

THE DIARIES OF MATVEI KOKOVTSSEV

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Matvei Grigor'evich Kokovtsev, 1745–93, was a Russian naval officer, intelligence officer and writer. He entered the Naval Cadet Corps in 1760, graduated in 1765, and volunteered on Maltese galleys in the Mediterranean until 1768. From 1770 to 1775 he served in the Mediterranean and participated in the battle of Chesme, 1770. He received the St George cross in 1775. In 1776 he was sent by the Russian government, disguised as a merchant, to report on the military and political situation in Algeria and Tunisia. He returned to St Petersburg in 1779. In 1783 he was made captain of the first rank; two years later he retired with the rank of brigadier.

Kokovtsev wrote two books. This travel diary is appended to his first book: *Description of the Archipelago and the Barbary Coast, which explains the position of the islands, towns, fortresses, ports, reefs and shoals; the number of inhabitants, their beliefs, rituals, customs, with an ancient history appended and 3 plans* (St Petersburg, Vil'kovskii and Gal'chenkov, 1786). The account is an *aide-mémoire* for the Russian government on the military and naval strength of Tunisia and Algeria and on current trade relations, as well as an account of government and customs. It was formally dedicated to tsarevich, later Tsar, Paul.

A second book, *True information about Algeria, the character and customs of the local people, about government and incomes; about the condition of the Barbary coast; about plants etc with an accurate map*, was published in St Petersburg the following year.

Diary with adversaria made during the first voyage from Leghorn to Tunisia and other Barbary harbours in 1776

by Captain of the Navy *Matvei Grigor'evich Kokovtsev*,
who now is a brigadier and knight.¹

MAY

24. I went out to *Tunisia* on a merchant Venetian polyaka² called the “*St. John*”. Its captain was a Slav *Mikel Munster*.

25. The wind blew north, and we went on to the eastern shore of the Island of *Corsica*.

26. We tacked between the islands of *Corsica* and *Monte-Christo* [Montecristo] because of the cross-wind.

27. The wind blew north-east and we went south; about noon we were in line with the island of *Tavalara* [Tavolara] six miles distant from it; and in the evening we saw the village of *Aquilaastro* [Ogliastro] on the Sardinian shore. Reefs six miles to the east from the above-mentioned village made us keep one rhumb lower.

28. Quiet wind blew north. In the evening we saw cape *Carbonar* [Carbonara Boi]. *Barthelot's*³ charts inaccurately show a shoal near this cape, as actually here [there] is no shoal.

29. The wind blew north-east, and we went on towards cape *Bon*. In the evening we passed the

¹ Italics in the text are by Kokovtsev; clarifications by the editors in square brackets. Modern names of places have been added in square brackets.

² Polacca, a Mediterranean vessel with three masts.

³ François Berthelot, map publisher.

island of *Maritimo* [Marettimo], which lies 35 miles to the East.

30. In the morning we tacked because of the cross-wind. At noon a strong wind blew north-east, and we went up to *Kerker* [Skerki]; this dangerous shoal lies 33 miles to the north-west (N½W) from cape Bon and 48 miles to the west-south (WbS¼W according to the true North) from the island of *Fignana* [Favignana].

31. In the morning we saw cape *Zibib* [Zebib]. As a strong wind blew east, I [arranged] with the captain that for some payment our ship would visit *Bizerta* [Bizerte], and in the evening we entered Biserta roadstead and anchored there at a depth of 6 sazhen;⁴ ground fine sand. Cape *Utic* [Utica], which lay in our path, is called in French maps cape *Kani* [Cani]; it was to the north-east from us.

JUNE

On the 1st of June I went ashore disguised as an agent of a certain merchant from our ship,⁵ and observed *Bizerta*. It is well situated. This city belongs to the *Tunisian* government; it is strongly fortified, but its buildings are very low. Its harbour is closed and large enough but numerous reefs let only small vessels enter. Two strong batteries with eight cannons each protect the entrance into the harbour. Europeans buy here much grain, with which this land abounds.

2. Today I went in a boat to observe the ruins of the ancient city of *Utica*; a sheer shore shuts out the view of the ruins from our ship. Many authors and especially *Martell*⁶ place the ruins near the city and the harbour of *Farino* [Farina], but they are wrong, as in reality they are near *Bizerta*. See plan 11, picture 1.

3. In the morning we heaved up the anchor and with a west wind went towards *Tunis*; in the evening we passed three small islets called *Cana*. The wind blew north-east, and we passed nine miles away from the *Farino* landing place. At 6 p.m. we arrived at *Gulet's* [La Goulette/Goletta] roadstead and anchored there. Water was four and a half sazhen deep, ground fine sand. Cape *Karvago* [Carthage] was located to the west, and the mountain of *Soliman*, also called *Piombo*, to the south-east (S½E). Here we met numerous merchantmen: 8 French, 6 Venetian, 5 English, 3 Ragusian,⁷ 2 Swedish, 2 Tunisian half-galleys, and 12 local small vessels.

4. We had to spend this day in quarantine, until they reported to the *Bey*⁸ where the ship had come from and with what cargo. I pretended to be fishing, but measured the depth of the roadstead as much as possible. See Plan 11, picture 2.

5. The English consul Mr. *Trail* has visited me and assured me of my security here. He said that he is a good friend of the local Bey, and it proved to be really so, as the governor of *Guleta* fortress, where we had landed, received us very kindly. This fortress includes a single redoubt with 45 guns; but on the other side [of the channel], there is another redoubt although without any guns, but it is easy to place some there if necessary. The canal between the redoubts of the fortress is so narrow that two boats can hardly scrape past each other without touching. From *Guleta* we went to *Tunis* on a vessel called a sandal or plashkaut.⁹ The depth of the gulf is no more than three and a half feet; ground shifting silt.

6. I stayed in the city of Tunis, which is located nine miles to the west from Guleta fortress. It is the capital of Tunisia; it is seven miles around and is surrounded with an almost ruined stone wall. At the entrance, at the right side, there is a poorly fortified castle founded in the sixteenth century under *Don Juan* the Austrian.¹⁰ The city is built without any order and design; the houses are very low, excluding

⁴ One sazhen equals 2.13 metres.

⁵ In effect. Kokovtsev was spying for the Russian government which explains his disguise.

⁶ Pierre Martell, scholar of antiquity.

⁷ From Ragusa, now Dubrovnik.

