii. ٦٣. ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ Another line is given by Al-Makkari:

كان الصبح مات له شقيق
فمن حزن تسربل بالحداد

و حمدة هذه هي من¹ شاعرات الاندلس و اخبارها مشهورة في
محلها من اخبار شعراء العدو و شاعراتها وهي القائلة

ولما ابي الواشون الافرأنا وما لهم عندي وعندك من ثار
وشنوا على اسما عناكل غارة وقل حماتي عند ذاك وانصاري
غزوتهم من مقلتي باد مع² ومن نفسي بالسيف والقتل³ والثار

ولقد انشدت حين ابصرت حسن هذه المدينة و جميل
منظرها متمثلا بيتي الجزيري و ضمنتها بيتين اخرين

البيت ان نظرت محاسنها ان لا نظير لها في مصلف الصور
كانها فلك دارت كواكبها واشرفت بين بدوالارض والحضر
فالله ينقذها حتى يدان بها دين المهمل محرف سامي الغير
بكف محتسب للاجر منتدب لله منتسب لافضل البشر

At Cordoba more of the Moorish prisoners of war came out to meet the Ambassador: he describes the great mosque, and the palace over against it, which then still existed. He says that the horses in the neighbourhood of Cordoba were the best in Spain, and that on that account the King had prohibited breeding mules from asses and mares under pain of imprisonment and confiscation, and that mules were bred in La Mancha. He mentions a village called Alkaraby (الكرابي) at fifteen miles distance from Cordoba, near the Guadalquivir, and twenty-one miles from Andujar: this place seems to have disappeared. At Andujar he found the greater part of the inhabitants to be descendants of the Abenserrages, who had gone over to the Christians after some of that family had been put to death at Granada. He says that the highest dignity to which those of this race can attain is the right of wearing a cross upon the shoulder embroidered on their coats,

السيل³ Al-Makkari. مقلتيك واد معي² added, not in the text. من¹

⁴ The text of these lines appears not to be entirely correct.

and that they fill the offices of clerks, ushers, the government of small towns, and other offices of small importance. And in these districts there are a great many of them: some of them relate their lineage, others shun the mention of it, and fear it, and attribute their origin to the mountains of Navarra and boast of it; and those of this race who hold an office, or are employed in collecting the revenue, do not fear relating their lineage. The Ambassador met a man in Madrid, whose name he had forgotten, in a coach with some ladies, old and young, who stopped and made many salutations, and he and the ladies were much pleased, and greatly welcomed the Ambassador, and on taking leave of him gave his name, and said we are of the race of the Muslims of the lineage of the sons of Al-Serraj; and the Ambassador inquired about him afterwards, and learned that he was one of the Secretaries of the Council, and the one who read out the petitions and memorials presented to the Council. There were also a number of Granadines who held employments in Granada and lived in Madrid, and came with Don Alveniz to see the Ambassador, and they attribute their origin to the Granadine Arabs. (And misery prevailed over them, and our refuge is with God.) And these people used to question about the faith and customs of El-Islam, and when they heard the Ambassador's answers as to its faith and ordinances, they admired what they heard, and approved and gave thanks for it in the presence of the Christians, and were not ashamed on account of those that were present; and they did not cease to come and see the Ambassador several times during his stay in Madrid, and to show him great marks of friendship and affection. "We pray the Most High to direct them into the right path and guide them to the true faith."

[This account is curious in conjunction with what the Ambassador relates further on of the power and activity of the Inquisition.]

At Linares the Ambassador speaks of the lead mines and of a convent of women which he visited by invitation: he gives a long account of the life of the nuns, and of the various motives for which they enter. His account is very fair, and

