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Welcome to Syria : annual Jesuit report of 1626 from Latin to English

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Welcome to Syria
Annual Jesuit Report of 1626 from Latin to English

By

Charles Richard Fontana Jr.

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for
Honors in the Department of Classics

UNION COLLEGE

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ABSTRACT

FONTANA, CHARLES Welcome to Syria: Annual Jesuit Report of 1626 from Latin to English. Department of Classics, June 2009.

ADVISOR: Dr. Hans-Friedrich Otto Mueller

My project is a translation from Latin to English of a Jesuit correspondence written in 1626 reporting the status of a Syrian mission to propagate Christianity. It was composed by Gaspar Maniglier and Jean Stella, the first two Jesuit fathers to be sent to the Middle East on a mission. This letter represents how the Jesuits navigated through uncharted territory, and it lends an invaluable perspective on their new lives, in which they forged amicable and hostile relationships, and faced many other challenges from naval warfare to excommunication. In this edition, I have completed a short historical and methodological introduction, a typed transcription from the manuscript, an English translation including relevant footnotes, and a list of abbreviations used by the author. My goal is to provide a reader without any knowledge about Middle Eastern Jesuit missions with an understanding of this document as its own entity through a clear, readable translation and accompanying notes.

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INTRODUCTION

The report that I have chosen for my thesis is one of hundreds written by various Jesuits regarding the progress of their mission in Syria. These documents were written in French, Arabic, Italian, or Latin, depending on the occasion and the recipient. In the winter of 2007, I was recommended to translate the Latin correspondences that pertain to the dissertation of Professor Mazin Tadros, a project which totaled approximately 500 pages of Latin. Of these documents, there are two main types: letters and relations. Letters are brief compositions written to inform the recipient of specific matters that span a relatively short period of time. For example, the Jesuits tended to write about their living situation or their ever-present want of money, interspersed with anecdotes about their relationships with natives, merchants, and priests of other orders. Relations, on the other hand, are far longer annual reports, which focus on the successes of the Jesuits (with particular regard to conversions), as well as money spent and, however infrequently, received. Due to the length of these relations, the author would use them as an opportunity to express any other cogitation or account he may recall about the previous year; thus, these documents tend to be more densely packed with cultural observations and interactions with various people. For this reason, I have chosen to dedicate my thesis to a relation, the first one that the Jesuits wrote reporting on their experiences in the Middle East.

Before delving into the relation itself, it is important to contextualize the arrival of the Jesuits to Syria. Relatively speaking, the Jesuits arrived rather late; the Franciscans and Capuchins had already established multiple missions in the Middle East. This had

palpable consequences for the Jesuits, who were for this reason prohibited from doing missionary work anywhere near their first choice location, Jerusalem, because the Franciscans had already claimed it, and refused to have any competition. Therefore, the Jesuits had to settle for Aleppo, where they could at least cater to the many French pilgrims, merchants, and diplomats who lived there. However, even here there was a significant population of Franciscan fathers, with whom the Jesuits had a tumultuous relationship, even though they had complied with the Franciscans' demand to stay away from Jerusalem. As years passed with the two orders coexisting in the same environment, gradually a more tranquil relationship prevailed, though not much of this is evidenced in this first relation of 1626.

Another problem the Jesuits would constantly face because of arriving in Syria late was a difficulty gaining the trust and acceptance of native officials. For instance, these two parties often had disputes about what constituted legitimate permission to reside in Aleppo, since they were loyal to different authorities. Although the Jesuits were permitted to do missionary work there by the French king, which was validated by the French consul of Aleppo, Syrian officials would still demand that they seek permission from the Great Sultan of the Muslim world. Hence, during the Jesuits' first year in Aleppo, they were perpetually fleeing officials, obstinately refusing to be sent back to France.

For the Jesuits, the year 1626 proved to be a dramatic one, but it proved to be the foundation of a long history of Jesuit Christianity in the Middle East.

PART ONE: ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Relation of Mission 117 in Aleppo from 1625 to 1626.

A very simple relation of what happened to two fathers from the society sent to Aleppo of Asia, from the 10th of July 1625 to the 14th of April 1626.

Reverend Father Jean, the founder of this mission placed in charge of the Society of the province of Lyons in the year of Christ reincarnated 1625, received a mandate from Our Reverend Father¹ through letters before the beginning of the mission about two fathers of this society being sent to Aleppo, the largest town in oriental Syria, and practically the central market of the entire world. He regularly wrote against the society of heretics to father Jean Stella, who was then in Buxy (in Dauphiné)² fulfilling the office of catholic preaching. He asked whether he might consider even one mission in Aleppo, once the rest was taken care of; and for this purpose he got everything ready to make for Marseilles in the beginning of March. And so Stella reached Marseilles on the 4th of March, with Father Philerius³ left in Buxy as a successor. Expecting a voyage and a travel companion from the order of Reverend Father Michael (resident superior in Marseilles who was setting out for an unmentioned provincial congregation) he has

¹ Title applied to any ordained Jesuit priest, who can thus administer the Eucharist and Confession. Jesuit ordinance requires at least two years of scholastic study, and at least four years of theological study. In this case, the author is referencing his Provincial Superior, who is responsible for the organization and funding of this mission.

² Buxy is a small town actually in Bourgogne, France: id est, not technically in Dauphiné.

³ Simply another Jesuit father, henceforth unmentioned.

dedicated himself to hearing confessions and exhortations and giving sermons in both our church and the Society of the Most Blessed Virgin.⁴

Reverend Father Gaspar Maniglier was in Lyons the day before the 15th of May, where he was our prefect and our confessor, in the third year of his novitiate. On his way towards Aleppo, he arrived at Marseilles. There he carried out customary exhortation exercises of the society in honor of Sacred Mary, and was free from the duties of the sacred Eucharist.

The Journey Begins⁵

On the 23rd of June, we disembarked towards the orient to get to islands near Marseilles the next night. But alas, just before 11 PM the winds changed and so did the thoughts of the sailors. Against everyone's will, we incurred delays on these islands. We learned of a divine plan, however. The holy day of St. John the Baptist occurred in this span of three days, and very early in the morning, we came across a place to do the sacrament on shore, where we and two fathers from the family of St. Francis did the sacrament (they were transporting holy silver, a gift of our king, from Paris to Jerusalem). They heard something at the anchors of the ship: there were seven sailors, merchants, foreigners, all greatly enjoying themselves, with no mention of the fathers being thankful to us. Some were observing this, and were not quiet about it. So first was the sacred furniture, which we collected in Marseilles. On the 26th of June at 6 PM there was a favorable wind, so a few people brought up the anchors while others unfurled the sails. The journey went along a foreign shore, so it would be easier for us to flee from

⁴ A Jesuit sodality that encouraged laypeople to lead a more fulfilling religious life. It would collect alms and provide other resources for the Jesuit missions.

⁵ The section titles are not a part of the original manuscript; they have been added for convenience and ease of reference. The section titles are also present in the Latin transcription.

encounters with barbarians eagerly seeking booty. On the 29th of June, though we wanted anything else, an uncustomary crash, resembling thunder colliding with itself wholly unpredictably, rattled the mind and ears of the sailors. This was the explosions of the firings of Tunisian triremes, upon entering their own port, triumphing about two Maltese men being captured.

We would have happened across them without a doubt, if we had undertaken our voyage a few hours earlier. Therefore we did not flee, but two of their ships did stalk one of ours, and nearly overtook it. At the arrival of the dark night, they said a prayer and reported that they were in the clear.

We reached Malta on the 29th of June, and we were received most kindly by fellow Jesuits in a college, where we stayed for three days. We started out on our voyage on the 24th of June and we navigated the rest of the oriental section of the Mediterranean Sea (it spanned 1800 miles), and on the 28th of July we arrived at Alexandretta. It is an almost deserted little town, situated on the farthest shores of this sea, a great port for ships, but for sailors and residents it is often deadly due to a harsh disease in the air. Along with two cities, Payas and Ayas⁶, it marks the end of this entire sea.

Encounter with Pirates

The ship was out of commission for a little while, so as not to be a shipwreck in port. About three hours before our arrival, four of those mammoth war ships of Bizertian⁷ spoils set out from this little region of Alexandretta, to the Turkish city which I called Payas about twelve miles away, to return the following morning, either for the sake of pillaging five ships far inferior in arms and men that were docking at that port, or to set

⁶ Ayas is a city on the eastern most shore of Anatolia, i.e. the Adana province of modern day Turkey. It is unknown exactly what town the author is referencing by the name Payas.

⁷ Bizerte is a coastal town at the very tip of Tunisia, conquered by Turkey in 1574.

for those heading to port and then extort a sum of 10,000 piasters.⁸ One could see sailors, patrons, and merchants carrying away whatever they could from their ships to any hiding places on land or in cliffs they could find: deserting ships, believing desperate things, thinking about surviving by any means possible. Three of our ships revived the minds of the desperate men, as well as two other ships coming shortly thereafter. The entire night was devoted to making arms ready, calling men back to their ships, calling auxiliary companions together through messengers, and making military preparations for our ships for the next day's fight. The pirate ships were present at sunrise, and when they got as close as eight miles away, they hopelessly beheld giant ships in port fully prepared to engage in battle, so they tightened up their course, prepared the sails, and came together to an extent. Then they gathered together into one unit, and started approaching on the right, and for a little while on the left. Finally, seeing their plan thwarted even though they believed they had succeeded the day before, after fifteen hours of being ward off, it is fair to say they left with grief. And of course everyone was thankful to God, and the sacrament was done by the two of us.

Those who were planning to go on to Aleppo to buy goods were delayed for eight days, fearing that they would be on the road after an attack was made, which had been done by this very enemy the preceding year; or they might carry the ships destitute of their men off with them. Meanwhile we did not stop doing the sacraments one single day. On Sunday and the holidays of Saint Magdalene and Saint Jacob, we restored everyone with the word of God, and many with the celestial bread. For a span of many months, there had not been anyone there to break the bread for those who wanted it. That is how many priests and religious people there are in these regions. It is amazing, if you

⁸ Unit of currency in the Ottoman Empire, at the time being roughly equivalent in value to a peso.

take away the Reverend Holy Franciscan Fathers of observation⁹, you could not find a priest or even one religious person. They allow no one else but their own to live there. I speak of the glory of these experiences.

Thus far they have made good use of the two pontifical privileges¹⁰, and then a little later over a hundred camels finally came to Alexandretta to pick up goods and money and transport them to Aleppo. Then on the return trip we went through a land full of robbers, who were now and again infesting those ways with fear. In the morning, evening, and night, since we were advancing so slowly on the camels, we took five days for a three day journey. The bare earth was our modest bed; the roof was the clear sky. After a day or two, we lived on a modest supply of bread and water. The long summer would offer quiet by day, a sleepy wakefulness.

Arrival at Aleppo

We got to Aleppo on Sunday before the sun rose over our hemisphere. We went to greet the French Consul's¹¹ first officer in command (the name of this lord is Peter d'Olivier, son of a former lawyer from Marseilles with few personal effects, that from the mouth of his own aunt. Because of this he volunteered as the Consul's servant before while he was staying at Aleppo, and now the consulate according to the annual survey is 3,000 piasters, which has something to do with his co-heirs, one of whom does not dare to think about Marseilles, since he is not leaving anytime soon. Another is hardly considered an heir; another is of a peculiar origin– the illegitimate son of a merchant (that

⁹ The relationship between the Franciscans and the Jesuits is competitive. The main concern of the Franciscans, who arrived in the Middle East first, was to keep the Jesuits out of Jerusalem, where the Franciscans were not interested in any competition.

¹⁰ Letters from the pope granting a person or group specific rights, e.g. protection, exemption, authority.

¹¹ The French consul helps the Jesuits become acclimated with this region, and serves as a liaison between France and the Jesuits.

is the common opinion of the French). The income of the consul comes from a certain regal law about money and merchants of all the people who live in that region under the protection of the Most Christian king¹². Our king allows the consul of Aleppo to claim two percent for himself from any given fund of gold coins, at a price estimated on the rest. They must gain authority for the honest ways of the consul, and the splendor of the consulate and behold the honor of the king, in order to vindicate the French people from the injustice and accusations of the Turks.)

After greetings and a few speeches, we presented him with the regal letters patent¹³ of Lord de Guyse, who is the Duke of the province, and the royal administrator of both the province and our society. After we did the sacrament, we were sent back to their chaplain named Francis, a Franciscan father of observance who is French by birth. He was introduced by the consul to us going to meet him. We greeted him, and offered him the letters patent of the Society. He read through them quickly, translated them, and read the testimonials aloud. We went on to the nearby shrine of the consul, where Father Gaspar did the sacrament, and Father Stella who was not doing so well listened on. In the inn of the French merchants, we got a small room from the consul, but for two days we ate elsewhere. The third day was only for food; we agreed on a price of fourteen piasters, to be paid just for food (and this price is very low for Aleppo: one pays at lowest twelve piasters for monthly food). Father Stella has worked for a few days straight, besides that he has caught a fever a few times, attributed to the strange air; he will be better shortly. Meanwhile there is no unanimous sentiment concerning the arrival of the Jesuits. We do not want one of the co-heirs of the consul to say in the presence of others,

¹² Title of the King of France to convey his devotion to Christianity.

¹³ Letters from a recognized authority (not the pope) granting a person or group specific rights. See footnote 9 and 21 regarding papal letters.

‘the Jesuits know more than us.’ What would they say, if they left with that sort of regal letter to the consul, which is not flatly turned down? Those who are not responsible for other things besides the sacrament permit us to do it, and we have it, and want the Reverend Franciscan Fathers to do it also.

Problems with the Franciscans and Hearing Confession

Additionally, a rumor that started privately arose and is believed here, namely that someone’s confession cannot be heard by the Jesuits. This rumor kept quite a few people seeking to confess their sins from approaching us about it. I have thus been receiving confessions for those overcoming this rumor. Now and then we had to expect a number of hours to do the sacrament; even one of the Franciscan fathers would come now and then to do it for those seeking it. Currently we are running out of the host, so other things are done for us, whence the spirit of the Reverend Father of St. Francis is most kindly acknowledged by us. I would have believed that visiting Father Stella sick was a crime among them, for none of them visited, almost all the merchants overlooked it. Why were they that way? God the examiner knows their hearts well. Right when Father Stella returned to full health, an illness hit the Reverend Fathers of St. Francis serving the Venetian Church. Thankfully we did not greet them earlier, particularly with one of our friends. And from reciprocating this charitable deed, a few disagreements arose. Our consul kept talking to many people for his own sake, and a significant punishment was inflicted on him by us for his shamefulness because of this: he would say, ‘the Jesuits acknowledge that the Spaniards¹⁴ are their superiors here, since our French priest was scorned.’ He brought this up to us in person, however it was not once denied by us or by

¹⁴ Refers to the Franciscans, many of whom are Spanish. The Jesuits certainly would not have considered the Franciscans their superiors, thus vexing the Jesuits.

our friend. For this reason we nipped the contrived accusation in the bud, and we visited the Franciscan Reverend Fathers. We were looking to find what significance our prior religious greeting had on the mind of the consul, so we asked him and in the presence of witnesses we declared that it was done only out of our love of God. We said that we all respect that religious men above all are of greater importance, and that we recognize them, as we do in Europe. We are obligated to the word of one highest priest, and the superiors of the society of obedience, and no one else. To this a superior more or less said, 'He called me the day before your Consul did, and he wanted your words to be reported to him, not only in words but in writing.' I satisfied him with as much as I could remember; I added that I did not know how you felt coming to me. With him now exposed we responded immediately. On that same day we reported all of that to the consul; his soul was quiet. How true it is that opportunities are sought by the one who wants to leave a friend! But as for confessions not being heard by us, the rumor increases day by day, it is catching on more and more; we pray to Reverend St. Francis in the chapel of the consul, in his presence, and in his little room, whence the rumor was born, and however it happened, it advanced. A while ago, before our arrival here he said, 'From the whole religious chapter of our Fathers of Jerusalem, it was given to me in mandates, that I shall keep you from all ecclesiastical duties here, and now I am denouncing you, and at the same time I forbid you to hear any confessions, and shall levy the sentence of excommunication publicly against you, if you have heard even one.' He was asked, 'Have you received the mandate in writing? Does he know the reason for this, and his prohibition? By what law?' 'I don't have it in writing,' he says, 'the reason escapes me; I am an ordained man here; the Council of Trent¹⁵ is my law, and the

¹⁵ Sixteenth Ecumenical Council held by the Catholic Church between 1545 and 1563 to address the

sacrosanct council decides the grounds.’ Nothing really compels us to believe this mandate; we are prohibited by his superiors and ours from obeying with him on this; we are ordered by the highest priest and the holy congregation to spread the faith. We have been sent by our superiors to work in the vineyard of the Lord. If he is ordained, (which seems controversial by our law) we are used to seeking supplies for carrying out these functions from him, just like from other ordained men, functions which our society practices. We judge enough has been demanded, through letters patent of the society shown to us; then nothing has been indicated about the aforementioned mandate. If there is a way to demand that permission which would suffice for others, it would not suffice for him, and having formed those words we ask again: if he has doubts about the doctrine and our capabilities, he can rightfully have them about things unknown to him. However, it resulted in him trying to prove it with a seemingly contrived test, according to the custom of ordained people. At the sacrosanct Council of Trent, we opposed the declaration of the Most Illustrious and Sacred Reverend Cardinals, from the book itself, including authorities of the learned and privileges of the society from the papal bulls themselves. He made another mandate, and he denied the permission for supplies we asked for; I have no doubt about your doctrine and our capabilities; but I am not the one to approve them; even we have privileges in Jerusalem. As long as we do not know about them, they will not be considered of importance: he who was not given the ability to approve therefore cannot reject anything, much less prohibit it, lest they hear confessions of subordinates to the Bishop of Marseilles, who have been approved to do it for a few days by his vice general. In the testimony of many people, if he wants, we will

Protestant reformation, thereby pronouncing them heretics, and reinforcing a strict interpretation of the Bible.

confirm it. Finally we pray for the consul, that he may keep control of his chapel, otherwise the future would be linked with the law itself, had he done something wrong.

Avoiding Future Problems with Franciscans

We are considering sending letters about the entire thing and foreseeable future impediments to our tasks to the city of Constantinople to the Most Illustrious orator¹⁶, the Most Christian king and to fathers of the society. The procurator of the Most Illustrious orator, who is in Aleppo, told us about a message that would make its way to the Most Illustrious orator in Constantinople. We took the long awaited opportunity now offered to us, and we implored the Illustrious orator to anticipate impediments of any sort according to the will of our divine Most Christian king, and by us requesting permission from the Great Sultan¹⁷ in writing to stay in those lands, and have our own house with a chapel wherever we choose, accommodated for our uses and exercises of the society. We added a copy of the regal letters patent to our letter here, and another to the same orator of the King, content with our plans. After three months the same Most Illustrious orator wrote back to us in Alexandretta that he received everything. However, during that time, he did not read our letters, for he was fighting a fever which was preventing him. Father Jean Stella even wrote to Rome to our Reverend Father both about the money necessary to buy the house, and about aforementioned controversies occurring more and more often, with no instance overlooked. No response.

Our consul in Jerusalem wrote to the Reverend Guardian Father¹⁸, without us knowing, and writing otherwise. To what end? There were conjectures of this before, but the result informed us afterwards. For on the 16th of October Reverend Father Adrian

¹⁶ Title of the ambassador of the king in Istanbul (Constantinople).

¹⁷ Rules over the entire Muslim world (Eastern Europe, Greater Syria, Egypt, and Northern Africa).