⁸ Title used for provincial governors in the Ottoman Empire.

⁹ A type of barge.

¹⁰ Don Juan of Austria, illegitimate son of Charles V, military leader.

those of the consuls, which are a bit higher, but all are single storey; floors are at the level of the earth and it is difficult to tell a door from a window. Each house has a reservoir connected with a well. The best adornment in a house is a floor paved with coloured tiles, and people sleep on the floor, sit on it, have their dinner and supper on the floor. The exterior of a house conforms to its interior, as they are built of a coarse stone fixed with clay without any harmony or attention. The main buildings in the city are a mosque and a hospital, but if they are compared with European architecture they do not deserve any attention. The streets are narrow and dirty, that is why the windows of their houses look out on their gardens, and only the entrance doors of the houses face the street.

7. The city of *Tunis* has about one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants: Moors, Bedouins, Levantine Turks, Jews and Christians. They are mainly engaged in handicrafts, practising weaving; they have also good cap manufactures and have a profitable trade with the Levant. They produce good wool, cotton and silk fabrics and trade in them with Europe, the Levant and Egypt. The city is built on a low and flat shore at the end of the gulf, twenty miles to the south from the ruins of ancient Carthage. Various fruit fig and olive trees with which the city abounds add much to its pleasant appearance.

I have no intention of describing this part of Africa, previously called *Libya*, and the power and opulence of ancient Carthage, but in order to satisfy the curiosity of readers and to make reading of this diary more pleasant I briefly mention the modern history of this region. In 1110 *Abdulferes*, a grandson of *Abdumedy*¹¹ of Morocco, exploited local political disturbances and proclaimed himself a Shereef;¹² he set up a monarchic rule, appropriate for his time. This prince was strong; he conquered many neighbouring lands, in particular Algeria; his descendants ruled this country up to 1519. Finally brave *Barbarossa* deposed *Mullah Hasin*,¹³ the thirty-fifth king of Abulefres¹⁴ ancestry. *Barbaroosa*,¹⁵ a famous seamen, was born in Metelin [Mytilen]¹⁶ and at first he served as a simple corsair. But when under the [Holy] Roman Emperor Charles the Fifth the Sultan sent him to Algeria to protect this city from Christians, he made use of the jealousy and devotion of the janissary and killed the local king. He proclaimed himself the Algerian ruler, and later captured Tunis and banished *Mullah Hasin*. The latter turned to Charles the Fifth, who came with a adequate navy, took Guleta fortress, expelled *Barbaroosa* and once more crowned *Mullah Hasin*. But the unlucky Shereef did not enjoy power for long; the Saracens revolted and banished both him and his grandson. As a result of this turmoil the kingdom was weakened, and in 1570 *Aluk Ali*,¹⁷ who betrayed *Mullah Hasin*, came to power. But this reign being illegally acquired was also short lived, as *Don Juan* the Austrian immediately drove him out from Tunisia and left a Spanish garrison in Guleta fortress; to stop the Saracen rebels he built a castle in Tunis. Sultan *Amurad*¹⁸ was put in power by the Ottoman Porte and decided to rid the Barbary shore of the Spaniards. A great fleet, which he had armed, achieved the desired success: the Spaniards had to retreat and left the shore under Turkish protection. At first, the Porte sent pashas here to govern, but later on they exploited the turmoil in Constantinople, exalted themselves, and acquired independence and in co-operation with army officers they established a military Aristocracy, which continues even now. The chief Bey, elected by military commanders, rules together with them in a despotic way. Now the Tunisian government pays the Algerian Bey thirty three thousand golden coins. This tribute shows not Tunisian weakness, but the miserliness of the modern *Bey Ali Hasan*¹⁹ who did not want to maintain an adequate army. But he also has a good reason not to increase the army, because the more Janissary [there are], the shorter will be his life; as the Janissary very often kill their Beys for their only aim is to receive more presents from a new

¹¹ This is a confusing section. There is no record of a revolt in 1100. The Arabic names are garbled by Kokovtsev. They could be members of the Almoravid dynasty (1040–1147) or the Almohad dynasty (1121–1269) but it not possible to match names or dates to this account. Abu Faris abd al-Aziz, Hafsi dynasty, is closest as a name to Abdulferes but he ruled 1394–1434.

¹² Sheykh or sheikh.

¹³ Probably Mulay Hassan, Hafsid ruler of Tunis, overthrown by *Barbarossa* in 1534, reinstated by Charles V, then overthrown by his son Mulay Ahmad in 1543. In turn he was defeated by *Don Juan* in 1574.

¹⁴ Probably referring to the Hafsid dynasty, who ruled the territory of modern-day Algeria and Tunisia from 1229 to 1574.

¹⁵ *Barbarossa*, Hayreddin *Barbarossa*; corsair and later admiral of the Ottoman fleet.

¹⁶ Capital of the island of Lesbos.

¹⁷ *Uluç Ali*, privateer, later admiral of the Ottoman fleet.

¹⁸ Probably Abd al-Malik, the ruler of Morocco, 1576–78.

¹⁹ Ali II ibn Hussein, ruler of Tunisia 1759–82.

Bey who will inherit the treasury of his predecessors.

The present Bey has 3000000 golden coins, but some say that he has much more; and I do not doubt that they are right. Besides other incomes, together with other headmen the Bey buys local products for a minimal price, which he himself fixes, and then sells these goods to Europeans and acquires all the profit.

Rustics here are called Bedouins. Because of their ignorance they live in extreme poverty, as headmen deprive them of their products for a minimal price. That is why agriculture decays and people do not search for new ways to acquire profit. In spite of the fact that Tunisia abounds with grain, various fruits, lamp oil, wool, wax and other goods, people do not make use of them. The present Bey has a very small army, and his navy is also not so large: it includes 12000 men located in different cities. Tunisian Janissary are a bunch of wastrels, Turks from the Levant and the most wicked Christian renegades. Their navy under the command of a renegade Ali Reis²⁰ includes one 20-gun frigate, two 25-oared galleys, 4 small half-galleys and 1 shebeka.²¹ It is based in Farino harbour, located 36 miles to the North-west from Tunis. A part of this navy cruises along the shores of Sardinia, Sicily and Calabria in a war against Christians; they often devastate coastal areas, kidnap local people and take ransoms; in this way they earn more money than with all their trade and industry. But the Christian powers instead of punishing such an impertinence try to encourage them, especially the Frenchmen, who often enter their ports and carry on a profitable trade here. Both the men-of-war and the merchants have a spacious and calm roadstead near the Guleta fortress. The Tunisian gulf is very shallow, so they transport cargo from tradesmen to Tunis by sandals or plashcouts.