he refers to two other convents which he visited at Seville and Carmona. From Linares he passed through Torre Juan Abad, whose inhabitants and their singing he states were different from the other Spaniards, and compares them with the Berbers of the mountains of Alfahsiyah (الفحسية), and stopped at Segalana (شكلانة) at the foot of a mountain and off the road. Here he describes inns and the dangers of the road from brigands. One of these he met when returning from Madrid who lived at Cozera . . . miles from Torre Juan Abad: the king had sent three hundred archers against him, and they took him, but he escaped, and now he lives in Cozera without fear of anybody, only he wishes for a safe conduct from the King; and he said to the Ambassador that if he were ready for the journey he would go with him to Muley Ismail to beg of him a letter to the King of Spain to ask for a safe conduct to give him tranquillity. The Ambassador then describes the administration of the post couriers, and mentions the arrival of letters from Madrid at San Lucar in three days. He next stopped at the Venta San Andres, and mentions the fair held at four miles distance from that place [the fair of Almagro]; from San Andres, through Membrilla to Manzanares, and from there to Mora [six leagues from Toledo]; between these two towns he passed an enormous quantity of vines, but no other trees. From Mora he crossed the Tagus on a raft, leaving Toledo on one side, to Pintos (بنطص) a small village; from there to Getafe (خطافى), six miles from Madrid, a large town, which formerly was larger until the Government came to Madrid, when it became deserted. [This village is now the first station on the railway south of Madrid.] At this place he was met by a grandee in one of the King's coaches, named Count Carlos de Castilla, whose office it is to receive all who come from other kingdoms, for which he receives three thousand reals a year; and he took the Ambassador with him in the coach after welcoming him in the King's name. At a mile from Madrid many people came out in coaches and riding and walking to meet the Ambassador. They crossed the Manzanares, which the Ambassador says has a great deal of water after the snow falls in the moun-

tains : he mentions two bridges, one of these had lately been destroyed by a flood, and was then rebuilding, and the coaches passed over a wooden scaffolding. Within the town he was again met by Moorish prisoners of war, who rejoiced greatly at his arrival. He was conveyed to a house near the palace, disposed for the reception of those who come from distant countries and not of Christian nations, and they rest there three days, and look out for a residence if they intend remaining in the capital.¹ So it happened to the Turk who came to Spain forty years before ; they believe that he was from Constantinople, but the truth is that he came on behalf of some seditious people who desired to disturb the kingdom of Constantinople. Also three years before this there arrived an envoy from Muskovia, which is a distant country in the parts about the North Pole, and he came to the Sovereign of Spain and begged in marriage from his mother (Doña Mariana of Austria), a daughter of a sister of hers who was in Germany, and the King of Muscovy desired to be married to her. And since her family did not desire that she should marry him, they entrusted her business to her aunt (the Queen mother of Spain), and got rid of the Ambassador to Spain. And this was the object of the arrival of the Muscovite embassy to this king, according to what they say here.

[According to the history of Russia of Ernst Hermann, tom. iv., p. 14, Hamburg, 1849, this Ambassador was the Kniaz Feodorovitch Dolgorouky, who was envoy to France and Spain during the regency of the Arch-Duchess Sophia in the years 1682-1689. According to a Russian authority he was Prince James Fedorovitch, who went on an extraordinary embassy to Paris and Madrid in 1686 : he was removed from the Russian Court by the Regent Sophia, who feared in him too zealous an adherent of the young Tzar : and the real object of the Embassy was to seek the assistance of France and Spain against Turkey, but it was unsuccessful.]

The Marocco Ambassador arrived at Madrid in the after-

¹ "The French Ambassador has demanded to have his *Hospedage*, that is, to be treated nine days in a house designed for that purpose at the King's charge. This is a custom that has been many years antiquated here except with Turks, Moors, and Muscovites." Mr. Stanhope, Madrid, September 3, 1698.