¹⁸ Franciscan Father who is in charge of affairs in Jerusalem, and in all of Greater Syria.

from Brabant¹⁹, our commissary²⁰, chosen by the Reverend Guardian Father, came to Aleppo from Jerusalem with two other Fathers. On the following day we greeted one of them, Reverend Father Gabriel, from France, future chaplain of our consul, in his room. About eight days passed, with much talk about the commissary, and silence about the committee, for he pretended that he would leave for somewhere else after only one day. However, we were suspicious of the situation, so we appeared to be asleep when our adversaries were awake, to the merchants anyway, with whom we came from Marseilles, and who saw us hearing confessions publicly, and heard us preaching, so we were trying to obtain a testament of what they saw and heard written down in their own handwriting. We are seeking this and something else about the integrity of our customs, confirmed in the same way by everyone who has known us since our arrival. I'm saying everyone, if you leave out friends and family of our consul. It is good enough that he has indicated his opinion to them. For the consul (this must not be omitted because of his extraordinary kindness to us) was consulted by us on this very matter, and promised his royal seal, but was not exactly happy to sign it, and predicts that no one would be. It was signed by the rest whom I said we left out, for we offered a suitable place for signing it. He went over the reasons for acquittal, but he denied them, and he denied the seal he promised. The letter along with the rest of our many acts is said to have been sent to and received by Reverend Father Michael.

Meeting with Father Gabriel

Reverend Father Gabriel, for the sake of returning our greeting, came into our room; we got into a talk about our controversy. From his pocket he pulled out a little

¹⁹ Province of Belgium that contains Brussels.

²⁰ Acts on behalf of the Bishop of Marseilles.

letter, where six Reverend Fathers of Jerusalem had signed, if I remember well, with a seal, either from the Reverend Guardian Father, or his religious chapter, I don't know which. One could read their two privileges in it (he was claiming the copies were handwritten), far older than ours. In one, it states that the high priest has authority over all regulations of any and all orders and any and all priests, so that someone may venture to stay back in those regions, without the Reverend Guardian Father of holy Mt. Zion summoned, and the special power of the high priest utilized. In the second one the ability to break these brief amendments is granted to the Reverend Guardian Father, as often as he judges it expedient. Having read these things Father Gabriel said, if we have any law on the contrary, we may bring it forward; that and the previous ones have been received, to be sent faithfully via slaves returning to their masters in Jerusalem. We ask for that document and the time he obtained the copy; we promise our oaths in writing, and to return the document on the following day. And again it happened, on the 23rd of October at midnight in his room, that he said he would send it to Jerusalem. Then the issue was clarified, in the words of a religious man. He certainly did not send it anywhere else but to the Reverend commissary. One person insisted on asking everyone whether any amendment pertained to us; and if it were made public, would it be weakened; then people simply walking around would have to be ordered back to where they came from. For either because of the feigned departure of the commissary, or the proposed privileges, the wrong person will come across it.

I add what Reverend Father Gabriel had added, in these words, may we and the Reverend Fathers agree to proceed more nicely with you, than in Egypt, in a region called

Grancayre²¹ by the people, where our fathers led life with Capuchin fathers. In fact, they expelled them from that place by force, but not without great rumors. The Reverend commissary sent us a certain Christian from the Armenian schism at five in the morning, and he stated that he wanted to live in his room, and not interact with many of us. I asked the man whether the man calling us was sick? Who is he? What does he want? He was well, he said, but he did not indicate what he wanted; he came recently from Jerusalem, and is Belgian by birth. There are doubts as to what needs to be done, whether we should go see this private fellow calling us and apparently doing well. We were in a difficult time of suspense. This idea finally prevailed, but what needed to be done? It is believed however that there was deceit involved.

Meeting with the Commissary

While we were traveling, we encountered someone very friendly to us along the way, and he joined us as a travel companion. We entered the house, and greeted the superior and the Reverend commissary in the main room; we asked what they demanded from us. The Reverend commissary led us into his room where he offered us a seat; he said we are not seeking very much. He was in his room, then stepped out into other rooms, and then he returned to us again, and again he left us alone in the room. We were watching another person in that room writing, I don't know what, and the Reverend commissary was running here and there throughout the house. We approached the superior while he was talking with our friend; we kindly asked, please state what they want from us. We have been expecting, he said, our fathers of France. We saw another person beginning to do the sacrament, so we said, they must be here within the hour, for then, there are other things we have to do. So, we left to get money from a merchant of

²¹ Refers to Greater Cairo (the modern Greater Cairo Metropolitan Area).

Marseilles, to bring to our host asking for payment. We barely had eaten lunch, when two religious men from the order of St. Francis sent by the Reverend commissary to us were standing at the door. We were expected in the room of Reverend Father Adrian by their fathers, so they escorted us out. We certainly feel much sorrow for them, because this time was allotted for finishing up some business with a few good, honest men; it would have been nice to be pardoned and spend some time with those Reverend fathers. They left, and at the same time that we thought they had just arrived at their house, two men appeared. They ordered in the name of sacred obedience, that we go to see Reverend Father Adrian. We were amazed at these new superiors. We asked what authority they had to order us like that. We would certainly comply with anything, if the authority is legitimate, and not unduly claimed: they ought to keep that way of ordering their own kind away from us. We told them that we had an acute desire to visit those Reverend Fathers, and when we do, they will know it at once, and then they will be convinced that we cannot and must not listen to anyone else ordering on behalf of the high priest and superiors of the society in the name of holy obedience. They returned as they had come. The Reverend commissary immediately conferred with six of his men in the room of our consul, so that they could complain about us being stubborn. The consul ordered us to see him, so we saw him with no delay. We greeted the consul and the Reverend Fathers, found sitting in order in the consul's room. They could have petrified the conspirators of a crime, and in this way they were representing the assembly of jurors. The Consul was seated just to the right of the Reverend commissary, and to the commissary's left were the rest of the fathers, farther removed from him than the consul. Only the commissary himself was in front of everyone. Two chairs, placed near the door

apart from everyone else, were visible; they were saved for us. We were seated, and awaited the outcome. The Reverend commissary was holding in his other hand a few papers wound up, and he presented one, explaining that he was our commissary chosen by the Reverend Guardian Father of Jerusalem, he read his commission in quite a loud voice. There was not a word in it about the Jesuits, or about us by name. And from his seat he loftily announced two privileges; and he added, 'Now three months have flown by since your arrival' (and that was really true). The Reverend Guardian Father from Jerusalem is of the opinion that you either go on, if you must go on farther, or you may consider returning, unless for the ability to stay for a longer time in oriental regions, was granted to you by either the highest priest or someone else, which you should have gotten by now. We now respond more often to the divine consul and his people about what we have done, whenever he wants us to.

Legitimacy of Jesuit Documents in Question

At once we bring up the regal letters patent of our provincial Reverend Father, and that the bullarium²² of the Society in Rome has been searched in our college. The Reverend provincial Father recognizes that the letters patent he read were legitimate. He ran through them by reading the titles in our bullarium, noted by us for our own affairs, where their two aforementioned privileges and all the others were said to be useless in a response of the society in Rome, and of no importance. 'This book,' he says, 'is for sale in bookstores. Whoever wants it may have it; it is not authentic and is of no value to the faith.' 'Then it is so,' we say, 'that it is unimportant in the strictness of a judicial forum, but besides that, anyone content with the letters in it, believing them to be the true papal

²² Location designated for housing papal bulls; id est, official letters of the Pope granting privileges (see footnote 9), which are adorned with a metal seal, or bulla.

bulls as they stand, denies the actual ones in the entire Christian world, or calls them into doubt, but he is not a man of any authority. Certainly they can be read in the universal collection of papal bulls, word for word. The truth, authority, and faith of the letters have not really diminished or grown since then, because the booklet containing them is up for sale in bookstores, where it is widely recognized. It is of no use to those who are not from the society, but it really is not harmful for people of the society that it can be bought by others, for the laws and privileges of the society can be known better and by many people, and it is unjust that you are calling the industry into doubt. Since you confirm the book is for sale, you cannot ignore what is in it. We have even added some similar things, and in these words we have concluded: either we get along here agreeably, which would be nice, or we go on in the rigidity of the law and strict forum. If we choose the former, we would write to the highest priest, and whatever response His Holiness returns would be heard by all, and in the mean time, without the judgment of someone else, anyone would be happy to follow his law. On the other hand, if we choose the latter, it would be against the terms of the oath, if you represent plaintiff, witness, and judge, all acting as one. Then in good legal form we would ask for an appropriate occasion to be granted according to the sacred canons and the rigidity of the law, during which time we would receive the same authentic collection of papal bulls of the society in Rome, or wherever else if quicker, when the whole controversy of our law on this one topic stops. What we have now brought forth we assert is legitimate, and we want to hand it over to the chancellor to be sealed and preserved. Furthermore, in any case where anything in it is found to be unauthentic, we are prepared to pay a penalty for fraudulent documents.'

First Interdict against the Jesuits and Threat of Excommunication

The Reverend Fathers were rallying against it all, they did not want to hear any of it, each one shouted out against the wrongdoers; some rose up from their seats; a Franciscan father was down on his knees, he begged for justice and help from the Reverend commissary about those ravaging his law. Thus he said, ‘You were seen on stage and in public. Finally as our Reverend commissary I am preventing you under penalty of excommunication from hearing confessions here in our temple, and anywhere else, and you shall not do the sacrament in the temple of St. Francis, which is in the main room of the Lord consul, in the future.’ In amazement we looked at the consul who was silenced at this, we asked him a question, whether that is the consular chapel, or it is the Franciscans’. ‘It is consular,’ he said almost reluctantly, ‘and so whoever I please will work in it.’ We turned our eyes and the discussion to the Reverend Fathers, the Reverend commissary in particular, and argued, ‘These actions of yours are nonsense. We shall appeal now to the high priest concerning this prohibition, and your threat of excommunication, and your jurisdiction, if you have any. Additionally we shall mention to you when the papal bulls of Pope Gregory XIII and XIV are confirmed through Pope Paul V, the only person for whom the sentence of excommunication is reserved. One way or another they are impeding some of our men of the society from fulfilling their duties of the society anywhere on earth. As long as you will not accept the rest, we will walk into any temple of yours, but we will do the sacrament the chapel of the Lord consul, as often as he will permit us. We ask that if we have done something less than decent, less than worthy of religious men, since when we have been living in Aleppo, then they may turn to us, and interrogate us thoroughly, and discipline us, and punish us.

In this way the sentence of the Reverend commissary will be accepted by those following our law.’ One of them, laughing at the aforementioned papal bulls and their excommunication, said, ‘What about the Venetians, when they condemned you into exile. What about the people of Marseilles, when they attacked you and your house with rocks.’ This second thing was a lie coming from the father’s mouth.

Reaction of Commissary to Sacrament Held against Interdict

On the following sacred day of St. Simon and St. Jude, Father Jean Stella did the sacrament first thing in the morning, both to avoid loud noises, and obey the chaplain of the consul, who prohibited us from doing the sacrament unless at it was a time he is used to. Then at 1 PM the chaplain of the consul did his ritual service for the French merchants. After his consecration was done, the Reverend commissary arrived with three companions, at which point the end of mass was near. After the sacrament was finished, he presented a little piece of paper to his companions, and he ordered them to chain the doors of the chapel shut. It said in writing that we were forbidden, like yesterday. To give a reason for this, he recalled yesterday’s events in the consul’s room in the presence of everyone, as well as the sacrament done by Father Stella against the prohibition. He adds that the excommunication proposed by him was declared in that document, even against the consul himself if he either opens the chapel for us or allows his officials to open it for us. The expression on his face, the fluency of his language anticipating words, raising his voice, and continuous speech, were all revealing some internal disturbance on his mind. Everyone was stupefied at this, both observing this man, and being amazed at his unc customary way of carrying on: even two or three boldly reprimanded him, saying that the sacraments of the Jesuits are good, they like listening to them, they were sent

here by their King, one must pay heed to the King, and they are not men from foreign enemy nations. Father Gaspar Maniglier was the only one present at the beginning, obviously he prepared himself to do the sacrament after the French ritual ceremony. Fairly often, a little beforehand he would take out the papal bulls of the high priests Gregory XIII and XIV and Paul III from the book. He often would speak in opposition of the prohibition, and if they go forth with the excommunication these fathers would rebel, for every law of appeal to the highest priest suggested by us the day before would be violated by whoever declares that they observe the authority of the highest priest. The desires and orders of our king and laws of the religious community of France were forcibly rejected by foreigners, in the presence of the consul of France, in the very house of the king, with French onlookers. We are not of the opinion that we should in any way inflict some punishment on the Reverend Franciscan Fathers or their laws; we would like very much to be their companions in our work, and heavenly rewards, but certainly not in our mundane functions and tasks. Then they would act according to God, in their customary tasks, and they would facilitate others to follow God, calling others to cooperate in the name of spiritual health. Father Maniglier professed many things of that nature. With so much of the commotion pacified, all of what was said in the room and here was repeated and heard again.

Consul Supports Interdict of Commissary

Our consul concluded the acting of this scene, by silently walking up to the chapel itself, pensive like an offended and upset man, and put an end to it, I believe, by ordering the chapel to be locked up with a key, and that the keys be given to him. 'The chapel shall be open to none of you,' he was saying, 'as long as this controversy is undecided.'

Since others were returning back to his house for lunch, we went along with some of our friends to the suburb of the community for the sacrament, since Father Maniglier had not yet done it. The suburbs are one and a half miles away from the consular house, although the town walls are located between them. Some Christian men of a sect with different rites live there, 1300 of them, among whom live Maronite priests and others who recognize the authority of the Sacred Reverend Bishop. After Father Maniglier offered a sacrifice to God in their church, we returned to our room, and we had lunch. After lunch we met at the consular chapel to read the interdict affixed to it. It included the reasons for barring it put up by the Reverend commissary (which was sufficient in his mind, and that of others). 1. We do not recognize the authority of the Reverend commissary. 2. We have said that we are exempt from his jurisdiction. 3. We did not prove this with authentic documents. (Even though from the copy sent to Marseilles, everyone knows it is authentic from the handwriting itself.) At 9 PM of the same day a few upper class, honorable merchants convened with the consul, and they warned him that under the authority of the king and his office, and in the name of the entire nation, he would advise this: put an immediate end to major inconveniences and future disagreements, and avoid any problems. Finally he would like his authority to be interposed to resolve any tension.

Ultimatum

The consul selected four of them, Lord Guygot, Lord de Mongin, Lord Ventura, and Lord Viler, to whom he handed down this province in his name. And all the Reverend Franciscan Fathers conferred, discussed, prayed, and supplicated. They reported to us what they did, and what they wanted to be done. They decided that religious men shall have little say, and the matter will be placed into the hands of higher

priests. 'The Reverend Franciscan Fathers,' they say, 'want to be recognized by you and also your superiors in these regions. If this is granted, this issue will be over.' What we consider the title of superior to be, however, could be intentionally deceptive, just about in this way. There are two types of superiors: if you do not obey the first type, you will have committed a mortal sin (because of a prayer of religious obedience), and the other, whose function, dignity, and power demands that we respect the likes of a superior and his position, and that we act as servants, whenever there is need (short of every obligation, like endangering your life). We follow it fairly closely, as instances occur. In this second way, the Reverend Fathers have been recognized by us, and we have publicly promised that we are ready, whenever, wherever, and however often they want. But in we may not follow the first rule, since it is unjust. Naturally we have uttered prayers to only the highest priest and the superiors of the society, which cannot be dedicated to others. And may we add that we justly fear that if we surpass this group of these Reverend fathers of obedience, they will order us to return to our brotherhoods in Europe. May this never happen at any time in the future. Finally we proposed to read our laws to the four of them from the books (for the sake of the rest of them), save this one law, for the good of peace from now on: whatever they have defined will very certainly be considered set in stone by us. Once they understood the situation better and found it satisfactory, they left. They spent all three days in vain, if those Reverend fathers resolutely assert that we are obliged in the same way to their obedience and that of the high priest. They evidently would order us again.

Problems with Maronites

On the day we were forbidden from the sacrament and the day after, the aforementioned Reverend Fathers summoned the Maronite priests to prohibit us (at this point excommunicated) from opening their church, and to refuse every opportunity for us to implore for divine help, and seek permission for a mass by way of a most honorable and sacred sacrifice. For when we arrived, the Maronites denied us the keys, and they reported that their prohibition was made by the aforementioned fathers. Everyone can attest that our thoughts are very different from those of the Franciscan Fathers. For we approach the consul understanding that the consular chapel has been bolted with a key for three days. We have plead with prayers as much as we were able, that for our sake he does not want his chapel to be closed to Reverend Fathers; nor does he want his Gallic priests to be private with their customary sacrament. Nonetheless, lest we appear inferior to these fathers by law, we have signed a document, we have fortified it with our seal, and we have put it up against the doors of the chapel with the interdict against us attached to it. One can read the words of our papal bull contained in it, where the both the interdict and the excommunication of the Reverend Fathers levied against us were declared null and void by the highest priests. In fact those who were an impediment to us carrying out the functions of the society were charged with excommunication.

Three days later (on the following Sunday) the Reverend commissary took away this little paper, really going for the throat with his companions at the end of the French sacrament. The consul was not present, and there was a great number of merchants, and us. Naturally the consul invited us all to the temple of the Maronites (with permission for this sought from the Franciscan Fathers beforehand) for the sacrament, and then for

lunch, prepared under the order of the consul in a garden. The consul did it quickly, and a few people translated. The next day we presented the royal letters of our provincial of Reverend Fathers and Lord Duke de Guyse at the chapel, both signed and fortified with our seal. With this addition, we went to see if the consul would approve them. In fact, the consul jettisoned the addition, and took the letters down and removed them from the doors of the chapel to the shady portico. Why exactly, we don't know. They remained in tact in that place until the 15th.

Jesuits Question the Commissary

Meanwhile we asked questions to both the consul and the Reverend commissary in the presence of witnesses: we asked the consul if it was important to uphold and protect the authority of the Most Christian king, so that he may carry out his wishes, stated quite clearly in a private letter and our letters patent. (In the King's letter to the consul, with certain exceptions, he sent a mandate to the consul ordering that we not be disturbed by anyone in our ecclesiastical tasks and spiritual functions. Such are the words of the King. Let it stand from this copy.) Finally, we asked him if he vindicates us and our laws from the violence of adversaries, according to the order of the king. We asked the Reverend commissary that, within his authority, and the sequence of events itself, he not deny that copies were transported to Rome for the highest priest, along with our letters. 'I am not held to this,' he responds, 'and it is not a necessity to give them to him.' So, those doing evil hate the light. Both requests were sent to Marseilles, along with the others. At this time our consul was writing two letters, one to the Reverend Guardian Father in Jerusalem, and the other to Lord Viguiet²³ in Marseilles, pertaining to the consulate of Aleppo. He wanted to read both in our presence, for some reason only

²³ French consul in Aleppo. See footnote 10 regarding the role of the consul.

he knows. He asked Lord Viguiet whether he could write back to him, and do the same with the Reverend Franciscan and Jesuit fathers. Following his train of thought, we said, 'It was not necessary to consult Lord Consul Viguiet about Jesuits staying at your house in Aleppo.' We are not expecting anything from the consuls or the consulate, besides the protection from the consulate granted by the king, which under these laws is owed to all French people. While we get by here in Aleppo, we do fine elsewhere, and because I offered food so generously in the beginning, we have had to refuse dinner. In quite a long letter, it was stated that the King's religious men carried out his wish about our residence in Aleppo, and many other things on the matter that do not benefit us, and it informed the Reverend Guardian Father in Jerusalem why we took this opportunity to ask the consul whether it would be agreeable to add our letters to his letters for the Reverend Guardian Father in his bundle. So Father Gaspar wrote to him in Jerusalem. He talked about the sacred congregation of the high priest, and the wishes of our king. He reported the words of the papal bulls against those who hinder us, and everything else up to that point.

The Reverend Guardian Father wrote a few lines back to the consul about us, the supposed Jesuits, but nothing about the rest of his affairs. We confirm this report. He did not deem it worthwhile to write anything back to us. Such is the character of this religious father! His priests saw the letters of our Reverend provincial father, and approved them. They heard that it was us from merchants of the society, and they are the ones who went to see him and raise doubt about us; nevertheless he calls us the supposed Jesuits. He wanted us to leave any way possible, legally or illegally, by his own means, or that of others.