10. I went with the English consul in a two-wheeled cart (called here a coach) to the small city of *Bardo* [Le Bardo] three miles to the West from Tunis. Here is the usual residence of the Bey and other seigniors. The palace of the ruler, which is considered here to be an exceedingly large house, is built partly in European taste. Marble columns decorate the entrance into this single-storey building and make it splendid. The English consul presented *me* to the Bey as a Russian noble who would like to see the rarities of this land (there are but a few rarities). The Bey hosted *me* in a kind way, and asked how I found his people. Not the people's condition, but politeness made me compliment [the people]; and the Bey in Barbarian-Italian answered: "ogo quanto star bon Re, star bona gente", that is: *a good King makes his subjects good*. On hearing that, I could hardly help laughing. It seems to *me* that he knows little about European customs and he is not sufficiently educated for the greatness of his position, but they say that he is just, although superstitious. His speech openly demonstrated his sincere wish to conclude peace with the Russian Empire, if HER IMPERIAL MAJESTY will approve it. He is greatly inclined to collect treasures, and he lives in such a miserly way, that his daily expenses do not exceed 15 piastres. His court consists of Christian slaves, who are rather well dressed, and some [are] armed.

14. I visited the ruins of the ancient city of Carthage located near the cape of the same name. The remnants of this city which was famous in antiquity are worthy of curiosity, especially the aqueduct. It extends from a place called *Javan*²² located 80 miles to the South from Carthage; one can still see its stone pillars and arcs. The Aqueduct cuts through rocky mountains, in flat places it is supported with columns and it ends in the very city ruins in twenty artificial reservoirs. The columns and pillars are positioned eighteen feet apart from each other, its arcs are up to 120 feet high and eighteen feet in diameter. The ruins of the Aqueduct are still preserved;²³ one can see also the foundations of spacious buildings, partly covered with earth. It was not difficult to reveal the main parts of this famous city; possibly here are as many antiquities as nearby Rome and Naples. The Tunisians have sealed off this area, and nobody but Mohammedans may live here without special permission. On the Carthage cape

²⁰ Seya Ali Reis was an Ottoman admiral and navigator, and cousin of Antonio Psaro, a Greek who served in Russian navy during the previous war against the Porte as a lieutenant commander, and was now the Russian agent in Malta. Psaro also had some inclination towards piracy. In 1788, during the war against Turkey, the Russian Admiralty decided to instruct him to encourage pirate activity there: his mission was successful. Moreover, the Russian consul in Leghorn since 1770 had been a Greek, Theodor Alexiano, who had previously served the Tunisian Bey as his agent for the sale of prizes.

²¹ Shebeka or xebec, an Ottoman vessel.

²² Unidentified. Possibly El Jem, some 100 miles south of Tunis where there is a great Roman amphitheatre.

²³ According to a local legend, the ruins of this famous city were fully covered with earth and hardly visible; but curious Englishmen excavated them at their own expense.

there is a small castle called *Birsa*.

17. I went boating to *Farino* harbour. See plan II, picture 3. This small and poorly fortified place is the main base of Tunisian navy. Shallows make the entrance into the harbour very narrow. The harbour is capable of receiving not more than eighteen ships. The water is deep enough for naval frigates. On the Northern cape, they have built a small 8-gun battery to protect the harbour, and the other side is under the protection of a puny twelve-gun fortress. In [times of] danger they block the entrance with an iron chain, as the breadth of the entrance is only one and a quarter cables.²⁴ Here is located also the Tunisian Admiralty, but I did not see any ships under construction, and I suppose they build only galleys; their frigate, it seems to *me*, is bought from the Swedes. They receive timber necessary for shipbuilding from the Danes and Swedes, who yearly pay a timber tribute under the guise of presents. Other relevant supplies [are]: hemp, iron, tar, anchors, cannons and cannonballs. They bargain for their products, but mainly receive them from Frenchmen without payment. Recently they have bought from Englishmen two 20-gun frigates, but they did not use them for long, as last year a Maltese galley squadron came in the night to Guleta and burnt the frigates with fire ships.

18. I continued [my] observation of the harbour, and on the above-mentioned boat I went round cape *Zibib* [Zebib] pretending that I was searching for antiquities. The Turks not only never prevent any foreigner from searching for antiquities, but also encourage him: they are exceedingly proud at the fact that eight miles from cape *Zibib*, there are the ruins of the famous ancient city of *Utica*, the *Catonian* refuge. I wanted to see the ruins, and in spite of the difficult terrain I left the boat at cape *Zibib* for a whole day and scrambled along the shore towards the ruins. A hundred steps from the shore, there are ruins of several houses, columns and capitals, including an intact corner with an oblong piece of wall of a huge and presumably grand building; its cement has not slightest clefts. Ionic columns adorn the building, and it is likely it was built before the Romans conquered the Carthaginian Republic. See plan 11, picture 2.

21. I returned to Tunis, and thanks to my friendship with the British consul I tried to learn about the Tunisian way of government, rites, arts and trade.

Romans have called this nation, as well as all other nations conquered by them, Barbarians, and Europeans still use this name, in spite of the fact that these people do not deserve such a uncivilised name. It is true that they are not enlightened, but like all other nations they have their origins and their rites. The name Barbarians fits a malevolent, lawless and cruel nation; but I found *Barbarian* people as a whole more kind and hospitable than many Europeans, in particular Sicilians, Calabrians and some members of the Spanish nation. Their engagement in piracy comes not from evil temper, but from [their] misuse by a tyrannical government, which makes a great profit from this trade. But Europeans themselves do not punish them for their piracy! All power is in the hands of the Bey, the military commanders and the high clergy, who all come from the Turkish Janissaries and renegades; but native Barbarian people do not occupy any offices and positions. The government only lets people in remote villages elect sheikhs among themselves and obey their orders. The local impudent militia often ignores the commands of their officers, this is why the Barbarian government is liable to change so often. Local people, that is Moors, Bedouins and Jews live in slavery, ignorance and poverty. In spite of the extreme fertility of Tunisia, the unjust oppression of the people and the unrestrained power of unenlightened chiefs prevent the exploitation of this wealth. The Bey and the main chiefs buy the fruits of the hard labours of their subjects for the lowest price, and receive great profit through resale to Christian merchants; thus people have no will to work. Such are the qualities of Barbarian government, and this government justly deserves the name of a Barbarian one, but not the people, who are kind and generous.