noon of Saturday, the 7th of Reby al Evvel, 1102 (equal to December 9, 1690): twelve days later he was received in audience by the King.¹ During that time the Count who had charge of him came to inquire what manner of salutation the Ambassador would use, since the king had not yet received any one of the religion of the Ambassador. And the Ambassador gave him an account of the salutations used amongst Muslims and of those used by them to others not of their religion, and that is to say, "Peace be upon him who follows the Direction," without adding anything to this. And the Count informed the King of it, and his Majesty declared his admiration of this salutation which was related to him, since he was not prepared for it, and he could not do otherwise than accept it. And the Count returned with a written programme of the reception. The next day the Ambassador went to the Palace, where he was received by the Mayordomo, and then by the Secretary of the Great Council and many Dukes and Counts: he then entered the presence chamber, and found the King standing, with a gold chain round his neck, and at his right hand a table embossed with gold, prepared in order to place upon it the Sultan's letter. [At the beginning of this century the King of Portugal still had a table at his side covered with a gold embroidered cloth at audiences to receive ambassadors.] And on the right of the table was a minister called the Condestable, and on his right the wife of the King, and her ladies and the daughters of the nobles, and on the left hand of the King the other ministers. When the Ambassador entered the King welcomed him and smiled, and expressed his satisfaction, and inquired about the Ambassador's Sovereign, el Mansur b'Illahi, several times, and when he mentioned him he took off the hat (شميرير *sombrero*) which he had on his head, to respect and honour him. And the Ambassador replied that he was well, praise be to God,

¹ Mr. Stanhope wrote to the Earl of Nottingham, January 10, 1691: "Our Marocco Ambassador is at last fallen to an envoy. I saw him go to audience, where was an extraordinary concourse of people to see him, for the rarity of the thing and the oddness of the dress, as little known here as with us. His business is only to treat about the redemption of the prisoners taken at Larache. It is adjusted he is to have ten Moors a-piece for a hundred officers, and the common men to be exchanged man for man."

and presented his letter to the King, who took it, raised it to his forehead, and kissed it, and placed it on the table prepared for it; after that he also raised what he had on his head. Then he asked the Ambassador after his own health and about his journey, and the Ambassador expressed his thanks for his treatment of him, and for the treatment which he had met with from the King's officers. And the King was pleased and approved, and after the Ambassador had spoken, said, "Thanks be to God for your health, and on another occasion we will return an answer to that which you have brought." And the Ambassador withdrew, and those who were with the King came out also and took leave of the Ambassador.

The Ambassador then mentions that Carlos II. was not of the ancient family of kings who warred with the Muslims, but of Flemish origin: he then relates the discovery of America and its conquest, and the riches acquired by Spain from those possessions, and says, "So much so that pomp and luxury have prevailed over them, and none of their race can be found who carries on commerce, or travels to other countries for that purpose, as is the custom of other Christian nations like the Flemings, and the English and French and Genoese and others. And in the same way this nation rejects all the despised employments which poor people follow, and esteems itself more excellent than any of the other nations of the Messiah. And the greater number of those who follow those employments which are despised in Spain are Frenchmen, because their country is poor, and they have become very numerous in Spain for the sake of service and acquiring and heaping up property, which they are able to do in a short time." The Ambassador then says that very many Spaniards desire to acquire dignities, and that these are not granted to persons in trade, though they may obtain them for their heirs. And dignity or greatness consists in a cross embroidered on the breast, and can only be obtained by those who are of ancient Christianity, and can count seven ancestors who have always professed Christianity, without suspicion of Judaism or of anything other than the faith of the Messiah. After establishing that, he may receive the order to wear a cross,

and then he gives money to the people of the Council, and to the friars, who also give their license. The Ambassador then gives a short account of the royal family of Spain, beginning with Philip el Hermoso of Flanders: he speaks of Charles the Fifth's expedition to Algiers, and of Don Sebastian of Portugal's disaster at Alcazar Kebir in Marocco, where very few of his army escaped. The Ambassador says, "The number of the Christians, according to what is known amongst us, was eighty thousand; and the Christians say that Don Sebastian's army was eighteen thousand; that there were twelve thousand Portuguese and three thousand English; they brought succour on account of the peace and treaty of friendship which existed between them; and there were three thousand Spaniards whom Philip II. lent to the son of his sister; and the truth as to the number is that which is established amongst the Muslims."

[A detailed account of this battle, 1578, was lately published in Portugal, and a French translation appeared in the Bibliothèque Universelle Suisse, tom. 17, Geneva, 1863, which mentions an Italian and a German regiment, but no English.]

The Ambassador says of the expulsion of the Moriscoes, that it was not possible to discover them all, on account of their being confounded with the rest of the inhabitants, and their having forgotten El Islam. He also says that, "On account of the advice which the Minister (the Duke of Lerma) gave to the King to expel those who were expelled, who were Christians and had entered the Christian faith in such numbers, the Spaniards accuse him (the Duke of Lerma) of Judaism, because his counsel was not in accordance with their religion in the matter of expelling this multitude after they were reckoned as Christians.