Problems with Syrian Officials

There were a few days of silence and some calm, while we remained within the walls of our room, doing religious things for those few days, before sunrise and behind closed doors. Then we would put everything back into its box by day; behold new instances of hatred facing us. If God does not make the Turks more humane towards us than our adversaries, new charges will be filed against us, and our actions will cause certain dissention with the new magistrates. Bachas, the governor of this town and region, set out on an expedition towards Persia. Most matters then come to Mussalem (he acts in Bacha's absence). So, a suppliant book with Turkish characters and sayings is offered to him, signed by no one, through the hand of a legal official, whose name outside of work is Soubashi²⁴. In this booklet we were called both disturbers of the status quo, and Maltese explorers²⁵ descended from the hostile lands of the Great Sultan, and it seemed that the particular issue at hand was that we disobediently came despite the order stated in the letters of the Reverend Guardian Father of Jerusalem, and his superiority. This goes against normal custom observed by all religious people without fail, across the entire orient. From there, it ended by mentioning castigation, then exile. A few days had passed before Mussalem was cognizant of this, since he had already left the city with a brigade of horses to guard his caravan against robbers.

Soubashi, being familiar enough with our consul, handed him the booklet. He confirmed that it was given to him by a Frenchman, but he did not indicate a name (they call all Europeans Frenchmen). Then the consul summoned us, in an intimate way. He took out the booklet, and then in the presence of many merchants he called over to his

²⁴ Responsible for a cavalry unit, and policed parts of this area.

²⁵ Refers to the Knights of Malta, who were known for plundering Ottoman ships. Not only is this an insult to the Jesuits, but it may have raised suspicion about their intentions, perhaps suggesting espionage.

room, he read an Italian translation to us. He said that we were being sought out in the booklet, so he asked what we wanted him to do. He cried out to all the witnesses; he asserted that nothing could be done without money. We responded, 'We want witnesses. In that booklet the Franciscan fathers are being sought out too, inasmuch as they hail from lands hostile towards the Great Sultan, for they were born and raised in those lands. We are not really French nor from France; we are from lands loyal to the Sultan: any idiot knows that. Your interpretation of the booklet and its application did not do any injustice to us, and if there were, it would hardly impede us.' He proceeded how he judged best from his position: that we were seeking nothing from him but what our King ordered. If he denies that, we would testify it publicly. What we have so often implored of the consul and his chancellor must not be overlooked, namely that they sign the copy of the aforementioned interdict copied out exactly word for word, and that they put the seal of the chancellor or king on it, whenever it may be done. Just as these accomplishments can only be done here faithfully, the same applies to what has been done against us by the Reverend Franciscan Fathers or what may be done in the future; they have obtained authentic things from us. As for both this petition and our request, we handed them over to the chancellor in writing in the presence of witnesses. One can recognize it from the handwriting. Additionally our consul had a friend meet in his room with these Reverend Franciscan Fathers at our request, to bring the affair to a close, or at least to keep expectations modest. Many French merchants were also present.

Argument Between Commissary and Consul

When he stated the wishes of the Most Christian King to the Reverend commissary as mandated to him through a regal letter, and through letters patent granted

to us, he asked the King to grant us something by which to observe himself and his assistants, and send it back to us out of good kindness, with his own prayers and those of other French people. But the consul did not get anything. 'Even we have letters of the Most Christian king,' the Reverend commissary was saying, 'we get letters similar to the private ones, less valuable than real ones, however many of them are obtainable by ship.' To this the consul said, 'Are our prayers completely useless then? Thus I order you in the name of my King, allow the Jesuit Fathers to carry on here. Even if the authority of such a great King means nothing to you, under the authority of the highest priest, I subject myself to the order indicated through the papal bulls of these Fathers. Does it seem insignificant according to you that amazingly, you do not excuse them from private beatings, as would be fitting for impostors and faithless men, whoever they may be?' (Either I am really hallucinating this, or he was plotting something, when he called us into his room.) 'For there was a Jean in the nice private letter, in the letters patent of the King, in fact it is Jean Stella. And our Fathers in Paris observe that he was not lying.' And then there was nothing. While leaving the consul muttered in one of their ears, 'That's the way the laws of the Reverend Franciscan Fathers are.' This was uttered by the consul, as he confessed to us later. We heard the rest from others who were there in the form of a signed document. Esteem the faith of the consul.

The Reverend commissary sees that his interdict, his excommunication, his other actions, and those of his officials, had a weaker effect than everyone was expecting. We spoke about everything else, but there was not a word about his return. He and his officials saw nothing else could be done. However it was reported to us in passing that he is attempting to carry this out through others. He runs about throughout the town, he

speaks to a bunch of people, he meets with the English and Venetian consuls, he summons those who are seen with us, and threatens them, and he does other things which we surely cannot expect to be good.

Consul Discusses Jesuits with Mussalem

So after all this it turned out that the aforementioned little suppliant book was handed over. Mussalem went back to the city and received the book from Soubashi, he ordered our consul to come see him, and he asked who we were and where we were from. ‘They are from France,’ said the consul, ‘and they are religious men. They have not been doing anything wrong here, Mussalem, let them go. It seems strange to me,’ the consul repeated, ‘they were recommended to me by my king, they have done nothing wrong, and I will release them, accused by no one!’ He left. Mussalem brought the book forward. The consul spoke well, who wrote he wanted to be careful, since he refused to put down his name. Certainly if I knew the man, the dagger in my hands would make him sweat profusely. Thus by not signing his name, he suggested that all the public writings were made up. A few days passed in this tension of Mussalem and the consul, during which time Mussalem sent Soubashi to the consuls of England and Venice, to ask them who we are, and then to report it. What witnesses! The heretic gave a more friendly answer than the catholic²⁶. For he said, ‘I haven’t seen any men in this position in our realm, at least I don’t know any. If you are really asking me whether these people should stay here, or those who wear ash-colored robes²⁷, I hear that this is a controversy that arose between them (he was well-educated and spoke very well). The law seems to stem from the ashen-clad ones, who have lived in these lands for many years. The Venetians on the

²⁶ The heretic refers to the Englishman, and the Catholic refers to the Venetian.

²⁷ Refers to the attire of missionary priests in the region, who in this case are most likely the Franciscans.

other hand, I don't have anything else to say to you about them, except our response to them expelling all the people of that race from their dominion many years ago now, and condemning them to eternal exile.' Soubashi conveyed a splendid testimony about us to Mussalem, and he did so again here with our consul.

Jesuits are Tried by the Local Judge

Then the entire thing was handed down from them to Qadi. Qadi is the name of the supreme judge of the town. On that day Mussalem was present at Qadi's tribunal, and the consul was there in purple consular attire; we were also ordered to be there, gathered together with many of his French companions. We were called by four of Mussalem's slaves, and then by four members of the consul's household: his cousin, a minor interpreter, and two slaves. Meanwhile through the vice-officials of the town, we happened upon this uncustomary crowd: noise, new and unfamiliar things, new people who were grabbing everyone's gaze and attention, it was even unclear how to get out. Mussalem contemplated the people who approached the location of the tribunal (he was alone with Qadi, as he tends to do; he was sitting like a monkey on a blanket laid out on the ground), and said that they went unseen, and that they were soldiers. 'Just leave!' he said of us. Now the consul is a renowned leader in war who knew his soldiers well, some were rather old, some were even toothless- nonetheless they were in military uniform and skilled with weapons. He said, 'Seriously now, who is complaining about them? Who is accusing whom? Where can the convicts really go? Is it really not allowed for French people to live in this town anymore?' Therefore we all had to leave, and we said, 'So can the laws of an agreement formed by you between your Sultan and our king stand? Look at the articles of this agreement, throw them into the fire, since they will be violated by

you publicly, you who should be punishing the violators.’ After this was said through an interpreter, he tossed the parchment away. He took us by the hands, and left with us and his officials. We had barely taken 15 steps, when a hoard of the magistrates’ slaves called us and the consul back, promising a safer exit. But just like before, we heard nothing. ‘Just leave, leave!’ Mussalem shouted louder. ‘Whereto? Where they were before?’ the consul yelled back. ‘I myself,’ said Mussalem, ‘am a part of this and a witness.’ Then, he turned towards Qadi and said, ‘As the governor of the town I demand that you, the judge, send these new people off to Alexandretta, since they have no permission to live here from the Great Sultan. Until they show you that they have this ability, they may not return.’ In this form exactly, Qadi announced his sentence to us, with a span of three days allotted to prepare for leaving. In order to document this in his private records, he asked what our name was. ‘Hear this,’ said the consul, ‘from the letters of my king, that all know they were condemned by you without cause, even though the king sent them here recommended through his letters.’ He listened, and he wrote it down, and read the sentence. The consul accepted it, fearing that worse things might happen to us, and expecting that he would be unable to change the minds of Mussalem and Qadi in that three day period. Thus he explained his rationale to us while we were returning to his house. The outcome did not just suggest everything else, it proved it. We asked him repeatedly to carry out his plan: 1. He promised he would do it. 2. He made up some excuses, since he had not yet done it. 3. He could not until now. And then he still dragged his feet about it. With very clear words he responded that nothing had been done. We experience this all the time. They say that everything is said and done by a pre-made arrangement, more so than a shoddy attempt to do something,

and there are quite a few people with healthy minds, not just of lower class, whom I could recall here by name. In fact there have been letters given to us confirming that the consul has yielded to money.

Thoughts on the Hearing

Regarding those who attended the whole previous judicial meeting with utmost silence, who in the world would not be suspicious of what is contained in the booklet about our accusation? This could very easily fall to the Reverend Franciscan Fathers, since we definitely stated publicly that we would declare whom the booklet might be about, et cetera. But one would not even have to make further judgments, if one could look into the consul's house, and see his relatives persuading the consul himself of this, since they may be moved to a certain degree with sympathy, and therefore seem to look at our situation, so that they might allow us to stay? Who would believe otherwise, if he hears the consul talking about his chapel in this way? When there is an opportunity, I will make it clear that it is the consul's chapel, not a Franciscan chapel. What else is there to say, except, 'I am allowing them to drive you out of there.' And if I understand well the rest of what happened, and if one compares words with deeds, and opposes granted promises against verbal or written occurrences, and if he understands clearly why his chaplain was excluded from the dining table at the time, and reads the letters full of false pretenses, will someone doubt, is that how things are? Absolutely no one doubts it. Why has he acted this way with us? I am not sure. I am just reporting his reasoning. Whenever he would discuss all this business so comfortably with us, and that nonsense comes out of the mouth of someone thinking about it less, he would say, 'I am of the opinion that I really cannot spend time with the Franciscan fathers: for they were at this

and that harbor (there were four, where they found significant profits) where, if they would like, they can make up quite a punishment for me. In addition to that, and I report this from a colleague of the consul, the ones, who the scripture states hate the light, fear for themselves on account of the Jesuits. For this reason they want the Jesuits to be far from them.'

Pressure from Mussalem to Leave

The three days granted to us by the judge had not even passed yet, when Mussalem warned our consul through slaves twice on the third day that he was pressuring us to leave, otherwise it was certain that we would get beaten across the head, if days pass and we were found in the city. The consul reported this through his many officials, and also that we would need advice for our situation. We entrusted just a few of our things to two people very fond of our order. We borrowed some money from one of them. With witnesses present we made a written protest to the chancellor and the consul about what happened then. Horses were led up to us, the handwritten interdict was reaffixed to the doors, which opposed the king's wishes, so we took it down, with the consul's consent, for we had never been able to acquire his genuine copy from anyone, even with public prayers and requests. Goodbye to the consul at last, who everyone says was a satisfied host, we went forth to mount our horses.

Commissary is Overcome with Anger

But look, in the outside doorway of where we stayed, appears the Reverend commissary, with his officials. He was complaining about his interdict being torn down, and he demanded it be returned to him. He threatened whippings, beatings, the whole thing. He was raving mad. 'Imposters, absconders!' he kept saying. He spit out a

massive slew of injustices, all his remaining venom, publicly in front of many people. When he got a little quieter, he needed his handkerchief to dry the sweat from his face, then he listened to Father Stella, who said, ‘This is the situation: your interdict came into the power of us, fully aware of this ordeal, so we should rightly have it, since you were not taking the paper and the issue seriously. You could have torn our document down without any need to when we offered an identical one to you signed voluntarily and with our seal. We could even sign yours if forced by necessity, but you said our copy was not in the form required; the chancellor said no, and so did the consul. So it is known in Rome what you have done here, and we heard that information has been imparted to the highest priest.’ The Reverend commissary did not respond to Father Stella after he said this, he just said, ‘You lie, you lie,’ ten times over. May this entire affair be known from the document signed by the witnesses.

Jesuits are Escorted out of Aleppo by Aga Family

On that day, the 30th of November at the vigil of St. Andrew, we left the city a little before 10 PM with two guides, one at our expense, the other at the consul’s. Two horsemen followed right behind us, from the Aga family of Alexandretta, who were about a mile back of us (Aga is both the governor of the port at Alexandretta and the surrounding region; he is in charge of the laws, and the annual revenue to the king). They offered to be our travel companions, so that they could escort us to jail in chains by the order of their lord. This very experience made us certain of this. Why? A suspicion arose after Aga heard what was going on with us, and then sent a letter to our consul, saying he knew that we would approach the consul to arrange that we not leave the city, as long as he would allow it. To this the consul said, ‘These men are not merchandise,

nor a stash of money, which Aga ought to see.’ For good reason Aga believed that he was being spurned by the consul, so he treated us with hatred and vengeance through these travel companions, and through his vice officer living in Alexandretta he sentenced us unawares to prison and iron chains. Certainly he was persuaded by adversaries to do it, to impede either our trip to Constantinople, or really perhaps our voyage to France. For we said the reason for our departure was to find a remedy and medicine for our illness. And it would have been fine, if they had left us alone, since everything was in place.

Jesuits are Imprisoned at Alexandretta

We used up all our supplies on our journey because of our companions, since we did not come into contact with the Gourds (a very famous band of robbers on horseback); there would be little doubt about our future in their power, if we were fewer in number. Before we walked into an extremely vast plain in Antioch, we came across seven men on horses in a perilous area before daybreak on the third day of the trip. On that day we came to Alexandretta at 11 PM. But long before us came one of them from the Aga family. For he had run ahead from a city they call Beylam²⁸ (located about four miles from Antioch), to deliver a mandate of their lord to Aga’s delegate²⁹ about sending us to prison. We got it, by meeting the vice officer himself. He was with slaves on horseback, about a mile away from Alexandretta; he came to meet us, returned with us to his house, and then escorted us to prison. From the horses, we went to his room. Although our proconsul³⁰ and our guides were hesitant about coming to arms for our sake, they were

²⁸ City just north of Aleppo.

²⁹ My translation of “proaga,” a term coined by the author to represent an official who acts on behalf of (pro) Aga, analogous to a proconsul acting on behalf of the consul.

³⁰ Not in the ancient sense (see footnote 28).

pretty well prepared; still our request was met upon asking them. In that room it was fit with stone columns, covered with marshy reeds, with floorboards thrown down two or three inches apart, I'm saying, that was the corner: on the left and on the ceiling, the windows were always open, and on the right were the doors. This was our prison for eleven days. Escaping was hardly considered a crime. Every day morning and evening our proconsul provided us with daily food very generously out of his kindness to us (and consular mandate), and every night a slave would actually put one foot of each person in iron chains. Letters from Marseilles and Constantinople were brought to us, from the Most Illustrious royal orator, and we reported our situation by sending letters back to our fathers with a returning messenger.

Jesuits Fail to be Rescued from Prison

On Thursday, at five in the morning during the middle of December we were secretly withdrawn from prison by the Jewish interpreter of Aga's delegate, and by an Armenian, from Alexandretta to Payas, to another Aga, a friend of Aga of Aleppo. In the middle of the journey there was a millhouse, and we stopped there for a few hours. They were sitting around a fire, we were lying down on wood where the fire was put out by running water. We completed the rest of the trip before dawn. With several members of the nobility, Aga met us entering the city and his house. We greeted him without headwear, which is our custom. As a greeting to us he called for "gape," that is, his dogs. We were led straight to prison, seven steps down, four to the side. The slaves paced and paced back. A few slaves gave us two poles for a bed, not yet had they cast aside all human kindness. Devoid of all human help for about three days straight, we got by with bread and water. Before evening of the third day, Father Stella addressed one of the boys

of the secretary with signals. He offered the boy money, since there was some left by chance; he prayed that he might buy bread, and bring a little water. The boy took it, and displayed enough kindness to us. At least this was certain, with God thus keeping us going, concerning the Turks we could confirm that we suffered nothing too harsh from them.

Early in the morning on the following day, Aga's delegate came from Alexandretta to Payas, and Aga of Aleppo handed a letter to him. After reading it, we were called in about our freedom and our return, and Aga told us through an interpreter, 'he indicates that he felt sorry, but we were low on food during that three day period.' He asked us to greet the French merchants and the consul in his name, so he will then see be seen as a friend. 'But something has to be given as a sign of gratitude,' Aga's delegate of Alexandretta said. We had to promise him ten piasters, since we did not have the money then. Thus we returned from Payas to Alexandretta after lunch (though we did not eat). The proconsul gave us that money once he received the invoice.

One Month of Calm

We spent about one month in freedom staying with our proconsul in Alexandretta. At that time we visited one Reverend Father of St. Francis of Venice fighting the tertian fever, and also, more often yet, those even more gravely ill. We helped one in especial need of our care: we heard his confession, and we restored him with a sacred viaticum, once he died he was given a burial, according to ecclesiastic rites. As that was being done, such a bad odor came forth from the cadaver of a Venetian body found whole, after being buried for a year, immediately consuming the cadavers in the ground; no one could bear it. The native women call it a miracle, or a testament of divine vengeance, such was

its smell. I believed that we caught a fever from it, which both of us was fighting shortly thereafter. No other men of religion would do these things but us, not even another priest. There was that Franciscan Father who left from Jerusalem to Alexandretta, sent by the Reverend Guardian Father as the manager of sacraments for the French, who was caught before he left dressed in stolen native barbaric attire worth 100 piasters, and his many sequins gathered together nicely were confiscated on that occasion by the proconsul. If anyone wanted to know from where this Religious man got so many sequins? Poor religious people would claim one from each ship for themselves under this new law, and one from any deceased person set to be buried, however they may get all they need from the consul. Maybe this is why they do not allow anyone else there: so they ask what Jesus Christ is. If only the high priest could faithfully hear the wonderful deeds of everyone else. Both of us do the sacrament every day, and on holidays and every other Sunday we hold sermons for numerous sailors. Meanwhile, we sent a messenger chosen by the consul himself, whom he called from Aleppo, to Constantinople with letters to the Most Illustrious royal orator at a cost of 28 piasters from our own funds. Then we did the same thing through another returning messenger. No response yet from anyone.

Jesuits Hold Christmas Services

During the holy days of Christmas, there were no more Venetians present at the service than on the other holidays and Sundays, besides the proconsul of Belgium, and his companion, who are Venetians. Some judged the reason to be because the service was done by us, but still no one else was doing it. Wouldn't you be amazed, if some Religious layperson, a companion of a sick Franciscan father were in optimal healthy

condition (after all they are bound by such a high sense of religion there, and such kindness) who used to be sick, and was visited by us all the time, has gotten better but never greets us back? Just like a gift from us the victims, asking the victim also does not find the key. What can you do, he has such a great love for God, and for us, and all his fathers.

The Jesuits' Miraculous Exorcism

On that Christmas night, there was an unseasonably perilous storm that did not only prevent the sailors from coming to the service, but it also induced a shipwreck upon their ships, on which ecclesiastic exorcisms had a calming effect. We supposed this was an unnatural occurrence, so we ran through the small book of exorcisms. Then, once we finished the exorcism, the clouds dissipated all of a sudden, and the much-desired sunlight returned, causing the sailors and everyone else to rejoice. In a sign of happiness ships fired their cannons, and numerous captains approached the church on their ships to give thanks to God. Others would talk about a journey abroad their comrades made, so they said prayers, while others were expecting a complete shipwreck, and thought their ship and crew would be in the water almost all night, and others yet were preparing to pull up their anchors from their positions for longer than they could fathom. We offered exorcisms of the sacred church in the midst of all this. Gladly accepted serenity and tranquility was restored in them.