Bedouins or peasants live in extreme poverty, in the most basic cabins, under tents and some even under the shadow of trees; they have no idea about architecture. The simplest rags hardly cover their bodies; their main meal is grain gruel with some butter. Local government [officials] intensely hate Algerians and strongly wish them to be enslaved; that is why they do not protect them from European powers, as they should do, and in a case of war between Europeans and Algeria they are even ready to help [foreign

²⁴ A cable used to measure short distances at sea is 185.2 metres.

powers] against their neighbours, but in secret. Algerians have always oppressed Tunisians, and received their hatred in return. Christian merchants trade here freely, especially Englishmen. Englishmen in Barbary command respect, because they punish them for their insolence, but other European states ignore it, and thus encourage them to insult their subjects, and even not to pay consuls proper respect. This year, they have shot one French consul, and in Algeria they cruelly beat him with a stick and chained [him up] together with all the French merchants who happened to be there; but the French board of trade condones all that!

The city of Tunis has trade caravan connections with the hinterland, Algeria, Constantinople, Tripoli, and to the South with Cadenians²⁵ and other Arabian peoples. Their caravans travel in convoys, but nomadic African inhabitants loot caravans. One who wants to travel from one place to another joins one of the caravans, especially in the winter. Because of the difficult route and lack of forage they use camels, which are so obedient that a little child may drive them. A camel when is saddled bends down without a command, and when it feels that it cannot lift a bigger burden, it makes it clear with different movements. Arabs and Bedouins consider it a sin to burden camels with more than they can carry.

Tunisia has golden and silver coins; first are called *Zarmabuks*,²⁶ four and a half piastres worth, each *Zarmabuk* contains thirty Levantine *pars*. A *Piastre* comprises sixty *Kharubs*,²⁷ and a *Kharub* comprises five *Aspers*. They readily exchange all the European money here, especially Venetian golden coins,²⁸ which comprise six and a half piastres. Europeans bring here rush cloth, heavy silk fabrics, sugar, spices, iron and steel instruments; Spanish wool, from which caps are made; military ammunition, such as gunpowder, cannons, cannonballs and iron, and in return they import grain, various fruits, leather, marocen,²⁹ lamp oil, wax, plumes, feather, local wool; the deficit is covered with gold sand and animals: lions, leopards, chameleons and monkeys. Tolls for import and export are five percent for Christians and ten for Barbarian Jews; furthermore, Christians pay, besides the usual payment to their consuls, 35 piastres for each ship which lands or leaves: they call it “anchorage toll” or “landing toll”. Sometimes Tunisians bring wool fabrics, lead, gold sand, caps in their own ships to the Levant and Egypt and change them in the Levant for silk and cotton fabrics, vitriol and cotton, and in Egypt for flax, coffee and so-called Saracen millet. If their goods prove to be cheaper, they cover the difference with Spanish piastres, which they receive as a ransom for captives. Products of the city account for the presence of up to one hundred fifty Europeans, in particular French ships; besides, a good branch of its trade goes by caravans to Saley and Cademia (to Beliduljerid Africans,³⁰ who live behind the Atlantic mountains).³¹ The Saley caravan goes once a year; it carries French clothes and mirrors to be exchanged for gold sand. Two caravans with the same goods go yearly to Cademia, Bambuc³² and other Southern regions. The region of Cademia is located 450 miles to the South from Tunis; Europeans do not know its inhabitants. Some of them are Mohammedan, some pagan, and others have no law and have no contact with foreigners. That is why Tunisians and other merchants act there in the following way: they place their goods in a special site and hide; then Cadenians approach the goods, examine them and lay down as a payment some gold sand or Negro slaves; then they go away. The Tunisians return to the place of trade, and if they find the payment adequate they take it and leave the site. If they find the payment too little (which happens very rarely) they set it apart and hide once more, and the Cadenians either leave the purchase or add some payment. Sometimes this silent market lasts for a week, but finally, having disposed all the goods without any cheating, they go home.

However narrow and filled with sewage Tunis’ streets are, Tunisian inhabitants suffer no illnesses: mineral waters located near the city and the habit of baking biscuits very often clean the air sufficiently,

²⁵ From Cademia or Cademia in text: possibly the Trans-Saharan kingdoms of Songhai and Kanem.

²⁶ *Zarmabuk* – an Ottoman gold coin.

²⁷ *Kharub* – a bronze or low-grade silver Tunisian coin. There are 16 *kharubs* in a *piastre* but text states 60.

²⁸ Ducats.

²⁹ *Macaron* – a soft fabric made of wool or silk.

³⁰ ‘Beliduljerid’ is the name of a steppe in southern part of modern Tunisia on the ancient Tritonis lake, below sea level.

³¹ The Atlas mountains.

³² Possibly Bamako in Mali.

and city folk enjoy good health. It also helps that from April till November there occur no rains, except heavy dews, which cool the products of the earth during the great heat. Winds, which blow in this season from North and West, also help. Near the city of Tunis the land is fertile and fruits grow naturally, but ignorant inhabitants plant but few vegetables. Date palms, olive trees and grapes abundantly grow in fields without any care, but they make no wine after the prohibition by Alcoran.³³ Nine miles to the East from Tunis, a bathhouse has been built where various illnesses are cured.

Now I turn to Tunisian acts of robbery. Nearly all Barbarians wage war against Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, Tuscany and property of the Church in a piratic way. That is why the Tunisian government sends two big galleys and one shebeka to protect a multitude of private half-galleys (they call them galliots).³⁴ This fleet cruises sometimes separately and sometimes together along the shores; often they land and plunder settlements and capture people.

They do not exclude merchant ships, even those which belong to the states at peace with Tunisia, but in this case they do not cause much harm: they only loot compasses, charts, sugar and other food supplies. In spite of the fact that the government often punishes them, they commit acts of impertinence of this kind every day; and Europeans who care about their trade forgive offences against their flags. The cruises of these corsairs continue for not more than forty days. When they make preparations for the expedition they do not let European merchantmen out of their ports: it is a precaution against the Maltese, of whom they are afraid more than anyone else.