[Whether this opinion mentioned by the Ambassador were general or not in his time, it is certain that all those who wrote in favour of the expulsion quoted from the Jewish wars as freely as did the Puritans, and in that sense the charge of Judaism might be sustained against the Duke of Lerma and Fray Bleda.]

The Ambassador continues: "As some of the Christians

are accused of Judaism there is a tribunal in Madrid called the Council of the Inquisition :” he then describes it, and says that whilst he was at Madrid the Inquisition seized one of the favourites and ministers of the King and put him in prison at Toledo, and another man also employed in the collection of the King’s rents, and the King could do nothing for them.

The Ambassador gives a long account of the insurrection of Portugal and struggle against Spain in Philip the Fourth’s reign, and of the troubles caused by Don John of Austria and Don Fernando Valenzuela, the “Duende,” or Ghost of the Palace, in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. He describes the old Moorish Castle of Consuegra, which was then used as a state prison : [this castle is now in ruins, it is said to have been the last place held by the French in the war of Independence.]

The Ambassador then returns to the subject of his embassy, and says that the Sultan’s letter was given to an Aleppo Christian to translate. And when it was translated, and the King read what it contained, and the request of the Sultan for five thousand volumes and five hundred captives, the royal consent became difficult and the King did not know how to meet this request, and he understood that this was the firm intention of the Sultan, and that he could not hesitate in the matter. So the King held a consultation with his councillors, and they were of opinion to listen favourably to the request of the Muley and Imam ; and they debated about it several days, and said that the Muslim books had been burned in a town in Spain, and that as the Sultan had in his letter left the option in case of the books not existing or being damaged of giving up a full thousand of the Muslim captives, they wished to omit a part of the thousand. And they did not find it possible to do this, and they could only end the business by conceding it ; and when the Sultan on his side accepted this, they set to work to seek for and collect the captives, during which time the King was very friendly to the Ambassador.

The Ambassador saw all the great houses at Madrid and

the King's palaces and gardens: he describes skating on the water in the Retiro, and says this art was introduced by the Flemings. He says that mares in foal were brought to see the horse of the bronze equestrian statue of Philip IV. in the Retiro, and that a sound was made to come from the statue like neighing; and the breed of the foal was supposed to be improved thereby, and that it was likely to become like the horse of that statue. He was invited to shoot in the Pardo, a permission which excited great surprise, since it had been asked for by the Ambassadors of France and Germany and had been refused to them. He then describes a great ceremony in the Plaza Mayor; this was for the canonisation of San Juan de Dios: here the Ambassador was placed in a seat in a gallery opposite to the King's gallery, and treated with great kindness and consideration by the King. San Juan de Dios was the founder of many hospitals in Spain; and the Ambassador gives the following description of many of fourteen hospitals of Madrid which he visited: "In each of these hospitals there are magazines full each one of what belongs to it, oil, vinegar, remedies and potions, etc., and a kitchen; and I have found in these flesh of sheep, of chickens, of rabbits, partridges, and of swine, and the rest of what is wanted for the sick. And when the doctor enters to visit the sick he feels his hand and informs himself of his state, and writes upon a tablet, and gives this tablet to the person charged with the sick, and he gives it to the official of the kitchen, and they prepare for the sick man what the doctor has ordered. And I have seen in the hospital another building, in which were the clothes of the sick. This is, when the sick man enters the hospital, they take away all the clothes he wears and deposit them in the building disposed for this purpose, and they write on them upon a tablet, to recognise the clothes and their owner; and clothe him with other garments prepared for the sick, and the property of the hospital endowment. They give him a bed, with a mattress, pillow, and sheet, and every week they wash the clothes he wears and give him others. And if he rises up from his sickness they dress him in the clothes he brought with him,