The Jesuits Narrowly Avoid Being Shipped Back to France

In this way one month of our freedom passed by, at which point it was time to set out on a French ship. Aga of Aleppo was also present so that we could sail with him to Europe, because of an order from his delegate. Knowing we would not make any stops

on land, we boarded the ship. But on the very day it left, we transferred to another ship, where we remained in hiding for three or four days. With the holy day of St. Fabian and St. Sebastian approaching, we advised our proconsul through the captain about doing the sacrament. He responded that as long as we understand the situation, he would not be an impediment. Brazenly, we got off the ship, and we did it. We gave a few reasons why we did not leave Turkey. Father Jean Stella caught a three day fever, and Father Gaspar Maniglier caught a four day fever. The ship was our sick room, and a sick man was another sick man's surgeon, doctor, nurse, and everything. This ship was the first one in port, then another English one. Our ship was supposed to set out on the first day, so fearing we would be forced to leave on it then, we begged an English captain through friends, whether he might have us on his ship. We offered him money, but he said no. A little before nightfall, when our ship was about to set sail, three people from Marseilles appeared. With the anchors thrown down, the captain and Father Stella convened. He reviewed our most pitiable situation, and the wishes and letters of their governor, lord duke de Guyse, and the king himself. He begged that they not deny them a little corner of their ship, with payment. They did not listen, and stated it was prohibited by Aga's delegate, and they feigned extreme grief. Our minds were undulating with various thoughts at that point. We either had to leave that night, or the danger of captivity, or maybe even death, certainly would befall us. These thoughts were tormenting us more so than our feverish bodies. However, so as not to be duped by us twice (and so as not to be reprimanded again by Aga himself), Aga's delegate called the captains of the ships over, and forbade them to allow us to be on their ships, and said they must take great care to keep us out, under a penalty of 1000 piasters. And he sent them back on their ships

accompanied by a few of his servants, with a mandate given to all of them to bring us to land if they see us, and indicate it as soon as possible by firing a rifle.

The Jesuits Brazenly Seek Protection from the Proconsul

Forced into these dire straits, we considered captivity, and death itself preferable to returning against the will of our superiors. Because of this, with God willing, we tricked a few people. One of the captains, who believed there was something to fear from the letters of the King stated publicly by Father Stella in the presence of his crew, came to us at three in the morning to tell us his pardons. We asked him and whoever came with him, whether he could incur any delays on our ship, and said yes, unaware of the situation. Then we asked our captain whether he could silently bring us to land without any delay, and we asked the other captain both to prepare the ship for returning, and to look after our things. Both things were accomplished for the most part faithfully and gladly. Till now a candle was shining in the inner part of the house of Aga's delegate, so we went through the doorway, for there was no other way to go. We encountered absolutely no one. Aga's delegate was confident in his officials, but they would not suspect such things from the French captains. The doors of our proconsul were open, and we found him with his friend having dinner. Fear, admiration, or perhaps just this unexpected situation silenced them. After greeting them we had some water, which we desperately needed, since we were fighting fevers and general overheating, and then we announced we could be captured, suffer, and die; we could not leave. Everything should be safe in the royal house. To this they said, 'Where is there a hiding place? Where can you retreat? Where is there a safe place? There clearly is none: no place in the woods safe from beasts, nor in the fields safe from Turks carrying off as many French captives

as they can find. The marshes are not safe from the cicales attacking people, which happened suddenly to an English slave in the middle of the town at night. (It is a species of animals like a fox in form, which exceeds the average height of a dog. There are a great number of them in Alexandretta.) Nor is it safe from the deceitful Greeks in their houses.’ They did not make us leave, and this is how the plan panned out. While they were showing us that everything was full of danger, inside the proconsul’s room we looked at the thread for his loom, the type that should be wound around, but it was carelessly piled up in a heap. He pointed at it with his finger, and, ‘Behold, our hiding spot!’ we said. And so we were in there for a few days and nights, where there was hardly any room to breathe, much less move and spit. At this time the air was so putrid that if you inhaled it, you could not really exhale it. For the room did not have doors, and people of every nature, condition, and class (Turkish and Greek people in particular) would meet up with the proconsul about their own business, and one could hardly escape the glance of their eyes, they were so bold and curious. And when it was time to have some food or drink, those who were keeping watch were brought in. Before daybreak we still took care to do the sacrament everyday.

Good Fortune Almost Befalls the Jesuits

The fifth night of this way of living spent in these dire straits was approaching, when the ship of one of our best friends cast its anchors. Having been informed about our situation he hastened to us, he wondered about us wrapped up clumsily in loom-threads, he took pity on us, and he offered himself and all his services to us. We were longing for the pure, open air of his ship. He led us there fearlessly with late dusk coming to a close, and many people walking around on the shore of the sea. No one

recognized us in our Turkish garb. After a few days he was about to set out for Aleppo, so he entrusted us to his captain, and in the presence of everyone he said that his ship was at our will; he wanted and ordered it to be this way. His name is John Baptist Labar, from Marseilles. However, things had to be done differently to keep Aga's delegate in the dark. But Aga of Aleppo figured it out either from adversaries, or laypeople, or from others, I don't know, perhaps from all three. The only English ship, dually a warship and cargo-ship, was about to leave shortly. While the sailors were preparing everything for its departure, they allowed us to do the sacrament freely on Sundays and holidays. This displeased our religious adversaries, obviously. The Reverend commissary, coming from Aleppo to Alexandretta, prevented us from honoring the divine majesty with this type of supreme honor. For when the Reverend commissary came on that day, Father Jean Stella did the sacrament, since Father Gaspar Maniglier was in fact fighting his fever. From the proconsul's window Father Stella and a few others caught sight of camels carrying English goods from Aleppo, and at the same time he noticed the Reverend commissary with a few merchants on horseback. He approached the house of the proconsul, he got down from the horse before the door, but he did not enter, rather he went off to another place, and afterwards he returned, and he received a greeting from everyone. Greetings had not yet been reciprocated, and one of the interpreters of Aga's delegate indicated to Father Jean Stella and the proconsul that Stella and his other companion father were not allowed to be there, and at that same moment he needed to look for a ship. But now he was saying that a mandate concerning this was announced from Aga of Aleppo to his delegate, stating that in the future, if they are found on land after this, they would be brought to Payas and from there to Damietta³¹. He could not report better or clearer what

³¹ Egyptian town 125 miles north of Cairo.

the Reverend commissary had to do right then. Therefore Father Stella boarded the ship, and he recounted the whole thing to Father Gaspar who was lying down.

On that day, the proconsul sent us a letter he received from the consul. In it the consul excused himself, as was clear from the letter, because the Reverend commissary could not hold back the command from Aleppo much longer. He was saying he promised the Reverend Guardian Father of Jerusalem that he would administer the sacraments for the people of France in Alexandretta. He spoke of a new rumor, completely made up, namely that it is unheard of for a man born in Belgium to be a father of the Venetian church, serving the people of France in that region, who have not even allowed their own priest of Aleppo to depend on the fathers of the Venetian church for anything. This proved that it was thus composed with evil intentions, and that the faith of the consul is laudable, as is his letter. So we returned immediately, and the consul himself had to administer the sacrament in Alexandretta to many Frenchmen for at least a few months, so he sent the Reverend commissary to the island of Cyprus as the future priest for his people. Trust this race of people. Many French people who saw both parties leaving testify even today that the Reverend commissary set out immediately after us.

Aga Attempts to Send Jesuits to France Again

One last thing remains: from us avoiding our return to Gaul, a struggle took place. As for that, many letters came from Aleppo to Alexandretta from various consuls to their proconsuls, and to a leader of an English ship about to set out, from Aga to his delegate, along with the Reverend commissary. For this reason, a friend of our proconsul met with us the day before our voyage, who was quite a persuasive man, and he was encouraging us to take this opportunity to leave. We needed advice on freedom, and even our life, and

the detriments our merchants and friends will surely face: for we are inferior in the steadfast minds of powerful people, and sometimes yielding to violence is wise. We thanked him for encouraging us, and displaying such great kindness to us, then we responded, 'On this ship the Turks have no jurisdiction, no power, with only the law of the anchor to follow, as it has always been.' Whoever might come to pull us off the ship, would definitely retreat knowing he had made a risky move. We were absolutely positive that we should expect our messenger to return from Constantinople that morning; either on a ship heading back to France, or that something would finally happen. Could I be in danger? After listening to this he left, and he related everything to the proconsul and Aga's delegate.

Because of this on the following day at dawn, Aga's delegate went another way: the keys to everywhere were being held where one could purchase many of the goods from the French merchants, and he ordered the keys to be turned over. He called together our captain and all the merchants to his house, and said if they do not attend to our departure very closely, he made many threats against them, and worse things to be determined, by him immediately calling for Qadi from the nearby city of Beylam. Merchants terrified about this flocked to the proconsul. Once the proconsul was informed of this, he ordered his companion and our captain to come see us as soon as possible. When we heard these things, clearly the business of someone else, not ours, was being done in our name, but we responded that we did not want to do anything like inflict punishment on anyone. And thus we will leave acting in the interests others rather than ourselves, and we will leave, under the condition that instead of paying a fare, or giving supplies, our fellow passengers should not even expect a penny from us. They

returned to land, looking for a response for the rest of our friends, since they said before to everyone that this affair was over. And again they came to us, and said that they accepted the terms. Beyond that, he said we were free and if we had anything to do on land in the one day remaining, to finish it up. We did not set foot outside the ship.

Money Problems

Before, the leader of the English ship insisted that he wanted no less than 100 piasters to take us to Marseilles. He was called back by his proconsul and by Aga's assistant, and they convened about the price; they figured 70 piasters would do for this. We accepted it from them with our captain and others looking on. From this sum the captain then gave ten to Aga's delegate as a gift (with the help of a Jewish interpreter). This was certain proof, that he did not give his own money to Aga's delegate. Whoever gave it for certain I do not dare to confirm: certainly our proconsul did not give it to him from our account, neither did his friend, and there is no one else to whom we gave this responsibility. Rumor has it that the Reverend commissary gave him the money, if not all of it, at least a part, and the rest was from the Venetians. Lord Lawrence, a doctor from Brussels of the same province of Brabant as the Reverend commissary, is very close with the Venetians, a good friend to the English, quite skilled in the Turkish language, and for this reason he has conversed with the Aga family, and he came with us on the same ship the whole way to Malta, and many times he asserted that he was familiar with our issue from the very beginning, and that no less was spent by our adversaries on investigating our departure than 1100 piasters: 300 in Alexandretta and 800 in Aleppo. When he said this, he pointed out the Reverend Franciscan Fathers, at which point we added, 'Why did the magistrates of Turkish justice call for help?' He responded,

‘Because they knew less about the situation and its laws than you, they desperately did something else.’ It is amazing the ways alms from the faithful are used up!

At midnight Aga’s delegate came to see us on our ship; he did not get on the ship, rather from below the ship, where he came, he addressed us with a fairly cheerful and calm demeanor, and he said the time for the English ship to go had arrived. Thus we approached our ship with our fellow passengers, and he got on his. As a kind gesture to us, our captain brought us French toast (better than English) and some wine from the French ships at night. We certainly anticipated worse treatment. One of the sailors gave us his personal wine jug voluntarily. The proconsul’s friend got us eggs and hens, which he carried with him as he asked for an invoice of about 40 piasters given to us by the proconsul as a loan, which he was denied. This could be because we wrote to the proconsul on that day, saying that he should not worry about the money being enough for us, and he did not return this message. It could also be because we were afraid that he was talking about the money given to the Englishman, which we said we did not expect at all, and he was in agreement.

Poor Treatment on the Ship

Finally at 6 PM or so on February 10th, we set sail from Alexandretta. A small part of the room of the Santa Barbara was assigned to us. The overseers of that room (and the cannons) kindly granted us some rather old curtains instead of saddlecloth. On the first day, enough soup and meat for four people was brought out to us at lunchtime. On the days remaining they denied us everything. Now and then there was some water, and fire, but we were subject to whatever was edible and potable. The captain emphasized that money was paid only for the voyage, none for food. Anyone could

follow along better just by thinking about it than I am by writing or narrating, exactly why all forty translated into lacking everything and us fighting illness. I dare say this one thing, namely that the sea would be Father Gaspar's grave, if he had to sail to Marseilles himself. But such is God's kindness and providence towards his people, that by means of the unfavorable wind he forced Englishmen trying to advance three different times unwillingly back to Malta, after they went 120 miles past it. When we were at port for two days, after having some food, finally on the sacred day of St. Joseph the husband of the Blessed Virgin, we were allowed to get off the boat and go into town. I am purposely overlooking three huge Belgian pirate ships (as they were waving their flags, they renounced the Christian faith) with our one ship expecting them to engage in battle, but they did not dare to leave their ships, since that ship had been driven to shore by the storm three times; our sails dipped into the sea without a loss of even one thing, but not without the just fear of many. I am even disregarding the waves of the sea climbing up all over the stern of the very high ship, and ripping men away from their spots on the highest deck to another considerably far removed location. I have said nothing about the French merchants, who were on the ship with us, and wanted to alleviate the extreme urgency of our affairs. They were forced to conduct themselves in a way assuring that they avoid the enmity of the English, which at that point they did not have.

Thirty five days went by on this voyage.

The Jesuits Arrive at Malta

One must not overlook the kindness of our friends in the guild of Malta with which we were received. Although a miracle in everyone's eyes, our strength was

restored through sacred emulation, and we returned to ourselves. Particularly since I cannot adequately express it in words, I am compelled to skip over it.

While I write this, we are in the fifth month now since our arrival: and concerning our consistent love of God, there has been no slackening. Speaking of a most complete love of God, Reverend Father Christopher Balthazar, the French assistant in Rome, wrote here to Reverend Father Charles de la Croix, that in the name of the Head Reverend Father of this brotherhood, that is Father Francis Balsamo, he reports, that he would pay for expenses made for our cause. Father Charles mentioned this to the Head Reverend Father, with me present, to whom he said, 'That is what Your Reverend is saying to me!' And he ordered utmost silence about this. He is a truly noble man with nobility in his blood and with greatest care he fosters a diviner kind of nobility through religion because of his love of God, and he desires it to grow.

Servants and sons of Your Reverend Father

In Christ

Gaspar Maniglier and Jean Stella

PART TWO: LATIN TRANSCRIPTION

Narratio Missionis 117 Alepensis ab anno 1625 ad 1626

Simplicissima narratio eorum, quae duobus de Societate patribus Alepum in orientem missis contigerunt, a decimo calendis Julii anni 1625 ad 14^{um} calendis Aprilis anni 1626.

Reverendus pater Joannes foverius in provincia Societatis Lugdunensi praepositus provincialis, anno a Christo Incarnato 1625 sub initium, ab admodum Reverendo patre nostro mandatum per Literas accepit, de duobus eiusdem Societatis patribus mittendis Alepum, Syriae orientalis civitatem maximam, orbis propemodum universi Emporium. Statimque ad patrem Joannem Stellam, qui tum Buxi, in Delphinatu, concionatoris catholici officio fungebatur, adversus civitatis ipsius haereticos, scripsit, ut reliquis curis positis, unam Alepensem missionem cogitet; sicque omnia expediat, ut calendis Martiis Massiliam advertet. Quare idem pater Stella, Buxi patre philerio Successore relicto, quarto nonas martias Massiliam tenuit. Ubi & socium, & tempus navigationis expectans, ex praescripto Reverendi patris Michaelis, Massiliensis Residentiae superioris, ad indictam congregationem provincialem proficiscentis, audiendis confessionibus cohortationibus in Sodalitio Beatissimae Virginis & in ecclesia nostra habendis concionibus sese dedidit.

Reverendus pater Gaspar Maniglerius pridie idus maias Lugduno, ubi rerum praefectus spiritualium, & nostrorum confessarius erat, in novitiatu tertii anni probitatis. Secundus Alepum profecturus Massiliam appulit. Solitis ibi Societatis exercitiis

praesertim cohortationibus ad moniales Sanctae Mariae, octiduo sacrosanctae Eucharistiae sacro vacat.

[The Journey Begins]

Decimo calendis Julii Massilia ad vicinas insulas, nocte proxima orientem versus navigaturi solvimus. Sed ecce sub horam 23^{am} ventos mutari, & nautarum cogitationes; atque praeter omnium voluntates, illis in Insulis, triduanas moras trahi. Divino id consilio factum experimento didicimus. Die sacro Sancti Joannis Baptistae in istud triduum incidente, summo mane, authoribus nobis, locus sacro faciendo a nautis, in littore, apparatur; fecimus nos, & duo patres de familia Sancti francisci (parisiis argentea sacra regis nostri munera Jerosolimas deportabant.) audierunt quotquot in anchoris erant navium septem nautae, mercatores, peregrini, magna omnium voluptate; patrum vero illorum grati in nos hac significatione nulla. Hoc aliqui observarunt, nec tacuerunt. Tum primum coepit sacra supellex, in eam rem a nobis Massiliae comparata, illis omnibus, nobisque usui esse. Septimo calendis Julii hora 18^a vento prospero, hi anchoras colligunt, illi vela explicant. Secundum barbaricum littus iter dirigitur; quo facilius barbarorum occursum praedam quaeritantium fugiamus. Alia omnia dum voluimus animo, quarto calendis Julii inclinante die, fragor insolitus, tonitruorum instar, sine numero & ordine sese collidentium, nautarum mentes & aures percessit. Explosiones erant bombardarum triremium Tunicensium, in sui portus ingressu, de duobus melitensibus captis tryumphantium. In illos dubio procul incidebamus, si horas vel aliquas ante, nostram navigationem suscepissemus. Neque ita effugimus, ut e nostris navibus unam duae

illarum prosecutae non fuerint, & paene assecutae. Advenientis noctis tenebris, voto maxime facto liberationem suam acceptam referunt.

Quarto nonas Julii Melitam tetigimus, a nostris in collegio humanissime excipimur, triduum immoramur. Nonis Juliis coeptam navigationem prosequimur, atque ita foeliciter reliquum maris mediterranei orientalem tractum enavigavimus, (duodevigies centena millaria excurrit.) ut 15 calendis Augustii Alexandretam pervenerimus. Est Alexandreta oppidulum fere desertum, in ultimis eius maris oris situm, navibus optimus portus, nautis vero & incolis ob aeris pestilentem inclementiam frequens interitus; una cum duabus urbibus, Payasso, & Ayasso, totius huiusce maris terminus.

[Encounter with Pirates]

Per parum abfuit, ut ne in portu naufragium. Tribus circiter horis ante adventum nostrum, de hac Alexandretae plaga, ad quam modo Payassum nominavi, turcarum urbem, milliaria duodecim distantem, recesserant quatuor, eaeque praegrandes bellicae praedonum Bisertensium naves, luce insequenti rediturae, vel ad depraedationem earum, quae illo in portu stabant numero quinque armis & hominibus longe inferiores; vel ad quam discedentes petierant, decem millium piastarum summam extorquendam. Videre erat nautas, patronos, mercatores, quicquid de suis navibus poterant, ad quas invenirent, terrae aut rupium latebras asportare: naves deserere: res desperatas credere: vitae suae, qua via dabatur, consulere. Sic desperatos homines recrearunt tres nostrae, et aliorum duae naves, eodem fere tempore adventantes. Nox tota apparandis armis, revocandis ad sua navigia hominibus, auxiliaribus sociis per nuncios convocandis, navibus nostris ordine militari ad conflictum crastinum disponendis, insumitur. Adsunt ad solis ortum

piratarum naves; at ubi miliaribus tantum octo fiunt proximae, & duplicatas naves ad praelium ineundum paratissimas in portu, praeter spem intuentur, cursum comprimunt, vela ut cum ad manus venire parant, aliquantulum contrahunt; omnes ad unam agglomerantur; nunc ad dexteram, nunc ad sinistram tantisper accedunt. Demum re, quam pridie confectam crediderant, infecta, hora quindecima summotorum, ut par est credere, dolore, discedunt. Deo ut aequum fuit ab omnibus actae gratiae, facta a nobis duobus sacra.

Alepum qui coemendis mercibus ascensuri erant, octiduum ii distulere, veriti ne, ut anno praecedenti ab ipsismet hostibus factum fuerat, excensione facta iter occuparent; aut naves hominibus suis destitutas secum subducerent. Nos interim diebus singulis non cessamus a sacra facienda. Domenica die & occurrentibus festis Sanctae Magdalenae et Sancti Jacobi, omnes verbo dei, pane coelesti plurimos reficimus. Neque enim a multis retroactis mensibus, ibi quisquam fuerat, qui petentibus panem frangeret. Tanta est vel sacerdotum, vel religiosorum, illis in regionibus, copia. Ecquid mirum, cum si Reverendos patres Sancti Franciscani de observantia demas, neque sacerdotem, neque religiosum vel unum reperias. Quippe alium a suis, illic vivere patiuntur neminem. Experientium gloriam loquor.