Tunisians also have merchant ships. Some of them have four masts, including one on the very stern, on the outrigger; three-mast ships called Pataks look like European polyaks;³⁵ two-mast ships which could carry one, two or three hundred barrels; there are also several feluccas³⁶ to transport local goods along the shore. The main ports of this land are Guleta arina [Ariana], Bizerta, Suza [Sousse/Susa], Monastier [Monastir], Svaka [Sfax] and Zerba [Zebib]. Near the latter, there occurs irregular flux and reflux. If Farino harbour were cleaned, it could serve naval ships; but now the water there is shallow and large frigates stay in Bizerta, a harbour dangerous because of numerous reefs.

Now I will describe their law, customs and civil government. In ancient times Africans deified the Sun; an eternal flame burned in cressets in the Sun's honour, and that is from which the Roman Vestal virgins inherited their superstition. In the fourth Century after Christ they preached the Gospel to Africans. Christianity especially spread there when the Goths had conquered Spain and forced some Christians to settle in Africa. Finally, African Christians, as well as European ones, divided into different sects; one submitted to the Roman, and the other to the Eastern Church, not knowing which church to prefer.

The world knows perfectly well the reasons for these disaccords, and it remains to me just to say that in those days only the clergy had some education and they made people blindly follow their will. In the middle of the eighth Century the Mohammedan faith preached along with armed force reached the Barbary shore, spread over all the Africa and banished its opponents. Shereefs, Mohammed's descendants, who came here to power, forced all the people to accept Mohammedan law, which already had been divided into numerous sects: in Turkey, there was Omar and in Persia, Ali sects. Followers of Omar believe that God is the cause of both good and evil, that the Law as well as God are ever-present, that they will see Him in reality, and Mohammed will stand before Him in both flesh and spirit, and that five daily prayers are necessary for salvation. The Ali sect contradicts this, and states that God is cause of good only, nothing is ever-present, that only Mohammed's soul will stand before God, and that only three daily prayers are obligatory. Such empty mind games are generated by the feuding of catechists, who in former times had been engaged in empty exegetics.

Now in Barbary, there are many different spiritual communes, e.g. Morabuts, Santons, Cavalist and Sunakits, who differ in some spiritual rites; but they are the same in their attempt to deceive simple

³³ The Quran.

³⁴ Galiot – a shallow draft vessel.

³⁵ Patak – vessel like a polyam or a polacca, similar to a xebec.

³⁶ Small boats propelled by oars or lateen sails.

people, being themselves veiled with a curtain of piety. Previously their aim was to rule over people, but now, when the people grow in enlightenment over time, they derive their subsistence in this way. One could say that Muslim spiritual leaders are not so adverse to other religions as Europeans are. The proof is that the Christians and Jews who live there freely practise their confessions.

What about the Barbarians' attitude toward Europeans? As a whole they despise the latter and treat them cruelly, especially the Algerians. They have become accustomed to keep Christians in slavery and conclude that all Europeans are created for this purpose. But some Barbarians, those who have visited Europe, are much more kind toward Christians and treat them more benevolently. Civil government and the military order depend on the militia, which dominates here. Beys and all the officers are selected from the militia; local Barbarians play no part in government, excluding some Arabian tribes. The Bey allowed these tribes to elect their chiefs, and tries to support them, so that in case the militias revolt they will join his banners. The Bey together with the most influential lords constitute a Divan where he has the first voice. Chiefs of the militia and Christian renegades, who enjoy great confidence in this land, administer justice. Foreign consuls call the Tunisian Bey "Excellence", and local people [call him] "Sultan Majesty". Civil, military and ecclesiastical litigations are prosecuted orally; the wrong sentence can be appealed against before the Divan or the Highest Council. If a Christian merchant has a quarrel with a Turk, they elect adjudicators, an equal number from each side, and they must accept the adjudicators' sentence. If Christians have a law case among themselves, and they are not satisfied with a decision by their consuls, they [turn] to Turkish jurisdiction, and the Barbarians try to arbitrate equitably and without bribery. Bankrupts and debtors are cruelly punished here, namely: Turks are imprisoned for life, Moors are hanged, Jews are burned to death and Christians (if the consul does not bail them out) are imprisoned as well as Turks; that is why bankrupts and debtors are rare here.

Janissaries and foreign consuls may carry arms, but the streets are so narrow that this privilege is seldom used. When somebody encounters a Janissary in a street, he had better give way to him, otherwise the Janissary could swear or even insult him. Tunisians have active connections with Europeans, and that is why they are much cleverer than other Barbarians, and they are much friendlier toward Christians. They allow Europeans not only to have free trade, but also allow them to freely minister Christian services, which is often forbidden even by enlightened peoples. The reason for this indulgence is that clergy have no part in government in Barbary. They not only do not force free people but even slaves to adopt their faith. It is forbidden to defame their faith in public, but the same norm is followed concerning Christian religion. Barbarians are more gallant in their treatment of Christians than are Levantines. They love to hear and to tell supernatural fables because of their ignorance.

Christian merchants who live here avoid making them gifts, because they may *come* to idea that merchants are obliged to do so, and are not ashamed to beg themselves. It is also unworthy to invite them for dinner, because having regaled somebody once you should treat him in the same way whenever he is able to *come*. Hospitality is a great honour for the host; this custom Barbarians inherited from Arabian peoples, who, as Abdulfred³⁷ writes, strictly observed hospitality. Barbarians never accept Christians within their houses, and during negotiations receive them in specially arranged places or in coffee houses. Women are hidden here, as in the Levant, and even the bridegroom may not see his bride before marriage, and only his kinswomen can help him. When outdoors, women are always covered, and nothing is seen but their eyes. They wallow in deep ignorance, and have not a least idea about normal human social life,³⁸ because from childhood they closet a woman in the serai and teach her nothing but libidinous treatment with her future husband. They eat ground *suring* root, which grows at the foot of the Atlantic Mountain³⁹ and accelerates the blood thus triggering lust; in this way they deserve [their] husband's love. They colour fingers, blacken eyebrows and dress themselves in the Levantine way.

Grand seigneurs in Barbary distinguish themselves from the vulgar mob with devotion, charity,

³⁷ Probably Abu'l-Fazl, court historian.

³⁸ Literally: 'not a least idea about human being in the world'.