and he goes his way; and if he dies they shroud him at the expense of the hospital, and take information of his family, and return to them the clothes which he left. And for each of these hospitals there is a doctor, who has a house appointed for him close to the hospital, and its rent is paid from the hospital endowment, and all the provisions of the doctor and of his assistants and their necessaries proceed from the endowment, so that they may be always present and not absent, and not occupied with the cares of their maintenance. And this order of monks dedicated to San Juan serve the sick more than any other men do, and they do so with faith and belief. In truth, one of our friends fell sick when we were staying in the city of San Lucar, and this religious order used to visit us every day, and when they saw the sick man they begged our leave to carry him to their place to cure him and occupy themselves with his affair. And we did not permit it; and they came again, and said, we love to do good, and do not believe you will prevent us from doing it; and they made great entreaty, but it was not granted to them in this case. And they did not cease to visit him until he was convalescent. And men love them for their good faith, and for the goodness of their disposition, and their poverty and humility: indeed, if they were in the straight path, they would be the best of the race by their disposition; and the greater number of them are poor. And God directs whom he pleases into the true path."

The Ambassador then describes the Post-office and the lists for letters poste restante, and says the payment for letters was their own weight in silver from beyond Spain; and that a courier came from Rome in February with a weight of 53 arrobas of letters, upon which 13 cwt. and a quarter of silver was levied. The Ambassador then speaks of another invention better than the Post-office for spreading news. "There is a building containing moulds of letters under one man who for this gives a sum of money to the King, which is fixed at the beginning of each year; and all the news that can be collected is put into the mould, and with that they print a thousand of papers and sell them at a very low price. And

a man carries a great number of these papers, and cries them, and says, Who buys the news of such a country, and the news of such a country? Then whoever wishes to inform himself about this buys one of these papers, and they call it *Gazeta*; and by means of them a man acquires much news. Nevertheless there is in them much exaggeration and falsehood, which is introduced by evil passions." [Regularly published newspapers began in England in 1695; Macaulay, vol. iv. 602.]

The Ambassador then mentions the death of the late Pope, and the long time that elapsed before a new one was named, and says a courier arrived from Rome with news of the election of the new one when he was at San Lucar on his return from Madrid, which fixes that date at the end of July, 1691, as this Pope (Innocent XII.) was elected July 12, 1691: he then describes minutely the mode of election. Speaking of the rights of the Dukes of Medina Celi [several of which still exist], he says these Dukes in saluting the King always said, "We after your Majesty," meaning that they held the succession after the King if he left no posterity; and that nine years before, when he was minister, Charles II. having no children, this form of greeting vexed the King's heart, and he begged of him to abandon and give it up, and not express the hope, "You, and there is no posterity after you," upon which the Duke left it off. The Ambassador mentions as present at Madrid the Nuncio, and Ambassadors from Germany and England, also from Portugal and Valencia: he speaks of the two latter as established and domiciled with their children and business. [The agents or deputies from Catalonia were till a late time called ambassadors.] The French Ambassador had gone away on account of the general war. Here he states that some time before "there was an English Ambassador who fell in love with a lady, and what he felt for her increased so much that he became a Christian and followed the religion of the people of the Cross, for the English nation do not adore the Cross; and when the English had news of his having become a Christian, they changed him, and sent another in his stead; and he remained in Madrid, married. And the King gave

him an office with which he might live, and which might amount to twelve thousand reals each year; but he lost all that he possessed in his own country, so that there was no covetousness in him in this business." [This ambassador was Sir Wm. Godolphin; see Lord Mahon's *Court of Charles II.*, pp. 90, 96.]

The Ambassador then gives a very fair account of the causes of the war in Europe, of the French differences with the Duke of Savoy, with the Pope [Innocent XI. with respect to the Ambassadorial Asylums in Rome for thieves and assassins], of the demands of the German Emperor to France to break the truce with the Turks, and of the Augsburg League. This is how he describes the situation of England: "When the King of the English died during the period of enmity between the Christians, he left no son to succeed him on the throne, and a brother of his succeeded him named James. This James and his wife believed secretly in the Christian religion without anyone of their nation knowing it; and when his brother died, and the disposition of the government belonged to him, and he had no doubt as to the succession, and of entering upon the dignity of his brother, and they asked him to reign over them, he refused, and declined feignedly and with cunning; and whilst they were discussing it, he said, I do not consent to what you ask of me unless you do according to my desire, which is not to your injury, and that is, that each one who loves his religion may be able to follow it;¹ and they agreed to this, and consented, and set on him the crown and made him king. And he did not alarm them until he and his wife arose one morning with crosses hung round their necks, and they allowed the friars to be seen publicly who were with them, and they entered the churches and performed the prayers of the Christians. All those who were in the secret followed them, and those also who desired to conduct the people of their nation to follow their religion which the King had suddenly manifested. And when the English nation saw what had happened to them of the difference of the King's religion and