Adeo bene utuntur duobus privilegiis pontificiis, de quibus paulo post tandem camelli plusquam centum Alexandretam adveniunt, merces & pecunias, vecturi Alepum. Redeuntes ergo comitamur, latronum terrestrium, qui passim vias illas infestant, metu; mane, vesperi, de nocte, ad camellorum incessum tardum incedentes, in itinere, trium dierum alioqui, dies quinque consumpsimus. Humus nuda lectulus noster; tectum sudum

coelum: post unum et alterum diem, victus panis & aquae nonnihil: ingens aestus de die quietem dabat, somnum vigiliae.

[Arrival at Aleppo]

Domenica die prius Alepum nos ingredimur, quam sol nostrum hemispherium. Consulis gallorum vices gerentem primum salutatum adimus. (dicitur iste dominus Petrus d'Olivier, filius olim Massiliensis advocati, re familiari admodum tenui, ex relatione ipsiusmet amitae; & propterea consulis Alepi commorantis honorarius servus prius erat: nunc consulatum sub censu annuo piastarum trium millium; cum suis consortibus aliquot gerit; quorum unus, quod in solvendo non sit, Massiliam non audet cogitare; alius vix sui compos habetur; alius est cuiusdam genuensis- mercatoris filius illegitimus: ea istorum apud gallos vulgaris fama. Reditus consulatus proveniunt ex jure quodam regio in pecunias & merces omnium eorum, qui sub protectione regis christianissimi, in illis terris degunt. Concessit enim rex noster Alepensi consuli, ut ex quolibet centenario aureorum nummorum, duos sibi vendicet, idemque de rebus caeteris pretio aestimatis. Idque tum ad honestum victum consulis, tum ad splendorem consulatus, auctoritatem conciliandam, regis honorem tuendum; tum denique ad gallos ab iniuriis & calumniis Turcarum vindicandos.)

Huic post salutationem & sermones nonnullos, regias patentes, Domini ducis de Guyse provinciae, provinciae regii administratoris, & societatis nostrae, una cum regis ad ipsum nostris gratum Episcopum, exhibemus: de sacro agimus, ad suum capellanum Sancti Francisci de observantia religiosum, nomine Franciscum, natione gallum, nos remitti. Iste fit nobis a consule ad eum tendentibus obvius. Salutamus, Societatis literas patentes, uti praelatis & ordinariis fieri solet, illi offerimus: legendo percurrit, reddendo

testimoniales vocat. Ad sacellum consulis vicinum pergimus; pater Gaspar facit, pater Stella minus tum bene valens audit. In hospitio gallorum mercatorum, auctori divino consule, cubiculum accipimus: dies duos aliorum omnium mensa utimur. Die tertio cum hospite pro alimentis solis, de pretio piastarum quatuordecim, mensibus singulis solvendarum, convenimus. Est haec pensio Alepi omnium minima: duodecim minimum quilibet pro menstruo victu solvit. Aliquot dies continua Pater Stella laborat, liber ab ista in tertianam semel & iterum incidit, mutato aeri tribuebatur: brevi tamen convalescit. Interea temporis de Jesuitarum adventu non una tenet sententia mentes. Inter alios, unum de consortibus consulis, plus nobis sciunt Jesuitae, hoc nolumus, quicquid dicant cum sua regis ad consulem epistola eius generis, quae ipsis a pedibus non denegantur, abeant: qui praeter sacrum suum alia non curent, nosque nobis permittant, habemus, & volumus Reverendos Patres Franciscanos.

[Problems with the Franciscans and Hearing Confession]

Alterius privatis collocationibus rumor hic oritur, & creditur, non posse quemquam de confessione a Jesuitis audiri. Prohibuit iste rumor nonnullos, id expetentes, ne ad nos peccata sua posituri accederent: ab iis ipsis rumorem superantibus, & apud nos confessis ita accepi. Interdum facturis nobis sacrum fuit horas integras expectandum: interdum etiam sic expectantibus alius nuncnunc veniens e patribus franciscanis faciebat. Nunc hostiae nos deficiunt, nunc alia nobis fiunt, unde Reverendorum Patrum Sancti Francisci animus in nos, nostrosque, perbelle nosceretur. Patrem Stellam aegrotum invisere apud illos scelus fuisse crediderim: eorum nullus visitavit, mercatorum vix nullus praetermisit. Quorsum illi ita: novit cordium scrutator deus. Cumprimum Pater Stella omnino convaluit Reverendos patres Sancti Francisci

Ecclesiae Venetorum inservientes, quos ne prius salutassemus morbus effecerat, imus cum uno de nostris familiaribus salutatum. At ex hoc charitatis religiosae officio reddito querimoniarum origo. Nam Consul noster dictitabat pluribus honori suo, suorumque dedecoris non parum a nobis eam ob reb fuisse irrogatum: hispanicos, aiebat, uti suos hic superiores, gallo nostro sacerdote spreto, Jesuitae agnoverunt. Id etiam nobis coram exprobravit, quantumvis & ab illo amico nostro id, atque a nobis fuisset non semel pernegatum. Quare excogitatum naevum ut radicitus velleremus, eosdem Reverendos patres secundo invisimus; quid prior illa nostra religiosa salutatio in animo consulis peperisset, exponimus; rogamus & coram testibus declaramus eam solo charitatis nomine exhibitam: nos reveremur omnes, dicimus, viros potissimum religiosos, praelatos maxime; eosque quomodo in Europa solemus, agnoscimus; uni summo pontifici & societatis superioribus obedientiae voto sumos obligati, aliorum nemini. Ad haec superior, iccirco, inquit, vocavit me pridie Consul vester; vestraque sibi verba referri voluit, non verbo tantum, verum & scripto; illi, quantum recordari potui, satisfeci; adieci nescire me quo vos animo ad me venissetis. Illo, statim respondemus, nunc exposito. Eodem ipso die rem totam Consuli renunciamus; eius quievit animus. Quam verum est occasiones ab eo quaeri, qui ab amico vult recedere!

Quoniam vero de non audiendis confessionibus a nobis, rumor ille in dies augebatur, magis magisque animos aucupabat; Reverendum Patrem Francisci consulis capellanum precamur, coram ipsomet consule, & in eiusdem cubiculo, unde natus rumor, & quid rei sit, proferat. Jampridem ait, ante vestrum huc adventum, ac universo patrum nostrorum Jerosolimitanorum capitulo, mihi datum est in mandatis, ut vobis hic eorum nomine omnia ecclesiastica munia prohibeam: idque nunc vobis denuncio: simulque ne

ullas confessiones audiatis interdico, prolaturus excommunicationis sententiam in vos publice, si audiveritis vel unam. Interrogatur, num in scriptis mandatum acceperit, num sciat eius, & suae prohibitionis causam. Quo id jure. In scriptis, inquit, non habeo; causa me latet; ordinarius hic sum; concilium Trid. Jus meum est; & locum sacrosanctum concilium legit. Nos vero, credere hosce mandatum, nihil nos cogit; illi obtemperare, hac in re, aliunde, a suis & nostris superioribus prohibemur; jubemur a summo pontifice, a sacra congregatione de fide propaganda, a nostris superioribus, ut in vinea domini, pro viribus, sicut ad eam rem missi, laboremus: si ordinarius sit, (quod iure controversum nobis videtur,) ab ipso, sicuti ab aliis vere ordinariis petere consuevimus, facultatem earum functionum obeundarum, quas societas nostra ubique gentium libere exercet, abunde satis postulata nos arbitrari, per literas societatis patentes exhibitas; tunc de praedicto mandato signifactum nihil: si modus ille postulandi eam licentiam, qui aliis omnibus sufficit, ipsi non sufficiat, conceptis verbis iterum nunc petimus: si de doctrina & capacitate nostra subdubitet, ut merito potest de hominibus sibi incognitis, examine praemio quales decet inventos, ordinariorum more, approbet. Ad locum sacrosanctum Illustrissimorum Sanctorum Reverendorum Episcoporum cardinalium eiusdem loci declarationem, ex ipso libro, opponimus; doctorum auctoritates, privilegia societatis ex ipsis bullis. Mandatum meorum replicat ille, vetat facultatis postulatae concessionem; de doctrina & capacitate vestra dubium mihi nullum; approbare non possum; privilegia habemus etiam nos Jerosolimis. Iterum nos ad haec, quandiu nobis non innotescant, pro nullis habebuntur: cui non datur potestas approbandi, huic neque reprobandi, et vero multo minus prohibendi, ne ii subditorum Episcopi Massiliensis confessiones audiant, qui ante paucos dies ab eius vicario generali ad id sunt approbati. Ut plurimorum testimonio,

si velit, confirmabimus. Consulem demum precamur, suum uti capellanum in officio contineat; futurum alioqui ut ipsi jure tribuatur, quicquid ille male gesserit.

[Avoiding Future Problems with Franciscans]

Rem totam & praemia exercitiis nostris futura impedimenta dum ad urbem, & Constantinopolim ad illustrissimum oratorem regis Christianissimi & ad patres societatis per epistolas mittere cogitamus; eiusdem illustrissimi oratoris procurator, qui Alepi est, nos monet de nuncio, paucis post diebus, Constantinopolim ad ipsum illustrissimum oratorem profecturo. Oblatam, diuque desideratam opportunitatem accipimus, supplicamus illustrissimum oratorem ut juxta regis nostri Christianissimi, divi namque voluntatem, omnia huiuscemodi praepedimenta antevertat, nobis impetrando a Sultano Magno, in scriptis facultatem in terris illis commorandi, & aedes proprias cum sacello nostris usibus & societatis exercitationibus accomodatas, ubi elegerimus, habendi. Cum nostra hacce epistola coniunximus exemplar regiarum patentium, & alteram Regis ad eundem oratorem, nostris gratum. Quae omnia a se recepta esse tertio post mense idem illustrissimus orator ad nos Alexandretam rescripsit; quo trimestri literas nostras non legit, febre, qua laboravit, prohibitas. Romam etiam ad admodum Reverendum Patrem nostrum Pater Joannes Stella scripsit pecuniis opus esse ad aedes nobis comparandas, & de praedictis controversiis, etiam saepius, nulla occasione praetermissa. Resposum nullum.

Jerosolimas consul noster, nobis ignorantibus, & alio scribentibus, ad Reverendum Patrem Guardianum scripsit. Quid? Coniecturae ipsae ante, eventus post edocuit. Nam 14 calendis Novembris Reverendus Pater Adrianus a Brabantia, commissarius in nostram causam, ab eodem Reverendo Patre Guardiano delegatus, cum

duobus aliis patribus, Alepum Jerosolimis venit. Nos sequenti die unum ex duobus illis, Reverendum Patrem Gabrielem, Gallum, consulis nostri futurum capellanum, in cubiculo suo salutamus. Octo circiter dies elabuntur, cum altissimo de commissario, et commissione silentio: ille enim finxit alio se, primo quoque die, discessurum. Nos tamen, quod erat, suspicati, ne vigilantibus adversariis, dormire videremur, a mercatoribus, quibuscum Massilia veneramus, quique nos & confessiones publice audientes viderant, & concionantes audierant, attestationem eius, quod viderant & audierant, propriis manibus subscriptam impetramus. Impetramus & alterum, de morum nostrorum integritate, eodem modo attestatam ab iis omnibus, qui nos ab adventu nostro noverant; ab omnibus inquam, si familiares, & consulis nostri domesticos omnes ad unum excipias. Vero simile est eum mentem suam ipsis praesignificasse. Consul enim, quod pro eximia eius in nos voluntate, omittendum non fuit, super eadem re a nobis consultus, sigillum regium pollicetur, qui non lubenti animo subscribat, praedicit fore neminem. A caeteris subscriptam, iis, quos mox dixi exceptis, ipsi ultimo, sicut decebat, loco subscribendam obtulimus; excusationes praetexit, negat; negat & promissum sigillum. Carta ipsa rem totam loquitur Massiliam cum caeteris actibus nostris pluribus, ad Reverendum Patrem Michalem transmissa & recepta.

[Meeting with Father Gabriel]

Reverendus Pater Gabriel, reddendae salutationis causa, venit in cubiculum ad nos; in sermonem de nostra controversia incidimus: e sinu suo profert cartulam, ubi Reverendi Patres Jerosolimis subscripti numero sex, si bene memini, cum sigillo, an Reverendi Patris Guardiani, an capituli, nescio. Duo ipsorum privilegia (ex autographis exscripta asserebat) in ea legebantur; nostris longe vetustiora: altero summi pontificis

auctoritate omnibus cuiuscumque ordinis regularibus, & quibuscumque sacerdotibus, praecipiebatur; ut ne incito Reverendo Patre Guardiano sacri montis Sion, absque speciali summi pontificis facta potestate, illis in partibus auderet quisquam commorari: altero eidem Reverendo Patri Guardiano facultas concedebatur brevia ipsa applicata, quoties ita expedire iudicaret, frangendi. Iis lectis rogat Pater Gabriel si quod jus in contrarium habemus, promamus; illud cum suo praedecessore, per redeuntes famulos Jerosolimas ad suos patres fideliter missurum se recipit. Cartam illam poscimus & tempus eius sumendi exemplaris; jura nostra in scripto sequenti luce & cartam reddendam promittimus; & ita fit, octavo calendis Novembris hora 24^a in ipsius cubiculo: iterumque missurum se dicit Jerosolimas. Patuit deinde tamen re ipsa, hominis religiosi in verbo religio. Alio siquidem non misit quam ad Reverendum Patrem commissarium. Unus hic omnibus illis insidebat animus expiscandi, num nobis esset aliquod breve applicatum; si exhiberetur, illud infringendi; tum homines simpliciter ambulantes, unde advenerant, eo remandandi. Sic cum ex commissarii simulato discessu, tum ex propositis privilegiis, vel quilibet rudis colliget. Addo, quod idem Reverendus Pater Gabriel addiderat, in haec verba, habemus a Reverendis Patribus nostris, ut mitius vobiscum agamus, quam in Aegypto, in civitate mandatum, vulgo grancayre dicta, cum patribus Capuccinis nostri patres egerint; eos enim per vim, & non sine magnis rumoribus, inde expulerunt. Pervigilio sacrosanctorum applicatorum Simonis & Judae circa horam 15^{am} Reverendus Pater commissarius christianum quendam, de armenorum schismate, ad nos mittit, qui suo nomine referat, cupere se in suo cubiculo, paucis nobiscum agere. Interrogamus hominem, an aeger sit, qui nos vocat? Quis ille? & ad quid? Sanus est, ait; quid velit, non significavit; Jerosolimis nuper venit; natione belga est; alias hic guardianus extitit. Dubii quid opus

facto esset, an privatum hominem bene habentem sic nos vocantem adire debeamus, tantillum animo suspensi haeremus. Evicit demum haec cogitatio, quid rei sit videndum; quantumvis dolo non carere credatur.

[Meeting with the Commissary]

Dum pergimus quendam in itinere nostri amantissimum offendimus: nobis se comitem jungit: domum ingressi, superiore & dicto Reverendo Patre commissario, in aula, salutatis; quid a nobis flagitent postulamus. Reverendus Pater commissarius in suum nos cubiculum ducit; sedes offert; monet aliquantulum expectemus: ipse in aulam, inde ad alia cubacula, egressus iterum redit ad nos; iterumque in cubiculo solos relinquit. Observamus alterum in ipsa aula scribentem nescio quid; Reverendus Pater commissarius huc atque illuc per domum circumcursantem. Egredimur ad superiorem cum amico nostro colloquentem; oramus proferat, quid a nobis velint. Praestolamur, ait, patres nostros gallos. Alterum videramus sacrum inchoantem, ideo diximus, vix ante horam adesse possunt, & nos isto eodem tempore alia, quae agamus, nobis sunt. Sicque discedimus pecunias a mercatore massiliensi accepturi, hospiti nostro petenti deferendas, vix pransi sumus, quando religiosi duo, de familia Sancti Francisci a Reverendo Patre commissario ad nos missi adstant ad januas; expectari nos in Reverendi Patris Adriani cubiculo, a suis patribus deferunt. Quibus nos, equidem plurimum dolemus, quibusdam haec ipsa hora negotiis peragendis, cum aliquot honestis viris, praescripta sit: lubeat nos excusatos habere apud Reverendos illos patres. Recedunt; cumque vix domum suam pervenisse eos credimus, duo adsunt; in virtute sacrae obedientiae imperant, ut

Reverendum Patrem Adrianum adeamus. Novos hosce superiores miramur; quaerimus qua auctoritate sic imperent? Praesto nos esse ad obtemperandum in omnibus, si legitima, & non arrogata fuerit: a nobis illud ad suos imperandi genus avertant: praecisam voluntatem Reverendos illos patres adeundi, isto praecipiendi modo, nobis esse: et quando res eo devenit, semel intellegant, simulque sibi persuadeant, alios a summo pontifice, & societatis superioribus, in virtute sacrae obedientiae imperantes a nobis nec posse, nec debere audiri ullos. Rediere ut venerant. Reverendus Pater commissarius, cum suis omnibus, numero sex erant, statim ad cubiculum consulis nostri se conferunt: de nobis, uti contumacibus conqueruntur. Consul nos ad se vocari jubet; vocantem sequimur mora nulla. Consulem & Reverendos patres in cubiculo consulis, consistentes ordine, repertos salutamus. Criminis conscios perterrefacere poterant, sic iudicum consessum repraesentabant. Consul ad Reverendi patris commissarii dexteram, paulo remotus; ad eiusdem commissarii sinistram, patres reliqui, ab eo etiam remotiores, quam consul; solus ipse commissarius ad caput omnium: duae sedes, a reliquis separatae, juxta januam, visebantur; nobis servabantur. Eventum rei praestolantes sedemus in illis. Reverendus Pater commissarius manu altera cartas nonnullas complicatas tenebat, unam explicans se in nos commissarium, a Reverendo Patre Guardiano Jerosolimitano delegatum, profitetur; commissionem alta satis voce legit. In ea de Jesuitis, aut de nobis nominatim, ne verbum unum. Sua, de quibus superius duo privilegia in medium affert; subiicitque tres jam ab adventu vestro menses fluxere: (& vere ita habebat.) Reverendus Pater Guardianus Jerosolimis eo est animo, ut vel pergatis, si ulterius vobis pergendum; vel reditum cogitetis; nisi potestatem in partibus orientalibus diutius commorandi, si qua sit, aut a

summo pontifice aut ab alio vobis concessa, palam nunc feceritis. Respondemus hoc jam saepius & domino consuli, et suis nos fecisse, iterum tamen, quando id desiderat facturos.

[Legitimacy of Jesuit Documents in Question]

Protinas patentes regias, & Reverendi patris provincialis nostri, & bullarium societatis Romae, in collegio nostro excussum, proferimus. Literas patentes Reverendi patris provincialis a se lectas, ut legitimas agnoscit. Percurrit item legendo locos nostri Bullarii, a nobis in rem nostram notatos, ubi duo praedicta ipsorum privilegia, caeteraque omnia responsu Rominum Societatis irrita, et nullius momenti dicebantur. Liber iste, ait, apud bibliopolas venalis est; hunc qui volet, habebit; auctenticus non est ideoque fidem nullam facit. Ita est, dicimus, fidem non facit in rigore fori contensiosi, & formae judicariae: sed extra, qui bullas in eo contentus, veras societatis a summis pontificibus ut ibi jacent, concessas bullas in toto christiano orbe neget, aut in dubium vocet, alicuius auctoritatis vir, nullus est; equidem possunt in bullario universali, verbo ad verbum legi. Veritas, autoritas, fides bullarum non inde minuitur, aut tollitur, quod libellus eas continens tipis mandatus apud bibliopolas venalis habeatur, imo inde augetur maxime: usui nulli est iis hominibus, qui de societate non sunt; hominibus vero societatis detrimento nulli, quod ab aliis haberi possit; jura & societatis privilegia melius & a pluribus cognoscerentur; & vos in dubium, de industria, non juste revocatis; & quia venalem librum affirmatis, quae in illo sunt ignorare non potestis. & iis similia attexuimus, in haec verba concludentes, aut hic amice agimus, ut aequum est credere; aut in rigore juris, fori contensiosi: si priori modo, ad summum pontificem utique scribamus; & quod responsum sua beatitudo reddiderit, utrimque audiatur; quilibet interea tempore sine alterius praeiudicio, libere utatur jure suo. Si autem posteriori modo, contra juris

praescriptum id fiet, cum vos actoris, testium, & judicis personam agatis, qui omnes unius loco estis. Deinde tempus competens, juxta canones sacros, & de rigore juris concedendum, in forma juris postulamus, intra quod idem societatis bullarium auctenticum Roma, vel aliunde si citius possit, recipiamus; quando tota rei, & juris nostri controversia in hoc uno capite consistit. Quod nunc protulimus legitimum asserimus, illudque velle nos tradere cancellario obsignandum & servandum: & quo casu, aliud quicquam ab auctentico, in isto reperiatur, paratos nos esse ad falsariorum poenas subeundas.