³⁹ The Atlas mountains.

humility and moderation in food. At the eighth clock in the evening everybody is already at home, and they may not have any gatherings at night. The government forbids gatherings; it is afraid that oppressed people can with the help of Christian slaves find an opportunity to rise and overthrow this yoke through a revolt. They live in complete avarice and dig their treasures in the earth, being afraid that the chiefs may learn about their richness; chiefs often dispossess them without any fault. These poor beings are not masters of their money, or even their lives, because of greedy and unjust chiefs, whose tyranny has no limits to the eternal misfortune of the Barbarian people.

20. I have found a two-mast Barbarian *patak*, which was going to Tripoli. This vessel belongs to the local prime-minister Amurat Asen,⁴⁰ who practises commerce as well as political engagement. Genoese with a passport issued by the local Bey served in this boat. Its captain, a Barbarian, a kind man, was ignorant of navigation: his first rule was not to sail further than 5 miles from the shore, so that the view of the shore serves him as both a compass and a map.

21. I provided myself with necessary provision: couscous,⁴¹ eggs and dried fruits, and went from Guleta to cape Bon. On my way I observed the gulf coastline, and with the help of my small compass it was easy to make corrections in the map. Concerning the longitude of capes, I could not find them geometrically as we moved along the shore, but I marked their calculation of distances. Barbarians calculate distances in Italian miles, seventy miles in a degree,⁴² and rarely make mistakes in their calculations. After eight p.m. we passed between the islands of Tsimbala [Zembre and Zembretta] and cape Bon; the latter was four miles to the Northeast.

22. Wind blew west and we were six miles from cape Bon, at its eastern side.

23. In the morning we entered Galibian [Gallipia] roadstead and stopped at a shoal two and a half sazhen deep, not far from the city. The city belongs to the Tunisians. Its redoubt has 6 cannons, but is almost ruined. Merchant ships seldom enter this roadstead, because it is open to the South-east winds, which [cause] storms here in Barbary. The city has 5000 inhabitants. They trade with Tunisians and other neighbouring people in small vessels in grain, beans and wax – they abound with these goods. Men-of-war often enter the harbour because of the winds and stay at a depth of ten or twelve sazhen and receive sweet water here, which flows from under the mountain of Piombo. An Aga with twenty Janissaries governs the city. Local inhabitants have the same customs as the Tunisians.

15 miles to the south near a small fortress of Kurbus [Gurbes], there are ruins of a big city. I examined the ruins and have seen a part of a fallen aqueduct and a bridge over a brook, both covered with numerous Latin graffiti; that is why I decided that the Romans had built that city.

24, 25, 26. During my three-day stay here I charted the roadstead, as shows in my rather accurate plan. See plan II, picture 4.

27. In the morning the wind blew north-west, and we went on towards the city of Suza, keeping a good offing. We have seen only a few settlements, in spite of numerous advantages for agriculture. The shore is mountainous, sometimes low, and covered with prolific fruit trees.

28. Wind blew south-west, and to my surprise we were fifteen miles from the shore, which was contrary to the miles adopted by our captain, who was very nervous about such remoteness.

29. Light air blew north. At noon we passed the small fortress of *Ercola* [Herklia], having left it five miles to the West. The fortress is situated on a protruding cape. At 8 o'clock in the evening we arrived at a quay in *Suza* [Sousse], a city, where we spent two days. Suza belongs to the Tunisian government and is properly fortified. Its garrison comprises two hundred Janissaries. The city has about twelve thousand inhabitants; they are rich and trade with Europeans in grain and lamp oil. Here live Christian agents who must buy goods at the certain times and send them sometimes by small vessels to Tunisia, and

⁴⁰ Probably referring to Ali II ibn Hussein.

⁴¹ African dish made of barley, mutton and vegetables.

⁴² An Italian mile is 1,852 metres.

sometimes directly to Europe by merchant ships. Both men-of-war and merchantmen may safely anchor here along the coast from the little fortress of Ercola to cape *Genient* [Djinet]. The best of all Barbarian harbours *Monastieri* is located ten miles from here. Near this harbour, there is a city with the same name, but Europeans seldom visit it because it has few products.

Near Suza, one can see ancient ruins, and among them one still survives, a dome with columns of eastern granite, in *Corinthian* style. The configuration of the shore, *Mameta* gulf [Hammamet gulf] and the location of the cities of *Ercola*, *Suza* and *Monastieri* see on plan III, picture .

JULY

On the 1st of July in the evening we started to the is land of *Zerbl*; wind blew North-west.

2. We passed the city of *Monastieri* and the islands of *Kaniarii* [Cani], and because of the light air we rowed.

3. The wind has settled in the north, and seven miles to the west-south-west we have seen the city of *Africa*.⁴³ At nine o'clock in the evening we saw cape *Polla* [cape Capoudia] three miles to the south-west.

4. We passed between the islands of *Querkeni* [Kerkennah] and firm land through a strait; its depth was from two and a half to ten sazhens, ground silt. At 5 o'clock p.m. we passed a well-fortified city *Sfaxa* with a closed harbour.

5. The wind blew west, and because of a stream we kept south. At noon we were in the middle of the *Shabes* gulf [Cabès]. At six o'clock in the evening we came to the island of *Serbl*, and anchored there near a place [called] *Bor*; depth two sazhens. The island of *Serbl* is the easternmost Tunisian possession; it is only in sixty sazhens from firm land, and the strait is so shallow that even small vessels cannot pass here. The inhabitants of the islands produce lamp oil. On the northern side of the island there is a decent roadstead for military and merchant ships; *Querken shoals* [shoals of Kerkennah islands] protect the roadstead from northern winds. The Tunisians keep a small fortress on the island garrisoned by fifty Janissaries. In the summer, European ships land here to take cargo of lamp oil and wax: the island and adjacent parts of firm land abound with these products. Near the island of *Zerbla* and in the *Shabes* strait there is a flux and reflux of water twice a day, but not as regular as the usual tide. See plan III, picture 2.

I spent 6. 7. 8. and 9th on the island of *Zerbla*, and had a plan also to visit *Tripoli*. But the intensity of the sun hurt my eyes, and the illness forced me with regret to go back to Tunis on a Venetian brigantine.

10. The wind blew north and we tacked towards the *Querkeni* islands.

11. Calm.

12. South wind; our way went towards the island of *Lampedoza* [Lampedusa].

13. At noon we were eight miles to the south- west of *Lampedoza*.

14. South-east wind; we are near cape *Bon*.

15. Light air.

16. East wind; we passed between the islands of *Tsymbala* and cape *Bon*.

17. In the evening we came to *Guleta* harbour and anchored there; depth is 4 sazhens.

⁴³ Cape Africa; the old name for contemporary Mahdia.