¹ *Declaration of Indulgence*, April 4, 1687.

theirs, and because he followed the religion of the people of the Cross, they feared that this would be an injury to their community, and that they would not be able to find a remedy for this business: and they protested against the King and his acts respecting religion; and they assembled their council and made haste to kill him. When the King knew their intentions, he fled to the French King, he and his wife, and took refuge with him. And the French made haste to protect and defend him, from their enmity to the English, and to spite them.¹ And they disputed about it, and there were words between them, and the rupture between them happened when the French King said, You are all as much my enemies as the other Christians, and expect war from me until I shall have restored the fugitive to his house and kingdom in spite of you. And when there happened to the English, what happened in the matter of the departure of their king, and of the war which was lighted up between them and the French, they took for their king the Prince of Orange, the administrator of the Flemish nation, for these two were following the same religion in the difference which exists between them and the people of the Cross," etc. etc.

The Ambassador speaks of the taking of Mons by Louis XIV., and says there were twelve thousand Spanish troops there. [Henry Martin says, "The Governor of Mons gave up the place on the 8th April, and came out of it on the 10th with four thousand eight hundred men. There ought to have been twelve thousand men, and the Governor had assured William III. that he had that number. King William was irritated when he knew he had been deceived, and wrote to complain of it to Charles II." From the Marocco Ambassador's statement it would appear that the Court of Madrid in general had been equally misled by the Governor of Mons.] The Ambassador goes on to relate the state of the war between France and Spain, and mentions two occurrences which I have not been able to find mentioned elsewhere. He says

¹ The Parisians could talk of nothing but what was passing in London. National and religious feeling impelled them to take the part of James," etc. etc. Macaulay, vol. ii, p. 594.

that when the French bombarded Barcelona, the people of Barcelona rose up against all the Frenchmen living in their country, and expelled all the single men, and allowed to remain only those who were married: and “when the French ships left Barcelona, they came before Alicante and levelled with bombs more than six hundred houses; and the people of Alicante also laid hold of the Frenchmen who were amongst them, and killed them, for not one escaped. And they say that the number of those who were killed in Alicante was three thousand souls.” [Henry Martin says, “The French threw eight hundred shells into Barcelona and two thousand into Alicante (in July, 1691), these cities having refused to pay ransom: they thought to make Barcelona rise by bombarding it; they only succeeded in blotting out what might exist of the ancient sympathy of Barcelona for France.” tom xiv. p. 147.]

The Ambassador then relates the state of affairs in Italy, and the movements of the Turkish and Tatar armies, and the conduct of Tekely in Hungary; he describes the alliance of Louis XIV. with the Turk, but attributes it solely to the interests of French commerce in the Levant; and he says [referring to the policy of Colbert], that in this reign men of commerce were for the first time taken into the councils of the French monarchy. When speaking of the probability of the succession to the throne of Spain going to the French royal family by inheritance through a female, he says that on account of that expectation the Spaniards were learning French and teaching it to their sons. He then again alludes to the slaughter of Frenchmen this year as likely to increase the enmity between the two nations.