[First Interdict against the Jesuits and Threat of Excommunication]

Illos Reverendos Patres contra alia omnia obtrudere, horum nihil velle audire, exclamare singulos tanquam in malefactores; a sede sua surgere aliquos; patrem franciscum in genua procumbere, a Reverendo patre commissario de sui juris raptoribus justitiam, & opem flagitare: in scena & theatro videbamini. Postremo sic ad nos Reverendus pater commissarius vobis prohibeo sub poena excommunicationis latae sententiae, ut ne hic in templo nostro, nec usquam alibi, confessiones audiatis: & ne in eodem templo Sacnti Francisci, quod est in aula domini consulis, sacrum in posterum faciatis. Silentem ad ista consulem mirabundi intuemur, sciscitamus ex eo, num sacellum illud consulis sit, an Sancti Francisci? Consulis est, inquit quasi invitus, atque in eo faciet quicumque mihi placuerit. Nos ad Reverendos patres oculos sermonem, praesertim ad Reverendum commissarium convertimus, vestra haec acta nullitatis arguimus: a prohibitione, & comminatoria vestra excommunicatione, atque a vestra si qua sit, iurisdictione, in quantum de jure necessarium fuerit, in meliori forma juris, ex nunc ad summum pontificem appellamus. Insuper vobis significamus bullas summorum

pontificum Gregorium 13 & 14 earumque confirmationem, per Sanctum Dominum Paulum quintum, quibus excommunicatione latae sententiae, soli summo pontifici reservata, innodantur, quotquot nostros de societate homines impediunt, quocumque modo, ne munia eiusdem societatis ubique terrarum exerceant. Caeterum quandiu vobis acceptum non erit, templum vestrum nullum ingrediemur; in sacello autem domini consulis, quoties permiserit ille, faciemus. Rogamus, ut si a quo tempore Alepi degimus, aliquid minus decens, aut religiosis viris minus dignum egimus, advertant in nos, & inquirant diligenter, corrigant, puniant; hac in parte juri nostro cedentibus Reverendi patris commissarii sententiam acceptum iri. Istorum unus praedictas bullas earumque excommunicationes ridens, haec ad venetos, inquit, quando vos exilio damnabant. Haec ad Massilienses, quando vos vestramque domum lapidibus impetebant, et istud secundum de patris mendacii ore promebat.

[Reaction of Commissary to Sacrament Held against Interdict]

Die sacrosanctis applicatis Simoni & Judae sacro insequenti, Pater Joannes Stella, cum ut maiores clamores vitet, tum ut capellano consulis obtemperet, qui alias vetarat, ne circa illud tempus, quo soleret ipse, nos faceremus, primo mane facit: hora deinde 13^a capellanus consulis suum solemne, gallis mercatoribus. Facta huius consecratione, Reverendus pater commissarius adest, cum sociis tribus, missae exitum praestolatur; finito sacro, cartulam sociis praebet, ad sacelli valvas affigant jubet; ea nos scripto, sicuti heri verbo, interdicimur: causam daturus eius rei, omnibus palam refert hesterni diei acta in cubiculo consulis, et sacrum a Patre Stella factum, contra prohibitionem; addit excommunicationem a se latam illo scripto declarari, etiam contra ipsum consulem si nobis vel aperiat vel a suis aperiri, permittat illud sacellum. Vultus color, linguae verba

praecedentis volubilitas, elevatio vocis, dictio perpetua, interiorem animi commoti perturbationem aliquam prodebant. Ad haec stupere omnes, hominem observare, insolitum procedendi modum mirari: etiam duos, tresve audenter reprehendere: bona esse Jesuitarum sacra; illa se audituros; a Rege suo ad se missos; Regem audiendum; non homines externae & nationis inimicae. Pater Gaspar Maniglerius initio solus aderat, eo quippe se contulerat facturus post solemne sacrum gallorum; saepiusque eas de quibus paulo ante, bullas summorum pontificis Gregorii 13ⁱ & 14ⁱ & Pauli 3ⁱ ex libro opposuerat. Ex his irritam istorum censuram saepius inclamaverat, eosdemque patres si pergant excommunicationem incursum: jus omne appellationis ad summum pontificem a nobis pridie interpositae violari ab iis, qui summi pontificis auctoritatem tueri se profiteantur. Regis nostri voluntantes & imperia, coram gallo consule, in ipsa regis domo, spectatoribus gallicis, & gallorum religiosorum jura, externorum pedibus conculcari. Nos eo non accessisse animo, ut quicquam damni Reverendis patribus Sancti Francisci vel eorum juribus, ulla in re inferremus: cupere nos tantum socios esse laborum, atque in coelis praemiorum; officiorum vero, aut terrenarum mercedum in terris, nequaquam: denique pergerent illi secundum deum, in solitis suis muniis; alios ad cooperationem salutis animarum vocantem deum sequi permetterent. Multaque id genus fuerat idem pater Maniglerius prolocutus. Quae omnia & in cubiculo dicta & hic pacatis tantisper clamoribus, repetita, & audita sunt.

[Consul Supports Interdict of Commissary]

Actum huius scaenae conclusit consul noster, qui huc usque in silentio proprio ad instar offensi & subirati hominis cogitabundus ante ipsummet sacellum obambulet, conclusit, inquam, imperando ut sacellum clave occluderetur, & claves sibi darentur, nulli

vestrum, dicebat, quandiu haec controversia indecisa fuerit, sacellum istud patebit. Caeteris domum suam ad prandium repetentibus, quia Pater Maniglerius nondum fecerat, nos cum quibusdam amicis nostris ad suburbia civitatis, ad rem sacram pergimus. Distant haec suburbia, tametsi inter illa & civitatem soli civitatis muri interponantur, a domo consulari sesquimilliare. In iis degunt hominum Christianorum Schismaticorum varii ritus, millia plusquam triginta; cum quibus inhabitant Maronitae sacerdotes & alii Sancti Reverendi Episcopi auctoritatem agnoscentes. In istorum templo ubi Pater Maniglerius sacrificium deo obtulit, ad nostrum cubiculum redimus, & prandemus. Sumpto prandio ad sacellum consulare lecturi affixum interdictum nos contulimus. Has sui causas a Reverendo Patre commissario (ut suae vel aliorum conscientiae, faceret satis) appositas continebat. Quod auctoritatem Reverendi Patris Commissarii non agnovimus: quod ab ipsius jurisdictione exemptos nos dixerimus: quod auctenticis instrumentis id non probaverimus. Ut ex eius exemplari Massiliam misso, imo ex ipso auctographo constat. Hora eiusdem diei 21^a de primis & honestioribus, aliquot mercatores consulem conveniunt, admonent, ut regis auctoritati, officio suo, & nationis totius nomini consulat; secutura maiora incommoda atque dissidia praescindat, detrimenta avertat; suam denique auctoritatem contentioni dirimendae interpositam velit.

[Ultimatum]

Consul ex illis quatuor selegit, Dominum Guygonis, Dominum de Mongin, Dominum Venturam, & Dominum Vilere, quibus hanc provinciam nomine suo demandavit. Statimque una omnes ad Reverendos Patres Sancti Francisci se conferunt, colloquuntur, deprecantur, supplicant. Ab iis ad nos, quid egerint, quidque actum cupiant, referunt: suo religiosos viros metientes modulo, rem in honorem &

superioritatem positam arbitrantur. Desiderant, aiunt, Reverendi illi patres Sancti Francisci a vobis agnosci, istis in partibus, tanquam vestri superiores: hoc si concedatur, confectum esse negotium. Nos quid, sub illo superioris nomine, doli possit latere exponimus, in hunc fere modum. Duplex est superiorum genus: alterum eorum, quibus, ex obedientiae religiosae voto emisso, aut obtemperandum sit, aut in lethale peccatum incidendum: aliorum alterum quorum officium, dignitas, autoritas postulat, ut superiorum instar, eos pro cuiusque gradu veneremur; iisque ubi opus fuerit, serviamus; sed citra omnem obligationem, & peccati periculum; id variis, ut occurrunt, similitudinibus declaramus. Hoc posteriori modo, Reverendos patres a nobis agnitos fuisse: atque ad idem, coram, quando, ubi, & quoties voluerint, profitendum nos esse paratissimos. Priori autem modo, quia aequum non est, non licere nobis. Quippe qui huiusmodi votum soli summo pontifici, & societatis superioribus emisimus; quod ad alios transfundi non possit. Addimus vereri nos merito, ne si id obedientiae genus illis Reverendis patribus praestaremus, quamprimum nos ad collegia nostra, in Europam redire praeciperent. Verum ut hoc ne fiat, illud futurum nunquam. Demum istis quatuor jura nostra ex libris legenda proponimus, isto unico dempto, reliquis omnibus ipsorum gratia, & pro bono pacis, nos ex nunc renunciare: quidquid ipsi definierint, a nobis certo certius ratum habitum iri. Re melius intellecta, & satisfactione ista accepta, recedunt. Triduum totum frustra impendunt, eandem siquidem Reverendi illi patres sibi a nobis deberi obedientiam, quam summo pontifici deberemus, peritnaci animo contendunt. Ut nimirum nos remandent.

[Problems with Maronites]

Paene exciderat hic referre, quod ut praedicti Reverendi Patres divinae opis implorandae, & per augustissimum sacrosanctum Missae sacrificium impetrandae, omnem nobis aditum praecluderent, quo die sacris nobis interdictum est, eodem & postero sacerdotes Maronitas advocarunt, templum suum nobis excommunicatis ne aperirent prohibuerant, atque effecerant. Nobis enim adeuntibus claves denegarunt Maronitae, prohibitionem sibi factam a praedictis patribus retulerunt. Constat ex attestazione longe sunt diversissimae, id temporis, nostrae ab eorum Reverendis patribus Francisci cogitationes. Nos enim illo triduo consulare sacellum clave obseratum intelligentes consulem adimus; quibus potuimus precibus exoravimus, ut nostri causa nolit suum sacellum Reverendis patribus clausum; neque suos Gallos sacro solito privatos. Nihilominus iisdem patribus ne jure videremur inferiores, cartulam subscribimus, sigillo nostro munimus, affixo in nos interdicto ad easdem sacelli valvas opponimus; bullarum nostrarum in ea, concepta verba legebantur, quibus irritum interdictum, & nulla Reverendorum patrum excommunicatio in nos lata, a summis pontificibus declarantur; eosque re ipsa excommunicatos convincebatur, qui nobis nostrisque in obeundis societatis functionibus impedimento fuissent.

Hanc cartulam jugulum petentem Reverendus pater commissarius tertio post die, (domenica sequenti) cum sociis abstulit in fine sacri gallorum; absente consule, mercatorum parte maxima, & nobis: quippe quos Consul ad templum Maronitarum (eius rei prius obtenta a Reverendis patribus Sancti Francisci facultate) nobiscum ad sacrum, inde ad prandium, in horto quodam, consulis imperio paratum, abduxerat. Id de industria factum a consule nonnulli sunt interpretati. Postridie ad idem sacellum literas regias, domini ducis de Guyse, & Reverendorum Patrum provincialis nostri, subscriptas, &

sigillo nostro munitas apposuit, hoc addito, videbimus si consul eas auferri patiatur. E valvis illius sacelli ad porticum subobscuram, deleto illo addito, furibundus consul ablatas transtulit. Quorsum, nescimus. Eo in loco intactae ad diem 15^{um} permanserunt.

[Jesuits Question the Commissary]

Interim & consulem & Reverendum commissarium, ex scripto, coram testibus, requisivimus: consulem, ut regis christianissimi auctoritatem sartam tectam praestet; ut eiusdem voluntatem, privata ad se epistola, nostrisque patentibus, satis superque declaratam exequatur. (ea regis ad consulem epistola; terminis conceptis, consuli rex praecipiebat, ut non pateretur nos a quoquam perturbari in nostris ecclesiasticis exercitiis, & spiritualibus functionibus. Haec sunt ipsa regis verba. Constat ex epistola exemplari.) postremo ut nos juraque nostra, juxta regis imperium, ab adversariorum violentia vindicet. Reverendum vero commissarium, ut suae auctoritatis & commissionis, atque actuum processus, si qui sint contra nos, exemplaria non deneget, Romam ad summum pontificem, cum nostris, transmittenda. Non teneor, respondit, neque isthaec dandi est necessitas. Ita lucem oderunt, qui male agunt. Utraque requisitio Massiliam missa, cum aliis. Consul noster istis diebus duas epistolas scriberet, alteram ad Reverendum Patrem Guardianum Jerosolimas; alteram ad dominum Viguier, ad quem Alepensis consulatus pertinet, Massiliam. Utramque nobis coram legere voluit, quo fine, ipse noverit. Rogabat eundem dominum Viguier, ut ad se rescriberet, quomodo se gereret erga Reverendos patres Sancti Francisci & Jesuitas; utrosque simul se habere non posse. Ad haec nos eius mentem assequentes, nihil necesse est, diximus, de Jesuitis Alepi habendis domi vestrae, dominum Viguier consulere: nihil nobis cum illo, quod ad hoc; de consulibus aut consulatu nihil speramus, praeter eum quae ex consulatus a Rege concessi, sub his

legibus, obligatione, gallis omnibus debetur, protectionem: unde Alepi sustentemur, aliunde habebimus; et propterea quam initio liberaliter obtuli, mensam recusavimus. In altera bene longa, Regis voluntatem, de nostra Alepi residentia, multaque in eam rem, & quae nobis contra, eius Religiosi fecissent, referebat ad Reverendum patrem Guardianum Jerosolimis quare consulem sumpta hac occasione rogamus, ut suis ad Reverendum patrem Guardianum nostras in suo fasciculo placeret coniungere. Pater Gaspar ergo scripsit ad eundem Reverendum patrem Guardianum Jerosolimis. Monuit de summi pontificis congregatione sacra de fide propaganda & regis nostri voluntate. Verba ipsa bullarum contra eos qui nos impedirent, aliaque omnia de quibus hactenus, retulit. Reverendus pater Guardianus ad consulem unam aut alteram lineam rescripsit, de nobis, uti de Jesuitis suppositis: de reliquis ad eum rebus, nihil. Sic relatum referimus. Ad nos vero nihil est dignatus rescribere. Quale hominis religiosorum patris ingenium! Reverendi patris provincialis nostri literas sui viderant, approbant, a mercatoribus de societate nos esse acceperunt, ii ipsi, qui ad illum profecti erant, quique dubium omne tollere poterant; & tamen nos suppositos Jesuitas vocant. Omnino discessum nostrum jure an iniuria, per se, suos, aliosque meditabatur.

[Problems with Syrian Officials]

Diebus aliquot cum silentio & quieta aliqua, dum cubiculi nostri parietibus continemur, rem divinam singulis diebus, ante solis ortum, clausis januis, facientes; de die omnia in arcula recondentes; ecce nobis insidias novas parari; novas calumnias imponi, apud magistratus novos capita nostra ad certum discrimen vocari, si Turcas ipsos nostris adversariis humaniores in nos deus non effecisset. Bachas eius regionis & civitatis administrator ad expeditionem contra persas erat profectus. Summa rerum ad

Maussoleum (hic absentis Bachas vices gerit) devenerat. Ad istum igitur libellus supplex turcicis characteribus & dictionibus offertur, nemine supscripto, per manus cuiusdam officialis justitiae, cui ab officio nomen est Soubbassis. In hoc libello dicebamus statuum perturbatores, meleuitani exploratores, ex terris sultano magno infensissimis oriundi: & quod praecipuum caput videbatur, venisse nos praeter ordinem Reverendi patris Guardiani Jerosolimitani absque eius literis & obedientia. Contra consuetum morem ab omnibus religiosis hactenus inviolabiliter observatum, in oriente universo. Unde exilium, post castigationem concludebat. Antequam id Maussoleum resciat, nonnulli labuntur dies; urbe siquidem cum suo equitatu ad tutandam a praedonibus caravanam exierat. Soubbassis nostri consulis satis familiaris rem & libellum consuli defert. A Franco datum sibi affirmat, nomen non indicat. (Francos omnes Europaeos vocant.) Consul nos per famulum accersit: libellum ostendit, translationem italicam legit nobis, coram multis eam ob rem in aulam suam a se convocatis mercatoribus. Libello eo nos peti asserit: quid a se factum nostri gratia, cupiamus, rogat: illos omnes testes in clamat; protestatur sine pecuniis fieri nihil posse. Testes eosdem velle nos respondemus; isto libello peti Reverendos patres Sancti Francisci utpote profectos ex terris vere inimicis sultano magno; in illis natos, & enutritos; non nos vere gallos & ex galliis, terris sultano amicis: id de utrisque notum lippis & tonsoribus. Maior a vestra interpretatione, & ad nos libelli applicatione, iniuria apud nos nulla; & si forent, in eum usum minime impedirentur. Ea agat, quae ex officio suo esse judicaverit: ab eo nos aliud nihil petere, quam quod Rex noster mandasset. Id si negligat, protestamur. Praetermittendum hoc loco non est, quod saepissime consulem, & eius cancellarium precati fuimus, ut praedicti interdicti exemplari fideliter & ad

verbum exscripto subscriberent, cancellariae, aut regis sigillum apponerent, ad fidem, ubi opus foret, faciendum; quando isto tantum modo, rerum illic gestarum fides fieri alibi non potest, item ut de omnibus quae contra nos facta erant a Reverendis patribus Sancti Francisci vel in posterum fierent, acta auctentica nobis conficerent. Illis utrisque in scripto, coram testibus hanc petitionem & requisitionem nostram cancellario tradidimus. Ex ipsa auctographa patet. Habuerat praeterea consul noster in suo cubiculo, patentibus gallis mercatoribus plurimis, rei sin terminandae, moderandae saltem spe, amicam congressum cum iisdem Reverendis patribus Sancti Francisci rogatu nostro.

[Argument Between Commissary and Consul]

Ubi Reverendo patri commissario Regis christianissimi voluntatem, datum sibi mandatum, per epistolam propriam, et per patentes nobis concessas declaratum proposuit; oravit uti sui & adstantium intuitu aliquid concederet, ut de sua in nos voluntate aliquid, suis, aliorumque gallorum precibus, nonnihil remitteret. Nec quicquam obtinuerat. Nam Reverendus pater commissarius habemus etiam nos, aiebat, Regis christianissimi literas: similes vero illi privatae epistolae, minori unius realis, quantum onerandae navi sint satis obtinentur. Ad haec consul, omnium ergo nostrorum irritae preces? Itaque Regis mei nomine vobis impero, ut patres societatis Jesu res suas hic agere permittatis: & si Regis tanti auctoritas a vobis nihili fit, subjicio ex auctoritate summi pontificis, mihi per bullas eorundem patrum significatum imperium. Num parum videtur, vestri causa, eos privatis flagellis omnibus, sicut impostores & apostatas decet, quales isti sunt, non egregie excepisse? (ecce quod, aut allucinor valde, aut tum moliebatur, cum nos ad suum cubiculum vocavit.) Istorum enim unus in illa privata epistola Joannes bella, in patentibus Regis, Joannes Stella dicitur. Nec mentiebatur: ita nostri patres Parisiis observant.