18. Because of my illness I landed ashore and stayed here till the 30th of July in the house of the British consul. I cannot express how much he helped me during my illness. Later on I found a Venetian polyanka called *Madonna delle Gratie* under the command of a Slavonian captain Stanislav and arranged my travel to Tuscany.

31. In the morning I moved to the ship, we heaved up the anchor and pushed off for Leghorn in a west wind.

AUGUST

1. Because of the north-west wind we tacked between the islands of *Tsimbala* and cape *Farino*. In the evening the wind shifted south-west and we kept little higher, to the north-west, to avoid the above-mentioned reefs called *Querki* or *Shirbl*. These rocks in reality continue for thirty-three miles to the north-west (NW) from *cape Bon* and for forty-eight miles to the west-south (WS) from the island of *Favignani*. One French captain discovered the location of the shoal in 1768 when he rowed around it in calm [water] and found that the depth nowhere was more than two fathoms; on his return he made a report to the French Admiralty.

2. The wind blew south-west, and we continued our way to the island of Sardinia. In the evening we saw cape *Carbonado* thirty-five miles to the west-north-west.

3. The light wind blew south. We kept parallel to the shore of Sardinia, 25 miles away.

4. We were at the level of a small city called *Aqualastro*, and in the evening we saw island of Tolar [Tavolara] 20 miles to the north-north-west.

5. In the south-east wind in the evening we passed on the left a strait called *Bonifance* [Bonifacio, between Corsica and Sardinia].

6. The weather was the same; we passed between the island of *Montechristo* and reefs, which are located to the west of it.

7. In the evening we entered the Leghorn roadstead.

8. I moved to the quarantine house, and that was the end of my first travel to Barbary. I append plans of all the Tunisian coast, which I have compiled during this journey.

Second Diary of a Voyage to Barbary made in 1777

JULY

14. I got a place as a mate on a French ship *Mar tin Gaul*. The Captain of the ship took me for a French man, and I was very glad of it, because I had not got special protection;⁴⁴ I thought that it was a safest way to go to the city of *Bona* [Bône, Annaba]. At two p.m. in the north wind we left the Genoese quay and went to *Corsica*.

15. In light north-west wind we saw cape *Corso* [Corse] fifteen miles to the east.

16. An average wind blew south, and sometimes -was calm.

17. The north wind has grown stronger. We went to the south; a surge threatened to end our journey

⁴⁴ Again, he was travelling incognito, essentially as a spy for the Russian government.

at *Delakas* shoal.

18. The weather was hazy; the wind blew north-east. In the evening we left the island of Sampiera [Sampieri] about thirty miles to the south-east-east (SE½E).

19. Light wind blew north. At sunset we sighted the island of *Galito* twenty-six miles to the south-east.

20. Light wind blew west. At noon there appeared capes *Mabra* [Mahdia] and *Raza* [Ras el Hamra and cap de Garde], which enclose the *Bona* gulf. Their distance was thirty-five miles, position – east-south and west- half-west (EbS and WbW).

21. The wind was the same. At noon it changed and we made use of it, came to *Mabra* cape and passed it by six miles. When passing the cape, we had to be wary of a shallow, which continues for two miles east- north-east (ENE).

22. With the light north wind in the morning we passed a small fortress and a small gulf *Porto Genovesa*; it is called so after the Genoese Republic, to which it once belonged. At two o'clock p.m. we came to the city of *Bona* and anchored two cables [from the shore]; four sazhens deep, ground sand. A small island located one quarter of a mile from the fortress protects merchant ships, which land near the fortress, from the north-east winds. The fortress is built in four hundred steps to the north from Bona, under a mountain. It has forty cannons. The Aga who governs the city also commands a garrison, which consists of three hundred Janissaries. I counted some merchant ships: 6 French, 2 English, one Venetian and one Raguzian. As soon as we stopped, a *Chaus*⁴⁵ came onboard and asked from where [we came], where we are going and with what cargo, and if we know any news. One makes an oath that his story is true; if not, he is often beaten with a stick.

23. We spent twenty-four hours in quarantine. They follow this custom in all the Barbary ports to get accurate information about the ship's cargo and the reason for the visit.

24. We acquired permission to land and enter the city. It belongs to the Algerian government, its Eastern province, and is located sixty miles to the east from *Constantina* [Constantine], the capital of the province. A Bey governs the city; he is in charge of the Algerian Divan. Here live up to twenty thousand Moors, Jews, Levantine Turks, Greeks and a few Frenchmen. They have cloth manufactures, but in poor condition. Europeans often visit this port and import from here grain, lamp oil, wool, ostrich plumes, ivory, wax, Numidian horses and African animals, crocodiles, lions, panthers and leopards; in exchange they bring thick canvas, half-cloth, iron and steel tools, sugar, silk. Algiers imports iron, tar, ropes, anchors, sailcloth, powder, cannons, cannonballs and other various supplies. When changing goods, as European ones are more expensive, they pay the difference of about two million Barbarian piastres yearly. I mean Algerian trade as a whole; but Frenchmen acquire great profit from reselling Barbarian goods all over Europe; that is why they encourage the Barbarians to wage war against other sea nations, so that Frenchmen alone can profit from the trade. In this entire region people are oppressed, ignorant and live in great poverty. Some of them hide themselves in impenetrable places and commit robbery; if they learn about a shipwreck, they hurry to plunder [the ship] and may kill the wrecked survivors. Those are the fruits of evil and ignorant government! These malicious customs are a blight on the entire Barbarian coast.⁴⁶ The Algerian militia excels with its brutal and defiant deeds [more than] the Tunisians and Tripolitans. It arrogates supreme power; from its ranks originate Beys, colonels, civil and church chiefs; to epitomize in a single word, it dominates here. As the militia consists of vagabonds escaped from the Levant and renegades one may not expect any good from them. On the contrary, the native local inhabitants are good tempered, genial and industrious: I have noted this in different places during *my* voyage. The land here is fertile, but brings little profit, because the tyrannical government prevents

⁴⁵ Chaus/chiaus/chiaush: an Ottoman court official or military man.