From Louis the Fourteenth's disputes with the Pope the Ambassador goes back to explain the origin of Protestantism, and describes the fasts and Easter ceremonies: he gives a detailed account of the washing of the feet of thirteen poor people by the King and by the Queen and Queen-Mother, and of the dinner served to them before that by the King in the presence of the Nuncio and Archbishop: he presented to each poor man thirty dishes. The Ambassador says the poor

men carry away all the dinner in their vessels, and sell it in the streets to crowds of people, as they believe there is a blessing on this food.¹ He then quotes the Gospel of St. John in explanation of this ceremony. In describing the processions he says, "There are Christians who represent the crucified personally, and veil their face not to be recognised, but a servant of his or a friend follows him to take care that he does not faint by the way from the number of stripes he receives on his shoulders, and the blood runs down his legs." He says that on Easter day a number of pieces of paper are scattered in the air, on which are printed pictures of Saints and the word Hallelujah in Hebrew letters: [this is the origin of the name Haleluia given in Spanish to a sort of doll on a stick, and to pictures with verses and mottoes.]

After the description of the Easter ceremonies he gives an account of Rome, of his discussions with friars, and then an invective against some of their abuses. Apropos of these, he relates that "a handsome woman at Seville came to see him with her mother and two sisters, and many Christians were present, and they began to talk of the friars and clergy. And the young woman said, He who trusts to the friars is accursed. And he asked her why she said this, and she answered, I know them all, and have no need to give more explanations. The Ambassador was much surprised at her speaking in that way whilst some of the clergy were present, and considering the great rank they hold amongst the Christians." However the Ambassador says, notwithstanding this, he had seen a great number of very good monks, especially an old man, the head of the church in the Escorial. [From the register of the Escorial this man would be Fray Pedro Reynoso, a *Catedratico*, or Professor, who succeeded Fray Luis de San Pablo on the 5th December, 1690.] This leads to a description of the Escorial: speaking of the college there, and of the study of Latin, he says Latin is equivalent to the study of syntax amongst the Arabs. When the Ambassador was at the Escorial the damage done by the fire in 1671 had not yet been entirely repaired.

¹ This is still the practice at the present day.

After this the Ambassador went to Aranjuez, where he took leave of the King, and was received by him and the Queen and a great number of ladies. The King gave him a letter for the Sultan, and charged him with presenting his salutations to the Sultan, and with requesting from him his favour for the captives in Marocco, and expressed his readiness and desire to comply with any representations which the Sultan might make. The Ambassador, though in a hurry to return to his country, was persuaded to remain a day at Aranjuez, to go out shooting with one of the King's confidants: he then returned to Madrid, and left it for Marocco on the 1st of Ramazan (or the 29th of May, 1691), and journeyed to Toledo; of this he gives a long description, and follows it with several passages from the history of the Arab conquest. [Some of these are taken from Ibn Adhary, others are contained in Al Makkari, and some seem to come from works which are not at present known. The Ambassador's narrative breaks off abruptly, after concluding with a defence of the character of Musa bin Nosayr. Some of these extracts of Arab history have been published in M. Dozy's *Recherches*, and others in a memoir of Mr. Gayangos on the *Chronicle of the Moor Rasis*.] [The following passage is not, I think, so well known.]

“Abdul Malik Ibn Habib said, and he attributes it to some of the Tabis who entered Spain, the Khalifs of Beny Umayyah had disposed that when the produce of the taxes arrived, there should present themselves with it ten of the principal and best of the inhabitants of each place; and neither dinar nor dirhem entered into the treasury of these taxes until the deputation had sworn by God, there is no other deity but He, that there was not amongst that money any dinar or any dirhem which had been taken otherwise than lawfully, and that this money was only the produce of what had been given by the people of the country for their families and children. There arrived a deputation from Afrikiyah with its taxes in the last days of the Khalif Suleyman; and when they were ordered to take the oath, eight of them swore, and two men abstained, these were Ismail bin Abid Allah, a client of the

Beny Mahzum, and As-Samh bin Malik Khaulany. And Omer bin Abdul Aziz was surprised at what they had done, and when he succeeded to the Califate, he drew them near to him, and experienced in them good faith and good conduct. And he set Ismail bin Abid Allah as governor over Afrikiyah, and As-Samh bin Malik as governor over Spain.”

Two Turkish words, *boghaz*, straits, and *sanjak*, a flag, are used in this MS., also جامور, which is not to be found in the dictionary, and is Maghriby for *hillal*, the crescent, or pinnacle of a mosque. There is also the word مكنة which I have been unable to find the origin of, it must mean a sun-dial or clock.