Denique factum nihil. In egressu consul ad aurem unius, Reverendi patres Sancti Francisci jus habent a se. Cui hoc suggestum est a consule, ille idem ita esse nobis fassus est. Caetera ab aliis qui interfuerunt in scripto subsignato accepimus. Peditote consulis fidem.

Videt Reverendus pater commissarius interdictum suum, suam excommunicationem, caeteraque sua, suorumque acta, minus potenter efficere, quod intendebant omnes; nos de aliis omnibus loqui; de reditu verbum nullum. Videt per se, suosve, aliud posse nihil. Per alios, uti passim nobis regerebatur, id perficere aggreditur. Per civitatem cursitat; hos atque illos alloquitur; consules Anglorum & Venetorum convenit; qui a nobis esse videbantur, ad sese vocat, minatur, aliaque agit unde nihil boni nobis sperandum.

[Consul Discusses Jesuits with Maussalem]

Itaque evenit, per praedictum libellum supplicem, post haec omnia datum. Maussolemus in urbem reversus eum libellum a Suobbassis recepit; consulem nostrum ad se venire jubet: qui, & unde simus, sciscitatur. Galli sunt, ait consul, drevis, id est religiosi. Maussolemus hic quid agant non habent: remitte illos. Absit hoc a me, replicat consul; a rege meo mihi commendatos, qui nihil mali egerint, a nemine accusatos dimittam! Absit. Libellum profert Maussolemus; bene ait consul, sibi cautum voluit qui scripsit, dum suum nomen apponere noluit, equidem si nossem hominem, a meis pugione manibus confoderetur. Quare nomen suum tacendo ficta omnia prolata & scripta abunde probavit. Dies aliquot in ista Maussolemi & consulis contentione traducti; quibus Maussolemus ad Anglorum & Venetorum consules misit Suobbassis, ut ab iis inquirat & referat, quales simus. Proh quales testes! Haereticus quam catholicus amicus responsum

dedit. Dixit enim, huiusce conditionis viros in nostro regno nullos vidi, ideoque non novi. Si vero ex me quaeras an debeant isti hic morari, aut ii, qui vestibus cinericii coloris utuntur, hanc enim inter ipsos ortam controversiam audio (perbelle edoctus loquitur). Jus esse a cinericiis videtur, qui multis abhinc annis in terris istis degunt. Venetus autem, de istis aliud tibi non habeo dicere, nisi quod responsa nostra jam ante multos annos e ditone sua id genus homines expulit universos, eosque exilio perpetuo damnavit. Praeclara haec de nobis testimonia Soubbassis ad Maussolemum detulit. Hic iterum agit cum nostro consule.

[Jesuits are Tried by the Local Judge]

Denique ab istis ad Cady res tota devolvitur. Cady nomen est supremi iudicis civitatis. Die dicta Maussolemus adest ad tribunal Cady; adest & consul in veste consulari purpurea, suis bene multis gallis stipatis; adesse jubemur & nos. Vocamur ergo a quatuor Maussolemi famulis, a quatuor item nomine consulis, eius consobrino, interprete minore, & duobus famulis: denique per vicos civitatis, isto insolito concitatu incedimus, rumor, rei novitas, homines novi, incertus exitus, oculos omnium & animos rapiunt. Locum tribunalis ingressos Maussolemus contemplatus (solus cum Cady, more suo, simiarum instar sedebat in terra tapetibus strata) ait invisi, & milites sunt isti. Abeant, abeant. Ad quem consul, praeclarus belli dux milites bene novit, vetulum jam alterum, edentulum alterum, militari habitu & armis instructos, ridendo hominem. Tum serio, ecquis de istis conqueritur? Quis accusat? Quo convicti crimine abibunt? Ergo in hac civitate gallis hominibus non licebit amplius vivere? Abeundum ergo nobis omnibus. Itane a vobis initi foederis inter sultanum vestrum & regem nostrum servantur leges? Ecce ipsos foederis eiusdem articulos, in ignem sultis, conjicite, quando sic a vobis

publice violantur, qui violatores punire debetis. His per interpretem dictis, membranam obvolutam proiecit. Nos manuprehendit, et una cum suis, nobiscum egreditur. Gressum 15^{um} vix ponimus: cum magistratuum famuli turmatim, rei mitiorem exitum pollicentes, consulem, nosque revocant. Verum quam quae ante, audimus nihil. Abeant abeant ingeminat Maussolemus. Quorsum? & quae prius, ingeminat consul. Ego inquit ait Maussolemus & pars & testis. Tum conversus ad Cady ego civitatis gubernator a te iudice postulo, ut novos hosce homines, quia nullam a sultano magno hic degendi facultatem habent, hinc Alexandretam releges; donec eam potestatem sibi factam tibi ostenderit. Cady in eam omnino formam, suam in nos sententiam pronunciat; addito ad discessum parandum tridui intervallo. Hanc ut in suis libris inscribat, qui a secretis erat, quid sit nobis nomen quaerit. Accipe inquit consul, ex ipsis regis me literis, ut constet eos a vobis damnatos sine causa, quos ipse rex per suas literas commendatos huc misit. Accepit, scripsit, sententiam legit. Consul acceptavit, veritus ne peiora nobis acciderent, et sperans immutandos Maussolemi & Cady animos, a se, illo triduo. Ita nobis domum cum eo redeuntibus mentem suam explicabat. Eventus tamen alia omnia non suggestit solum sed probavit. Consilium suum ut exequatur, rogamus identidem: facturum 1. pollicetur; 2. excusationes quasdam, quia nondum fecerit, praetendit; 3. non posse adhuc. Denique ne quidem semel pedem eam ob rem movit. Praeclaris verbis facta nulla respondent. Idem semper experti sumus. Omnia ex composito dici & fieri, plusquam semiplenae probationis coniecturae loquuntur, & homines sanae mentis non pauci, iisque non vulgares, quos hic possem nominatim recensere. Imo literas ad nos datas habemus affirmantes consulem ipsum piastris obsecutum.

[Thoughts on the Hearing]

Ecquis non ita suspicetur, qui in toto praecedenti judiciali congressu altissimum silentium observavit de iis, quae in libello nostrae accusationis habebantur, quaeque poterant optime in Reverendos patres Sancti Francisci cadere: quia nimirum palam dixeramus declaraturos nos quinam illi essent, de quibus libellus & caetera cui non veniat in mentem ultro idem judicare, si videat in aula consulis, consulis familiares, ipsum consulem iis persuadentes, qui aliquatenus, compassione moti, nostras tueri partes videbantur, ut nos nobis nostraque mittant? Quis aliter credet, si consulem audiat de sacello suo loquentem sic, cum fuerit tempus, bene ostendam consulis, non Sancti Francisci esse. Quid aliud hoc est, quam dicere, nunc ut vos inde pellant, illis permitto & caetera si rerum gestarum scirem, si verba eius cum intueantur factis componat; si data promissa verbo & scripto factis ipsis opposita pendat, si ad tempus capellanum suum de mensa exclusum de industria intelligat, si epistolas simulationibus plenas legat, dubitabit aliquis, num ita res habeat? Plane nullus. Cur ille sic nobiscum egerit? Certior non sum. Hanc eiusdem rationem referam. Disserebat ille aliquando nobiscum familiariter de toto isto negotio, cum ista ratio ex minus (credo) cogitantis ore excidit, uti mihi esset animus, inquit, cum istis patribus Francisci mihi non licet agere: sunt enim in illo & illo portu, (quatuor numerabat, unde ipsi emolumenti nonnihil obvenit) ubi si velint, mihi damni plurimum creare possunt. Alteram supra, ex consorte consulis retuli, ii a Jesuitis sibi timent quos lucem odisse scriptura testatur. Quare longe a se Jesuitas volunt.

[Pressure from Mussalem to Leave]

Nondum tres a iudice praescripti dies effluxerant, cum Maussolimus bis, tertio, consulem nostrum per famulos admonet, discessum nostrum urgeat, futurum alioqui certo ut capite plectamur, si elapsis diebus inveniamur in urbe. Consul per suos frequentes

idem refert, atque ut nobis vitaeque nostrae consultum velimus. (Duobus itaque nostri ordinis amantissimis res nostras pauculas committimus. Mutuo ab altero istorum pecunias recipimus.) Cancellarium & per istum, consulem, super iis, quae in ipso actu habentur, tunc necessariis, protestamur scripto coram testibus. Adducuntur equi: auctographum interdicti ea valvis, ubi adhuc regis voluntati sese opponebat, refixum, consule consentiente, asportamus; eius enim auctenticum exemplar a nullo potueramus unquam precibus, requisitionibus publicis extorquere. Consuli vale ultimo, caeterisque dicto, hospite satisfacto, ad equos conscendendos progredimur.

[Commissary is Overcome with Anger]

Ut ecce in exteriori hospitii nostri limine, apparet Reverendus pater commissarius, cum suis sociis. De avulso interdicto suo conqueritur: reddi sibi postulat: flagella, fustes minitatur, & omnia: furit; impostores, apostatas vocitat. Iniuriarum vim ingentem evomit, virus omne reliquum, coram plurimis & palam. Ubi tantillum siluit, vultus sudorem exsiccando sudariolo; haec audivit a patre Stella, ita res habet, vestrum interdictum, in nostram venit potestatem, ad cartam & ad rem alludendo, iis quos decebat consciis. Potuistis vos nostrum scriptum revellere sine ulla necessitate, cum simile vobis ultro subscriptum & cum sigillo nostro, obtulerimus: potuimus & nos vestrum necessitate coacti; negastis enim vos nobis exemplar in forma requirentibus; negavit cancellarius; negavit & consul ut ergo Romae constet, quod hic a vobis actum est, illud ad summum pontificem transmittendum accepimus. Ista dicenti patri Stella aliud Reverendus pater commissarius non respondit praeterquam mentiris, mentiris, plus decies. Ex scripto testibus subscripto res tota constat.

[Jesuits are Escorted out of Aleppo by Aga Family]

Eodem die, 3 calendis Decembris pervigilio Sancti Andreae applicati, sub horam 22^{am} cum viae nostrae ducibus duobus, altero nostris sumptibus, altero consulis, urbe egredimur. Nos consequuntur equites duo, de Aga Alexandretae familia, atque ante milliare alterum assequuntur. (est Aga ipse Alexandretae portus & regionis circum gubernator; penes quem jura, & reditus regii sub annuo censu) isti se nobis comites itineris dederunt, ut ad carcerem & vincula jussu domini sui deducerent. Ita experientia propria nos certiores fecit. Cur? Haec suspicionem faciunt, idem Aga, iis auditis, quae in nos agebantur, ad nostrum consulem miserat, ut ipsum adiremus, effecturum se, si modo consul velit, ut urbe non exiremus, receperat. Cui consul, merces non sunt viri isti, nec pecuniarum arculae, quae debeat Aga videre. Aga merito spretum se a consule credit, in nos vindictum & odium refundit, per istos comites, et per suum proaga Alexandretae degentem nos carceri & vinculis ferreis addicit inscios. Vel certe id facit adversariorum suasu, ut nostrorum alterius profectionem Constantinopolim, alterius vero ad gallias navigationem impediat. Sic enim futurum dixeramus ante discessum nostrum, ut utrimque remedia morbo nostro & medicinam faceremus.

[Jesuits are Imprisoned at Alexandretta]

Et vere ita futurum erat, si liberos nos reliquissent, omnibus ad id paratis utilitatis, in itinere nostro, istis ex comitibus, id hausimus, quod in manus Gourdorum (genus est latronum equitum famosissimum) non venerimus; dubio procul futuri in eorum potestate, si pauciores numero fuisset. Hos sub auroram, loco periculoso, antequam in vastissimam Antiochiae planitiem ingrederemur, in equis, septem numero offendimus, 3^o profectionis die. Quo eodem die hora 23^a Alexandretam venimus. Sed longe ante nos, e duobus illis de familia Aga, alter. Nam ex urbe, quam Beylam dicunt, leucis quatuor

fautum ab Antiochena remota, mandatum sui domini ad proaga, de mittendis nobis in carcerem, delaturus praecucurrerat. Id colligimus, ex occurso ipsius proaga: iste enim cum famulis in equis, procul ab Alexandreta circiter milliare, ad nos obviam venit, & nobiscum rediens domum suam in carcerem deducit. Ex equis, ad cubiculum eius: quamquam invitis proconsule nostro, et viae ducibus nostris, qui ne ad manus & arma venirent, nostri causa, perparum admodum abfuit. Id tamen ab iis rogatu nostro impetratum. Est in illo cubiculo columnis lapideis suspenso, arundinibus palustribus operto, ex asseribus duos tresve digitos ab invicem dissitis tabulato, angulus inquam est: ad cuius laevam, et caput, fenestrae semper patentes, ad dexteram fores, hic pro carcere nobis dies undecim fuit. Ex eo minimum recedere pro scelere erat. Diebus singulis mane & vesperi proconsul noster, cum sua in nos benevolentia, tum consulis mandato, victui necessaria perhumaniter subministrat: famulus vero proaga singulis noctibus, ad utriusque pedem alterum ferrea vincula. Massilia & Constantinopoli illuc ad nos epistolae afferuntur, ex illustrissimo oratore Regio, et ex patribus nostris iis per redeuntem nuncium datis literis statum nostrum declaramus.

[Jesuits Fail to be Rescued from Prison]

Die Jovis, de nocte, hora 5^a idibus decembris a Judaeo proaga interprete, et ab Armeno schismatico, Alexandreta Payassum, ad Aga alterum Alepensis Aga socium, clam subducimur. Medio in itinere molendinum est, in eo sistimus horas aliquot: illi circa ignem, nos supra lignis transversim super decurrentes aquos positos decumbimus. Ante lucem viae relinquimus perficimus. Urbem & domum ingredientibus Aga cum nonnullis e prima ipsorum nobilitate fit obvius. Hunc more nostro aperto capite salutamus. Ille pro salute nos gape, id est canes, vocat. Recta in carcerem ducimur,

longum passus septem, latum quatuor: per tectum, ubi omnium latrinae, januam & fenestellam luce perlustratur: fluxus & refluxus famulorum est. Quorum aliqui asses duo, pro lecto dederunt, nondum omnem exuerunt humanitatem. Triduum circiter omni prorsus humana ope destituti, pane, aqua ipsa, traducimus. Sub vesperum diei tertii, unum de pueris secretarii, pater Stella signis alloquitur; pecunias, quae casu supererant, offert; panes emat, et parum aquae afferat, precatur. Capit puer, atque istud in nobis amice satis beneficium posuit. Id certe deo sic pro nobis agente, de turcis affirmare possumus, ab iis asperius nihil nos passos esse. Summo mane diei nisequentis, Alexandreta proaga Payassum venit, Alepensis Aga Mayassensi epistolam tradit. Ea lecta, vocamur, de libertate nostra, et reditu, nos ipse Aga per interpretem monet, se dolere significat, quod cibus illo triduo caruerimus: rogat ut suo nomine consulem & mercatores gallos salutemus; futurum se amicum recipit: sed aliquid in signum grati animi dandum est, inquit, proaga Alexandretae. Dandae fuerunt in scriptis, nam in pecuniis non poteramus, decem piastae. Sic Payasso Alexandretam post prandium impransi redimus. Piastas illas accepta nostra carta proconsul dedit.

[One Month of Calm]

Mensem unum circiter in hac libertate Alexandretae cum proconsule nostro commorantes peregrinamus. Eo tempore Reverendum patrem Sancti Francisci sacerdotem venetorum tertia laborantem, tertio invisimus: alios periculosius aegrotantes saepius: unum prae caeteris ope nostra indigentem juvamus, de confessione auditur, sacro viatico reficitur, mortuus donatur sepultra, ecclesiastico ritu. Istud dum fit, tantus foetor ex cadavere unius veneti adhuc integro invento, ante annum sepulto, in terra statim cadavera consumente, prodiit, ut nullus ferre posset. Indigenae id miraculo tribuebant, aut divinae

vindictae testimonio: huic foetor ille. Inde hausisse nos crediderim febrem, qua uterque brevi post laboravit. Qui haec faceret tum tempore religiosus, vel sacerdos, alius a nobis, erat nullus. Discesserat enim ille Religiosus Sancti Francisci Jerosolimis Alexandretam a Reverendo patre Guardiano ad gallos missus sacramentorum administer, qui in domestico furto Rubarbari, valoris piastarum centum deprehensus ante suum discessum, fuit, & suis bene multis sequinis coacervatis, interceptis ea occasione, a proconsule spoliatus. Si quis scire cupiat, unde isti Religioso tam multi sequini? Ex singulis navibus unum sibi jure novo vendicant illi pauperes Religiosi, et unum ex quolibet mortuo sepulturae mandato; quamvis a consule omnia sibi necessaria recipiant. Alios propterea nullos ibi fortassis patiuntur: sic quaerunt quae sunt Jesu Christi. Utinam summus pontifex omnium aliorum praeclara facinora fideliter audiret. Uterque nostrorum quotidie sacrum facit: diebus festis & domenicis conciones ad nautos frequentes alternis habemus. Interea nuncium a consule ipso selectum, Alepo evocatum, impensis nostris piastarum octo supra viginti, constantinopolim cum literis misimus ad illustrissimum oratorem regium. Deinde per alium redeuntem, idem fecimus. Nondum ex nullo responsum.

[Jesuits Hold Christmas Services]

Ipsis Nascenti domino sacris diebus, non magis quam reliquis festis, & domenicis, rei sacrae venetorum ullus interfuit, praeter Belgarum proconsulem, & eius socium, veneti sunt isti. Causam aliqui sunt hanc arbitrati, quod a nobis fieret: et tamen alius nullus faciebat. Quodque magis mireris, ne quidem Religiosus Sancti Francisci aegrotantis patris socius, laicus, optimae valetudinis; tanta illic religio eos tenet, charitas tanta, ut sanus factus ille pater saepius a nobis salutatus nunquam nos resalutarit. Imo

hostiis a nobis donatus, hostias rogatus clavem non invenerit. Quid faceres, is est in deum, et in nos, omnium isotrum affectus maximus.

[The Jesuits' Miraculous Exorcism]

Nocte ipsa Natalis Domini, praeter solitum orta periculosa tempestas nautas ad sacrum venire non prohibebat modo, verum ipsos cum navibus ad praesens naufragium adducebat: hanc ecclesiastici exorcismi tranquillaverunt. Nos enim id praeter naturam fieri rati, ad libellum exorcisenorum recurrimus, finito exorcismo, dissolvuntur de repente nubes, desiderata solis nascentis lux reddita nautas & caeteros recreavit. In laetitiae signum exploduntur navium bombardae; suis naviculis ad templum deo gratias acturi frequentes navarchi accedunt. Alii peregrinum a suis factum narrat, sic votum dicunt; alii navem & homines in aquis tota fere nocte fuisse naufragium omne expectantes; alii anchoras cum navibus suis de stationibus abductas longius quam creditu facile sit. Nos ecclesiae sanctae exorcismos in medium offerimus. Illis unis serenitas & tranquillitas accepta refertur.

[The Jesuits Narrowly Avoid Being Sent Back to France]

A libertate nostra mensis unus dum sic decurritur; uni gallicarum navium solvendi tempus adest. Adest et Alepensis Aga ad suum proaga, ut nos cum illa, in Europam solvamus, imperium. Terra interdicta, navem conscendimus. At quo die ista discessit in aliam transcendimus. Tres ibi quatorve dies latitamus. Accedente die sacro Sanctis Fabiano & Sebastiano proconsulem nostrum per nauclerum admonemus, de sacro faciendo. Respondet ille nos statum rerum nosse, se non fore impedimento. Nos ergo escendimus audenter, & fecimus. Turcis cur non abierimus, rationes aliquot damus. Tertia pater Joannes Stella, quarta pater Gaspar Maniglerius quinta corripitur. Navis

valetudinarium nostrum; aeger aegrotanti est chyrurgus, medicus, infirmarius & omnia. Navis ista unica tum in portu superabat, cum anglicana altera: primo quoque die solutura haec nostra erat: ne discedere cum ea cogermur, per amicos patronum anglum oramus, ut nos in suam, oblatis pecuniis, placeat recipere; negat ille. Paulo ante eam noctem, qua navis nostra vela factura est, tres massilienses apparent. Jactis anchoris, patronus convenit patre Stella; recenset rerum nostrarum miserrimum statum, domini ducis de Guyse ipsorum gubernatoris, & regis ipsius voluntates & literas, supplex rogat, ut anglum pretio non denegent. Non audiunt, sibi ham prohibitum a proaga referunt: plurimum se dolere simulant. Variis hinc mentes nostrae fluctuant cogitationibus; aut nocte ista nobis discedendum, aut captivitatis, sin mortis, certae subeundum periculum. Haec dum animos magis, quam febris corpora, excruciant; proaga ne bis a nobis illudatur, atque ut ne a suo Aga id iterum exprobretur, navium patronum advocat ad se, vetat sub poena piastrarum mille, suis in navibus nos esse ne patiantur, arceant ab ingressu summa cura. Eosque ad sua navigia, cum de suis famulis aliquot, remittit, dato iis omnibus mandato, ut nos ad terram exportari si videant, id quamprimum sclopetorum explosione significant.