⁴⁶ In Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli both civil, military and spiritual commanders are selected from militia, especially from Levantine Turks. The political system here is a military aristocracy.

people from using the products of the land. Some Arabian tribes could not bear the Barbarian yoke and hid themselves in impenetrable mountains. They live there and are engaged in incursions, especially against Turkish warriors when they go out from their cities to collect tribute. The Barbarian coast awaits its deliverance to *come* from these highlanders, and not without reason, because they have thrown off the yoke of slavery and retained their former freedom and bravery. With time they may grow stronger, and in co-operation with oppressed people could easily dislodge the malign militia; but the latter through trade has grown less evil than the Algerian one.

25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31. I observed the ruins of the ancient city of *Hipon* [Hippo Regius], which lies two miles to the south. In antiquity, the city was the capital of *Mauritania Sitifena* [Mauretania Caesariensis], until in the fourth century great Constantine re built the city of *Cirta* and gave it his name; now it is a residence of the Constantinian Bey. Among the ruins of *Hipon*, there are several capitals in Ionic style, reservoirs, a large ruined cathedral and a statue of Saint Augustin, who had been a bishop of the city. Jujuba trees which bear fruits like Turkish follicles cover all the terrain. The river Hypon divides at its mouth into many tributaries and greatly adorns the land. The famous ancient city is built by the river mouth, one-and-a-half miles from the shore. From here and to the French bastion with a small city [called] *Lakalle* [El Kala] the shore is flat and suitable for agriculture; but the cruelty of the ignorant chiefs towards simple people impedes this trade. Along the shore there are pools, which not only reduce the fertility of the land but are also pestiferous in hot weather; it is easy to reclaim this land through drainage ditches.

In spite of the fact that Bona harbour is open to the north-east wind, men-of-war can safely stay here because of its good beaching. At the same time, merchant ships are not allowed [to dock] between the city and the small island in the winter. There is one more decent roadstead near cape *Mabr* [Mahdia], under a Genoese castle. It is protected from the north-east wind, which rages here on the Barbary shore. Storms came here from north, north-west and south-west.

From the 1 to the 19 of August. The way of life of the local inhabitants is like that in Tunisia, but they suffer much more under the yoke of cruel government; consequently they are more deeply steeped in poverty and ignorance. Their houses have one storey and no decorations. Their diet is barley bread and vegetable [and] fruits. Their dress is poorer than that of Tunisians. They have but few cattle. But they could exist on fruits only if the government did not neglect the gardens. The land here is very favourable for gardens, and dates, pears and plums grow here in the fields without any cultivation, even if they are not as good as they would be if properly cultivated. Here grow also lots of figs, called in their language *Figodindia*; their branches are like reeds with broad leaves; their fruits have a taste like that in other places, but they are much bigger and covered with barbs similar to blackthorn; branches have fruits and the trunks serve as garden fences. The government farms out all the local produce to Jews or French merchants, and having taxed them heavily allows them to take produce from the local inhabitants for the lowest price. As a result the oppressed peasants are not interested in agriculture.

Although the Bey of Constantina is in under the jurisdiction of the Algerian Divan, he often opposes the latter, and he shares this approach with the Tunisian Bey and many dispersed Arabian tribes; [he is] supported in such a way that he rules undisturbed, sometimes even to the grave. The Atlantic mountains cross this entire Eastern province; they start in the kingdom of Morocco and sweep away to the east to the Numidian steppes. In these mountains, some Arabian tribes still retain their independence; they live together with a special breed of monkeys called *Baboons*. Baboons nearly equal humans in height, walk on two legs, and are extraordinarily fierce; they [serve] those highlanders as the most loyal guards. In return, the highlanders catch baboons very seldom, [only] in case of paramount necessity. Behind the Atlantic Mountains, there are the Belidulgian and Sagar [Sahara] regions, but local people have poor communications as the mountains are impenetrable.

During my stay here I have compiled a plan and description of Bona city and harbour. See plan III, figure 3.

20. I went to *Colle* [la Cale], located sixty Italian miles to the east on board of the same Martin-Gaul.

21. We arrived at Colle and anchored in an open roadstead seven sazhen deep. This is the easternmost city under the Algerian government; it is small, but well fortified on a high mountain. Under the mountain, there is a small ruined French city *Bastion de France*, which was built in the seventeenth century. Now the French vice-consul lives there, who is under jurisdiction of a general consul, residing in Algiers.

22. and 23. We loaded the last cargo of coral, which they collect near the islands of Tabarki [Tabarka] and Galita. As I have mentioned, I was on board as a mate, and I rarely landed ashore in order to hide my real position, but nevertheless I could acquire all this useful information. The Algerian coast, as whole, has few harbours. The *Algerian* harbour is the best; to the west, there are roadsteads *Arseny* [Arzew] and *Falcon*, and to the east – *Bugia* [Béjaïa], *Etor* [Escora]⁴⁷ and *Gigery* [Jijel]; in the spring they are all suitable even for naval ships. I planned to examine all these places personally, but the ferocity of Turks and the brevity of my leave of absence from Russia prevented me from doing it.

24. We called all the servants and got under way back to Europe.

25. Light wind blew south. We went towards the south-western shore of the island of Sardinia and saw the island of Galita to the ENE.

26. Light west wind.

27. An average west wind.

28. In the morning we were 18 Italian miles to the SW from the island of Sampiera and went on towards the Genoese shore.

29, 30, 31. Calm. We were in sight of Sardinia.

SEPTEMBER

1. The wind blew south-east. We were went past the harbour of *Oristame* [Oristano].

2. The same wind. We passed the islands of *Azinarii* [Asinara] towards the port of *Spezzia*. [La Spezia].

3. The same wind. At noon we were at the southern end of *Corsica*.

4. Strong wind blew north and we went north- east-north (NNbE).

5. Light wind blew south-west. At noon we passed cape *Corso*, and in the evening we saw the island of *Gargona* [Gorgona].

6. An average wind blew south-west. In the evening we saw the Genoese shore and took bearings of *Portofina* [Portofino] mountain to north-half-west (NbW).

7. At three o'clock p.m. we entered *Spezzia* harbour and anchored between the small cities of *Spezzia* and *St. Lorenzo* [Lereci]; depth was six sazhen, ground silt. We spent fifteen days here in quarantine. Such is the duration of quarantine established by the Genoese. If this quarantine is reduced, it is [still] stricter than in other European ports. After the quarantine term was completed, we got a certificate and went by a felucca to *Leghorn*; and arrived there on the 29th of this month.

⁴⁷ Escora was added in brackets by the editors; probably Essaouira.