[The Jesuits Brazenly Seek Protection from the Proconsul]

Has in angustias adducti captivitatem, ipsamque mortem potioem quam praeter superiorum voluntatem, reditum ducimus. Quare sic deo volente, hunc & illos lusimus. Unus ex illis patronis, qui sibi timendum credebat a protestatis sibi coram suis per patrem Stellam, Regis literis, de nocte hora 3^a venit ad nos, suas nobis excusationes dicturus. Hunc et qui cum illo venerant oramus, ut aliquas in nostra nave moras trahat, id concedit rei nescius. Tum exoramus patronum nostrum ut, nulla mora, nos cum silentio ad terram exportet: alterum patronum ut huius ad navem reditum praestoletur, secumque saltem res

nostras deserat. Utrumque fideliter ac faeliciter juxta perficitur. Lucebat adhuc candela in inferiori parte domus proaga: ante ipsam januam transimus, illac enim transeundum necessario erat. Obvius nobis omnino nullus. In suis proaga confisus, illi in patronis gallis, talia non suspicabantur. Fores nostri proconsulis patententes, ipsum cum socio in coena reperimus. Illis timor & admiratio, aut insperata res silentium indixerat. Nos salute data iis, ad potum, quo tum maxime egebamus, febribus & rerum aestu laborantes, deinde renunciamus nos posse capi, pati, mori; discedere non posse. In regia domo salva omnia esse debere. Reliquum esse ut sibi, nobisque provideant ex eo, quo funguntur officio. Ad haec illi, ubi latebrae? Ubi recessus? Ubi tutus locus? Plane nullus: neque in silvis a feris: neque in campis a Turchimannis captivos quotquot inveniunt francos abducentibus neque in palustribus a Cicalibus homines ipsos aggredientibus, ut nuper anglorum servum in medio pago de nocte. (Est id animalium genus vulpinae formae, canem mediocrem altitudine superat, Alexandretae numero maximo.) neque a graecis perfidis, in domibus. Sic ratio cinabantur, nec nobis quicquam imponebant. Verum dum periculis plena omnia docent, observamus in ipsius proconsulis cubiculi penetralibus multas eius generis telas, quibus merces circumvolvi solent, in aggerem temere congestas, eas digito indicamus, en recessus noster dicimus. In illis, itaque dies noctesque aliquot sumus, ubi vix respiratio libera; movere aut spuerere, multo minus. Quo fiebat ut putridum loci aerem inspiratum expirare non liceret libere! Caret enim januis istud cubiculum, et momentis omnibus omnis nationis & conditionis homines ad proconsulem, ad suas negotiationes confluunt, Turcae & graeci maxime, quorum oculos vix quicquam latet, ea est istorum audacia et curiositas. Unde cum cibi potusve aliquid

sumendum erat, qui excubias agerent adhibebantur. Ante lucem tamen rebus sacris operam damus quotidie.

[Good Fortune Almost Befalls the Jesuits]

Quinta jam nox in ea vitae ratione, iis in angustiis decurrenda adventabat, cum navis unius nostri amantissimi jecit anchoras. Monitus ille ad nos accurrit, illis in telis confuse obvolutos contemplatur, compatitur, se suaque offert omnia. Liberiorem ac puriorem navigii sui aerem desideramus. Illuc nos ipsemet serotino desinente crepusculo intrepide deducit, obambulantibus ad littus maris pluribus. Nemine nos in veste nostra turcica agnoscente. Post unum & alterum diem profecturus Alepum nauclero suo nos commendat, omnibus coram dicit navem suam arbitrio nostro esse: ita se velle & praecipere. Huic nomen est Joannes baptista Labar, massilensis. Ita res geri non potuit, ut proaga latuerit. Imo Alepensis Aga id rescivit ab adversariis, a secularibus, an ab aliis, nescio: ab utrisque credere est. Anglicana unica, de qua supra, bellica simul & oneraria, brevi discessura erat. Dum nautae omnia parat ad discessum, nobis conceditur, ut dolenicis et festis diebus libere faciamus. Displicuit hoc adversariis nostris Religiosis, scilicet. Reverendus pater commissarius, plus just jam dictus, Alepo veniens Alexandretam per se ipse impediit ne hoc supremo honoris genere divinam maiestatem honoraremus. Nam quo die venit iste Reverendus pater commissarius, eo pater Joannes Stella fecerat, actu laborante sua febre patre Gaspare Maniglerio. De fenestra proconsulis cum quibusdam aliis idem pater Stella camellos anglorum merces Alepo deportantes conspiciebat, & simul cum aliquot mercatoribus in equis, Reverendum patrem commissarium intuetur. Domum proconsulis accessit, ante ipsam januam ex equo descendit, non ingreditur, alio digressus post rediit: ab omnibus salutationem accipit.

Mutuae salutationes nondum erant redditae, et ecce unum de proaga interpretibus, qui patri Joanni Stellae, & proconsuli significat, non licere patri Stellae, neque eius socio alteri patri, ibi esse; eodemque temporis momento illi petendam esse navim: nuncnunc dicebat, ad proaga ex Alepensi Aga, ea de re, allatum mandatum est: futurum ut si posthac in terris invenirentur, Payassum secundo, inde asportarentur Damietam. Melius nec clarius, referre non poterat, quod Reverendus pater commissarius, jamjam fecerat. Ad navem ergo pater Stella sese recepit: rem totam patri Gaspari decumbenti renunciavit. Ipsomet die, proconsul consulis epistolam Alepo missam ad nos transmittit. In ea consul, ut ex ipsa patet, se excusabat, quod praedictum pater commissarius diutius Alepi retinere non potuisset. Habet enim, aiebat, suam obedientiam, a Reverendo patre Guardiano Jerosolimis ut Alexandretae gallis sacramenta administret. Rem novam atque totam de compsito fictam loquitur. Inauditum siquidem hactenus hominem natione belgam, de patribus ecclesiae venetorum, gallis isto in loco inservire, qui nunquam passi sunt suum Alepi sacerdotem ab illis venetorum ecclesia patribus minima in re dependere. Istud ex industria mala sic compositum, & dignam consulis fidem, dignam huius epistolam, res ipsa probavit. Nam statim atque nos rediimus, ille ipse qui debebat gallos Alexandretae sacramenta ad multos saltem menses administrare, ille Reverendus commissarius a consule, suis sacerdos futurus, missus, in insulam Cyprum profectus est. Omnibus credite huius generis. Multi galli ipsum Reverendum commissarium eo profectum, statim post nos, testantur etiam hodie, qui discedentes utrosque viderunt.

[Aga Attempts to Send Jesuits to France Again]

Ultimum superest, pro evitando nostro ad gallias reditu, ineundum certamen; in eam rem, Alepo Alexandretam a variis consulibus ad suos proconsules, et ad anglicanae

navis profecturae ducem, ab Aga ad proaga, una cum Reverendo patre commissario, variae epistolae venerant. Quare pridie navigationis futurae, socius proconsulis nostri nos convenit, quibus potest modis & rationibus fortatur nos, ut discessum acceptemus; libertati, vitae nostrae, mercatorum nostratium, amicorumque nostrorum detrimenti certo faciundis consultum velimus: obstinatis potentium hominum animis impares nos esse: violentiae interdum cedere sapientum esse. Hortatori nostro de tanta eius in nos benevolentiae significatione, actis gratiis, respondemus in navem hanc nihil juris Turcae habent, nihil potestatis, soluto, ut solutum est, jure anchorae. Quicumque venerit ex ea invitos nos extracturus, is profecto mediam periculi aleam expertus recedet. Huius firmae fixaeque voluntatis sumus, ut nostri nuncii constantinopoli reditum hac in mane expectemus: aut navis ipsius ad gallias regressum; aut denique quodcumque illud futurum sit, periculum subeam? His auditis abiit: omnia proconsuli & proaga denunciavit.

Quapropter sequentis diei luce prima, viam aliam adiit proaga: claves locorum omnium, ubi merces gallorum mercatorum bene multae coemptae servabantur, sibi tradi jubet; nauclerum nostrum & omnes mercatores domum suam convocat; nisi re ipsa & de facto, nostrum discessum procurent, minatur rerum suarum praescriptiones & peiora decernenda in ipsos per Cady, ex urbe Beylamitica proxima, statim a se advocando. Mercatores perterrefacti ex isto ad proconsulem convolant. Rebus sic intellectis proconsul quamprimum et socium suum & nostrum nauarcam, ad nos venire imperat. Haec ubi audivimus, aliorum res, non nostra, nostri causa agitur, nolumus damnum vel minimum ulli procreare, respondemus. Itaque abibimus aliis magis quam nobis consulentes; abibimus, ea tamen lege, ut pro nauulo, aut dandis alimentis ne quidem obolum unum vectores nostri a nobis debeant expectare. Terras, ad alios responsum

nostros spectantes, repetunt; omnibus confectum negotium praedicant: iterumque veniant ad nos, acceptam conditionem dicunt: insuper, liberum nobis esse si quid die reliquo in terris agendum habeamus, illud peragere. Extra navem pedem non ponimus.

[Money Problems]

Dux navigii Anglicani, ut nos Massiliam vectaret, non minus piastis centum velle se prius fuerat obtestatus. Iterum a suo proconsule, & a proaga vocatur: de pretio convenitur; septuaginta piastae illi numerantur in eam rem; nauclero nostro & aliis videntibus, a quibus id ipsum accepimus. Ex quibus piastis dux ipse deinde authore Judaeo proaga interprete, decem proaga dono dedit. Indicium certum, has pecunias proaga non dedisse de suo. Quis dederit pro certo non ausim affirmare: certe proconsul noster non dedit nostro nomine, neque eius socius: neque ullus alius, cui hanc curam dederimus. Vulgo dicuntur datae a Reverendo patre commissario, si non omnes, pars earum saltem; altera pars a venetis. Dominus Laurentius, medicus Bruxelensis, eiusdem cum Reverendo patre commissario provinciae Brabantiae, venetis perfamiliaris, cum anglis convictor, linguae turcicae bene peritus, & propterea cum ipsis Aga conversatus, qui nobiscum in eadem nave melitam usque venit, ille ipse saepius affirmavit negotium nostrum se funditus nosse, & non pauciores ab adversariis nostris procurando discessui nostro impensas fuisse, quam centum supra mille piastas: trecentos Alexandretae octingentos Alepi; cumque id diceret Reverendi patres Sancti Francisci indicebat. Nam subjicientibus nobis cur in auxilium magistratus Turcicae justitiae advocarint, respondit, quia jure & scientia impares vobis, aliter se facturos desperabant.

In quos usus sacri sepulchri piorum eleemosinae consumuntur!

Hora 24^a proaga ad navem nostram, ad nos venit; navem non ascendit, de navicula, qua venerat, nos vultu satis hilari & sereno alloquitur, atque tempus ad navigium Anglorum eundi advenisse: nos ergo cum nostrae navis hominibus & navicula, ille sua eo progredimur. Nauclerus noster pro sua in nos charitate biscotum gallum anglo meliorem & vini aliquid ex navibus gallorum & sua acceptum, de nocte, ad nos alia omnia sperantes attulit. Unus e nautis nostris suam vinariam aruclam ultro dederat. Proconsulis item socius ova & gallinas nobis emerat, ea secum ipse defert schedulam petiturus pro piastis circiter quadraginta a proconsule nobis mutuo datis, quae illi negatur: tum quia eodem die ad proconsulem scripseramus ut non dubitaret de suis pecuniis nobis accommodatis, et hoc scriptum non reddebat: tum etiam, quia verebamus ne de Anglo datis loqueretur, quas a nobis minime expetendas dixeramus, & consenserat ipse.

[Poor Treatment on the Ship]

Quarto tandem idus Februarii hora noctis 6^a aut circa, Alexandreta solvimus. Portincola cubiculi Sanctae Barbarae nobis locus assignatur. Eius cubiculi et bombardarum praefecti, vetustiora quaedam vela stramenti loco humaniter concedunt. Die prima jusculum, & bovinae, quantum quatuor satis esset, hora prandii ad nos defertur. Reliquis vero diebus omnia negantur: interdum ipsa aqua, & ignis, ab eo, penes quem esculentorum & poculentorum cura: pecunias pro solo nauulo; nullas pro cibis datas affirmabat. Unde quilibet melius cogitando, quam ego scribendo, vel narrando, assequi poterit, qua ratione fuerit tota prope quadragesima traducta a rerum omnium penuria & morbo laborantibus nobis. Hoc unum ausim dicere futurum mare patris Gasparis sepulchrum, si Massiliam usque illi fuisset navigandum. Verum tanta est dei in suos praesertim benignitas & providentia, ut per contrarium ventum anglos tertio progredi

tentantes, Melitam centum & viginti miliaribus praetergressos, invitos Melitam reduxerit. Ubi biduo in portu traductu, & a nostris accepto alimento nonnihil recreatis, demum Sancto Josepho Beatae Virgini sponso sacro die, exscendere & civitatem ingredi concessum est. Volens praetermitto tres piratarum belgarum (ut vexilla declarabant, qui fidei christianae renunciant) naves praegrandes cum unica nostra ad certamen eas expectante, discendere non ausas: tertio ita navem tempestate in latus actam, ut vela ipsa mari demersa sine ullius rei damno, sed non sine plurimorum timore justo: mitto etiam undas maris altissimae navis puppim transcendentem passim, atque homines in supremo tabulato sedentes ex uno ad alterum satis remotum locum per vim abripietes. Eos sileo mercatores gallos, qui in eadem nobiscum nave, summam nostrarum rerum necessitatem sublevare cupientes, ita sese gerere cogebantur, ut de suo darent, tamquam suffurarentur, ne sibi anglorum, quibus indigebant tunc, inimicitias conciliarent.

Dies triginta quinque in ista navigatione consumpti.

[The Jesuits Arrive at Malta]

Aequum tamen non praetermittere qua nostrorum melitensium charitate in collegio excepti fuerimus: qua omnium certatim mira, at sancta aemulatione restauratae nobis vires, & nos nobis redditi. Imo quia verbis exprimere non sufficio, praetermittere compellor.

Haec dum scribo, mensis jam quintus ab adventu nostro agitur: & de solita charitate nihil remittitur. Quodque perfectissimae charitatis argumentum est, Reverendus pater Christophorus Balthassar galliarum assistens Roma huc ad Reverendum patrem Charolum a cruce scripsit, ut suo nomine Reverendo patre Rectori collegii huius, hic est pater Franciscus Balsamo, referat, se impensis nostri causa factis satisfacturum. Id idem

pater Charolus Reverendo patri Rectori, me presente, significat, cui ille, mihi haec Vestra Reverenda loquitur! Altum itaque ea de re silentium imperat. Sic vir vere nobilis sanguinis sui nobilitati religiosam atque ex charitate diviniorem nobilitatem a se coniunctam summa cura fovet, & auctam desiderat.

Admodum Reverendae Paternitatis Vestrae

Servi et filii in Christo

Gaspar Maniglerius. Joannes Stella

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ac = hac	cal. = calenda, ae
accusao, is = accusatio, onis	calunia, ae = calumnia, ae
admirao, is = admiratio, onis	cane = canem
aemulao, is = aemulatio, onis	Card.lis, lis = cardinalis, is
aia, ae = anima, ae	castigao, is = castigatio, onis
aius, i = animus, i	Chus, i = Christus, i
ai = animi	chrianus, a, um = christianus, a, um
Alex.ta, tae = Alexandreta, ae	christianiss.us, a, um =
alioru = aliorum	christianissimus, a, um
an. = annus, i	cogitao, is = cogitatio, onis
aplicum, i = applicatum, i	cohortao, is = cohortatio, onis
appellao, is = appellatio, onis	comendat = commendat
applicao, is = applicatio, onis	cominatoria, ae = comminatoria, ae
April. = Aprilis, is	comissio, onis = commissio, onis
assequetes = assequentes	comittimus = committimus
atequam = antequam	comorandus, a, um = commorandus,
Aug. = Augustus, a, um	a, um
B. = Beata, ae	comorans, antis = commorans, antis
c. = caetera	comotus, a, um = commotus, a, um
	conc. = concilium, i
	confess. = confessio, onis

confirmao, is = confirmatio, onis

congregao, is = congregatio, onis

congreg. = congregatio, onis

cooperao, is = cooperatio, onis

cu = cum

declarao, is = declaratio, onis

depraedao, is = depraedatio, onis

dnica, ae = domonica, ae

dnus, i = dominus, i

E. = Episcopus, i

eclia, ae = ecclesia, ae

eclicus, a, um = ecclesiasticus, a, um

elevao, is = elevatio, onis

epla, ae = epistola, ae

Euchia, ae = Eucharista, ae

excoiao, is = excogitatio, onis

excoicao, is = excommunicatio, onis

excoicatus, a, um =

excommunicatus, a, um

excusao, is = excusatio, onis

exercitao, is, = exercitatio, onis

Feb. = Februarius, a, um

Franc. = Franciscus, i

Gasp. = Gaspar, is

gnalis, is = generalis, is

gra, ae = gratia, ae

grus, a, um = gratus, a, um

greg = grex, gregis

homo, hois = homo, hominis

Illustriss.us, a, um = illustrissimus, a,

um

imoramur = immoramur

imutandus, a, um = immutandus, a,

um

incomodus, a, um = incommodus, a,

um

indictum, i = interdictum, i

interpretao, is = interpretatio, onis

ipsumet = ipsummet

Jeros.nus, na, num =

Jerosolimitanus, a, um

Joa. = Joannes, Joannis

Jul. = Julius, a, um

lra, ae = littera, ae

Magd. = Magdalena, ae

n.o = numero

nao, is = natio, onis

navigao, is = navigatio, onis

nessius, a, um = necessarius, a, um

nimiru = nimirum

noiatim = nominatim

noiavi = nominavi

noie = nomine

nonihil = nonnihil

nonnullus, a, um = nonnullus, a, um

ner, nra, nrum = noster, nostra,

nostrum

nucium, i = nuncium, i

numorum = nummorum

obediae = obedientiae

obdia, ae = obedientia, ae

obligao, is = obligatio, onis

observ.a = observantia

ois, is, e = omnis, is, e

onis, is, e = omnis, is, e

onino = omnino

p. = pater, patris

Patern. = paternitas, atis

patibus = patentibus

perturbao, is = perturbatio, onis

pnte = presente

pontif. = pontifex, icis

pontif. = pontificius, a, um

probao, is = probatio, onis

profectiois = profectiois

prov.lis, lis, le = provincialis, is, e

qdo = quando

quantuvis = quantumvis

qubd = quibusdam

R. = Reverendus, a, um

rao, is = ratio, rationis

renuciarant = renunciarant

resp. = responsum, i

respirao, is = respiratio, onis

s. = sanctus, a, um

sacros. = sacrosanctus, a, um

salutao, is = salutatio, onis

Sebast. = Sebastianus, i

sentia, ae = sententia, ae

collocao, is = collocatio, onis

sigcao, onis = significatio, onis

simpler = simpliciter

simulao, is = simulatio, onis

societ. = societatis

sperates = sperantes

spualis, is, e = spiritualis, is, e

ss. = sacrosanctus, a, um

sumus, a, um = summus, a, um

sumotorum = summotorum

Sup.is = Superioris

temp. = tempus, oris

Trasmittit = transmittit

V. = Virgo, Virginis

voltas, atis = voluntas, atis